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BOOK REVIEWS

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Influence of Japan in China's Educational Development, 1896-1911

Sushila Narsimhan*

Abstract

Examining the role and influence of Japan in China's educational reforms undertaken during the late-Qing period, it is revealed that, faced with external and domestic crises one after another, some progressive officials had made some efforts between 1860 and 1890 to strengthen the country's defence capabilities. But inadequacy of the reforms exposed itself when China was defeated by Japan in 1895. During the period that ensued thereafter until its total collapse in 1911, the Qing government enacted several reforms. Education was a key aspect of China's reform efforts where Japan exerted maximum influence and played a significant role. The study provides an interesting insight into the factors that spurred China not only to emulate Japanese model but also to seek Japan's cooperation and guidance in implementing the reforms, the focus being on the nature and extent of Japanese assistance and the factors that led to the decline of Japanese influence. The findings show that the Chinese emulated Japan's educational system in the hope of producing a similar kind of educated and patriotic citizenry who would work to consolidate the monarchy and the state. Instead, the new education became a weapon of militant nationalism which not only turned against absolutism and the 2000 year-old monarchical tradition, but also against Japan. The study is crucial to the understanding of transformation of China into a modern state in 1911.

Introduction

Beginning with the Opium War (1839-42), China had suffered repeated defeats at the hands of the European powers.[1] But so strong was the self-confidence of the Chinese tradition that with the passage of time, they not only became accustomed to the presence of the Westerners, but the active memories of national humiliation also faded away. Between 1860 and 1885, some progressive Chinese officials undertook 'self-strengthening' measures to improve country's defence capabilities and train officials for government service, but no effort was made to reform the educational system, which had been traditionally associated with the civil service examinations based on a thorough knowledge of Confucian classics. It was not until their defeat by Japan in 1894-95 that

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[1] Brief chronology of the major events in China's foreign and educational relations is given in the Appendix.

most Chinese fully realized the contrast between China's reform efforts and Japan's modernization activities. The defeat at the hands of a small Asian country and their erstwhile pupil compelled the Chinese to search reasons for their defeat and the swift rise of their tiny neighbour. Their searches revealed that the transformation of Japan was due to its ability to assimilate and harmonize the Confucian morals earlier introduced from China with scientific and mechanical knowledge learnt later from Europe and America. Japan's new era of power and prosperity was due to the introduction of Western education through the employment of European and American teachers and administrators, sending Japanese students for study abroad, and the promotion of modern education not only for the officials but for the general public as well. This recognition gave rise to increasing public debates and stimulated the Chinese to initiate similar reforms to save their country from disintegration. While there was no unanimity of view about the nature and extent of reforms, a consensus had emerged favouring the Japanese experience as the most appropriate model in carrying out educational reforms. Between 1896 and 1911, the Qing rulers enacted various measures to set up a network of modern schools ranging from elementary to the university level. Japan not only provided guidance, but also direct or indirect assistance in various forms and through various channels.

It may be interesting to examine the role and influence of Japan and Japanese educational thought and practices in China's educational development with express focus on sources of inspiration; the influence of Japan on the thinking of Chinese intellectuals and officials; Japan's assistance measures; the nature and extent of Japanese influence on the new educational system, decline of Japanese influence, and an over-all assessment of the reforms.

Sources of Inspiration

Beginning from the 1860s, diverse foreign influences had entered China through various channels. The foremost channel were the Christian missionaries in China's open ports who saw education as an effective medium for spreading Western concepts and methods into China. A bi-monthly magazine, *Jiaohui xinbao* [Church News], started by an American missionary Young J. Allen, in 1868, was quite popular not only among the treaty port Chinese but also among important officials. It covered a wide range of articles on western education systems, general subjects and on religious knowledge. With the help of several foreign educated Chinese, the missionaries had also translated important Western works hoping that the neutral values of Western knowledge would sweeten their proffered faith. By 1880, about 156 works on science and other miscellaneous subjects had been translated, of which 98 titles were published with a total distribution of 31,111 copies (John Fryer, 1880, p.317).

Another important channel was the diplomatic missions abroad which gave the Chinese scholar-officials firsthand experience about the conditions of the host country. Guo Songtao (1818-1891), China's first envoy to Great Britain in1877-1878, was deeply impressed by the British education system but the publication of his views led to his

recall and he died in obscurity. Another diplomat was Huang Zunxian (1848-1905), who served the Chinese legation in Tokyo from 1877 to 1881. An astute observer, he greatly admired Japan's modernization programme, but was prudent enough to defer publication of his impressions until 1895, amid a more favourable climate of opinion. In his *Riben guozhi* [An Account of Japan], he drew attention to Western practices in education that the Japanese government had adopted. These included the use of nationally standardized curricula, adherence to school hours and schedules, wearing of school uniforms, military drill, vocational training and the teaching of students in common.

Until the late-1890s, Western influence was considerably strong in China. The Qing court was dominated by pro-Russian and pro-German sentiments because it was through the European intervention of 1895 that China had recovered the Liaodong Peninsula seized by Japan during the Sino-Japanese War. Several reform-minded missionaries such as Timothy Richard, Young J. Allen, Ernst Faber, Gilbert Reid, John Fryer, and W.A.P. Martin, who enjoyed a good rapport with the imperial court, were keen to help China. In 1897, Gilbert Reid told the Chinese officials that the Chinese needed to learn from the West since China had imported many Western machines and printed books on Western science (Douglas Reynolds, 1993, p.9). The Chinese were, however, reluctant and looked down upon all Westerners and their educational activities as tainted by 'barbarian religion.'

Among the Anglo-Saxon models, the educational system of Germany, with its emphasis on strict discipline and military drill, held maximum appeal for the Chinese. The revolutionary, liberal and republican ideas of the French, British and Americans respectively were not acceptable to the conservative officials for political as well as strategic reasons. In 1872, China had sent its first batch of about 120 young boys to study in America on experimental basis. The programme was, however, discontinued in 1881 amid criticism that it was too costly and had produced an Americanized product unfit for service in China. Thus, despite the fact that more than thirty years had elapsed since the introduction of Western knowledge into China, the Western model was slow to gain acceptance.

The Japanese Model

Japan's was singled out as the most suitable model for Chinese conditions. Japan's rise provided an apposite example of a country with an antiquated social system, haunted by the fear of possible encroachment by the Western powers, and yet had been able to transform itself into a powerful industrial state. The Chinese believed that what had worked in Japan would work in China also. Kang Youwei (1858-1927), a staunch advocate of the Japanese model, argued that if Japan could do it in 30 years, China, with its large area and abundant natural resources, could do it in 3 years. The other prominent supporters of Japanese model were: Liang Qichao (1873-1929), Li Duanfen (1833-1907), Zhang Zhidong (1837-1909), and Liu Kunyi (1830-1902).

In mid-June 1898, Zhang Zhidong, Vieeroy of Hubei-Hunan, submitted to the throne a memorial, *Quanxue pian* [Exhortation to Study], in which he emphasized the urgency of educational reforms and pointed to Japan as the most suitable destination for the Chinese students. He adduced four reasons: savings in fares, ease of supervision, similarity of scripts, and Japanese success in garnering the best from Western writings. To Zhang, the relative cultural and ideological compatibility with the Japanese would allow the Chinese "to reap twice the results with half the effort." In addition to these practical reasons, it was the unique Japanese-style education, combining a moral education that emphasized Confucian thought with modern sciences, which Zhang deemed as the ideal model for China (Hiroshi Abe, 1987, p.65). Hiring Western teachers, the Chinese feared, would help in the spread of Christianity. On that score, there was no fear from the Japanese. Besides, hiring Japanese teachers or sending Chinese students to Japan would cut down on expenses. Japan was also culturally familiar and ideologically compatible. And, the Japanese also had something special to offer, an ingredient – psychologically appealing to the Chinese. This was their Asian identity, a vision of "yellow" unity against the "whites."

However, it was not simply a case of China's awakening to the multiple benefits of studying the Meiji model. Japan too was promoting the idea. For although the war had solved Japan's problems of independence and equality with the powers, it had also created new problems on account of China's conspicuous weakness. The intensification of Western (including Russian) aggression in and around China was perceived as a threat to Japan's vital interests in the region and prompted the Japanese to take some immediate steps to save and befriend China. Realizing the need for a solid action-oriented organization, a diverse group of Japanese consisting of representatives of the old nobility, politicians, journalists, military personnel and businessmen formed an association, the Tō-A Dōbunkai (TDK) [East Asia Common Culture Association] in November 1898 with Konoe Atsumarō (1863-1904), an influential member of the House of Peers, as the head. The TDK was a large and impressive organization and its members included prominent figures like Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), Kōmura Jutarō (1855-1911), Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855-1932), Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) and several businessmen such as Kishida Ginkō (1833-1905), Shirakawa Ryūhei (1867-1942), Ide Saburō (1862-1931), Nakanishi Masaki (1857-1923), and Munakata Kotarō (1864-1923), who were associated with Arao Sei's (1858-1896) Nisshin Bōeki Kenkyūjo [Japan-China Trade Research Institute] set up in 1890 to promote Sino-Japanese trade. Roused by "same culture, same race" (*dōbun dōshu*) theme, the TDK played a very significant role in the educational development of China.

Change in Official Attitudes

The crushing defeat, not by a Western power but by an Asian neighbour, brought about a radical change in Chinese official attitudes towards education. Traditionally, education in China had been primarily associated with the civil service examinations, the channel through which government officials were recruited. The purpose of education was to

select and train men of talent for government service (*rencai*). The content of the examinations was purely literary and, one of the tests, the eight-legged essay (*bagu*), was an exercise involving rigid rules and time-consuming efforts. The examination system, which survived until 1905, was evolved during the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.) and developed by the successive regimes. This kind of education not only became irrelevant to the changing needs of the 19th century, but it also turned out to be a serious handicap for the millions of scholars who exhausted their physical and mental energies over literary exercises without ever studying the art of governing or the lessons of history.

Between 1860 and 1885, the advocates of "self-strengthening" (*ziqiang*) and "Western affairs" (*Yang-wu*) set up some foreign language schools (*Tongwenguan*) and military and naval academies to remedy the situation. But these were essentially training schools designed to produce graduates who would serve the government mainly in the military or diplomatic spheres. After China's defeat in the war with France in 1884-1885, many voices were raised asking for basic educational reforms as a basis for strengthening China, but very few talked about reforming school system. Zheng Guanying (1842-1923), a treaty-port comprador, was perhaps the first to locate China's salvation in the school classroom. Taking note of Japan's educational reforms, Zheng wrote in *Shengsi weiyan* [Warnings to a Prosperous Age, 1893]:

> In modern times, every country has regulated its education and gained its wealth and power through schools. Now Japan has taken the West's excellence in education as its model in fostering talent, and the country's power has risen greatly. How can our country fail to ignore this? If we do not set up schools, no talent will emerge and if we do not abolish examinations set on literary forms, the schools will be no good to us (Sally Borthwick, 1983, p.42).

Gradually, the definition of education and the purpose of schools began to change. In 1896, Li Duanfen, a former education commissioner for Yunnan, expressed his concern to discover that despite China's huge population, there were only 10,000 or so scholars. "For human talent to be so deficient is not a question of no natural talent being born but rather that the direction in which the teaching is going on is not perfected" (Paul Bailey, 1990, p.23). Unlike other officials who favoured recruiting children from among the families of gentry, Li proposed selecting students from among the people. Li's proposal is interpreted as the beginning of 'mass education' (*minzhong jiaoyu*). Li advocated creation of a Japanese-style national university and a national school system with mixed curriculum, which would include the Confucian classics, foreign languages, world geography and history, and modern scientific subjects. He also recommended setting up of libraries in all the provinces for those who could not afford a formal education. Taking cue from Japanese word '*tōshokan*', he coined the term '*tushuguan*' for 'library.' In 1896, however, the throne was not prepared to institute a national system of schools.

Li's ideas greatly resembled those of two scholar-reformers, Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, who were both to play key roles in the 1898 reform movement. In 1898, Kang

Youwei was able to gain access to the Emperor Guangxu (b.1875; r.1889-1908), and urged the Emperor to emulate the Meiji Emperor of Japan by implementing institutional reforms to make the country 'wealthy and strong' (*fuqiang*). Kang revived the idea of national school system and recommended that China learn from Japan whose education system had been described by Huang Zunxian in *Riben guozhi*. Stirred by the reform mood, Zhang Zhidong distributed his treatise *Quanxue pian* among the officials for wider support, and called for the establishment of schools and promotion of overseas study, mainly Japan. Impressed by Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), Zhang suggested a mixed curriculum where the Confucian classics would also have pride of place. Zhang summed it up as: "Chinese learning as the foundation, Western learning for application" (*Zhongxue wei ti, Xixue wei yong*). This was similar to Japan's '*Tōyō dōtoku, Seiyō gei*' (Eastern ethics, Western techniques), a formula conceived by a late-Tokugawa scholar Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864), which provided the ideological rationale for modernization while preserving the traditional values.

Beginning of Modern Education, 1898

Kang and Zhang's efforts seemed to bear fruit when, in a burst of enthusiasm, Guangxu Emperor issued a series of edicts calling for a wide range of reform measures. The measures pertaining to education included: reform of the civil service examination; conversion of old academies (*shuyuan*) and Buddhist/Taoist temples in each province into modern schools (*xuetang*); establishment of elementary and middle schools all over the country; establishment of an Imperial University in Beijing; establishment of a National Bureau of Translation; and sending students abroad (mainly to Japan) for specialized studies.

The reform efforts received a fillip when almost simultaneously Yano Fumio (1850-1931), the Japanese Ambassador to China in 1879-1899, announced financial assistance to Chinese students for their studies at Japanese schools. As the word of Japanese offer of assistance reached Beijing in April 1898, it evoked enthusiastic response among the reformers and progressive officials. Almost immediately, the imperial censor Yang Shengxiu (1849-98) petitioned to the court that the Zongli Yamen [Office of Foreign Affairs] should select qualified students from different regions of China for study in Japan and work out the details with the Japanese Ambassador. On 18 August, 1898, an imperial edict ordered the provincial governors to send students to Japan.

The reforms, however, incurred the hostility of conservatives who rallied behind the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908), the Emperor's aunt. In a sudden turn of events, the emperor was taken captive and his aunt issued a blanket decree on 26th September rescinding the reform edicts. Consequently, the reform efforts, which had completed only 100 days from11 June to 21 September, 1898, came to an abrupt halt. However, despite orders for rescinding the reform edicts, there were several measures which remained intact. For instance, the Imperial University established at Peking remained unscathed. No step was taken to cancel the study-in-Japan programme or recall the 8 students sent by the province of Zhejiang. Although the full execution of the study-in-Japan plan was

interrupted by the uncertainties at the centre, within a month it picked up and by the following year the number of the Chinese students in Japan had reached 200.

Public Debate, 1900-1911

The anti-Christian and anti-foreign Boxer uprising in 1900 and the occupation of Peking by a nine-power multinational expeditionary force, during which the court was forced to take refuge in Xian in West China, finally convinced even the most conservative faction and the Empress Dowager Cixi that reforms were indeed necessary, both to preserve the ruling dynasty and to strengthen the country. On 29 January, 1901, the Empress issued an edict underlining the need to adapt to the times and enact appropriate institutional reforms. Proposals were invited with regard to national administration, official affairs, matters related to people's livelihood, education, examination system, military organization, and financial administration. The Boxers' violent xenophobia, their use of magical practices, and the wanton destruction of railroad and telegraph lines, convinced the officials the need of reforming people's customs through widespread education. The officials, such as Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi, who had so far been stressing upon education as a means of obtaining better officials, now began speaking of education as a means of enlightening the people as a whole (William Ayers, 1971, p.224). The awareness about the urgency to improve the people's character and customs led to increasing public discussions of, and interest in, popular education. It was not simply a question of educating a new citizenry; the debates also highlighted the connection between widespread literacy and national survival. This debate was carried out in a number of journals that began to be published after 1900 in China, and also in Japan where large numbers of Chinese students and political exiles were congregated.

Paul Bailey, (1990, pp.66-69) in his in-depth study, has classified the prominent participants involved in this debate into three main categories. The *first* group consisted of Japan-returned officials and educators such as Luo Zhenyu (1866-1940), who started a fortnightly *Jiaoyu shijie* [World of Education], and Lu Feigui (1886-1941), the chief editor of *Jiaoyu zazhi* [Educational Review]. Their journals carried translations of laws and regulations of Japan's Ministry of Education (Mombusho); details about Japanese schools; and excerpts from Japanese textbooks on various subjects. They also enlisted support of some eminent Japanese, such as Tsuji Takeo (1863-1931), in their translation and editing activities. The *second* group comprised of reformers associated with Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei, who were living in exile in Japan. Liang Qichao's journals *Qingyi bao* [The China Discussion] and *Xinmin congbao* [New People's Miscellany], devoted to the cause of China's political and social reform, had a deep impact on the minds of Chinese students in Japan and intellectuals inside China. The *third* and the most vocal group involved in the educational debate were the Chinese students in Japan. Japan's attraction as a place for overseas study was enhanced by its victory over Russia in 1905, and by 1906, the number had crossed 10,000. During their stay in Japan, the Chinese students could observe the stark contrast between the conditions at home and what they saw in Japan. Away from home and free from any kind of censorship, the

students found in Japan a haven where they could express their views and chalk out plan of action.

These debates highlighted several issues related to the function and content of education. The concept of education underwent change and moved from that of an individual, private pursuit to that of an organized, mass activity controlled from above. The traditional Chinese terms for education contained the root '*xue*' (learn; J. *manabu*) and '*jiao*' (teach; J. *oshieru*). In their campaigns, the Chinese educator-reformers used the term '*jiaoyu*' (teach and rear; J. *kyōiku*) to describe this phenomenon. *Jiaoyu* was actually an old Chinese word retrieved from antiquity through Japan by Zheng Guifen, an admirer of Japanese educational system. Luo Zhenyu emphasized the need for 'social education' (*shehui jiaoyu*) and introduced into Chinese the notion of 'society' (*shehui*), a term borrowed from the Japanese '*shakai*', as a distinct entity separate from, and independent of, both the state and the traditional ruler-subject relationship. These terminologies, the content and meaning of new education were Japanese-inspired and modern. To make the writings understandable to the masses, Chen Zibao (1862-1922), a disciple of Kang Youwei, advocated the use of vernacular (*baihua*) in schools. During his visit to Japan in 1898, Chen was very much attracted by the educational thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), a leading intellectual-reformer of Meiji Japan (Paul Bailey, 1990, p.73 and p.91 n.58). Like Fukuzawa, Chen dismissed the Confucian classics as irrelevant teaching material and highlighted the need to use everyday language relevant to the people.

The reformers also launched a scathing attack on the traditional literature. Liang Qichao saw education as a means of producing a knowledgeable and a patriotic citizenry and pleaded for a new style of literary works that would reform people's thinking and foster martial vigour that had hitherto been neglected or scorned by traditional education. Liang was particularly attracted to the 'lively military outlook' in Japan and often contrasted the *bushidō* spirit with the more pacifist outlook in China. The debates also highlighted the importance of physical education and vocational training. In fact, vocational training was seen as an important component of education because it would include grooming the people to become self-reliant and hard-working citizens. To cultivate the virtues which would make the people disciplined and diligent, the Chinese intellectual-reformers translated Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* from Japanese and published serialized excerpts in the journal *Jiaoyu shijie* for wider dissemination. Smiles's work (translated by Nakamura Keiū in 1871 into Japanese), with its emphasis on hard work, frugality and perseverance, had played a significant role in the modernization of Japan.

References to the Western models – that of Anglo-Saxon or French democracy, or Russian and German monarchy – also figured in these debates. Although knowledgeable Chinese had a general idea of the differences among these models, they presented all of them as the same in order to give their countrymen the impression of Western ideas as a whole. The specific model they proposed for adoption remained that of Japan, which had been able to consolidate its monarchy and adapt the secrets of Western strength to the special conditions of an Asian country. The Chinese turned to the West mainly for the purchase of machines or the employment of engineers. Western influence on education

came entirely via Japan and relayed through the Japanese. In the reform of education, the emulation of Japan was, therefore, the common ground on which the gentry and officials agreed and could cooperate. As the report of the Board of Government Affairs put it in 1901:

> Japan is of the same continent like ours; her change of methods is quite recent, and she has attained the strength and prosperity. Her experience has been nearly like our own that we may derive instructions from it (*USCR*, January 1902, p.30).

New School Regulations, 1904

The rulers in China had finally awakened to the need of making education an instrument of national policy. Earlier, the aim of education was to search for men of talent. But the consensus that emerged in the post-Boxer period revealed a shift in favour of a wider field of learning which would benefit the society, rather than narrowing it down to the training of the officials. In order to establish a nation-wide system of modern schools (*xuetang*), the court appointed the President of the Imperial University, Zhang Baixi (1847-1907), as the Minister of Education. In January 1904, the court promulgated the New School Regulations, which remained in force until 1911.

In drafting the school regulations and the general guidelines, Zhang Baixi was assisted by Zhang Zhidong and Rong Qing (1847-1907), both ardent admirers of Japan's school system, and two Japanese Sinologists, Taoka Reiun (1867-1912) and Fujita Toyohachi (1870-1929), who taught Japanese at Dōbun Shōin (Dongwen xueshe) in Peking. These regulations became a model for China's new schools. The Preamble to the elementary school regulations stated: "There shall be no house without learning, and in each house no individual without learning." This was directly taken from Japan's Education Ordinance of 1872, which declared, "There shall be no community with an illiterate family, nor a family with an illiterate person." Not just the Preamble, even the regulations for elementary schools were an exact copy of Japanese elementary school regulations. The general outline also resembled Japan's school system, as shown in the following diagram:

Chinese System (1904)	Years	Japanese System (1900)	Years
Research School	5	Post Graduate	1 or more
University	3-4	University	3-4
Higher School	3	Higher School	3-4
Middle School	5	Middle School	5
Higher Primary	4	Higher Primary	2-4
Lower Primary	5	Lower Primary	4
Kindergarten		Kindergarten	

With the creation of the Board of Education in 1904, regulations flowed from Beijing on a wide range of measures that included lecture institutes, literacy schools, half-day

schools, vocational schools, apprentice schools, and special schools of agriculture, engineering and commerce. Citing Japan's example, the Board of Education remarked that due to widespread education, the people in Japan associated their own interests with those of the monarch and the state. "Everyone has the public-minded desire to wash away national shame, and regards the ruler's joy or sorrow as the nation's glory or insult. This is what is meant by ruler and people being one (*junmin yiti*)." Accordingly, the edict of 19 April, 1906, emphasized that education was to train people to "be loyal towards the monarch, to honour Confucius, to cultivate a public spirit, military spirit, and practical spirit" (Paul Bailey, 1990, p.39). It was the question of creating a "nation" (*guomin*), a nation where the people and the monarch would form one body (*junmin yiti*). The concept of '*junmin yiti*' was inspired by Japan's '*kokutai*' and '*seikyō itchi*' spirit embodied in the Imperial Rescript of Education (1890).

The educational plan of 1904 also contained provision for physical education and military drill. Pointing to the example of the West and Japan where everyone performed compulsory military service with pride and joy, the Board of Education said: "All textbooks in middle and primary schools must contain elements of militant citizenry-ism (*junguomin zhuyi*)....History and geography textbooks should describe battles on land and sea and contain illustrations of cannon, battleships and flags..." (Paul Bailey, 1990, p.39). The strength of the country, remarked the Board of Education, depended not on a few heroes but on the collective strength of the people. Patriotism and martial spirit generated in schools would guarantee not only the welfare of the state but also loyalty to the throne and survival of the dynasty. To encourage study and promote awareness among the parents, the Bureau established lecture halls in centrally located spots, in Confucian temples, or even on the major streets. Appeals were couched in patriotic terms and Japan was often used as a benchmark, as the following verse illustrates:

> The black and red races are all subjugated,
> But we the yellow race have still not awoken to this.
> One must be quick in studying.
> Let us follow the model of Japan nearby,
> And that of Europe and America far away,
> And join the ranks of the world's civilized countries (ibid, p.99).

The regulations of 1904 underlined the need for vocational education as well. The importance now given to 'vocational education' was symbolized by the coining of a new term '*zhiye jiaoyu*,' borrowed from the Japanese '*shokugyō kyōiku.*' To encourage children from poorer families, the Board of Education approved the creation of half-day schools that would not charge fees or insist on any age qualifications. In addition to reading and writing, half-day schools were to teach arithmetic, history and geography. One half-day school in Henan included study of Japanese language also in its curriculum.

To make the nation's education standardized and efficient like Japan, the Chinese government created the Ministry of Education in December 1905. Since it was formed on the pattern of Japan's Mombusho, it accelerated Japanese influence in China. The Ministry asked the commissioners of education, who had not been abroad, to visit Japan and examine the educational system of that country before beginning their official duties (*USBR*, 1911, p.45). The Chinese now came to depend upon to Japan for everything. The British missionary, Timothy Richard, grudgingly remarked:

> However Peking may regard Tokyo, it is plain that throughout the eighteen provinces Japanese influence had made enormous strides. Japanese travellers, commercial agents, teachers, drill-sergeants are to be found in the remotest parts of the Empire. The best of the native Chinese papers are in Japanese control, and the amazing growth of this native press is in itself one of the most significant of all phenomena of revolution (Timothy Richard, 1906, p.637).

The great obstacle in the implementation of new reforms was removed when China's venerable 1,200 year-old civil service examination system was abolished. An event that precipitated this bold measure was Japan's victory in its war with Russia in 1904-5. On 31 August, 1905, roused by Japan's daring feat, several officials joined Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) to press the throne for the complete abolition of the civil service examinations - 'the enemy and hindrance to the school system.' On 2 September, 1905, the court finally issued a decree announcing the abolition of the civil service examinations. The action was deemed necessary "to increase greatly the intelligence of the people." Japan's victory gave a fillip not only to China's reform efforts, but also to Japanese influence in China.

Japan's Assistance Measures

In order to carry out the educational reforms, China faced many difficulties: lack of funds to establish and run new schools; non-availability of trained teachers and administrators; and absence of textbooks in Chinese language, translation facilities, instructional materials and apparatus for experiments. Japan played an important role in solving these problems. Japan's assistance package included: (a) accommodating and educating Chinese students in Japan; (b) sending Japanese teachers and military instructors to China; (c) inviting Chinese educators to survey Japan's school system; and (d) supply of books, teaching materials and equipments. This assistance package offered mutual benefits: for Chinese, the chance to learn the techniques of modernization in the quickest way and with the least expenditure; for Japanese, the prospect of exerting influence not only within China but also on those intended to be China's future leaders. An editorial in *Kyōiku jiron* [Current Opinion on Education], Japan's leading education magazine, stated:

> While they are establishing various types of schools in many regions in China under the Qing dynasty these days, the Chinese are facing urgent problems in the shortage of capable teachers and appropriate textbooks.....On this occasion, we should encourage and help them to invite as many Japanese as they wish, so that they can help develop the educational system in China. At the same time, we should make those Japanese introduce our culture to China and expand our power over there (Hiroshi Abe, 1987, pp.67-68).

(a) *Chinese Students in Japan*

Efforts in this direction had begun in 1898 when the Japanese government had set up two schools – one military Seijō Gakkō and one non-military Nikka Gakkō – to accommodate the 8 Chinese students from Zhejiang. After 1898, about a dozen schools sprang up, some of them privately operated and some others managed by well-established universities and academies. Tokyo had the maximum number of such schools: Kōbun Gakuin, Shinbu Gakudō, Tōhin Gakudō, and Keii Gakudō. The Kōbun Gakuin, headed by an eminent educationist, Kanō Jigorō (1860-1938), had produced its first batch of 7 graduates in 1899. At the valedictory function, one student Ji Yihui spoke admiringly of life and education in Japan which, he said, had changed his whole outlook and thinking (Paula Harrell, 1992, p.34). By 1909, the number of graduates had increased to 3,810. These included: Republican-era education administrator Fan Yuanlian (1875-1927), revolutionary Huang Xing (1874-1916), co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), and the famous literary figure Lu Xun (1881-1936).

The lead role was, however, taken by the TDK, which set up some special Japanese language schools Tō-A Dōbun Shōin for the Chinese in Nanjing (1900), Shanghai (1901) and Tokyo (1902). The school trained the students in general studies before moving them on to more specialized work in regular schools. Since the medium of instruction in these schools was Japanese, all the students had to learn Japanese language. In the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War, some private universities – namely Hosei, Waseda, Meiji – started special cells to accommodate the increasing number of Chinese students. In early 1905, there were about 30,000 Chinese youth receiving Japanese-style education either in Japan or under Japanese supervision in China.

In 1896, there were only 13 students studying in Japan, but thereafter the number increased rapidly as the figures in Table 1 show.

The Table shows three sets of figures based on the estimates of Sanetō Keishū, Li Xisuo, and Japan Foreign Ministry records. Japan's official records unfortunately do not cover the years 1896-1905. A survey conducted by the *United States Bureau of Education* recorded the number as great as 13,000 in 1906; 15,000 in 1907; and 17,000, in 1908 (Harry King, 1911, p.92). Regardless of which figures are accepted, the fact remains that the years 1905-1906 saw the largest number of Chinese students in Japan.

TABLE 1
Chinese Students in Japan, 1896-1912

Year	*Sanetō Keishū*	*Li Xisuo*	*Japan Diplomatic Records*
1896	13	13	-
1897	9	-	-
1898	18	61	-
1899	202	-	-
1900	-	-	-
1901	280	274	-
1902	500	608	-
1903	1,000	1,300	-
1904	1,300	2,400	-
1905	8,000	8,000	-
1906	8,000	12,000	7,283
1907	7,000	10,000	6,797
1908	4,000	-	5,216
1909	4,000	3,000	5,266
1910	-	-	3,979
1911	-	-	3,328
1912	1,400	1,400	1,437

Sources: Sanetō Keishū, *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgakushi*, p.544; Li Xisuo, *Jindai Zhongguo de liuxuesheng* [Foreign- trained students in the history of modern China] (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1987), pp.126-127; *Japan Diplomatic Records*, "Zai hompō Shinkoku ryūgakusei kankei zakken."

To cope with the increasing number of Chinese students, some Japanese opened private schools in China: Tōbun School in Fuzhou (1898); Nichibun School in Hangzhow (1899); Tōbun School in Suzhou (1899); Shoka School in Quanzhou (1899); Tōbun School in Tianjin (1899); Sichuan Tōbun School in Chengdu (1899); Tō-A School in Amoy (1900); Dōbun School in Nanjing (1901); Tōbun School in Beijing (1901), etc. The courses taught were structured on the pattern of schools opened for the Chinese in Japan. The Japanese also set up a High Preparatory School for Study Abroad in Shanghai (1905). After 1906, when the Chinese government imposed restrictions on the qualifications of students going to Japan, these schools assumed importance because the Chinese could now receive preparatory education in China itself (Sanetō Keishū, 1939, p.160).

The modern school system was given the official recognition when, in August 1905, the Empress Dowager conferred the degree of *juren* and *jinshi*, titles equivalent to those who passed the traditional Civil Service Examinations, on 14 Japan-educated students. They were commonly known as 'foreign *juren*' (*yang juren*) or foreign *jinshi*' (*yang jinshi*). These returned-students were very much in demand in both educational and administrative services. Most of the normal and higher normal schools were organized under the auspices of Japan-returned students and foreign instructors, mainly Japanese. Satisfied with the results, the Empress issued a decree in September 1905 urging the

students to go abroad to master specialized fields of science and ordered Chinese ministers abroad to serve as directors of these students and to treat them with kindness. Yuan Shikai also issued an order whereby all candidates of the province had to spend at least 3 months in Japan before receiving a definite appointment to office (Wang Feng-gang, 1931, pp.124-25).

(b) *Native Japanese Teachers in China*

Since China had no qualified teachers for the new schools, the government had to hire foreigners. The traditional Chinese teachers were trained in the study of pure Chinese classics, hence were unfit to teach in the new schools. The Dōbun Shōin set up exclusively for the Japanese in 1901 in Shanghai had produced about 150 graduates who had obtained proficiency in Chinese language, but only a few could be absorbed as teachers. Most of them were serving as businessmen and advisors in various provinces of China. To meet the demand for trained teachers, the Regulations of 1904 established four types of normal schools: Higher Normal School, Lower Normal School, Teacher Training School, and the Institute for Training Teachers for Vocational Subjects. But for the time, the Chinese had no option but to employ foreigners to teach in the new colleges and universities.

There are no complete statistics on foreign teachers serving in China between 1896-1911. As per the official records of the Japan Foreign Ministry, the number of Japanese teachers and advisors between 1903 and 1912 were as follows:

TABLE 2
Native Japanese Teachers and Advisors in China, 1903-1912

Year / *Category*	*1903*	*1904*	*1909*	*1912*
Teachers and educational advisors	99	163	424	63
Other advisors and technical experts	49	71	125	96
Total	148	234	549	159

Source: Kageyama Masahiro, "Shinmatsu ni okeru kyōiku kindaika katei to Nihonjin kyōsh ū" in Abe Hiroshi, *Nit-Ch ū kyōiku bunka kōryū to masatsu*, p.9.

There were two types of Japanese who were involved in China's educational development. One was the *yūshi* (public-spirited volunteers) category who established schools by themselves, and the other was the *oyatoi kyōshū* (contract teachers) category who were invited as teachers or advisors for the schools already established by the Chinese (Abe Hiroshi, 1990, p.138). In both the cases, the Chinese depended on Japanese human resources in carrying out educational activities. In 1904, there were about 174 Japanese teachers employed in China, and by 1905, the number had crossed 200 (J. Harada, 1905, p.358). The total number of teachers in 1906 in China's 2,000 new schools

was thirty-thousand or so, but the proportion of Western teachers was very small and they did not generally occupy the highest positions. The Japanese formed the bulk of the foreign teachers (Marianne Bastid, 1988, p.45). In most of the schools, the headmaster (*zong jiaoxi*) was a Japanese, which could mean a larger presence of Japanese. Many of the Japanese were eminent educationists affiliated with reputed schools and universities in Tokyo. To mention a few: Hattori Unokichi, Ōkada Asatarō, Yoshino Sakuzō, Fujita Toyohachi, Iwaya Magazo, Yano Jinichi, and Oda Yorozu (Tokyo Imperial University); Nakajima Hanjirō, Watari Toshiharu, and Ujie Kenzō (Waseda University); Watanabe Ryūsei (President, Tokyo School of Music), Nezu Hajime (Secretary General of TDK). All of them, whether as teachers or advisors, played a pivotal role in building a network of primary, secondary, and normal schools in China.

There were about 34 new normal schools (*shifan xuetang*) widely scattered all over the empire, and of these 32 had large Japanese presence. Among them were 15 professors engaged by the central government in China through the Ministry of Education, Tokyo. Out of them, 3 were in the Imperial University of Beijing and the rest were teaching in the Normal Schools in Tianjin, Nanjing, Hubeh, Shantung, and Zhili. At Nantong Normal School, 3 out of the 14 teachers were Japanese. In Hunan, in 1906, 20 per cent of the teachers were Japanese. In Shanxi, the higher school of agriculture and the police school in Taiyuan each had 2 Japanese teachers. In Hangzhou, all the instructors were Japanese. Japanese occupied key positions even in some strategic areas. All military schools and police schools had at least one Japanese instructor. Japanese were engaged in all kinds of professional work: military, agricultural, industrial, medical, etc. All these teachers were sufficiently well paid, usually drawing three or four times, even six times the amount of the salary they would receive at home (J. Harada, 1905, pp.357-58). There were several qualified Western missionaries but the Chinese were reluctant to hire them, partly on the grounds of expense and language handicaps, but mainly due to traditional prejudices. The government did not recognize the Christian schools, and the graduates from these schools were disqualified for government services. After the promulgation of the new School Regulation, the Ministry of Education declared all missionary schools as 'unregistered' and 'unauthorized' (Taga Akigorō, 1972, p.613).

The Chinese people's increasing reliance on Japan in their reform efforts was strongly resented by the missionaries who believed it to be a deliberate anti-missionary strategy. The Westerners envied the way Japan's influence was increasing in China. Describing the trend as "A new Japanese invasion of China," Rev. Parker wrote:

> We had been hoping all along that the Chinese would hire European and American teachers for their new schools of Western learning. But we must not be too sure about this. It is evident that the Japanese are going to underbid us in the matter of salaries and also that they are able to do much of the work of teaching and preparing books, nearly, if not quite as well as we can do it. (A. P. Parker, 1901, p.356)

While the Chinese anger and prejudices against the foreigners were of long-standing, they intensified as a result of China's miserable experience with Christian missions under the unequal treaties. The punitive Boxer Protocol and the heavy indemnity to compensate the aggrieved missionaries and the converts made the foreigners far more unpopular than they had been ever before (*NCH*, September 1902, p.472). This anti-Western sentiment became evident when in 1902, W.A.P. Martin (1827-1916), who had been holding the post of the President of Imperial University since its inception in 1898, and his colleagues, were dismissed to make way for the faculty consisting of Japanese professors. In 1905, Zhang Baixi openly declared that henceforth all the foreign teachers of the newly founded Normal Schools and the professors, except teachers of foreign languages, would be chosen in Japan. (Wang Feng-gang, p.99).

The outcome of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 accelerated Japanese influence in China. The war, though fought on Chinese soil, was regarded not only as an enterprise friendly to China, but also an indisputable evidence of the power of the Orient when equipped with what Western learning had to offer. The Chinese now felt pleased to have Japan not only as a guide in their reform efforts, but also as an important aid in resisting the domination of Russia in the Far East (Wang Feng-gang, 1931, p.116-7). The years 1905-1906 were the peak ones for the Chinese students going to Japan and Japanese teachers going to China (*Tables 1 & 2*). Although from 1907 onwards the number had started declining, the Japanese teachers were still in demand and were preferred to Westerners. An unofficial survey conducted in November 1909 by Nakajima Hanjirō (1871-1926), a professor at Beiyang Normal School in Tianjin, reported that there were 356 foreign teachers working in China's eighteen provinces. Out of them, 311 were Japanese - 288 male and 23 female (Sanetō Keishū, 1939, p.170). Yoshino Sakuzō (1878-1933), a prominent educationist, who returned to Japan after completing his contract period in early 1909, gave the estimate figure of Japanese teachers and advisors in China at roughly 500 (Yoshino Sakuzō, 1909, pp.773-774).

(c) *Survey Tours to Japan*

In the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War, many Chinese officials and educators travelled to Japan to obtain first-hand information about Meiji government's modernizing measures. These survey tours proved to be a decisive factor in the reform process. These were two-way tours, involving not only the Japanese teachers and advisors working in China but also the Chinese officials, educators and businessmen going to Japan. The trip reports served as useful guides on specifics of Japan's modernizing activities. Prior to 1895, there were only 30 published works on Japan, but in the post-war period – between 1898 and 1906 – more than 117 accounts had been published and, apart from the students, as many as 1000 Chinese had travelled to Japan.

Apart from the group-tours financed by China's provincial authorities, there were also some individuals who went at the invitation of the Japanese. Nagaoka Moriyoshi of the TDK had a central role in inviting and hosting the Chinese visitors. A prominent Chinese to visit Japan in July-October 1902 was Wu Rulun (1840-1903), the Dean of

Imperial University of Beijing, who visited several universities and schools, and met prominent educators, such as Kikuchi Dairoku (Minister of Education), Yamakawa Kenjirō (President, Tokyo Imperial University), and Kanō Jigorō (Principal, Tokyo Higher Normal School). Wu Rulun maintained a meticulous record of his observations, which were published by a leading publisher Sanseido of Tokyo. The 568-page work *Dongyou Conglu* [Collected Records of Travels East, 1902] containing summaries of lectures, school charts and diagrams, and details of school curricula, presented to Wu Rulun at the time of his departure, served as a very useful guideline in the compilation of School Regulations of 1904.

The Chinese were extremely impressed by Japan's mass-education approach. They noticed that in Japan, primary education was compulsory and rich and poor, male and female entered regular school at the age of seven, otherwise parents had to pay fine as penalty. The importance attached by the Japanese to the educational system and its relationship with the country's progress was of key interest to Chinese visitors. Particularly intriguing to them was the fact that building national consciousness was an explicit goal of Meiji education. In his briefings, Kanō explained to the Chinese visitors that Japan's educational system was intended to aid in the process of creating national spirit. Ethics (*te-yu*), visitors were told, was at the core of Japanese education. By ethics was meant cultivating loyalty to the Emperor and love for the country. Chang Bowen was told by the Japanese hosts: "True loyalty to the ruler and love of the country must be fostered by the elementary and middle schools." (Paula Harrell, 1992, p.46) The Chinese visitors saw classroom teaching, vocational activities and the competitive games in the school playground. In China, there had been a traditional contempt for manual work and negligence of physical exercises. The Chinese were, therefore, particularly struck when they saw exercise drills being performed by the students of primary school. Taking note of the importance the Japanese attached to physical education, Hu Yujin wrote admiringly of a playground scene where he saw about 300-400 students playing:

> When the whistle blew, they formed lines and the teacher asked them to perform the drill. Responding to the instructions of the teacher, the students presented a picture of uniformity and discipline. After the drill was over, they formed a line and marched back to their classrooms in an orderly fashion accompanied by the organ music (Paula Harrell, 1992, pp.46-47).

The first-hand observations by these Chinese visitors reinforced the argument of Luo Zhenyu, who had been arguing that moral, intellectual and physical education – all were equally important to produce an energetic and a disciplined citizenry and recommended the use of temple premises as physical training centres.

The Chinese noticed that discipline and national unity formed the core of the regular school curriculum. The history courses highlighted Japan's unique features, thus stimulating patriotism. The classrooms displayed portraits of the Emperor and maps of Japan showing Taiwan and Fukien as Japanese territories. Despite Japan's emulation of

the West, the Chinese found that its school system was geared to preserve what was essentially Japanese. The Japanese schools had specific courses which laid emphasis on preserving the 'national essence' (J.*kokutai*; C.*guocui*). In China, on the other hand, lamented Mu Chuansun, the new educators in the name of reform wanted change even in diet and everyday activities (Paula Harrell, 1992, p.47). Hu Yujin felt sad to see that many of the Chinese students in Japan had taken to Western ways and forgotten their Chinese heritage. "They do not realize that Japan has a Japanese national essence and China a Chinese national essence" (Paula Harrell, 1992, p.47). There seemed to be a general agreement in all these reports that the Chinese schools ought to be overhauled on the Japanese model. As Chang Bowen commented, "The Japanese model is extensive and would be extremely useful to us" (Paula Harrell, 1992, p.47).

Besides the schools and educators, the Chinese also visited corporate and business sectors to study Japan's commercial and industrial progress. Liu Xuexun, from the Imperial Bank of China established in 1896, and Zhou Xuexi, economic consultant to Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), the Vicerory of Zhili, met with Mitsui representatives, bank directors and appropriate officials in the various ministries. Zhou Xuexi viewed Japanese development experience as a model for China and attributed the success of Japan's *fuqiang* (J.*fukoku kyōhei*) policy to a planning capability that was lacking in his own country. Luo Zhenyu was so impressed by Japan's agricultural reforms that after his return from Japan, he founded an Agricultural Society (*Nonghui*) whose members included Zhang Jian (1853-1926), Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong (1874-1918), Tang Shouqian (1857-1917), Sa Yuanbing (1865-1927), and Ma Liang (1840-1939). They published a journal entitled Journal of Agronomy (*Nongxue bao*), which carried more than one hundred articles mainly translations from the Japanese. The translations became a source of guidance for learning and implementing Japanese ideas.

(d) *Teaching Materials*

The Japanese also helped the Chinese in the compilation of new classroom textbooks (J.*kyōkasho*; C.*jiaokeshu*). China not only lacked qualified teachers for its new schools, it also did not have any teaching material. In a memorial to the throne, Zhang Zhidong stressed the need to translate foreign books. He said, "Japanese education fully imitates Western method, except that courses in religion (C.*zhongjiao*; J.*shūkyō*) are changed to ethics (C.*xiushen*; J.*shūshin*) and morals (C.*lunli*; J.*rinri*), for which the Japanese compile their own textbooks" (William Ayers, 1971, p.226). In 1902, Uchida Kōsai, the Japanese Ambassador to China (1901-1906), presented to the Imperial University a set of all the textbooks and other teaching materials used in the government schools, colleges and the universities of Japan (*NCH*, March 1902, pp.548-9). In the absence of translated versions of the Japanese textbooks, the Chinese used the class lectures and notes (C.*jiangyi lu*; J.*kōgiroku*). Since many of the Japanese teachers had to 'double lecture' (*shuangchong jiangshou*) with the assistance of Chinese interpreters, usually back from study in Japan, it became easier for the students to take down the class notes. Enterprising students, institutions and even faculty members later published these class lectures. Students of

Jiangsu Normal School in Suzhou compiled the class notes of their Japanese teachers into 16 volumes and got them printed in Japan. Hattori Unokichi, who taught at the Imperial University at Beijing, published his own lectures and readings for circulation among the students. Kōbun Gakuin in Tokyo played a significant role in publishing middle school class lectures in 21 volumes (Kageyama Masahiro, 1980, p.74). Besides the students, the other enterprising translators including Liang Qichao, Zhang Binglin (1869-1936), Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), Lu Xun, and Huang Yanpei (1878-1965). The popular works by great Meiji enlighteners such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kato Hiroyuki (1836-1916), Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891), Nakae Chōmin (1847-1901), Kōtoku Shūsui (1871-1911), Inoue Tetsujirō (1855-1944), etc. were also translated into Chinese. The years 1902-1903 saw a mad rush in translation activities. Since these translations were carried out at a frenzied pace, in several cases, there was wholesale adoption of Japanese vocabulary with Chinese pronunciation. These translations not only introduced many Japanese loan words into the Chinese vocabulary but also new concepts related to enlightenment thought, people's rights and materialistic philosophy.

In September 1906, the Board of Education issued a list of suitable lecture materials deemed appropriate for popular education. This included Zhang Zhidong's treatise *Quanxue bian*; a vernacular text on law and order; a work (translated from the Japanese) on European and American education; *Robinson Crusoe* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (translated into Chinese by Lin Shu); a work on British colonization of Australia; Yen Fu's translations of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; and texts on agriculture and commerce (prepared by Luo Zhenyu based on his observations of Japan). Lectures were thus aimed at fostering a loyal, patriotic, law-abiding and hard-working citizenry. There was a great emphasis on 'moral training' (*xiushen*) in the primary school curricula. The concept had been borrowed from Japan (J. *shūshin*) where, in 1880, Nishimura Shigeki issued the *Shōgaku Shūshin Kun* [Moral Primer for Elementary schools].

To speed up the availability of reading materials on the new learning, several translation bureaus were set up in Shanghai, Wuchang, Beijing, and other places and Japanese collaborators were invited to assist the Chinese in the translation of Japanese books – from primary school textbooks to voluminous works on science, history and philosophy. Since the Japanese had already translated the best works of Europe and America, the Chinese found it convenient to translate from Japan's *kanji*-based vocabulary rather than from European languages. Western works were also translated, but their number was relatively few. A large number of books and articles on the West did appear, but the information in these also generally came from the Japanese. Western works were nearly all translated from Japanese version. Out of 533 translations between 1902 and 1904, as may as 57 were translated from English, 17 from French, and 321 from Japanese. To every one's astonishment, it is prone to find that 'almost any book on any subject could be procured in the Chinese language' (A. P. Parker, 1901, p.360). The TDK took a leading role in translation and publishing activities and opened several bookshops in Shanghai and Hanghzow.

Education of Women

The discussions on popular and social education and the call to produce a reformed citizenry highlighted the need for women's education as well. But the meaning and content of education had a specific object of making them 'good wives and wise mothers' (*liangmu xianqi*). Even the most progressive reformers, such as Zheng Guanying and Liang Qichao, saw women's education as an important aspect of social education, which would contribute to the reform of customs (e.g., abolition of foot-binding) and to the correct domestic training of the young, and looked upon women as 'mothers of the nation's citizens.'

In Japan also, benefits of women's education were seen in terms of the advantages of future generations than for the girls themselves. Wu Rulun, during his survey tour of Japan's girls' schools, was told by Mochizuki Yosaburō, the headmaster of Sanyo High School for Women in Tokyo, that:

> The way to strengthen the foundation of one's country lies in training talents. To establish schools widely is a good method, yet it is not perfect. To obtain talents, we must build up good families. To get good families, we must have good mothers. The way to train good mothers lies in educating women (Huang Fu-ch'ing, 1982, p.44).

During the survey tours of Japan, the Chinese had visited some girls' schools, including the famous Jissen Jogakkō, founded by Shimoda Utako (1854-1936), who had a long history of teaching the women at the imperial court. Shimoda taught ethics and general knowledge which would produce 'good wives and wise mothers' (*ryōsai kenbo*). The Japanese examples merely reinforced Chinese traditional stereotypes of women. It was no wonder that Shimoda's school drew the attention of Prince Duan Fang and the Empress Dowager, who expressed keen interest in women's education and urged the establishment of schools for girls in China to invite women teachers from Japan (*NCH*, September 1905, pp.614-40).

The regulations of 1904, however, made no provision for the education of girls. But at the initiative of some Japanese educators, some steps were undertaken in this direction. In 1904, Tono Michie of the Tokyo Women's High School started a kindergarten in Wuchang, and Kawahara Mikuko set up a school in Shanghai. The same year, Shimoda Utako entered into an agreement with Xiong Xiling (1870-1942) of Fengtian and he agreed to send 15 or more women for teachers' training to Jissen Jogakkō. In 1905, Hunan sent twenty students. The programme became so popular that in 1908 Jissen Jogakkō had to set up a special China Division (*Shina Bu*). Since it was the first time in the history of China that women were going abroad in such large numbers to receive education, many were accompanied by their fathers, or brothers, or husbands. By 1911, more than 62 women had returned to China after graduating in specialized studies in Japan. (The number of women who took short courses is not included.) After 1905,

several girls' schools mushroomed in Beijing, Tianjin, Jinan, Shanghai, Jijiang, Nanjing, Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Hankou. In all these schools, the Chinese relied mainly on Japanese women teachers or Japan-educated Chinese women (*USFR*, 1905, p.203). The girl students formed 1 or 2 per cent of the total student body in the new schools. In 1909, as many as 13,489 girls were attending schools, roughly 7 out of every 1,00,000 women. The symbolic significance of girl students was not in their actual number, but their courage in defying the family norms synonymous with Confucianism. Many took up the cause of freedom and equal rights. Among these were also the types of Qiu Jin (1875-1907), who turned revolutionary, defying both Confucianism and the dynasty that upheld it. After her return to China in 1907, Qiu Jin started two women's journals, *Baihua bao* [Vernacular Journal] and *Zhongguo nübao* [Chinese Women's Journal], but was soon executed for her involvement in an anti-Qing uprising (Ono Kazuko, 1989, pp.54-65).

Decline of Japanese Influence

Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 not only accelerated China's study-in-Japan programme, it also stimulated patriotic movements and fuelled anti-Western sentiments in China and other Asian countries. The number of Chinese students shot up from 1,300 to 8,000-10,000 (*Table 1*). However, instead of feeling gratified by Japan's rising popularity among the Asian people, the Japanese felt concerned lest the West misconstrue it as a sign of solidarity with China. To alleviate Western suspicions, the Tokyo office not only expelled all the Chinese revolutionary leaders including Sun Yat-sen, it also adopted a "get-tough" policy towards students who risked expulsion from school for political activism. After 1905, Japan's priorities in foreign policy were to solidify its contacts with the Western powers so that it could further its own claims in Korea and Manchuria. Japan's expansionist aims aroused apprehension and eventually undermined the sudden bloom of admiration for Japan among the Chinese people.

After 1906, the number of Chinese students in Japan and Japanese teachers in China began to decrease. This was partly because of Japanese discrimination against Chinese students and the growing anti-Japanese feelings in China. The anti-Japanese feelings were most predominant among the Japan-returned students. Despite assertions of cultural and racial affinity, the Chinese students found adjusting to Japanese life and conditions difficult. Barring a handful of educated Japanese and the promoters of Sino-Japanese friendship, the attitude of ordinary urbanite Japanese youth and children was one of contempt and condescension towards the Chinese students. It was not just their long queues which became a subject of mockery, their general conduct too came under tighter scrutiny. In 1906, instruction leaflets, containing a list of *do's* and *don'ts* about public behaviour were circulated among the Chinese. Unable to bear humiliation, many Chinese developed feelings of alienation and resentment towards Japan and returned home without completing their studies.

Those who stayed on formed close-knit groups among themselves or with Chinese living in other areas. Exposure and education had equipped them with a broader understanding of the things happening around them. Study in Japan was also the recourse

of many frustrated patriots who found a new freedom from both political restrictions and social obligations. Away from home and the watchful eyes of family and clan, these Chinese students in pursuit of time-pass and pleasure indulged themselves in group discussions about their own and China's future. The writings and activities of the exiled reformers, Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei, and of radical revolutionaries, such as Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), also influenced them. They read with enthusiasm their articles published in *Xinmin bao* [New People's Review] and *Min bao* [The People]. Tokyo thus became the seedbed of new reform literature. Although these writings were interdicted by the Beijing government, they had a wide circulation among the overseas Chinese students and captivated the minds of Young China. Several of these Japan-educated students, including Zhang Shizao, Wu Zhihui, Zou Rong, Huang Xing, and Zhang Binglin gave up their studies to publicize the anti-Qing cause to take part in the revolution. Agitated by this trend, the Qing government called on the Tokyo authorities to issue strictures against such students and send them back home. Such actions made students rebellious and provoked them to indulge in revolutionary activities inside and outside China. Apprehending threat from these Japan-educated students, the Qing government began to prefer sending students elsewhere rather than to Japan.

Japan also ceased to lure the Chinese because modern schools were no longer a rarity on Chinese soil. The school facilities were rapidly expanding, with enrollments jumping from about 30,000 in 1903 to 1.5 million by 1909. Since most of the teachers had been educated abroad, many Chinese found it convenient and cheaper to study in their home country. For those who still longed for training abroad, there were other options. One was the United States, which in the aftermath of Russo-Japanese War increasingly turned hostile against Japan. The US-Japan rivalry became apparent in June 1907 when the *New York Daily Tribune* published an article under the title: "Chinese don't want Japanese teachers." The thrust was that the Chinese had come to realize that the education they were getting from the Japanese was substandard and now they wanted to replace the Japanese with Western teachers (Abe Hiroshi, 1990, pp.227-29). The article was promptly translated into Japanese and its circulation caused considerable damage to the reputation of the Japanese educators (Sanetō Keishū, 1960, p.102).

Taking advantage of the situation, the US Congress with the backing of President Theodore Roosevelt announced in 1908 its decision to return about two-thirds of its share of Boxer indemnity to China for the purpose of educating China's youth both in China and in the United States. The gesture earned the US a great amount of Chinese goodwill and it became evident when the number of Chinese attending US institutions increased from a total of 50 in 1903 to 239 in 1909, to 650 in 1911, and to 1,124 in 1918. The years also saw a dramatic increase in the American missionary activities in China's schools, colleges and universities. The *North China Herald* reported that on 19 December, 1901, a member of the Japanese Diet, Mr. Kudo, had suggested that the Boxer indemnity should be used for the education of Chinese students and thereby strengthen Japan's influence in China (*NCH*, January 1902, p.135). Had the Japanese done this, they might have earned

the goodwill of the Chinese and prevented them from turning to the West. The Japanese government sought to remedy this neglect in the 1920s, but, by then, it was too late.

Assessment of the Reforms

Since the new schools and educational reforms were modelled after Japan, one is tempted to know why they failed to produce similar results in China. The Chinese attempted to emulate Japan's Meiji Restoration and modernization of the state under the aegis of the monarch. The reforms were carried out within the established order, with the hope that they would produce similar results in China - a united and patriotic citizenry who would be loyal towards the monarch. Yet, instead of strengthening the monarchy, the attempt contributed to its downfall. Several factors were responsible for this unexpected outcome.

Although China's reforms were influenced by Japan's Meiji Restoration, there was no strong respect for the emperor in China, as there had been in Japan during the Restoration which could provide stimulus to the reform movement. The guiding force behind Japan's Meiji Restoration was 'revere the Emperor' (*sōnnō*) in which the Emperor was not only given a new recognition and respect but also vested with full authority. The people were loyal and obedient to the Emperor whose orders were carried out in full measure. The Manchu rulers of China, considered as non-Chinese, never enjoyed the support of all the people. In fact, many of those who turned revolutionaries were opposed to the Qing dynasty and not the monarchy as such.

Japan's Meiji Restoration was brought about by destroying an unpopular government and eliminating conservative leaders. Such a process opened the way for a complete overhauling of social, economic and political institutions. In China, the reforms were carried on a piecemeal basis and with limited aims. The 'self-strengthening' movement launched in the 1860s, in the wake of the Taiping and Nien rebellions, concentrated on military strengthening, mainly with the purpose of warding off the domestic crises. Had the self-strengthening measures also included educational and other institutional reforms, it would not only have promoted an informed citizenry capable of understanding Chinese affairs but also contributed to the success of the reform measures.

In Japan, there had been a long tradition of Western Learning (*Rangaku*). Hence, inclusion of scientific subjects did not arouse much opposition. Besides, cultural transfer became easier in the case of Japan, which had a long tradition of cultural borrowing. In China, on the other hand, resentment and disdain dominated the orientation of educated Chinese, both official and otherwise, towards the Western Learning. This was because the invasion by a culturally alien West presented an unprecedented challenge to China's claim to superiority, and a direct threat to the position, prestige and power of China's ruling class.

The school attendance in Japan was already very high at the time of the Meiji Restoration – the national average was 40%. By 1900, nearly all children of school age were attending schools. While introducing the new school system in 1872, the traditional schools were not done away with. They continued to stay and were gradually integrated into the new system. In China, on the other hand, the literacy rate was, from the

beginning, much lower than in Japan. The introduction of new education was accomplished by completely abandoning the traditional system. The old academies served only as buildings for the new schools. Such a process brought about a sharp decline of school attendance and hindered the spread of education.

China had people capable of conceiving and applying innovations. They were able to assimilate lessons from abroad very quickly without any special preparations. What China lacked was the active and consistent collaboration between the government and the elite, an essential element in the success of the Meiji Restoration. Only a few officials sincerely desired reform, and their influence was not only limited but also dissipated by factional disputes. Most of the officials looked only to short-term gains and adopted the policy of study-in-Japan as a temporary measure of expediency or 'a short-cut' to Western knowledge. This was, however, not a one-sided phenomenon, because the Japanese also used the opportunity as 'the best stratagem' for establishing Japanese influence in China. An article in *Kyōiku jiron* said:

> China has a great desire for education. If our educationists could take this opportunity to get involved in the problems of Chinese education and seize control, then we would be in future the prime mover of education in China. Once the seed is planted and its growth assured, all kinds of influence or power in China in the future will stem from that (Huang Fu-ch'ing, 1982, p.8).

The Japanese hoped that by training the young Chinese and through educational assistance, they would be able to cultivate a group of people favouring Japan. Little did they expect that the students they trained would later turn as leaders opposing Japan.

The educational development in Japan conformed to the needs of the social and economic changes that were taking place. The overseas study was looked upon as a potent means for Japan's modernizing process. In China, the curricula were too advanced in relation to the actual level of China's economic and social development and hence divorced from reality. As a result, the newly acquired knowledge could not be put to use in the existing institutions. Actually, a majority of students who went to Japan were of mediocre capability and could not secure jobs in the industries or the bureaucracy or in the teaching profession after their return to the home country. The traditional system too had given rise to many unemployed degree-holders. The new system also failed to give them employment. Consequently, there arose a new generation of frustrated intellectuals.

By including physical education and military drill in the school curriculum, the Qing dynasty had hoped to produce a Japanese-style militant citizenry (*junguomin*) who would associate their interests with those of the monarch and the state (*junmin yiti*), and guarantee the welfare of the state, loyalty towards the throne and survival of the dynasty. Instead, the military education made the youth aware of their strength and of the power of group action. They used this power in launching numerous student strikes. The nature and content of the new education created a broader understanding of the things happening around them and gave rise to militant nationalism, which, while developing as a weapon

against absolutism, also turned against the gentry and the progressive officials, the very group that was encouraging and promoting the new education.

Actually, what no one took into account were the Chinese students themselves, what their own aspirations might be in a changing order. The recipients of new education acquired a different mental make-up. The new education opened the world before the students and taught them the meaning of "liberty" and "equality." The revolutionary journals and newspapers began to stimulate them. The reformers began to see education not just as a tool of social reform but also as an instrument of political change. This was particularly the case with those who had been to Japan or were studying in Japan. Tokyo was also the hot-bed for the Chinese radicals such as Sun Yat-sen, who had set up his revolutionary organization *Dongmenghui* in Tokyo and was mobilizing resources to topple the Manchu dynasty and establish a Republic. About ninety per cent of the members of *Dongmenghui* were students who had studied in Japan. For the Chinese students, exposure to an economically advanced and a militarily strong Japan inspired visions of a new China, capable of resisting foreign imperialism, Western or Japanese. Being away from China, less constrained by traditional codes of behaviour, they were able to observe from a distance China's political leadership and the manner in which it was conducting its foreign relations. What the students saw was a China beset with internal and external crises. Their initial discontent with the weakness of China's response turned to frustration with China's policy makers and the policy-making system. Gradually, the students started indulging themselves in political activities and intermingling with the revolutionary groups.

A related factor that spurred the Chinese students towards political activism was watching Japan on the rise. A mere ten years after its triumph over China in 1895, Japan ranked as an ally of Britain, victor over Russia, and defender of its own sphere of influence on the China mainland. On the one hand, Chinese were admiring, even proud, that an Asian nation could make the grade; on the other, they were suspicious of Japanese intentions towards China and resentful of anything connected with Japan. Hundreds of students left Japan after several years of study without having developed any sympathy or appreciation for the Japanese people and their culture. The majority of students came away from their Japan experience with a strongly anti-Manchu, anti-authority, anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese bias. They rebelled not only against their Confucian past but also the 2000 year-old monarchical tradition, and looked for a political system that was alien to Asia. The education system was supposed to instill loyalty and patriotism towards the ruler, but instead it generated loyalty towards the nation as a whole.

Conclusion

Although political confusion and turmoil brought about by the collapse of Qing rule and the establishment of republic in 1911 had adversely affected Japanese influence, the foundation of China's modern educational system had been laid on a firm footing. It was in structure and objectives far less elitist, far more supportive of mass education than ten or fifteen years earlier. The long-awaited goals of the reformers had been achieved:

Chinese schools were at last teaching 'useful' subjects – foreign languages, mathematics, science, history, geography, sports. Several thousand schools had come up at various levels in various parts of China and about 1.5 million students – about 4 per cent of the estimated school-age population, or 8 per cent of school-age boys – had transferred to the new schools. Most of these schools had Chinese teachers, a total of some 89,000 teachers, of which 53,000 had received training in Japan or under Japanese teachers in China. The new school system did not give everybody an education, but it inculcated a belief that everyone should have one. Whether it was to instill loyalty to the dynasty, create a united and patriotic citizenry, train an economically productive workforce, or raise the social and cultural level of the lower classes, everyone shared a boundless faith in the power of education to bring about the desired aim. Education was deemed important for the all-round progress of the country. This realization itself constitutes an important element in China's modernization.

The establishment of the Republic in 1911 brought into prominence a group of professional educators, many of whom had studied in Japan. Of these, Fan Yuanlian (1875-1927) served as education minister three times (1912-13, 1916-17, 1920-21); Chen Baoquan (1848-1935) became the vice-minister of education; Jiang Weiqiao served as a Counselor in the newly established Ministry of Education in 1912; and Yan Xiu (1860-1929) became founder of Nankai Middle School in Tianjin (a school which Zhou Enlai attended). Out of the 61 directors of provincial education offices, 26 had been educated in Japan. The importance of 'social education,' inspired by Japan's example, was taken cognizance of with the creation of a special department of social education in 1912. Wu Bochun, a prominent member of this department, had also received education in Japan. Although after the establishment of the republic, the democratic Anglo-American model assumed significance, the Japanese model was not completely jettisoned. Japan directly or indirectly continued to influence China's educational thought. The Chinese students continued to go to Japan and the Japanese teachers were still sought after by the new Republic. As pointed out by Sanetō Keishū, there were three 'peak periods' – 1905-1906; 1913-14; and the period from 1934 to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 was the 'third peak' period which witnessed a tremendous surge of Chinese students in Japan (Sanetō Keishū, 1960, p.129). The war ultimately wrecked Japan's 'civilizing mission' in China.

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Note on Chinese and Japanese names and terms: Chinese and Japanese names appear with surname preceding the first names. Works published in English by Japanese authors are given in Western order, surname last. Macrons are used to indicate long vowels in Japanese. The Chinese names/terms are rendered in Pinyin style unless the English language work cited has employed a different system of romanization. Where necessary, terms are indicated in double Chinese/Japanese pronunciations, e.g., 'national essence' (*J.kokutai*; C.*guocui*).

Appendix

Major Events in China's relations with foreign countries and educational relations, 1839-1911:

1839-42	Opium War; war with Britain; China suffers defeat, opens ports
1856-60	Arrow War; China is defeated by Britain and France; signs treaties with Britain, France, Russia, and the United States
1850-64	Taiping Rebellion against the Qing dynasty, suppressed with Western aid
1861	Creation of a Foreign Office (Zongli Yamen)
1861	Beginning of 'self-strengthening' movement with the help of hired Western experts to train military personnel
1862	Establishment of Tongwenguan (Foreign Language School)
1871	China establishes diplomatic relations with Japan
1872	China sends 120 students to the United States for higher studies but the oversea-study programme is withdrawn in 1881
1883-84	War with France; China suffers defeat; demand for basic governmental and educational reforms
1894-95	War with Japan; China suffers defeat; demand for reforms on the model of Japan
1895-99	China becomes a scene of 'scramble for concessions;' the Empire on the verge of total collapse; outburst of reform sentiment
1898	Hundred Days' Reforms: Beginning of modern education; Establishment of the Imperial University at Beijing
1900	Anti-foreign Boxer Rebellion, suppressed by the Allied expeditionary forces; public debates and clamour for reforms; consensus in favour of Japanese model
1904	New School Regulations
1904-05	Russo-Japanese War fought on Chinese soil; Japan defeats Russia and extracts important rights in northeast China (i.e., Manchuria and Korea)
1911	Revolution; collapse of Qing dynasty; China becomes a Republic

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Financing of Secondary Education in Orissa
Grant-in-Aid Policies and Practices[+]

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Abstract

On the basis of the analysis, the growth of secondary education in terms of school, enrollment and teachers position in Orissa over a period of time, the financial pattern of secondary education in the state, and the trend in grant-in-aid policies of secondary education adopted by the state government from time to time for both government and private aided schools, some policy measures have been suggested.

Introduction

The Government has made consistent efforts to achieve the goal of Universalisation of Elementary/Primary education in the country, which is not an end-in-itself but only a means to achieve certain end. The immediate follow up of elementary education is secondary education. The completion of secondary education enables a person to be qualified for certain jobs and to go for further higher levels of education. Secondary education may be considered as the most crucial level of education as it nurtures the children in their most critical age group (entry to adolescence). Due to the sequential nature of education, good quality of higher education depends on secondary education and secondary on elementary education and so on. It is a fact that secondary education is the single largest supplier of labour force in most of the developing countries, including India. In view of the relationship between education and economic growth in a less developed state like Orissa, it is not the highly sophisticated manpower but the middle level (secondary) manpower that is necessary for enhancing the economic growth. The systematic development of secondary education depends largely on the socio-economic status, political situation, cultural background etc of the region.

In this background, an attempt has been made to assess the development of secondary education in Orissa, in general, and the financing of secondary education, in particular, emphasizing on the grant-in-aid (GIA) system. The development of secondary education provides background information about the overall scenario of secondary education in

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Orissa. The financing aspect of the education sector assumes great significance after the economic reforms (1991) as there is a resource crunch in every sector and, more so, in the social sector. The presentation is organized in terms of development of secondary education in the state; financing of secondary education emphasizing on the grant-in aid system in the state and its statistical analysis; and the recommendations.

Development of Secondary Education

In spite of the emphasis on education by the government of Orissa as an important strategy of human development, the state continues to remain as one of the educationally backward states in India. In respect of literacy rate, it ranks 24th among the 35 states/Union territories of the country as in 2001 census (provisional). But the disparity in literacy rate by gender and by region does not show much improvement over the years. The gender disparity in literacy was 0.81 in 1991 census and it had declined to 0.49 in 2001 census. The rural-urban disparity in literacy also declined from 0.58 in 1991 census to 0.34 in 2001. Despite the development in literacy over the years, much remains to be done. The disparity has been more serious among the Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribe population. About 40 per cent of the total population in the state is SC and ST. The peculiar demographic characteristic of the state is largely responsible for the low level of literacy and backwardness of the population of the state as a whole. If one examines the level of education of the adult population in Orissa, it would be found that only about 21 per cent male and 16 per cent female completed their primary education while less than 10 per cent of males and less than 5 per cent of females went beyond secondary level of education. The mean year of schooling is 5 years for males and 3 years for females.

By the time of independence, the state had only 106 high schools with 14650 students, of which only 642 (4 per cent) were girl students. The appointment of secondary education commission under the chairmanship of L. Mudaliar in 1952 may be regarded as a landmark in the history of secondary education in the country. The state also followed some of the significant recommendations of the commission to develop the secondary education. The Kothari Commission (1964-66) pleaded eloquently for the improvement of secondary education. The state could not implement some of the recommendations of the Commission mainly due to the reasons like (i) education as a state subject; and (ii) lack of funds. The National Policy of Education, 1986, and POA (Programme of Action) of 1992 also put emphasis on the development of secondary education, the priority, of course, was given to primary education. In the state, hardly 9 per cent of the adult male and 4 per cent of the female go for secondary education.

Growth of Secondary Schools

In the post-independence era, there has been quantitative expansion of all types of education in Orissa. The enrolment in secondary education increased by 20 times and the institutions by 58 times between the periods 1947-48 to 1999-2000. The growth rate of secondary schools in the state, however, indicates that there has been a constant decline

in the number of schools as well as the enrolment. The decadal growth rate given below clearly supports this statement. The average growth of institutions declined from 10.14 per cent to 2.95 per cent as against the enrolment growth decline from 10.64 per cent to 3.11 per cent during the period from 1950 to 2000. The growth of secondary schools has been less than the enrolment which causes overcrowding of the students and low quality of teaching. Table 1 shows the growth rate of schools and enrolment in the State.

TABLE 1
Annual Compound Growth Rate (%) of Secondary Education in Orissa

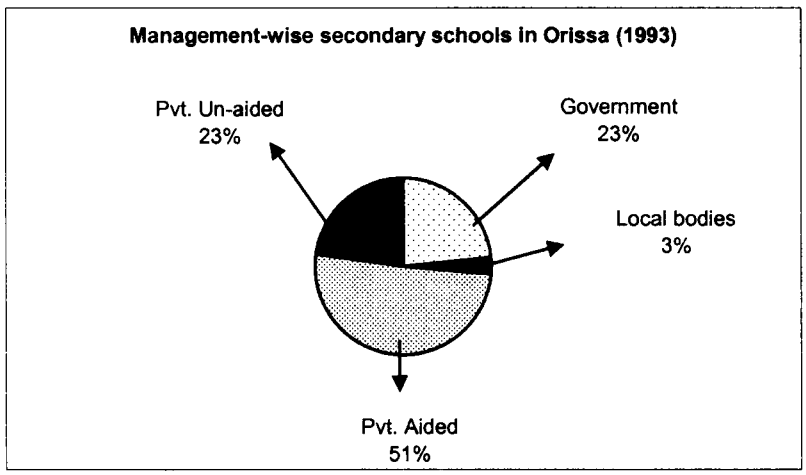
Year	*Schools*	*Enrolment*
1950-1960	10.14	10.64
1960-1970	13.92	14.93
1970-1980	3.90	6.10
1980-1990	6.24	9.22
1990-2001	2.95	3.11

Source: Estimated on the basis of data collected from DPI office, Bhubaneswar.

Secondary Schools by Management

As per the Sixth All India Educational Survey, more than half of the schools in Orissa are private aided schools. The private unaided as well as government schools are equally distributed (23 per cent each). Very negligible proportion (3 per cent) of schools is managed by local bodies. Figure 1 documents the distribution of schools by management.

FIGURE 1



In the year 1994 (7th June, 1994), the Government decided to take over almost all the private aided secondary schools. At present, except 611 private aided schools, all the private aided secondary schools are managed by the government.

Enrolment in Secondary Schools: Gender Parity Index

The parity index, estimated by taking the ratio of girls to boys enrolment as presented in Table 2, indicates that the disparity is found to be the highest among Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes than the general category children. Over the years, it is found that the parity index improved from 0.50 in 1989-90 to 0.68 in 1999-00 among the general category children which clearly indicates that girls are still far behind their boy counterparts in enrolling themselves in secondary schools. It is interesting to note that the gender disparity among Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribes is not only lower than the general category children but no improvement is observed in the parity index over the years. It has remained more or less constant over the years and it is almost equal for both the categories (SC & ST).

TABLE 2
Gender Parity Index in Secondary Education in Orissa

Year	*General category*	*Scheduled castes*	*Scheduled tribes*
1989-90	0.50	0.38	0.40
1990-91	0.50	0.39	0.38
1991-92	0.50	0.39	0.37
1992-93	0.53	0.38	0.38
1993-94	0.54	0.40	0.38
1994-95	0.43	0.39	0.37
1995-96	0.58	0.38	0.40
1996-97	0.54	0.39	0.39
1997-98	0.55	0.38	0.39
1998-99	0.68	0.39	0.40
1999-2000	0.68	0.39	0.40

Source: Same as Table 1

Drop-out and Retention in Secondary Schools

The retention rate in secondary schools in Orissa indicates that out of every 100 students admitted in class I, only 28 students are retained in class VIII, 26 in class IX and 22 in class X. This implies that the drop-out rate at the end of class X is as high as 78 per cent. This rate is 50 per cent in urban and 81 per cent in rural area.

The overall drop-out rate among girls is higher than that of boys. This rate is found to be higher among the backward caste population than the forward castes. Within the backward castes, the drop-out is found to be higher among the scheduled tribes than among the scheduled castes. Over the years, there has been a very marginal improvement

in the drop-out rate among all categories of children. Table 3 reflects the drop-out rate of children by social groups of population.

TABLE 3
Drop-out Rate at Secondary School Level

Year	*General*			*Scheduled Caste*			*Scheduled Tribe*		
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1995-96	72.4	81.2	76.0	82.4	89.6	85.3	86.8	93.4	89.7
1996-97	70.7	79.1	74.1	81.0	89.0	84.2	85.7	93.0	88.4
1997-98	70.6	76.3	73.3	78.6	81.2	79.2	82.0	83.5	82.8
1998-99	70.4	76.0	72.5	77.3	79.4	78.7	81.6	83.0	82.3
1999-2000	70.0	75.3	77.0	77.0	78.9	77.8	81.0	82.7	81.9
2000-2001	68.0	73.2	70.5	76.2	78.0	77.0	79.3	78.1	80.2

Source: DPI Office, Bhubaneswar, Orissa

Teacher Position in Secondary Schools

The teacher position as revealed from different Education surveys indicates that at the secondary level, the number of teachers posted is more than the sanctioned posts. The sanctioned posts were 49515 and the teachers actually posted were 49675. Again, out of the total teachers, 15 per cent were untrained teachers. The percentage of trained teachers is provided in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Survey-wise Proportion of Trained Teachers at Secondary School Level

Surveys ⟶	*Second Survey*	*Third Survey*	*Fourth Survey*	*Fifth Survey*	*Sixth Survey*
% Of trained teachers	50.12	60.37	67.65	75.4	85.02

Even by the end of Sixth Educational Survey (1993), the secondary schools did not have full strength of trained teachers. There was a gradual improvement in the number of trained teachers from a slightly higher than 50 per cent in the Second survey to more than to 85 per cent by the end of Sixth survey. This affects the quality of teaching to a great extent.

The proportion of female teachers is found to be very low. In the year 1950-51, it was only 6 per cent and it increased to 21 per cent by the year 2000-01. This may be one of the important reasons for the high drop-out rate of girls at the secondary level. The teacher pupil ratio comes to 21 by the end of 2000-2001. From the year 1987-88, it has remained almost constant.

The indicators of physical development of secondary education discussed above show that the state performs poorly in development of this level of education. Now the

pertinent questions in this regard are: (i) what is the reason for such backwardness in secondary education?, (ii) Is it due to low level of expenditure for this level of education?, and (iii) Is it due to wrong policy adopted by the government in respect of Grant-in-aid for this level of education? Attempt is being made here to answer all these questions.

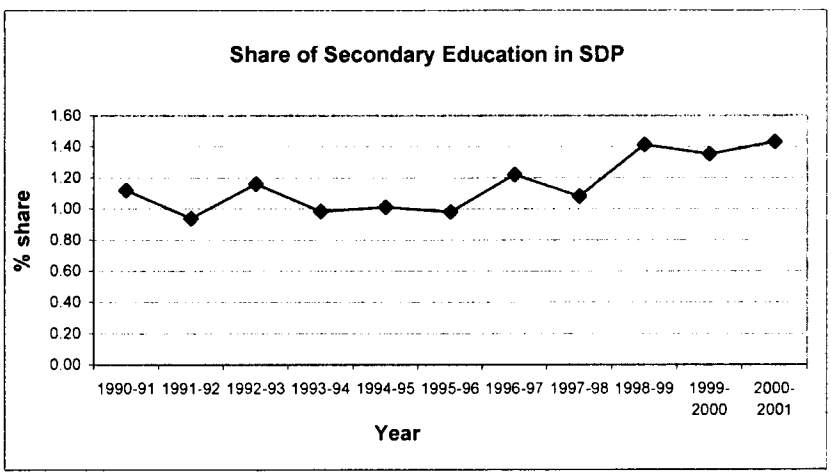
Financing of Secondary Education

The development of education depends mostly on the proper allocation of resources. The resources available for the education sector seem to be quite inadequate particularly after the economic reforms. The sources of financing of education are mainly from two sources: (i) private; and (ii) public. Private sources include donations, charitable contributions, fees and household expenditure. Public sources are government and local bodies. These funds are extended to the institutions in the form of grants and loans. Hence, discussion on the financing system of secondary education with particular emphasis on grant-in-aid system.

Share of Secondary Education in SDP

The share of expenditure on secondary education in the state income is less than 1.5 per cent of the SDP. In the year 1990-91, the share of secondary education to SDP was 1.12 per cent and during 1995-96 it was less than 1 per cent. Again 1995-96 onwards, the share started increasing but the increase was very marginal. The state spends slightly more than 5 per cent of its SDP to education but the share of secondary education seemed to be very low. Figure 2 shows the trend of share of secondary education in SDP over a period of time.

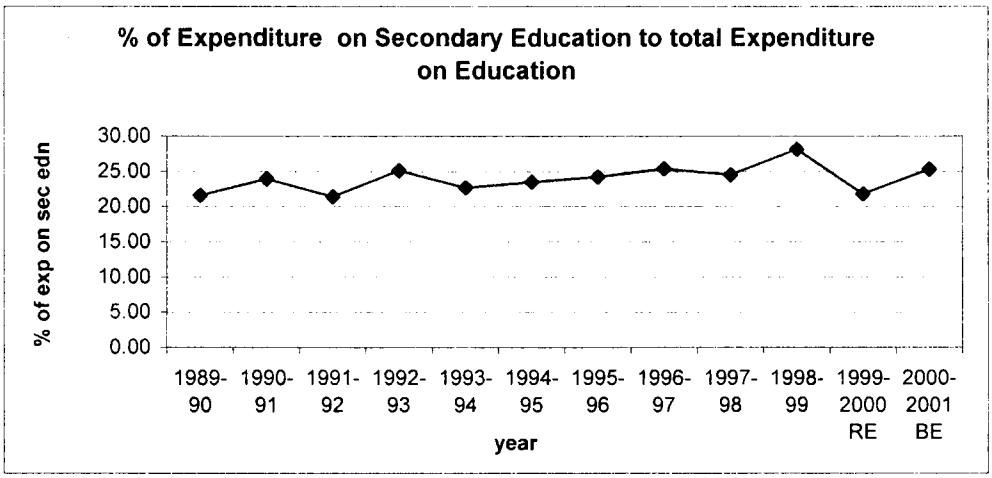
FIGURE 2



Share of Expenditure on Secondary Education in total Expenditure on Education

Of the total expenditure on education, the state spends only about 25 per cent of it on secondary education, which seems to be quite inadequate for the improvement of its quality. The following chart clearly indicates that, over a period of time, the share of secondary education in the total educational budget remains more or less constant.

FIGURE 3



Expenditure on Secondary Education at Current and Constant Prices

Public Expenditure on secondary education in the state over a period of more than 2 decades indicates that the expenditure increased at a growth rate of 12.18 per cent per annum at current prices. But the real expenditure increased at 1 per cent per annum during the same period (Table 5). It implies that in real terms, the expenditure has not shown any improvement over more than 2 decades.

Per Pupil Expenditure on Secondary Education

The per pupil expenditure on education (unit cost) seems to be a better indicator of educational expenditure by the Government. This provides an approximate idea about the extent of real burden the government is bearing to provide secondary school education per student. Table 6 presents the per pupil expenditure on secondary education both at current and constant prices. The expenditure at current prices grows at a compound rate of 18.70 per cent while the same increased at 8.69 per cent at constant prices during the same period. In fact, from the year 1996-97 onwards, there has been a constant decline in per pupil expenditure in secondary education in real prices. This affects the overall quality of education at this level.

TABLE 5
Public Expenditure on Secondary Education in Orissa (Revenue Account) Rs. in Lakhs

Year	*Exp in Current Prices*	*Exp. In Constant Prices (1993-94 Prices)*
1980-81	3947.58	18187.45
1981-82	4309.88	17783.91
1982-83	5213.43	20316.29
1983-84	5798.81	17508.29
1984-85	6560.60	20047.83
1985-86	4536.15	11556.75
1986-87	8725.13	20509.83
1987-88	6508.02	15063.74
1988-89	7866.74	14373.24
1989-90	8955.17	14323.16
1990-91	10819.53	17757.33
1991-92	11738.72	14889.00
1992-93	15579.07	18419.27
1993-94	15607.49	15607.49
1994-95	13351.89	16657.56
1995-96	22816.90	15548.08
1996-97	27073.14	19352.35
1997-98	29620.72	17123.40
1998-99	41643.46	22422.31
1999-2000	42165.65	21439.46
2000-2001	44080.22	22703.85
Growth rate (%)	12.18	1.06

Source: Different Issues of Budget, Govt. of Orissa,

TABLE 6
Per Pupil Expenditure (in Rs.) on Secondary Education in Orissa

Year	*Current Prices*	*Constant Prices (1993-94)*
1990-91	617.30	838.26
1991-92	1258.20	1488.65
1992-93	1379.20	1495.05
1993-94	1611.04	1611.04
1994-95	2570.02	2158.81
1995-96	2775.78	1891.49
1996-97	3126.23	2234.68
1997-98	3362.17	1943.63
1998-99	4039.13	2174.81
1999-2000	4081.86	2075.46
2000-2001	4070.20	2096.39
Compound rate of growth (%)	18.70	8.69

Expenditure on Secondary Education in Different Five Year Plans

The expenditure on different levels of education during different Five-year plans assumes equal importance regarding the allocation of resources to education. During the First Plan more than half of the allocation was made available to elementary education while secondary education got hardly 15 per cent of the share during the same period. During the Fifth Plan, there was a decline in the allocation of expenditure to 7 per cent for secondary education. The share of secondary education increased constantly from Fifth Plan onwards till Ninth Plan, i.e. it increased from 7 per cent in the Fifth Plan to 35 per cent during the Ninth Plan. It may be interesting to note that the allocation of plan expenditure was little more for secondary education than that of elementary education during the Ninth Plan. This gives the impression that the government of Orissa not only have emphasized on the elementary education but also realized the significance of secondary education for the state. Table 7 presents the plan expenditure for different levels of education.

TABLE 7

Plan Outlay on Education by stage (Rupees in Lakhs)

Plan	*Elementary*	*Secondary*	*Higher*	*Total Plan outlay on edn.*	*Total Plan outlay*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
First Plan	96.27	25.34	5.55	172.33	1842.00
	55.86	**14.70**	**3.22**	**9.36**	
Second Plan	265.23	142.04	110.98	618.24	8659.00
	42.9	**22.97**	**17.95**	**7.14**	
Third Plan	1079.17	214.41	144.99	1427.45	22460.00
	75.6	**15.02**	**10.16**	**6.36**	
Annual Plans	309.64	59.07	320.72	1249.50	12495.00
	24.78	**4.73**	**25.67**	**10.00**	
Fourth Plan	759.84	348.11	337.37	1479.32	24934.00
	51.36	**23.53**	**22.80**	**5.93**	
Fifth Plan	6272.27	572.00	1065.00	8796.00	45362.00
	71.30	**6.50**	**12.11**	**19.39**	
Sixth Plan	7000.00	2100.00	2000.00	13500.00	157182.00
	51.85	**15.56**	**14.81**	**8.59**	
Seventh Plan	10343.00	6325.00	5826.00	25007.00	325705.00
	41.36	**25.29**	**23.30**	**7.68**	
Eighth Plan	29339.32	23140.69	16383.94	75052.00	1150000.00
	39.09	**30.83**	**21.83**	**6.53**	
Ninth Plan*	38388.00	40009.00	21825.00	115161.72	1500000.00
	33.33	**34.74**	**18.95**	**7.68**	

*Proposed

Figures in bold letters are percentages

Col. 2, 3, and 4 indicate the percentages to col.5 and the addition will not be 100 as we have not included other types of education, sports culture etc which are included in educational outlay

The percentages in col. 5 are the percentages of educational outlay to total plan outlay

Budgetary Allocation of Resources to Secondary Education

The budgetary allocation of resources for secondary education in the state vis-à-vis other levels of education indicates that over a period of time the allocation of resources to secondary education have declined. It was 20 per cent in the year 1990-91, started declining in the year 1991-92 and from 1996-97 onwards, there has been a marginal increase in the allocation. But again, there was a decline in allocation from 1999-2000 and in the subsequent budget allocation. Table 8 presents the intra-sector allocation of resources. The major share of the resources has gone in favour of elementary education, which of course is desirable, but it should not develop at the cost of secondary education. Secondary education is also equally important particularly in the context of a backward state like Orissa. Hence, the declining trend in the allocation of resources to this level of education has had an adverse effect on the quality of secondary education.

TABLE 8
Intra-Sector Budget Allocation in Education in Orissa (%)

Year	*Elementary*	*Secondary*	*Higher*	*Others*	*Total*
1990-91	46.0	20.4	12.1	21.5	100.0
1991-92	48.6	18.2	12.4	20.5	100.0
1992-93	49.4	19.3	12.0	19.4	100.0
1993-94	49.4	21.1	11.9	17.4	100.0
1994-95	46.5	20.0	13.1	20.4	100.0
1995-96	45.8	20.5	13.6	20.1	100.0
1996-97	48.4	22.6	13.3	15.7	100.0
1997-98	50.6	22.0	12.9	14.5	100.0
1998-99	47.6	24.7	11.5	16.3	100.0
1999-2000 RE	57.5	18.7	9.5	14.4	100.0
2000-2001 BE	53.0	18.5	13.3	15.2	100.0

Source: DPI office, Orissa.

Plan and Non-plan Expenditure on Secondary Education

Expenditure on education includes both plan and non-plan expenditure. Plan expenditure helps in the development of the education system while non-plan expenditure maintains this development. The education sector in India has more of non-plan expenditure because at the end of each plan, most of the plan expenditure gets transferred into the non-plan expenditure, which, in turn, enhances the non-plan component of the education budget. In Orissa, non-plan expenditure increased at a faster rate than plan expenditure up to 1995-96 but after 1995-96 onwards, the pattern has changed. The proportion of plan expenditure increased from 10 per cent in 1991-92 to 75 per cent in 2000-01 while the non-plan expenditure declined from 90 per cent in 1991-92 to 25 per cent in 2000-01.

This may be due to the following reasons: (i) There was revision of pay scale in 1996, (January); and (ii) diversion of posts from non-plan to plan sector. In the year 1996-97, there was revision of pay scale for both the teaching and non-teaching staff. As a result of salary hike, the expenditure increased. The government of Orissa decided to reduce the non-plan expenditure. All the non-plan posts were diverted to the plan sector. This has resulted in declining the expenditure of the non-plan sector. The proportion of plan and non-plan component has shown a reverse pattern from 1996-97 onwards. Table 9 presents the plan and non-plan expenditure on secondary education.

TABLE 9
Plan and Non-plan Expenditure (%) on Secondary Education in Orissa

Year	*Plan*	*Non-plan*
1991-92	10.18	89.82
1992-93	11.27	88.73
1993-94	18.13	81.87
1994-95	20.36	79.64
1995-96	24.00	76.00
1996-97	74.85	25.15
1997-98	74.43	25.57
1998-99	76.62	23.38
1999-2000	74.92	25.08
2000-2001	74.70	25.30

Source: Different Issues of Budget, Govt. of Orissa.

Functional Classification of Expenditure on Secondary Education

The functional classification of expenditure on secondary education is presented in Table 10. The quality-related items of expenditure, as shown in the Table, are teachers training and scholarships. The allocations to teachers training and scholarships constitute 1.77 per cent and 0.07 per cent respectively, that is not only meagre but also just negligible which affects the quality of education severely.

TABLE 10
Item-wise Allocation of Resources (%) in Secondary Education, 2000-01

1.Direction, Administration and Inspection	1.36
2.Teachers Training	1.77
3.Scholarships	0.07
4.Govt. sec Schools exp	81.15
5.Assistance to Non Govt. Sec. Schools	5.24
6.Other expenditures	10.41
Total	100.00

Source: Budget document, 2002-2003, Govt. of Orissa.

Share of Salary Expenditure in Secondary Education

The negligible share of expenditure on quality related items is relatively low on account of the fact that major share of expenditure goes to meet the salary of the teaching and non-teaching staff. More than 90 per cent of the expenditure on secondary education is spent on salary only, except in the year 1997-98. Since the grant-in-aid covers more than 90 per cent for the payment of the salary, hardly less than 10 per cent is left out for the purpose of other expenditure which in turn affects the quality of education.

TABLE 11
Expenditure on Salary (%)

Year	*% of Salary exp*
1996-97	90.06
1997-98	88.71
1998-99	90.80
1999-00	91.75
2000-01	90.28

Grant-in-Aid to Secondary Schools

This section is divided into two parts: (i) the GIA code and other rules; and (ii) statistical analysis of the GIA.

(i) The GIA CODE of Orissa

- Orissa Secondary Education Act, 1952 (or Act 10 of 1953) defines a High school to provide instruction up to the standard of High School Certificate Examination of the Board of Secondary Education, Orissa.
- On 1st April, 1955, Orissa Education Code (OEC) came into existence consisting of all the statutes, body of laws compiled under the authority of DPI (Directorate of Public Instructions). The second edition of the code was brought out in the year 1965.
- The Orissa Education Act of 1969 was passed to determine the quality of teaching, to prevent the mismanagement in non-profit educational institutions, Managing Committee or Governing Body of the educational institutions and Grants-in-Aid of the educational institutions.

The eligibility criteria of schools to receive the grant

- If it is a six year class (VI to XII) high school, it must have at least 200 students on its roll (140 for educationally backward area) and if it is a 4-year class (VIII to XI) high school, it must have at least 140 students (100 in case of educationally backward area) on its roll.

- The results of the school must not be below the state average in the annual HSC examination for 3 consecutive years by the time it qualifies to receive the minimum grant. The results will be judged on the basis of the total number of students on the roll in class XI at the beginning of the academic session but not on the basis of the students sent up to appear in the annual HSC examination. In case of educationally backward areas and Girls schools, the result of the school must not be at any rate less than 25 per cent below the state average in the annual HSC examination.
- Boys High schools in ex-state areas and educationally backward areas are eligible for grant-in-aid at 2/3rd of the net deficit and 80 per cent of the DA soon after recognition of class VIII. Schools in other areas are eligible for a minimum grant at the rate of Rs 75 per month and 80 per cent DA from the year following their presentation of candidates to final certificate examination. After getting the minimum grant for 3 years, they are eligible for grants-in-aid at the rate of 2/3rd of the net deficit and 80 per cent DA.

  The schools which have not so far been eligible to receive grant-in-aid or it may be established hereafter shall receive grant-in-aid in the following manner:
- The school may be provided with grant-in-aid in each Gram Panchayat or in each urban area, if there are no aided high schools in that area.
- Where, however, the population of the GP or the urban area as the case may be exceeds 6000 and not having more than one aided high school or Govt high school exists there, a second high school may also be provided with grant-in-aid.
- In educationally backward districts, 2 high schools will be eligible for grant-in-aid in each GP, irrespective of its population.
- Grant-in-aid may be provided to 2 girls' schools per block over and above the norm prescribed above.

The minimum grant-in-aid to every non-government high school in the state is in respect of:

i) receipt of contingent expenditure @75 per month
ii) loss of fee income[1]
iii) receipt of 35 per cent of pay of the employees and 80 per cent of DA and additional DA admissible after 1.6.74.

Types of Grants

Grants given to the institutions are mainly of two types: (i) recurring; and (ii) non-recurring.

[1] "Loss of fee income" means loss sustained by educational institutions for not collecting fees from girl students, students of SC and ST, children of class IV govt. employees, primary school teachers and children of defence personnel.

Recurring Grant

- The boys' schools in ex-state areas get 2/3rd of the net deficit from the date of recognition
- Institutions in other areas get the minimum grant-in-aid at Rs 75 per high school. After enjoying the minimum grant for 3 years, they get 2/3rd of the net deficit.
- The girls' schools all over the state get grant-in-aid as full net deficit. Dearness allowance is paid at 2/3rd rate both to boys and girls schools.

Non-Recurring Grant

- Non-recurring grant to the tune of 50 per cent of the total estimated cost on account of buildings, equipment, furniture, library, laboratory etc is paid to the boys' schools showing a pass result of 65 per cent and above the roll strength in the Annual Certificate Examination. The management meets the other 50 per cent.
- The girls schools in ex-state areas and other backward areas get non-recurring grant to the tune of 66 (2/3rd) per cent and 50 per cent in other areas on account of school building, furniture and equipment. But for construction of hostel buildings and teachers' quarters, 100 per cent grant-in-aid is given to girls schools all over the state.

Withdrawal and control of grant-in-aid

Though OEC provided for sanction of grants, it had also made provisions for withdrawal of grants under Article 348. The recognition of the institution for grant-in-aid will be suspended or withdrawn if:

- The grantee school does not conform to the results of HSC examination as per the norm for 2 consecutive years, the direct payment shall be suspended and the minimum grant will be given. If it happens after the 3rd year, the minimum grant shall not be given. The said school will be eligible again to receive the minimum grant and the process shall begin anew.
- The performance of the grantee school should be reviewed continuously and if any school within 3 years of minimum grant is found to have poor performance, the minimum grant period will be extended for a further period of 3 years. If the same falls short of the standard for 3 consecutive years, the grant will be discontinued.
- If an aided school is abolished, Government may claim fair share of any balance at its credit. If any difference of opinion arises as to the amount, which may fairly be claimed under this rule, the matter will be referred to Government for orders.

Amendments of 1969 Act (for Grant-in-Aid)

The 1969 Act was amended from time to time so far as Grant-in-Aid is concerned.

- The first amendment was made in 1974 in respect to the payment of Salaries to teaching and non-teaching staff and subsequently the direct payment of full salary cost to the teaching staff of these institutions throughout the state was introduced with effect from 1.4.1974. All the teachers who have put in continuous service for a period of 3 years are eligible to receive their salary through the system of direct payment.
- During 1977, the government extended the facility of direct payment of full salary cost of the non-teaching staff, which implies that the full teaching cost was borne by the government w.e.f 1.4.1977. But the fees and fines collected by these institutions shall be credited to the government account every month. These institutions shall be paid recurring cost according to the ceiling fixed from time to time.
- In 1978, the government decided to pay 85 per cent of pay and 100 per cent of DA to all the Mission-Managed Girls Secondary schools and Training schools existing in the state w.e.f the financial year 1978-79.
- On 1-1-85, the government agreed to provide full grant-in-aid at the rate equivalent to 100 per cent of pay and DA to all the employees of the Institutions of minority community with effect from 1-1-1985.
- The grant-in-aid principles have undergone changes in 1989 according to which the rate of minimum grant for non-government high schools became as follows:

  - 60 per cent of the total emolument as sanctioned by the government from time to time.
  - contingent expenditure remained unchanged (Rs 75 as mentioned already)

The above decisions were effective from 1.4.1988
It has further been decided that recognized Girls High schools will be eligible for receipt of minimum grant at par with co-educational non-government high schools w.e.f 1.4.1989 instead of becoming eligible for receipt of minimum grant one year after presentation of candidates directly at the HSC examination.

- In 1991, The Orissa Education Establishment, Recognition and Management of Private High School Rules, 1991, stated the following ways in which the grant-in-aid could be withheld:

  (a) If a school is found at any time to fall short of the minimum roll strength, the Inspector of schools may recommend the Director to withhold the grant-in- aid.

(b) The Director may after taking into consideration the alternative educational facilities in the locality served by the schools withhold the grant-in-aid accorded to the school.

- On 22.3.1995, the government of Orissa published a clear-cut guideline for payment of grant-in-aid to private high schools making an order named the Orissa Education (Payment of grant-in-aid to the high schools and UP schools), 1994. It specifically speaks about grant-in-aid as follows:

  i) The institutions not receiving any grant but coming under the eligible category get minimum grant-in-aid at the rate of 60 per cent of the salary costs of the teaching and non-teaching staff from 1st June, 1994, irrespective of the date from which each educational institution would have become eligible provided that the educational institution is located in educationally backward areas[2].
  ii) The educational institutions, which are exclusively for girls, may receive 100 per cent grant of the salary cost two years after the receipt of the minimum grant. The grant will be worked out with respect to initial pay as on 1st June 1994 and no arrear will be paid.

- On 1st January 1999, the Orissa Education (payment of grant-in-aid to high schools and upper primary schools) Amendment Order 1999 was published and some modifications of the 1994 amendment were made as follows:

  i) A recognized high school will be eligible for minimum grant-in-aid after 4 years (1 year in case of educationally backward and girls schools, Sanskrit tolls and Madrasa) from the year of presentation of candidates in the final high school examination.
  ii) These schools are eligible for 100 per cent grant after 3 years of minimum grant (2 years for girls, educationally backward, Sanskrit toll and Madrasa) subject to the condition that the school fulfils the minimum eligibility criteria of attendance as stated earlier.

These rules speak that grant-in-aid is not a matter of right. Hence, the educational Institutions coming within the eligibility criteria shall not be entitled to the grant-in-aid from the state government as a matter of right. Release of grant-in-aid shall be from the date as will be decided by the government keeping in view its financial resources and other developmental needs (Amendment Order, 1999).

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[2] The area where the literacy rate is half or less than half of the state average is treated as an educationally backward area.

(ii) Statistical Analysis of Grants

The following section analyses the grants disbursed to secondary schools by the government from time to time. We have analyzed the grants after the economic reforms period since it has brought out a major change all over the country, in general, and the backward regions i.e. Orissa, in particular. The grants given to the non-government secondary schools is a practice based on the rule formulated by the government from time to time[3]. Actually the grants by the government may be considered as public subsidy to private schools. As mentioned earlier, at present only 611 private aided schools are functioning in the state and the rest have been taken over by the government since 07.6.1994.

Grants at Nominal and Real Prices

Table 12 presents the grants at real and nominal prices. The grants in general have declined over the period. There is a great discrepancy of grants at constant and current prices. The grants given to schools if looked in terms of constant prices indicate that the grants have declined significantly over the period and this decline has become faster after 1996-97.

TABLE 12
Grant-in-Aid to Secondary Education at Constant (1993-94) and Current Prices (Rs. in Lakhs)

	Grants	
Year	*Constant*	*Current*
1990-91	10686.57	6511.32
1991-92	10214.52	8053.29
1992-93	11346.85	9597.20
1993-94	12162.28	12162.28
1994-95	11906.50	14232.77
1995-96	11956.78	17546.65
1996-97	2556.64	3576.64
1997-98	1882.06	3255.66
1998-99	2104.78	3380.05
1999-2000	1508.41	2966.64
2000-2001	1189.29	2309.05

Source: Different Issues of Budget document, Govt of Orissa

[3] The details of the grant-in-aid rules/policies are discussed in detail in the main report and this can be made available on request.

Share of Grants to Total Expenditure

Table 13 presents the grants as a proportion to the total expenditure on secondary education. The proportion of grants to total expenditure was 60 per cent in 1990-01 while the same declined to 5 per cent in the year 2000-2001. The proportion of grants has declined constantly from 1996-97 onwards. This may be due mainly to two reasons: (i) There is resource constraint; and (ii) The number of schools getting grants are very few in number (611), for which the proportion of grants to total expenditure seems to be on the lower side. This no doubt provides an idea that the quality of secondary education of the existing private aided schools is affected to a great extent as the grants given to these schools mostly cover the salary component.

TABLE 13

Total Grants and Expenditure on Secondary Education in Orissa (Rs. in Lakhs)

Year	*Total Grants*	*Exp on Secondary Education*	*% of Grants to Total Exp*
1990-91	6511.32	10819.53	60.18
1991-92	8053.29	11738.72	68.60
1992-93	9597.20	15579.07	61.60
1993-94	12162.28	15607.49	77.93
1994-95	14232.77	19146.62	74.34
1995-96	17546.65	22816.90	76.90
1996-97	3576.64	27073.40	13.21
1997-98	3255.66	29620.72	10.99
1998-99	3380.11	41643.45	8.11
1999-2000	2966.64	42165.56	7.04
2000-2001	2309.05	44080.22	5.24

Source: Various issues of Budget documents, Govt. Orissa.

Grants by type of schools

The grants given to secondary schools differ by type of school. The grants given to government and private aided schools may provide some guidelines regarding the distribution of grants to these schools as revealed in Table 14.

The proportion of grants to government secondary schools has increased substantially from 28 per cent in the year 1989-90 to more than 80 per cent in 2000-01 while the same declined constantly during the same period for private schools. In the year 2000-01, the grant to private aided schools was only 5 per cent of the total expenditure on secondary education. The grants to private schools started declining sharply from 74.04 per cent in 1995-96 to 11.12 per cent in the next year (1996-97) and after that, it declined constantly.

TABLE 14
Grants (%) to Government and Private Secondary Schools (Grants as % to Expenditure on Secondary Education)

Year	*Government schools*	*Private schools*
1989-90	28.12	60.05
1990-91	28.32	60.57
1991-92	25.93	67.69
1992-93	24.97	67.52
1993-94	22.15	70.11
1994-95	21.32	70.72
1995-96	19.04	74.04
1996-97	72.57	11.12
1997-98	72.78	8.11
1998-99	74.75	7.04
1999-2000	78.36	5.78
2000-2001	81.15	5.24

Grants at Current and Constant Prices by Type of Schools

The grants in real terms provide clear idea for decision making instead of grants at current prices. The analysis of grants given to the private schools and government schools over a period of time in terms of current and constant prices merit discussion in view of the resource constraint due to economic reforms, on the one hand, and the decision of the government of Orissa to take over all the private aided schools from 1994 onwards, on the other. Table 15 shows the grants to private and government schools both at current and constant prices. In 1990-91, the grants given to private schools were more than double of the grants provided to the government schools. The same increased to more than 4 times of the government schools in 1995-96. Afterwards the grants declined suddenly for private schools. It was more in favour of government schools and increased at a faster rate. In 2000-01, the grant (in real terms) given to government schools was about 18 times higher than that of private schools. There is a negative growth of grant to private schools which is quite obvious as the earlier grantee schools are now under government management.

Grant Per School

The grant per school is estimated as presented in Table 16. The per school grant provides more clear idea about the change in the pattern of grants after the private aided schools are taken away by the government. The grant given to government and private schools indicates that per school grant, in general, is found to decline. Up to 1995-96, the grant to private schools increased and was higher than the

government schools. After 1995-96 the grant per private school has declined constantly at real prices.

TABLE 15
Grants to Government and Private Secondary Schools in Orissa

Year	*Grants (Rs. In Lakhs) to*			
	Govt. Schools		*Private Schools*	
	Current Prices	*Constant Prices 1993-94 prices*	*Current Prices*	*Constant Prices 1993-94 prices*
1990-91	3064.1	5028.9	6553.0	10755.0
1991-92	3021.9	3832.9	7889.9	10007.3
1992-93	3454.5	4084.3	9340.1	11042.9
1993-94	3671.4	3671.4	11622.9	11622.9
1994-95	4093.8	3424.7	13579.1	11359.7
1995-96	4344.8	2960.7	16898.2	11514.9
1996-97	19647.1	14044.1	3010.2	2151.8
1997-98	21557.1	12461.9	2687.7	1553.7
1998-99	31127.4	16760.1	3380.1	1819.9
1999-2000	33042.5	16800.7	2435.6	1238.4
2000-2001	35769.3	18423.2	2309.1	1189.3
Growth rate(%)	25.03	12.53	-9.04	-18.14

Source: Different issues of the budget, Govt. of Orissa.

TABLE 16
Per School Grant for Secondary Education in Orissa (Rs. in Lakhs)

Year	*Government Schools*		*Private Schools*	
	Current Prices	*Constant Prices (1993-94 Prices)*	*Current Prices*	*Constant Prices (1993-94 Prices)*
1990-91	2.47	4.06	2.24	3.67
1991-92	2.44	3.09	2.69	3.42
1992-93	2.79	3.29	3.19	3.77
1993-94	2.96	2.96	4.31	4.31
1994-95	3.30	2.76	5.03	4.21
1995-96	3.51	2.39	6.26	4.26
1996-97	5.91	4.22	4.93	3.52
1997-98	6.48	3.75	4.40	2.54
1998-99	9.36	5.04	5.53	2.98
1999-2000	9.93	5.05	3.99	2.03
2000-2001	10.75	5.54	3.78	1.95

Source: Estimate are based on the data collected from Budget document and DPI office, Bhubaneswar

Grant Per Student

The grant per student is also estimated and presented in Table 17. The trend and pattern of per student grant tend to be similar as that of per school grants. In case of private schools, per student grant declined constantly after 1996-97. The per student grant for both government and private schools at real prices declined but the decline in case of private schools is found to be more than that of govt. schools.

TABLE 17
Per Student Grant to Secondary Schools in Orissa (in Rs.)

Year	*Government Schools*		*Private Schools*	
	Current Prices	*Constant Prices 1993-94 prices*	*Current Prices*	*Constant Prices 1993-94 prices*
1990-91	3004.05	4930.33	953.86	1565.50
1991-92	3052.43	3871.60	1556.20	1973.83
1992-93	3198.61	3781.74	2317.64	2740.17
1993-94	3599.46	3599.46	2884.09	2884.09
1994-95	2511.54	2101.04	3386.32	2832.84
1995-96	2665.50	1816.36	4245.79	2893.20
1996-97	3514.71	2521.39	1368.28	978.07
1997-98	3266.23	1888.17	1221.69	706.25
1998-99	4716.27	2539.41	1529.44	823.50
1999-2000	5006.49	2534.05	1102.08	560.36
2000-2001	5403.68	2757.97	1044.82	538.14

Source: Estimates are based on the data collected from Budget document and DPI Office, Bhubaneswar

Plan and Non-Plan Grants

The grants given to the schools consist of plan and non-plan grants as provided in Table 18. The plan and non-grants given to secondary schools indicate that till 1996-97, the grant under non-plan was higher than that of plan grants. But after 1996-97, the plan grants are found to be higher than the non-plan grants. It may be due to pay revision made in the year 1996-97. Since the grants cover mostly the salary component and the non-plan posts were diverted to plan posts, as mentioned earlier, the plan grants are found to be higher than non-plan grants. This resulted in a major change in the composition of plan and non-plan grants.

The proportion of plan grants has increased constantly while that of non-plan grants has declined over the years.

TABLE 18
Proportion of Plan and Non-plan Grants to Secondary Schools in Orissa

Year	*% of Non-Plan Grants to Total Grants*	*% of Plan Grants to Total Grants*
1990-91	68.61	31.39
1991-92	88.05	11.95
1992-93	87.54	12.46
1993-94	76.40	23.60
1994-95	75.41	24.59
1995-96	70.42	29.58
1996-97	30.91	69.09
1997-98	18.13	81.87
1998-99	9.85	90.15
1999-00	12.95	87.05
2000-01	18.91	81.09

Source: Different issues of Budget, Govt. of Orissa.

Recommendations

In the background of the findings, some recommendations are made here.

- The role of education, particularly the secondary education, in economic development of a backward region should be clearly understood by the politicians and policy makers of the state. The quality of teaching in respect of the students' achievement and labour market absorption of the educated manpower has not been given due consideration in our education system.
- Since education is sequential in character, no level of education should be considered in isolation from the point of view of planning of education. While planning for secondary education, one has to link it with elementary and higher levels of education, as all these levels of education are closely interrelated. Also the health of the children is related to their education and, therefore, the entire social sector needs to be viewed as an integrated sector for planning purposes.
- The grants should be general grants rather than specific grants in order to keep it open for the system to work. In this case, the schools can utilize the grant as per the priority of the need of the schools.
- The release of grants should be in time. Many of the schools complain that the grants meant for the schools generally have not been released in time which is a major constraint on the part of the management to carry on their activities.
- In many cases, it is found that with a guarantee to receive grants, the institutions do not initiate any mobilization of resources on their own. In order to motivate

the grantee school to mobilize resources, some incentives/penalty may be provided.

- ❖ However, proper financial management in terms of grant-in-aid and other resources of the secondary schools needs to be undertaken seriously in order to maintain transparency in the financial system of the schools.

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The Relationship between Organizational Health and Robust School Vision in Elementary Schools

Mehmet Korkmaz*

Abstract

Teachers play an important role in developing a robust school vision. This study, aimed to find out the likely relationship between the teachers' perception of school health and a robust school vision in elementary school in Turkey, revealed a significant positive relationship between teachers' perceptions of organizational health and the relative robustness of their school vision. Subsequent regression analysis indicated that collegial leadership and academic emphasis and resource support were the school health themes that characterized an overall association with robust school vision.

Introduction

Leadership is the art of creating a working atmosphere which motivates and directs the people working in the organization as to the achievement of organizational aims and performance levels (Lashway, 1997; Manase, 1985; Sashkin, 1986). Creating such an atmosphere depends on the leader formulating a robust vision. Sharing such a school vision promotes a feeling of cooperation in administrators, teachers, students and others to attain the desired future state.

In organizational development, the leader, rather than being an important concept, is regarded as the one who guides and creates an appropriate environment for the employees. However, leadership alone is not sufficient in developing a strong organizational vision. A robust school vision which reflects the aims and needs of the society not only helps education develop further but also reconstructs the relations between the school and its environment (Hoy & Miskel, 1991; Tsui & Cheng, 1999; Hoy & Hannum, 1997; Hoy, Tarter & Kottkamp's, 1991). School health has been defined as the organization's ability to adapt to its environment, accomplish goals and maintain unity among members (ibid).

On the other hand, teachers play an important role in developing a robust school vision. That is why in this study, teachers were chosen as the source of information to

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find out the likely relationship between the teachers' perception of school health and a robust school vision.

Vision and School Health in the Turkish Educational System

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic on October 29th, 1923, a law of Unification of Education was passed (March 3, 1924, law number 430). A result of this law was that all educational institutions in Turkey were attached to the Ministry of Education with the aim of directing all educational activities from one national centre. Thus, the Turkish educational system was shaped as a centralized system and up to now it has come in the form as stated in the law. The only authority empowered to open schools, hire teachers and principals, develop curricula and meet the financial needs of schools is the Ministry of Education.

Nowadays, although there are on-going discussions about decentralization of the educational system, the centralized system is still maintained. However, there have been great many efforts to introduce innovations in the educational system, one of them being to give schools of all levels the task to specify their vision in the 1998-99 educational year.

The term "vision", which was widely used towards the end of the 1980s by businesses and universities, later became the focus of elaborate educational research in Turkey (Çelik, 1995; Erçetin, 2000; Baskan, 2000; Argün, 2000; Erdoğan, 1998; Balcı, 2000). Descriptive research on vision development, vision for change in education, and organizational leadership and effectiveness was carried out accordingly.

According to the results of the studies by Erçetin (2000), Baskan (2000), Argün (2000), who investigated vision development and its significance regarding change in education, a vision reflecting the needs and aims of the surrounding community not only improves education but also helps rebuild the relationship between school and its environment in a stronger fashion. They have stressed that such a vision needs to be based on cooperation among the school directors, teachers, students, parents, and staff. Likewise, Erdoğan (1998) and Balcı (2000), working on organizational leadership and effectiveness, maintained that a vision being an outcome of a cooperative effort is closely related to the leadership style of the principal. Unless the principal operates as an effective leader, they have found, very little could be changed in the school. This is mainly caused by the fact that it is the principal who exhibits leadership behaviour in the development, maintenance and conservation of the school vision.

In order to ascertain those dimensions of the educational system which require change and development, it is necessary to mark out what "organizational health" really comes to mean. In the 1970s, it was possible to see the term "school health" in books, articles and journals only at the theoretical level, even which was a rare event. Later, Başaran (1991) dealt with school health as a sub-dimension of organizational health and Can (1992) defined effectiveness as organizational health. Further, Aksoy (2002) has defined variables affecting organizational health at the theoretical level. The most comprehensive research regarding the organizational health of the educational institutions

has however, been carried out by Akbaba (1997) who classified organizational leadership, organizational integrity, interaction, organizational identity and organizational products as the sub-dimensions of organizational health and argued that any attempt to measure organizational health by using only one of these will not, to a large extent, reflect the organizational health of a given organization. Consequently, he has stressed that these dimensions need to be evaluated in combination.

When researchers study the issue of developing school vision and organizational health, they deal with these factors as independent and unrelated entities. However, these concepts are, in fact, interrelated. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education has asked the schools to develop vision without considering their actual situations, that is to say, without paying attention to human resources, classroom equipment, the quantitative and qualitative situation of students, the relations among staff, and their level of job satisfaction. The success of a school in developing an effective vision depends on whether the school has a healthy structure or not. There is very little research on this in the literature about the Turkish Education System. Thus, the aim here is to identify the possible relationship between teachers' perceptions of organizational health and their perceptions of a strong school vision. In this context, it is teachers who play a very important role in developing a strong school vision, which is why, this research is based on the views of teachers themselves.

Theoretical Framework

School Vision

Leadership is an important element in developing a school vision (Licata & Harper, 2001). What affects the learning climate and the morale of teachers is the leadership of the principal. In line with this is the fact that a prerequisite for a school principal is that he or she should be an effective leader. The two important elements of effective leadership are building up positive interpersonal relations and developing a school vision. Çelik (1995) and Balcı (2000) conducted research concerning the characteristics school principals should have. They stated that effective leaders are visionary, with the ability to form strong relations based on a vision among people, which means planning, developing and sharing a dream for the future of the school.

According to Whitaker and Monte (1994) the vision of a school is the manifestation of its values, goals and aims. These writers define such a vision as addressing the feelings and ideas of the whole staff. Alternatively, according to Mathews, a vision that reflects the needs and purposes of the surrounding community not only improves education, but it also rebuilds the relationship between the school and its public (Mathews, 1996). For the time being, it seems impossible to form such a vision in the Turkish educational system because the Ministry of Education limits schools' relations with their immediate and remote environment. For instance, no school principal is given the legal authority to hire, appoint and promote teachers, or to develop his school's own curriculum and so forth. Further, the principal, even if he perceives it necessary for the functioning of the school,

cannot permit any changes in the curriculum according to parents' views or students' immediate needs. Similarly, there are not many things that the environment can do to affect schools. The legal barriers due to the centralistic nature of the system restrict the development of vision inside the schools.

On the other hand, a school which faces an obstacle due to the structure of the system will not operate successfully, unless it has a shared feeling or a common vision. It is a fact that the existence of a shared vision increases the effectiveness of a school. According to Licata and Harper (2001), a robust school vision might best be expressed by harmony within the school and with its environment, alongside real participation from the environment in the school administration.

A robust vision is full of energy. In order to make such vision come into being, teachers jump-start the future by bringing to light their skills and resources. The vision's power lies in its ability to grab the attention of both those inside (teachers, students and principal) and those outside (parents) the organization and to focus that attention on a common dream (Nanus, 1992).

In the light of these explanations, adjectives such as interesting, action-packed, powerful, fresh and challenging rather than boring, uneventful, weak, stale or dull would be found in teachers' descriptions of a robust school vision. These adjectives reflect teachers' empathy for colleagues and students actively being involved in overcoming difficulties encountered in the accomplishment of their relatively robust view of the future (Licata & Harper, 2001).

Organizational Health

The term "organizational health" was first proposed by Miles in 1969 in order to study the school climate (Tsui & Cheng, 1999). According to Miles (1969), a healthy organization is considered as a structure which continuously uses its ability to continue its life and overcome difficulties in the long run. The term "organizational health", which was first used to express the continuous aspect of organizational health, was defined by Parsons, Bales and Sils (1953), Hoy and Tarter (1997) and Hoy and Miskel (1991) as the ability to adapt an organization to its environment, create harmony among its members and achieve its goals. As can be understood from this definition, the organizational health of a school is a useful sign of interpersonal relations among people in schools (teachers, students, managers and others). Schools need the support of their environment to protect their organizational structure. Moreover, healthy schools adapt themselves to the environment successfully and promote common values in their staff.

"Organizational health" became an important subject both in practice and in research after 1980s. Before the emergence of this term, it was believed that problems in the educational system were caused by the elements within the system or the outside elements such as migration, population growth and insufficient finance and solutions to these external problems were sought. The term "organizational health" has made educators focus on the chain of relations coming out both inside and outside the school. There are now many articles on organizational health. Özdemir (2002), for instance,

made suggestions about school health for school managers in an article presenting different aspects of school health.

Moreover, the term "organizational health" has paved the way to innovative methods in the educational system. Educators and policy makers have started discussing the need to move from central into a decentralized structure. In particular, it has affected the Turkish Educational System in three ways:

1. Efforts in innovating and developing the educational system have been accelerated.
2. The attention of educational research has been directed to the school's relation with its environment.
3. There has been a discussion about the decentralization of the educational system.

As Hoy and Miskel (1991) and Hoy and Tarter (1997) have stated, in a healthy school, technical, managerial and institutional levels are in harmony, and the harmony between these three levels supports teaching and student learning. Defining these levels in detail, Parsons (1967) stated that technical level is about teaching and learning mission in the school, managerial level is about the internal coordination of the school (e.g., the principal coordinating, finding ways to motivate teachers and allocating the required resources), and institutional level is about the school-environment relationship. However, the centralized educational system in Turkey does not let the principal to be autonomous in making decisions concerning the school's internal functioning and its relations to its environment at the institutional level. We need radical changes to achieve this harmony. If we could make these changes, students, teachers and principals in these schools will be able to work with the schools' environment in a constructive and collaborative way. Education will then be supported by both the parents and the environment and there will be goodwill and trust among school staff (Hoy & Tarter, 1997).

Hypothesis

Teachers working in healthy schools see their school's success in building positive communication with its environment as a strong characteristic of their school (Licata & Harper, 1999). Schools need the support of their environment: it is a mutual relationship. Keeping the inner dynamics of a society alive depends on creating a healthy environment and establishing healthy schools in this environment. As Parsons (1967) pointed out, schools must also be sufficient at technical level, too. Healthy schools adapt themselves to their environment successfully, reach their organizational goals and promote their common values in their teachers (Hoy & Hannum, 1997). In a school where technical, managerial and institutional levels are in harmony, students, teachers and principals respond to the school vision. Teachers working in such a school will be committed to the school vision as long as they see that their colleagues are in an effort to work towards a better future (Licata & Harper, 2001).

In the light of these explanations, it will be logical to relate a strong vision leading to a healthy school organization with organizational health. As a result, this study hypothesizes that there is a positive relation between the teachers' perceptions of a robust school vision and organizational health. To this end, a correlation analysis was first conducted and then a regression analysis was used for descriptive purposes.

Method

The research sample covered 50 elementary schools in Cankaya, Yenimahalle, Keçiören, Mamak, and Altındağ districts in Ankara. The schools in these districts and students of their 6th, 7th and 8th grades have different socio-economic levels. Due to the fact that the principals of 8 schools in the district did not allow the administration of the questionnaire in their schools, the remaining 42 schools (85 per cent of the 50 schools with 842 participants, which represent a sufficient sample size) participated in the research. The data was gathered through a questionnaire from all the 842 teachers working in these schools.

To test the hypothesis, the research was based on the arithmetic mean computed from the replies the teachers gave to the questions in the questionnaire. To measure the perceptions of teachers working in these schools about the vision in their schools, *Robustness Semantic Differential (RSD)*, developed by Licata and Willower (1978), was used. The language of the instrument was modified to adapt it to the educational system for linguistic and cultural reasons. Also, a pilot study for the reliability and validity of the instrument was done. In the pilot study, 15 schools and 261 teachers took part. The collected data was analyzed for internal consistency. The internal consistency of the instrument "Cronbach Alpha" was .91. For the factor analysis, there was a one-factor structure and the factor analysis explained 68 per cent of the total variance. The result was higher than the coefficient found for the reliability and internal consistency (Pearson Coefficient was .77 and Spearman Coefficient was .78) for the instrument developed by Licata and Willower (1978).

TABLE 1

Robustness Semantic Differential for School Vision

My school vision is		
interesting	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	boring[a]
stale	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	fresh[b]
powerful	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	weak[a]
meaningless	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	meaningful[b]
thrilling	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	quieting[a]
unimportant	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	important[b]
active	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	passive[a]
usual	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	unusual[b]
challenging	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	dull[a]
uneventful	_____._____._____._____._____._____.	action packed[b]

a- Scored 7 through 1 from left to right. b- Reversed scoring.

Table 1 shows the pairs of adjectives which were used to measure individual's perceptions of their school's vision by completing the sentence "my school vision is ...". Teachers rated 10 RSD adjective pairs on a 7 point scale. These adjectives define effective or ineffective school settings. Each adjective pair was scored from 7 to 1. Total scores for the 10 pairs ranged from 10 to 70. The higher the score, the more teachers saw their school vision as robust.

In addition, *Organizational Health Inventory (OHI)*, first developed by Hoy and Miskel (1991), was used in the study. A middle school form of the OHI scale was published by Hoy and Tarter (1997) and Hoy and Sabo (1998). The OHI developed by Licata and Harper (2001) was composed of 33 items distributing across 6 sub-scales accounting for approximately 77 per cent of the cumulative variance. Relatively high alpha reliability coefficients for these sub-scales ranged from .82 to .92

The instrument used by Licata and Harper (2001) for their research *Organizational Health and Robust School Vision* was also used in the study. The language of the instrument was adapted to the educational system for linguistic and cultural reasons. For reliability and validity, a pilot study was undertaken involving 261 teachers in 15 schools. After this, a factor analysis was carried out. As a result of the factor analysis, 35 items were identified distributing across 3 subscales accounting for 74 per cent of the cumulative variance. The alpha level was .96. The final form of the measurement is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Organizational Health Inventory Subscales and Sample Subscale Items

Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis	The school sets high standards for academic performance. The principal welcomes teachers and listens to their problems.
Resource Support	Teachers are provided with adequate materials for their classroom. Supplementary materials are available for classroom use.
Institutional Integrity	The school is open to whims of the public. The principal may be prevented by their superintendents.

Each item in the OHI has a 4-point Likert 7 response scale that assigns *1 to" frequently", 2 to" often", 3 to "sometimes"* and *4 to "rarely"*. Responses to all items were summed to produce either a sub-scale score or a total instrument score. Teachers' mean scores were calculated from the total scores for all teachers completing the OHI in a particular school. The higher the school mean score, the more frequently health was observed by the faculty.

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated for all variables. To test our hypothesis, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed for the relationship between the mean scores for school vision and the mean scores gathered for OHI. Later, by using the 3 sub-scales of the OHI as the independent variables and school vision as the dependent variable, a multi-regression analysis was done.

To determine the construct validity of the instrument, a factor analysis was done. As a result of the factor analysis, 10 items, whose factor loading was below .30, were taken out of the instrument. The remaining 35- item instrument showed a distribution over three different dimensions. The first dimension was "Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis" with 22 items, the second dimension was "Resource Support" with 8 items and the third dimension was "Institutional Integrity" with 5 items. The factor loading of the items was between .30 and .55

Finally, the reliability of the OHI was determined by Cronbach alpha coefficient. For the whole, OHI Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient was found to be .95. As for sub-scales, the inner constituency coefficient was .95 for the "Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis" sub-scale, .91 for the "Resource Support" sub-scale and .69 for "Institutional Integrity"

Following from the calculations above, it can be stated that for the OHI and its sub-scales, the validity was high. In addition to this, for the RSD "my school vision is..." the validity coefficient was .91.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3 shows a summary of descriptive statistics for all measures in the study. In the Table, the maximum possible scores means are given so that the statistical analysis can be understood by the reader. As can be seen, the lowest maximum possible scores mean was 11.54 (for Institutional Integrity), which means that teachers' views as regards the perception of the Institutional Integrity sub-scale's items were close to one another; the highest maximum possible scores mean was 74.50 (for Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis), which means that teachers' views regarding Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis were different from one another. Also, the maximum possible scores mean for robust school vision was found to be 55.50

TABLE 3
Summary of Descriptive Statistics for OHI and RSD

OHI (No. of items in scale)	*M*	*SD*	*Max.*
Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis (22)	59.98	5.83	74.50
Resource Support (8)	17.65	2.64	23.95
Institutional Integrity (5)	9.9	0.78	11.54
OHI Total (35)	87.54	7.69	108.29
RSD (my school vision is ....) (10)	45.02	5.57	55.50

Note: OHI= Organizational Health Inventory RSD = Robustness Semantic Differential

The teachers' perception of Institutional Integrity, which is a sub-scale of the OHI, had the lowest standard deviation. In other words, it is the variable with the highest homogeneity. The biggest change of teachers' perception, except for the standard

deviation given to the whole OHI, belongs to Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis sub-scale. That is, it is this sub-scale where the variable has the lowest degree of homogeneity in teachers' perception. Table 3 shows the 35- item OHI, its sub-scales and the number of items related to the sub-scales.

Hypothesis Testing

Table 4 summarizes Pearson product-moment correlations among all variables used in the study. The relationship among the sub-scales of the OHI is from the middle-level to high-level. These correlation coefficients are between 0.09 and 0.63 and are higher than the ones first developed for middle schools (Hoy & Sabo, 1998). They are close to the correlation of the values which Licata and Harper (2001) developed for middle schools. The strongest relation among sub-scales is between teachers' perception of the resource support by the school and teachers' views about collegial leadership and academic emphasis (r= 0.63). It is a mutual relation. That is, wherever there is an increase in the perception of teachers about resource support, there is also an increase in the views of teachers about collegial leadership and academic emphasis. This finding can be evaluated in a situation which arose as a result of the centralized structure of the Turkish Educational System.

TABLE 4
Correlations between OHI and RSD scales

	CL. AE	*RS*	*II*	*OHI*	*RSD*
Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis (CL.AE)	1.00				
Resource Support (RS)	0.63	1.00			
Institutional Integrity (II)	-0.09	-0.31	1.00		
OHI Total (OHI)	0.96	0.79	-0.08	1.00	
RSD (my school vision is .....) (RSD)	0.36	0.83	-0.24	0.54	1.00

Note: OHI= Organizational Health Inventory RSD= Robustness Semantic Differential

In the central system all-hiring, transferring and turnover procedures are carried out by the central authority. The central system has authorized the school principal to manage the school and to do all the jobs related to it. One may understand the relation between the equipment that the principal supplies to develop educational activities and the principal's positive attitude towards teachers in this light. It can also be a result of not only the fact that teachers are affected by the individual efforts of the principal but also of the fact that their level of organizational loyalty has increased. As Anderson (1991) states, the managerial quality of the school principal plays an important role in developing the school and the success of the school. The finding of the present study is similar to the findings of Davis (1989) and Conley (1992) in that there is a parallel relation between resource support and collegial leadership and academic emphasis, whic can be thought of as the result of effective leadership in schools. This is because tw

important elements of leadership are interpersonal positive relations and developing a school vision.

There was no linear relation between the perception of teachers for institutional integrity and their perception of collegial leadership and academic emphasis. They were independent from each other ($r = -0.09$). The fact that there was no relationship between the teachers' perceptions regarding institutional integrity sub-scale and collegial leadership and academic significance was no surprise because institutional integrity is part of a healthy school profile.

However, considering the structure of relationships and their applications in the Turkish National Educational System and since the central system develops the curriculum and sends it to schools to be applied, it is clear why this sub-scale did not have an effect on school success. Parents and school environment never have any effects on or contributions to the application of the curriculum and the development of the school policy. The central system does not allow this. In this way, teachers are protected by the system against the out-of-school pressures, yet the fact that teachers are protected from the pressure outside the school does not necessarily mean that these interventions could be harmful, because institutional integrity does not discriminate between positive and negative forces. Interventions influencing educational and training activities in a positive way are also excluded. As a result, in the present study, there was no relationship between the institutional integrity sub-scale, collegial leadership and academic emphasis relating to teachers' views. The results of this study and those of Licata and Harper's (2001) are not the same because of the differences in the structure and practices of the educational systems.

As a test of the hypothesis, the correlation coefficient between the total scores for the OHI and the school vision scale was 0.54 ($P<0.001$). Except for the Institutional Integrity sub-scale, there was a significant positive relationship between the school vision scale and the organizational health sub-scale. Thus, it can be stated that in a school setting where centralism is in effect, giving teachers the right to participate in activities to develop a vision about their school in the process of change and development might have brought about positive human relations with their colleagues. The teachers might have answered the questionnaire under the influence of this. These positive developments might have further created a situation in which educational problems and new ideas are shared. In such a situation, school principals are open to teachers' ideas and wishes and they can develop a positive relationship with teachers and are keen to provide teachers with the necessary equipment. Under such circumstances, teachers can easily obtain the class material and extra materials they need. Teachers who are working in schools which have the qualities, that are considered to be signs of a healthy school profile show loyalty to their school vision, a loyalty which may increase as long as they see the principal and other teachers working to reach the desired goal for their school. This finding is similar to those of Logan's (1993), Willower and Jones' (1965), who state that in schools with a low organizational health teachers have a short-term and less healthy vision for their school.

Moreover, the results of the research by Licata and Harper (2001) support the finding of this study that there is an important positive relation between teachers' perception of organizational health and their perception of a healthy school vision.

TABLE 5
Multiple Regression Analysis

Variable ..."	*RSD "My School vision is*	*Standard Beta*	*Standard Error*	*t*	*p*
Constant		19.453	8.244	2.360	0.024
Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis		-0.265	0.104	-2.550	0.015
(C.L and A.E)		2.166	0.240	9.010	0.000
Resource Support (R.S)		0.329	0.625	0.526	0.602
Institutional Integrity (I.I)					
N	42				
Multiple R	0.86				
Squared Multiple R	0.74				
F Value	36.053				

Note: RSD = Robustness Semantic Differential "My school vision is ..."

Regression Analysis

As can be seen in Table 5, the F test was used and the related F value was 36.053. According to this,

School Vision (Sv) = 19.453- 0.265 C. L and A. E + 2.166 R.S+ 0.329 I.I

It can be stated that the above model is statistically significant on the $\alpha = 0.05$ error level ($p< 0.05$) (Draper & Smith, 1980). R^2 is calculated as 0.74. This can be interpreted as "the independent variables in the model explain the 74 per cent of the change in the dependent variable". That is, Collegial Leadership and Academic Emphasis, Resource Support, and Institutional Integrity explain the 74 per cent of the change in the school vision. The coefficient of determination (R^2) is not sufficient alone to find out whether the independent variables in the model are sufficient to explain school vision or not. When the value of R^2 approximates 1; the significance of the model increases. The values of F in *Table 5* show the model is significant (F = 36.053). The second stage in regression analysis is to identify which independent variables are sufficient in explaining school vision and which are not. This is because the effect of some of the independent variables in the model may be very small. To find out such variables, a significance test (t-test) for each variable is done. The results of the t-test presented in Table 5 show that "Institutional Integrity" is insignificant in explaining school vision (p = 0.602). In actual

fact, when this variable is taken out of the model, the reduction in the value of R^2 is considerably small ($R^2 = 0.738$).

Discussion

Statistics used to collect data and analyse the findings seem to support the hypothesis of the study that there is an important positive relationship between teachers' perception of organizational health and their perception of robust school vision. It can comfortably be stated then that where technical, managerial and institutional levels are in harmony in a middle school, there is a healthy professional atmosphere (Parsons, 1967). Probably, a school with such an atmosphere meets its needs and directs its potential energy towards the realization of its mission.

Students, teachers and principal in healthy schools cooperate with the environment of the school. Teachers tend to take risks and try out new ideas. They will be more willing to convey their values and beliefs to the students. When teachers observe their colleagues exploring ways of overcoming challenging problems, they will be encouraged to apply their views about the desired future (Glenn, 1994; Hoy & Miskel 1991; Licata & Harper, 2001). Hoy and Miskel (1991) developed an organizational health inventory to measure and describe the organizational health of a school; it has 7 dimensions. The concept of organizational health by Hoy and Miskel, (1991), Licata and Harper (2001), and Tsui and Cheng (1999) is consistent with the definition that organizational health is the ability of an organization to adapt itself into its environment, accomplish goals and promote common goals in the members of the organization. Then, according to the findings of the present study, it is suggested that there is a positive relation between teachers working in a healthy organization and a robust school vision.

Probably, teachers working in schools where organizational health is low perceive school vision as low and the communication between principal and teachers, and teachers and other teachers in a school with low organizational health may be weak. For this reason, challenges outside might be damaging for the school (Hoy & Hannum, 1997). In such a case, teachers do not like school, students or each other. In a school where personal visions are put into practice, loyalty to a common vision will be weaker. As a result, the relation of the school-environment relationship will be weaker and educational standards will suffer.

When students do not have a strong common vision for their academic success, teachers will resort to discipline and, even worse, regard discipline as an aim rather than a means to develop students' success (Licata & Wildes, 1980; Licata & Harper, 2001).

Consistent with previous research which defines school health as the organization's ability to successfully adapt to its environment and accomplish goals (Hoy & Hannum, 1997; Licata & Harper, 1999; Tsui & Cheng, 1999), the explanatory regression used in the present study indicates a positive significant relationship between school health and robust school vision. Collegial leadership and academic emphasis related to school health and resource support sub-scales are related to a robust school vision. These findings suggest that teachers working in healthy schools perceive a robust school vision. To put it

in another way, collegial leadership and academic emphasis related to organizational health and resource support sub-scales have a significant effect on the school vision variable, and as a result of teachers' perception of collegial leadership and academic emphasis sub-scales cause a school to press for high but achievable goals and principal's behaviour towards duty and success.

The resource support sub-scale indicates that a school has enough class equipment and that educational and extra equipment can be obtained easily (Hoy & Miskel, 1991). In such schools, the school vision depends not only on the technical level of the organization which explains principals' and teachers' collaborative behaviour to accomplish organizational goals, but also the institutional level of the organization which explains the relation between the school and its environments. That is, the positive relationship between organizational health and a robust school vision is basically influenced by the harmony between the school's technical and institutional levels.

When the relation between the technical and institutional levels is in harmony, teachers will probably feel that they have been strengthened by the school vision. Their motivation to accomplish organizational goals will increase. The result is a positive school atmosphere. When the technical and institutional levels are not in harmony, the common vision of the school will not develop and all efforts will be doomed to failure. Then, school staff moves according to their individual vision and takes fewer risks, leading to a less healthy future.

Another finding is that the institutional integrity sub-scale has no significant effect on the school vision variable. In other words, there is a weak relationship between the two variables. The institutional integrity, which means overcoming the efforts to obliterate school by the external forces, was not found to be related to school vision. This is probably because teachers think that pressures from parents and the environment are not obstacles for them, and such groups have no chance of needless interference. Indeed, the central educational system does not allow anyone or any group to interfere in the system.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to discover the possible relationship between school health and a robust school vision. To collect data, the *Organizational Health Inventory* (OHI) developed by Licata and Harper (2001) and the *Robustness Semantic Differential* (RSD) were used.

The languages of the both instruments were modified due to linguistic and cultural reasons. The OHI, having 35 items and 3 sub-scales and the RSD were given to 842 teachers in 42 primary schools. Like most research, this study is limited to the sample size and instruments. Nonetheless, alpha coefficients were consistent with research with larger samples and more dense instruments (e.g., Licata & Harper, 2001; Logan, 1993 or Tarter, Sabo & Hoy 1995).

The findings demonstrate that teachers identify a significant relationship between organizational health and a robust school vision. As a result of multiple regression

analysis, it was found that collegial leadership and academic emphasis related to school health and the resource support sub-scale were related to the robust school vision.

To understand this relationship, further research is required. For example, school health could be related to the managerial style of the school (e.g., School Based Management) or whether there is a mutual relationship between managerial style and school health could be tested. Also, in which way the managerial style affects the organizational health of the school could be investigated. Besides, the effect of a robust school health on students' success can be studied. In the future, instead of evaluating school health alone, by adding Hoy's (1991) school atmosphere concept, the relationship between an open school atmosphere and a robust school vision can be tested. By studying types of relationships between school health and organizational conflict, the results can be used to develop school health. To develop a school vision, teachers' perceptions of principals' effectiveness can be measured and the results could be used to discover the possible positive relationship between school health and school vision. Moreover, the vision a school has can be tested every 4 or 5 years and the effective factors in change of vision can be sought.

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Gender, Intra-family Allocation of Resources and Child Schooling in Tamil Nadu, India*

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Abstract

Available aggregate evidence shows that the gender gap in educational indicators in India is substantial. In this study, the inequality in child schooling between boys and girls is modelled in an intra-family resource allocation framework and empirically analysed using a large representative household level data from Tamil Nadu, India. The choice of child school enrolment is examined using Ordered Probit model. The grade attainment equation is estimated using alternative econometric methods. The empirical results demonstrate that improvement in the parental education, particularly mother's education, can contribute substantially to reduction in the gender gap in child schooling. An increase in economic well-being, measured by consumption expenditure per adult, has the effect of bridging the gap between enrolment of boys and girls in urban areas. Availability of schools close to the village would improve schooling of girls more than boys and thus reduce the gender inequality in child schooling. There is no significant difference in enrolment of boys and girls belonging to SC&ST and other households controlling for the effect of other factors. The analysis also shows that unobserved village specific heterogeneity in the school availability and school quality are important factors and failure to control for such factors leads to bias in the cross-section parameter estimates of grade attainment equations.

Introduction

Studies of gender differences in human capital investments such as health and education suggest that the gender gap in these two forms of investment is a prominent characteristic of the low-income countries, particularly South and West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa

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(Sen, 1984). India is no exception to this and gender gap exists in several social indicators.[1] For instance, in the case of education, there is evidence of considerable gender gap in important indicators of educational investments such as literacy rate, completed level of education and enrolment ratios. The gender specific literacy rates in India for the years 1951 to 2001 are given in Table 1. The female literacy rate in 2001 is 54 per cent compared to male literacy of 76 per cent showing a gender gap of 22 per cent. This implies that almost half of the women population is illiterate compared to only about one-fourth of men. Comparing the trend over the years, it is seen that women's literacy was only 33 per cent that of men in 1951 and has steadily increased over the years to the present level of 71 per cent of male literacy in 2001.

TABLE 1

Literacy Rate by Sex in India, 1951 to 2001

Year	*Males*	*Females*	*Male-Female Difference*
1951	27.2	8.9	18.3
1961	40.4	15.4	25.0
1971	46.0	22.0	24.0
1981	56.4	29.8	27.4
1991	63.1	39.3	23.8
2001	75.9	54.2	21.7

Note: Literacy rates are in per cent.
Source: Census of India (Various Years).

Another indicator is educational attainment measured by completed levels of education. The completed level of education by gender for the year 1991 based on the decennial population census is provided in Table 2. It can be seen that the gender gap in the completed level of education has increased from 3.9 per cent at the primary level to 10 per cent at the secondary level. The gender gap is low (3.7 per cent) at the graduate and above levels and at these levels educational attainment of both males and females is very low. The ratio of female to male completed levels suggests that women received only 40 to 60 per cent of schooling that men completed and as the level of education increases this ratio decreases.

As the 2001 population census data on completed levels of education is yet to be published, the gender specific completed levels of education is examined using the 52nd round NSS survey (NSSO, 1998, Table 1) data for the year 1995-96. It should be noted that the census figures are not comparable with the NSS data. The completed levels of education for males and females aged 15 years and above are shown in Figure 1. The same pattern of gender gap in completed level of education found in the census data is also

[1] Several studies report evidence on the gender difference in child survival (Bardhan 1974, Rosenzweig and Schultz 1982), malnutrition and morbidity (Sen 1984, Sen and Sengupta 1983), allocation of nutrients (Behrman and Deolalikar 1989), utilization of medical facilities (Kynch and Sen 1983) in the Indian context.

observed in the NSS data. Thus there is ample evidence that the gender gap in education is quite large. This observed difference in the educational attainment is primarily due to the gender differences in the school enrolment.

FIGURE 1
Completed Educational level of Persons Aged 15 and above by Gender in India, 1995/6

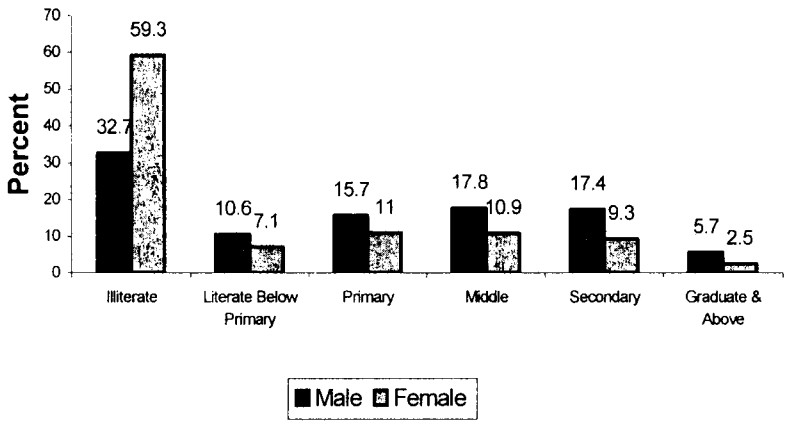

TABLE 2
Completed Level of Education of Men and Women Aged 20 and Above, India, 1991

S. No	*Level*	*Males (%)*	*Females (%)*	*Male-Female Difference*
1.	Literate below Primary	9.0	5.1	3.9
2.	Primary	14.8	9.6	5.2
3.	Middle	12.8	6.6	6.2
4.	Secondary	16.6	6.6	10.0
5.	Graduate and above	6.3	2.6	3.7
6.	All Levels	59.5	30.5	29.0

Source: Census of India, 1991, Social and Cultural Tables, Table C-2.

The enrolment ratio of boys and girls by stage (primary, middle etc.,) for the years 1950-51 to 2001-02 are produced in Table 3. The enrolment of girls has been steadily increasing over the years at all the stages. The increase in the enrolment of girls is much more than that of boys at the primary and middle stages and hence the gender gap has been reducing at these stages. For instance, at the primary stage the enrolment of girls has gone up from 25 per cent in 1950-51 to 87 per cent in 2001-02, bringing down the gender difference from 36 to 18 per cent. The enrolment ratio of girls to boys suggests that there were 41 girls for every 100 boys in the primary stage in 1950-51 and this has increased to

83 girls for every 100 boys in 2001-02. Such a significant narrowing of gender gap is also visible at the middle stage after 1960-61. There were 22 girls for every 100 boys in 1950-51, who have increased to 75 in 2001-02. Similarly, at the secondary stage girls' enrolment is growing much faster than boys and hence the number of girls per 100 boys enrolled increased from 17 in 1950-51 to 48 in 1990-91. Gender specific enrolment data at the secondary stage were not available for the more recent years. However, the available provisional statistics for the year 2001-02 indicates that 65 girls per 100 boys are enrolled at the secondary stage.

TABLE 3
Gross Enrolment Ratio of Boys and Girls in India, 1950-51 to 2001-02

	Primary				*Middle*				*Secondary*			
Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Ratio*	*Difference*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Ratio*	*Difference*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Ratio*	*Difference*
1950-51	60.6	24.8	0.41	35.8	20.6	4.6	0.22	16.0	8.7	1.5	0.17	6.2
1960-61	82.6	41.4	0.50	41.2	33.2	11.3	0.34	21.9	18.0	4.4	0.24	15.6
1970-71	95.5	60.5	0.63	35.0	46.3	19.9	0.43	36.4	26.8	9.8	0.37	17.0
1980-81	95.8	64.1	0.67	31.7	54.3	28.6	0.53	25.7	23.1	11.1	0.48	12.0
1990-91	115.3	86.0	0.75	29.3	73.4	46.1	0.63	27.3	29.8	14.4	0.48	15.4
2000-01*	104.9	81.9	0.83	19.0	66.7	49.9	0.75	16.8	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
2000-02*	105.3	86.9	0.83	18.4	67.8	52.1	0.77	15.7	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A

Notes: Per cent exceeds 100 because of repetition by some children and over or under aged children in a level of education.
Ratio: ratio of girls' enrolment to boys' enrolment and Difference is the boys' minus girls' enrolment.
* Indicates Provisional figures.
N.A.: Not Available.

Source: Education in India (various years), Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. Data for the latest years are from the web site http://www.education.nic.in.

The gender difference in the educational attainment cannot be attributed to biological factors such as genetic endowments or to any public programmes and policies. It may be due to the intra-family allocation of resources to schooling. Several reasons have been attributed in the literature for the gender bias in parental resource allocation decisions. Sociologists and social demographers argue that the considerations such as son preference and the segregated role of sons and daughters in family rituals are major factors leading to discrimination against a female child. Economists suggest that the economic factors such as benefits from children (Sen and Sengupta, 1983) and the differential market returns to

educational investments of boys and girls (Bardhan, 1974; Rosenzweig and Schultz, 1982) may be important reasons for the observed gender inequity in educational investment.[2]

Previous studies on the intra-family allocation of resources are mainly confined to health and nutrition outcomes such as child survival (Rosenzweig and Schultz, 1982; Duraisamy and Duraisamy 1995) and anthropometrics (Rosenzweig and Wolpin, 1988; Behrman 1988). One of the disadvantages of using anthropometrics to study the gender differences in developing countries is that they are measured in relation to a reference population, usually the U.S standards of a well-nourished child of the same age and sex. Any unobserved gender bias in the base country's population might lead to misleading conclusions (Harriss, 1989) about the comparison group. But the child schooling measures, such as enrolment status and grade attainment for a given age, do not require any such reference group and can be compared across sex in the same population.[3] The first objective of this paper is to study the gender differences in the intra-family allocation of resources to child schooling in the Indian context.

Studies on child schooling for the developing countries have mainly focused on the determinants (Birdsall, 1985; Jamison and Lockheed, 1987; Psacharopoulos and Arriagada, 1989; Vaidyanathan and Nair, 2001, Tilak 2002, Duraisamy, 2001) of schooling. Only a small number of studies have examined gender specific determinants and the impact of schooling infrastructure on child schooling (Duraisamy and Malathy, 1990). The literature on child schooling is reviewed in Schultz (1988). In these studies, the influence of the observed and the unobserved location factors (village/urban centres) such as the availability and quality of schools, literacy, information etc., are either ignored or inadequately controlled for.[4] These omitted and unobserved factors are likely to be correlated with the household determinants such as parents' education, and ignoring this potential source of heterogeneity may result in biased parameter estimates of the household determinants of child schooling (Rosenzweig and Wolpin 1988). The second objective of the paper is to study the gender differences in the schooling determinants, controlling for the omitted and unobserved differences in the availability and quality of schools across locations. The empirical results indicate that the omitted and unobserved factors do bias the estimated effects of parents' education on the

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[2] In countries where most schools are single sex schools, as in rural Pakistan, gender differences in the availability and quality of schools also cause gender gap in human capital investment. In India, schools are separated by sex if there is more than one school in the same locality.

[3] The problem in using child-schooling measures is that these indicators are observed only for children aged 5 years and above and the schooling attainment cannot be observed for children who are still in school.

[4] Some of the studies control for the availability of schools by including a dummy variable indicating whether a school is available in the village or not, or by including distance of the household from the school. Birdsall (1985) includes a set of variables such as average years of schooling of local teachers and average local teacher payments per child to control for quality of schooling. None of the studies, except Birdsall (1985), control for the quality of schools. None of the studies on child schooling control for unobserved heterogeneity in the availability and quality of schools between communities.

investment in children's educational levels. The third objective of the paper is to explore the rural-urban differences in the gender specific determinants of child schooling.

The paper proceeds further along the theoretical model of the study, the derivation of the demand functions, the database empirical specification and estimation methods leading towards empirical results and findings.

Theoretical Framework

To study the intra-family resource allocation, it may be more appropriate to use the Nash-bargaining model of household behaviour (Duraisamy and Duraisamy, 2000, 2001). The bargaining framework recognizes the role of an individual's bargaining position within the household, measured by the person's control over assets, on the intra-family allocation of resources. Unfortunately, few household surveys in developing countries collect detailed information on asset accumulation and ownership. The data used for the empirical analysis in this paper does not contain sufficient information to test the implications of the bargaining model[5]. Hence, the neo-classical common preference approach is used to study the intra-family allocation of resources to schooling of boys and girls. The results do shed light on the potential usefulness of applying a more flexible individualized choice framework such as the one provided by the Nash-bargaining model.

The families' preference over gender specific investment in the human capital of children, individual member's leisure and other goods can be expressed by a utility function:

(1) $U = U(S, L, X)$

where S is a vector of schooling of boys (b) and girls (g), L is a vector of leisure of household members, and X is the composite consumption good. The family is assumed to maximize the utility function subject to production function for schooling, and family budget constraints. The intra-household decision process results in a system of reduced form sex-specific demand functions for schooling, leisure and the composite consumption commodity. It can be shown that the reduced form for sex-specific child schooling is a function of prices of inputs to schooling (P_S), price of composite good (P_X), wages of household members (W), family's full income (F) and a set of environmental variables (E), written as:

(2) $S_i = f(P_S, P_X, W, F, E)$, $i = b, g$

The Data Specification and Estimation

The data used in this study come from a large sample survey on "Participation in Education" conducted by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), Government

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[5] In other studies (Duraisamy and Duraisamy, 2000, 2001) the implications of the bargaining model for the household decision on child schooling and other health outcomes are examined

of India as part of its forty-second round in 1986-87. The survey is representative of the states and national population and designed to derive estimates on school enrolment ratios and private cost of education at the national and regional levels. This study utilizes the data collected in one of the South Indian states namely, Tamil Nadu.[6]

The primary sampling unit is a stratum, which consists of a district or part of a district with a population of 1.8 million. In each stratum, the rural and urban households are selected on the basis of a two stage random sampling procedure. The first stage consists of the selection of villages and urban blocks. The sample villages were selected in proportion to population size with replacement, and the urban blocks were selected by simple random sampling without replacement. In the second stage, from each of the selected villages/urban blocks, six households were chosen by circular systematic selection with a random start. Thus, the survey covers 480 villages and 432 urban blocks and provides information for 2800 rural households and 2592 urban households. Professionally trained permanent investigators carried out the entire operations of the survey. Our consistency checks show that the quality of the data is exceptionally good. Village level information pertaining to the availability and distance of different types of schools, and other related educational and health services, was obtained from NSSO village level schedules and this was then merged with the individual and household records. The empirical analysis is restricted to school age population, namely children aged 5-18 years.[7]

The dependent variable, child schooling, is measured by enrolment status and grade attainment (completed years of schooling). In the schooling literature, enrolment status is measured as a dichotomous variable indicating whether the child is enrolled or not enrolled in school. Such a measure treats that the decision to enrol the child in a low quality free education public school is the same as the decision to enrol in a better quality fee-paying private school. In this study, the decision to enrol in a school and the choice of type of school are integrated by defining the enrolment status as a three category variable namely, not enrolled, enrolled in public school, and enrolled in private school. One of the limitations of the dichotomous or trichotomous characterization of the enrolment status is that it takes into account only the current decision (at the time of the survey) and ignores the cumulative performance of a child in school.

The second measure of the dependent variable, namely, grade attainment, is a better proxy for performance in school and cognitive achievements. One of the problems in using the completed years of schooling is that final grade attainment of a child who is still in

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[6] The NSSO 52nd round (1995-96) also conducted a similar survey on this aspect. Due to data problems we were unable to complete the analysis and report the results now.

[7] In India, the school education system varies from state to state since education until recently has been under state control. Now it is under concurrent (both state and federal governments) list. In Tamil Nadu, the school education is divided into four levels, namely primary (1-5 standards), middle (6-8 standards), secondary (9-10 standards) and higher secondary (11-12 standards). There are no middle schools but the middle level schooling is mostly offered in the secondary schools and rarely in primary schools. Most of the secondary schools include higher secondary education. The official age at entry into primary schools is five. However, some children start schooling early and spend one or two years in kindergarten before entering into primary level.

school at the time of the survey is not known and hence it is truncated on the right side of the distribution. One way to deal with this limitation is to standardize enrolment or attainment for the child's age. Alternatively, the child's age can be included as one of the explanatory variables to control for the effect of age. The latter approach is followed in this study.

The exogenous variables include a set of child level variables, namely age and its quadratic, household level variables, such as the logarithm of household expenditure per adult, the years of education of father and mother, and a dummy variable for caste.[8] The data set contains no information on prices, wages of the household members, non-labour income and assets. Only the landholding of the household is known. However, the survey provides information on the average monthly consumption expenditure, which includes expenditure on purchased consumption goods and the value of goods used for domestic consumption from own farm production and transfers from others. Including household, expenditure per adult as an explanatory variable, controls for the influence of household size on household expenditure. However, the consumption expenditure itself cannot be treated as an exogenous variable since consumption, leisure and time allocation to schooling and other activities are all jointly determined. The area of land owned by the household is used as an identifying instrument to estimate the effect of expenditure per adult on schooling decisions. About 47 per cent of the rural and 85 per cent of the urban sample households, however, do not report any landholding. Therefore, we have included an additional dummy variable for the household's primary occupation in the set of instruments. The household's primary occupation is that which provides the major source of income to the household, taking into account all its members. The education of father and mother are also included in the set of exogenous variables to capture the effects of opportunity cost of time, information, unobserved family background etc.

Location factors such as availability and quality of schools, presence of industry etc., would certainly influence parents' decision on child schooling. Several studies report that the school distance is a significant determinant of child schooling in rural areas of developing countries (King and Lillard, 1987 for Philippines, Duraisamy and Malathy, 1990 for India etc.,). The data set contains information only on the distance to educational and health services. Hence, the distance to primary and secondary schools in rural areas is included as an additional explanatory variable in the schooling equations for rural areas.[9] Description of the variables and their summary statistics are reported in Table 4. The sample means show that the gender gap in child schooling is larger in rural than in urban areas according to both measures of schooling. It should be noted that about 9-11 per cent

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[8] Birth order was included as a continuous and as a dummy variable and the effect turned out to be not statistically significant in any of the equations.

[9] Other village level variables such as distance to public library, adult literacy centre, various types of health centres such as family planning centre, dispensary, hospital etc., and the distance to community radio and TV are also considered. However, due to high correlation between the health centres and educational service variables only the two school distance variables are included in the final estimates

of the rural children and about 28-29 per cent of the urban children attend private schools. The variable definitions, their means and standard deviation are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4
Variable Definition, Means and Standard Deviations

Variable	*Rural*		*Urban*	
	Boys	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Child Characteristics:				
Not enrolled	0.272	0.446	0.222	0.274
	(0.444)	(0.498)	(0.415)	(0.446)
Enrolled in public school	0.618	0.469	0.487	0.449
	(0.489)	(0.499)	(0.500)	(0.498)
Enrolled in private school	0.110	0.085	0.292	0.276
	(0.312)	(0.279)	(0.455)	(0.448)
Completed years of schooling	5.103	3.933	5.775	5.534
	(3.377)	(3.309)	(3.287)	(3.352)
Age (years)	11.655	11.511	11.871	11.800
	(3.750)	(3.773)	(3.732)	(3.765)
Age square	149.900	146.720	154.840	153.400
	(87.542)	(88.056)	(88.264)	(88.527)
Household variables:				
Log consumption expenditure per adult[a]	5.127	5.163	5.410	5.428
	(0.440)	(0.443)	(0.497)	(0.505)
Father's education (years)	3.700	4.178	7.200	7.136
	(3.803)	(4.066)	(4.256)	(4.271)
Father's age (years)	44.238	44.022	44.118	43.899
	(7.880)	(7.664)	(7.680)	(7.843)
Mother's education (years)	1.826	2.078	4.601	4.529
	(3.035)	(3.114)	(4.123)	(4.074)
Mother's age (years)	36.825	36.664	36.333	36.334
	(6.999)	(6.751)	(6.645)	(7.008)
Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes dummy	0.238	0.243	0.129	0.136
	(0.426)	(0.429)	(0.336)	(0.343)
Area of landholding (in hectares)	0.701	0.743	0.105	0.106
	(1.620)	(1.748)	(0.560)	(0.568)
Household Primary employment status:				
Wage employment	0.127	0.141	0.409	0.425
	(0.333)	(0.347)	(0.492)	(0.494)
Casual wage labour	0.405	0.393	0.187	0.178
	(0.491)	(0.489)	(0.389)	(0.383)
Self employment	0.468	0.466	0.404	0.397
	(0.498)	(0.499)	(0.490)	(0.489)
Village level variables:				
Distance to Primary school	0.159	0.182	NA	NA
	(0.794)	(1.065)		
Distance to Secondary school	2.642	2.374	NA	NA
	(3.398)	(3.082)		
Number of children	2442	2023	1980	1743

Note: NA- indicates data not available; a – Endogenous variable; Standard deviation in parentheses

Estimation Methods

The enrolment status dependent variable is discrete and polytomous. The specification issue is whether to treat the three categories of the enrolment status variables as ordered or unordered. If it is an unordered case, the model can be specified in a multinomial logistic framework. Evidence shows that the private schools are often more effective than the public schools in improving students educational achievement (Duraisamy and Subramanian, 2003). It is expected that the educational achievement of a child will be better if the child is enrolled in a public school rather than not being enrolled at all and will be still better in a private school than in a public school. Hence, the three choices are treated as ordered categories and the ordered probit model described by McKelvey and Zavoina (1975) is employed.[10] The underlying ordered specification of the model can be written as:

$$(3) \qquad SE_i = \beta Y + Z'\gamma + e,$$

where SE_i is the observed counterpart of the latent or unobserved variable SE_i^* which takes the values of 0 or 1 or 2 depending upon the unobserved threshold levels given below, Y is consumption expenditure per adult potentially correlated with the error term, Z is the set of exogenous variables, β and γ are vectors of parameters, and e is the disturbance vector. The discrete values of the enrolment status dependant variable can be specified as:

$$SEi = 0 \text{ if } SEi^* < \mu 0,$$
$$SEi = 1 \text{ if } \mu 0 < SEi^* < \mu 1,$$
$$SEi = 2 \text{ if } SEi^* > \mu 1$$

where $\mu 0$ and $\mu 1$ are the unobserved threshold values. This specification of the ordered model is estimated by maximum likelihood ordered probit method. One of μi is not identified since the β's include a constant term. The first threshold parameter $\mu 0$ is normalized to zero and μ is estimated as $\mu 1 - \mu 0$.

The specification for the grade attainment dependent variable can be written as:

$$(4) \qquad S_{Cij} = \beta Y_{ij} + Z'_{1ij}\gamma_1 + Z'_{2j}\gamma_2 + u_{ij}\,, \; i = 1,...,N;\; J=1,...,J$$
$$(5) \qquad u_{ij} = \alpha_j + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

where N is the number of individuals, J is the number of villages or urban blocks, α is the unobserved location specific effects and ε is the random disturbance term. The exogenous variables, Z, consists of a set of child and household specific variables (Z_1) and location specific observed school distance variables (Z_2). Assuming that u_{ij} is normally distributed with 0 mean and constant variance, the above specification of the model can be estimated by Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) method. This is the approach used in many studies on child schooling. Since consumption expenditure is treated here as an endogenous variable the appropriate estimation method is the Two Stage Least Squares (TSLS)

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[10] The results of the multinomial logit model are not different from the ordered probit in terms of the sign and significance of the exogenous variables in the model and hence the results of ordered probit are reported.

method.[11] However, the presence of village or urban block specific factors such as school quality, general literacy, presence of industry, etc., which are common to all households in a village or urban block are likely to affect parental decisions. But these are unobserved by the researcher and hence the cross-sectional estimates by TSLS may be biased and lead to misleading conclusions on the effects of household variables on grade attainment.

Consideration is, therefore, given to alternative estimation methods, namely fixed effects (FE), random effects (RE) and between (B) estimates. The parameters of the fixed effects and between-specifications of the models are estimated by TSLS method and the random effects model is estimated by generalized TSLS. If α's are uncorrelated with the explanatory variables, then the random effects yield consistent and asymptotically efficient estimates. On the other hand, if α's are correlated with the exogenous variables, both the random effects and between-estimates are biased and inconsistent. In that case, fixed effects are more appropriate and they yield consistent but not efficient estimates. Hausman proposes a specification test, which is applied to choose between the three alternative models (See Green 2003, P.300 for details of implementing this test). This involves computation of Chi-square values for the constrained and unconstrained models.[12]

Results

Participation and Choice of School

The maximum likelihood estimates of the ordered probit model of the enrolment status equations are presented in Table 5. The estimates of the threshold parameter, μ, in the enrolment equations are positive and also statistically significant in all the equations, suggesting that an ordered specification is more appropriate. Next, we test the hypothesis that there is no difference in the parameter estimates of boys and girls in the enrolment equations. The likelihood ratio test statistic is 249.0 for rural and 19.0 for urban. Both the values are statistically significant at the 5 per cent level, which implies that the effects of the determinants of schooling differ by sex in the rural and urban areas. Hence, pooling the sample of boys and girls and estimating a single equation or introducing a dummy variable for sex of the child in the determinants of child school enrolment is not appropriate.

The parameter estimates of child age are positive and age square negative and also statistically significant at 1 per cent level in all the equations. This indicates that the enrolment reach a peak at about age 10, when many children in the sample complete

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[11] The grade attainment may be truncated since 18 per cent of the rural children and 7 per cent of the urban children did not complete any grade. However, the parameter estimates based on the two-stage Maximum Likelihood Tobit are not different from the estimates obtained from the Two Stage Least Squares (TSLS) method and hence only the TSLS results are reported. Due to the discrete and unbalanced nature of the school enrolment status variable, the within and between models are not estimated for enrolment status measure of the schooling dependent variable.

[12] From the three estimators for β and γ, following three specification tests are constructed (See Green 2θθ3) as follows: Let $q_i = (\theta_j - \theta_k)$ and the variance-covariance of q_i, $cov(q_i) = cov(\theta_j)-cov(\theta_k)$, for i=1, j=RE, k=FE; for i=2, j=RE, k=B; for i=3, j=FE, k=B and cov(-θW).

primary level. The direct and indirect costs of secondary schooling are much higher than those of primary schooling since there is no free school lunch program at the secondary level and the opportunity cost of student time also increases.

The household consumption expenditure per adult is positively associated with child schooling. The Hausman specification test statistics, reported in the bottom of Table 5, suggests that the error term is correlated with the consumption expenditure per adult variable in the equations for rural boys and urban boys and urban girls. Hence, it is important to treat the consumption expenditure per adult as an endogenous variable.

TABLE 5

Maximum Likelihood Ordered Probit Estimates of Child School Enrolment in Rural and Urban Households of Tamil Nadu, India

	Rural				*Urban*	
	Boys		*Girls*		*Boys*	*Girls*
Constant	-4.802	-4.936	-2.530	-2.641	-3.948	-5.038
	(3.40)	(4.09)	(2.11)	(2.19)	(3.42)	(4.02)
Child Characteristics:						
Child age	0.457	0.459	0.489	0.486	0.486	0.357
	(11.723	(11.74)	(9.33)	(9.28)	(10.79)	(7.49)
Child age square	-0.0217	-0.0218	-0.0269	-0.0268	-0.0231	-0.0182
	(12.33)	(12.33)	(11.02)	(11.00)	(11.26)	(8.51)
Household variables:						
Log consumption expenditure per adult[1]	0.608	0.638	0.109	0.149	0.364	0.687
	(2.62)	(2.75)	(0.46)	(0.63)	(1.61)	(2.83)
Father's Education	0.0527	0.0511	0.0663	0.0634	0.0651	0.0600
	(5.94)	(5.75)	(6.47)	(6.24)	(6.36)	(5.56)
Mother's Education	0.0562	0.0548	0.0703	0.0685	0.0508	0.0420
	(5.35)	(5.21)	(6.04)	(5.91)	(5.44)	(4.23)
Caste	0.0395	0.0476	-0.0394	-0.0256	-0.0217	-0.0580
	(0.66)	(0.79)	(0.57)	(0.37)	(0.24)	(0.60)
Village level variables:						
Distance to primary School		-0.0436		-0.0522		
		(2.02)		(1.64)		
Distance to secondary School		-0.0102		-0.0262		
		(1.33)		(2.48)		
μ Threshold value[2]	2.084	2.086	1.828	1.836	1.593	1.458
	(47.39)	(47.40)	(37.35)	(37.11)	(36.47)	(33.31)
Log likelihood	-1930	-1927	-1541	-1535	-1774	-1588
No. of children	2442	2442	2023	2023	1980	1743
Endogeneity test ('t')	-2.03	-2.24	0.439	0.198	1.69	1.85
Ho: No difference in effect of school enrolment: by sex (χ^2_7)		253.6			19.0	

Asymptotic 't' ratios are in parentheses

Note: 1. Endogenous variable, identifying instruments are area of land-holding and dummy variables for primary occupation of the household.

2. See text for explanation on the threshold levels and the interpretation for μ.

The education of father and mother exert positive and statistically significant (at 1 per cent level) effects in all the equations. The marginal effects of the education of father and mother on enrolment status (not enrolled, enrolled in private and enrolled in public school) are computed and presented in Table 6. An additional year of father's education reduces the probability of not being enrolled in any school by about 2 per cent for boys in both rural and urban areas and 3 per cent in rural and 2 per cent in urban areas for girls. On the other hand a similar increase in mother's education reduces the probability of not being enrolled by 3 per cent for girls in rural and urban areas and 2 and 1 per cent respectively for boys in rural and urban areas. What are the implications of these findings for intra-family inequality in children's schooling? An increase in both father's and mother's education would have the effect of reducing the gender gap in the schooling of their children. The results do not show any evidence of sex preference by parents in child school enrolment (Behrman, Pollak and Taubman, 1986) decisions.

TABLE 6

Marginal Effects of Parents Education on Child School Enrolment[a]

Variable	*Not Enrolled*	*Enrolled in*		*Not Enrolled*	*Enrolled in*	
		Public School	*Private School*		*Public School*	*Private School*
		Rural-Boys			*Rural-Girls*	
Father's Education	-0.0161	0.00839	0.00768	-0.0251	0.0192	0.00591
Mother's Education	-0.0172	0.00901	0.00824	-0.0271	0.0207	0.00638
Distance to Primary School	0.0137	-0.00717	-0.00655	0.0207	-0.0158	-0.00487
Distance to Secondary School	0.0032	-0.00168	-0.00153	0.0104	-0.00793	-0.00244
		Urban-Boys			*Urban-Girls*	
Father's Education	-0.0172	-.00339	0.0206	-0.0185	0.00388	0.0181
Mother's Education	-0.0134	-.00264	0.0160	-0.0278	0.0211	0.0127

a. Marginal effects are calculated from the ordered probit coefficients corresponding to the specification, which excludes the school distance variables in Table 5.

It is interesting to note that the coefficient of the dummy variable for caste is not statistically significant at 10 per cent level in any of the equations which implies that there is no significant difference between caste groups in the probability of child school enrolment.

The distance of primary and secondary schools from the village are inversely related to enrolment. The results suggest that the proximity to schools is an important consideration when parents in rural areas decide whether or not to send their children to school, particularly in sending their daughters to secondary schools. The effect of school distance exerts a much stronger effect on the likelihood of girls rather than boys being enrolled. One kilometre increase in the distance to primary school reduces the probability that a daughter

is enrolled in school by 2 per cent in a rural family. The interaction effects of education of father and mother with the distance to primary and secondary schools are not statistically significant.

Grade Attainment

The parameter estimates of the sex-specific grade attainment equations for rural and urban areas, obtained using TSLS method, two stage least squares fixed effects and between estimates, are reported in Tables 7 and 8 respectively.

TABLE 7

Two Stage Least Squares, Community Fixed Effects and Between Estimates of Completed Years of Schooling of Children in Rural Households of Tamil Nadu, India

	Rural – Boys			*Rural - Girls*		
	TSLS	*Fixed*	*Between*	*TSLS*	*Fixed*	*Between*
Constant	-9.850		-14.801	-9.080		-9.833
	(4.06)		(3.62)	(3.44)		(1.77)
Child Characteristics:						
Child age	1.657	1.690	1.639	1.577	1.649	1.193
	19.90)	(18.76)	(8.08)	(14.66)	(14.71)	(4.34)
Child age square	-0.0458	-0.0483	-0.0395	-0.0520	-0.0567	-0.0307
	12.16)	(11.87)	(4.47)	(10.57)	(11.20)	(2.47)
Household variables:						
Log consumption expenditure per adult[1]	0.406	0.153	1.2128	0.306	-0.0822	0.707
	(0.86)	(0.29)	(1.68)	(0.58)	(0.15)	(1.14)
Father's Education	0.122	0.103	0.117	0.174	0.200	0.155
	(7.18)	(5.03)	(3.78)	(8.51)	(8.28)	(3.97)
Mother's Education	0.0615	0.0367	0.0885	0.176	0.119	0.242
	(2.89)	(1.31)	(2.65)	(7.39)	(3.93)	(5.56)
Caste	-0.125	-0.522	0.167	-0.264	-0.438	-0.214
	(1.03)	(2.86)	(0.94)	(1.84)	(2.04)	(0.96)
Community variables:						
Distance to primary School	-0.108		-0.0464	-0.0304		-0.0386
	(1.73)		(0.68)	(0.55)		(0.44)
Distance to secondary school	-0.0342		-0.0208	-0.489		-0.0424
	(2.31)		(1.18)	(2.46)		(1.65)
Sample size	2442	451	451	2023	429	429
Breusch-Pagan Test[2] (χ^2_1)		19.581			27.825	
Hausman Test (χ^2_6):[3]		17.321			23.105	

Asymptotic 't' ratios are in parentheses

Note: 1. Endogenous variable, identifying instruments are area of land holding and dummy variables for primary occupation of the household.

2. Tests the hypothesis that the unobserved omitted village / urban centre level factors are correlated with the exogenous variables in the model.

3. Tests the choice of alternative models.

TABLE 8

Two Stage Least Squares, Community Fixed Effects and Between Estimates of Completed Years of Schooling of Children in Urban Households of Tamil Nadu, India

	Urban –Boys			*Urban – Girls*		
	TSLS	*Fixed*	*Between*	*TSLS*	*Fixed*	*Between*
Constant	-5.493		-6.376	-12.478		-7.797
	(3.15)		(2.71)	(5.65)		(1.92)
Child Characteristics:						
Child age	1.332	1.382	1.157	1.191	1.235	1.148
	(18.12)	17.33)	(6.31)	((13.26)	12.64)	(5.39)
Child age square	-0.0270	-0.0301	-0.0174	-0.0208	-0.0235	-0.0180
	(8.16)	(8.54)	(2.03)	(5.15)	(5.36)	(1.84)
Household variable:						
Log consumption expenditure	-0.269	-0.920	0.0233	1.160	1.282	0.290
per adult[1]	(0.79)	(2.10)	(0.46)	(2.70)	(2.48)	(0.36)
Father's Education	0.100	0.0955	0.0848	0.0630	0.0708	0.0671
	(6.19)	(4.99)	(2.67)	(3.25)	(3.18)	(1.75)
Mother's Education	0.0798	0.0871	0.0914	0.0902	0.0746	0.121
	(5.52)	(4.54)	(3.87)	(4.99)	(3.16)	(4.32)
Caste	0.0155	-0.289	-0.0497	-0.0527	0.189	-0.186
	(0.12)	(1.20)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.66)	(0.76)
Sample size	1980	391	391	1743	379	379
Breusch-Pagan Test $(\chi^2_1)^2$		10.803			9.210	
Hausman Test $(\chi^2_6)^3$:		12.903			13.706	

Asymptotic 't' ratios are in parentheses

Note: 1. Endogenous variable, identifying instruments are area of land holding and dummy variables for primary occupation of the household.

2. Tests the hypothesis that the unobserved omitted village / urban centre level factors are correlated with the exogenous variables in the model

3. Tests the choice of alternative models.

The last rows of these Tables present the specification test statistics. By comparing the cross-section TSLS estimates, the Two-stage fixed effects estimates and the Two-stage between estimates, we can gain some insight into the effects of the determinants of schooling and whether purging intra-location variation and controlling for unobserved location specific heterogeneity would change the estimated impact of child and household characteristics on grade attainment. To choose between the three alternative models, the Hausman specification test, namely likelihood ratio test, is applied (Green, 2003). The estimated chi-square test statistic is statistically significant at 5 per cent level in all the equations, which favours the location (village or urban centre) specific 'fixed effects' model over the other two models (TSLS and 'Between' Estimates). The null hypothesis that there is no location specific unobserved heterogeneity is rejected at the 1 per cent level

by Breusch-Pagan Lagrange multiplier test in each of the equations estimated (See Green 2003, P.223 for details of the application of the test).

The results in general confirm the earlier findings obtained using the school enrolment status dependent variable. The completed years of schooling of both boys and girls increase at a decreasing rate with age. Household expenditure per adult significantly influences the grade attainment in urban areas in the preferred 'fixed effects' model. Both father's and mother's education have positive and statistically significant influence on grade attainment of their sons and daughters. However, father's education has a much bigger marginal effect than mother's education.

It should be noted that the dummy variable for caste exerts a significant negative influence in the village 'fixed effects' estimates for boys and girls in rural areas. This implies that children belonging to SC and ST families have lower grade attainment than children from other households. Comparing the estimates obtained from the alternative models, there seems to be a high degree of association between caste and the distance to schools. This may be possible since the SC and ST households are usually located away from the centre of the village while schools are located close to the centre of the village. Thus, in the fixed effects model, which removes all village level heterogeneity, the caste variable seems to exert a significant influence on grade attainment.

Conclusions

The gender differences in child schooling are examined in the context of intra-family resource allocation using a large representative sample of household level data from rural and urban areas of Tamil Nadu, India. The intra-family differences in educational investments on children can be viewed as differences arising out of parental decisions influenced by socio-economic and cultural factors. This paper attempts to identify the role of economic factors in reducing the gender inequality in enrolment and grade attainment of children. Parents' decisions concerning their children's school enrolment and choice of school are modelled in an ordered probit framework. The grade attainment equation is estimated using alternative (TSLS, TS Fixed effects and TS Between) methods and the importance of omitted and unobserved location-specific heterogeneity in school availability and quality on child schooling is also examined. The specification tests suggest that the consumption expenditure per adult cannot be treated as an exogenous variable in both the analyses and hence, it is treated as an endogenous variable in the estimation framework.

The empirical results suggest that the child school enrolment increases at a decreasing rate with age. The enrolment reaches a peak among children at age 10 when many children complete primary level of education. An increase in economic well-being, measured by consumption expenditure per adult, has the effect of bridging the gap between enrolment of boys and girls in urban areas. The significant positive effects of the education of father and mother on the schooling of theirs sons and daughters have the following implications: First, increase in parental education would increase the probability of their off-springs being enrolled in schools. Second, as parents' education exerts bigger effect on the probability of

school enrolment of girls rather than that of boys, improvement in parental education would reduce the gender gap in child school enrolment. Third, in general, the effect of mother's education has a bigger effect compared to father's education, which implies that promotion of female literacy and female educational attainment would improve school enrolment of both boys and girls. As observed in the aggregate data, over a period of time, there has been a reduction in gender inequality in literacy rate. Certainly this would have led to considerable reduction in gender gap in enrolment. Thus, promoting female education would be favourable for the education of girls and also in bringing about gender parity in education. There is no significant difference in enrolment of boys and girls belonging to SC&ST and others controlling for other factors. This may be due to the fact that Tamil Nadu is a state, which has been following reservations, based on caste in education institutions over a period of time.

The results do suggest that school distance plays an important role in promoting girls schooling. An increase in the distance to primary school by one kilometre reduces the probability that a daughter attends school by two per cent while a similar increase in the school distance reduces boy's school enrolment by only one per cent.

The estimates of grade attainment equations bring out certain interesting insights on the unobserved school access and quality. It is found that the bias due to the unobserved location (village or urban block) specific heterogeneity in school availability and school quality is important and failure to control for this factor leads to bias in the cross-section parameter estimates of child schooling equations. Thus, the 'fixed effects' method emerges as the appropriate estimation method.

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Towards Literacy Poverty: An Analysis of Non-Enrolment of Children in Schools and the Need for their Management

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Abstract

Poverty is analysed, in recent years, as a concept encompassing illiteracy and low levels of achievements in education. The eligible children, who are not enrolled or drop out from the classes, are prone to 'Literacy poverty' and deprived of the enabling potentiality. Non-enrolment of children into schools (Literacy Poverty) leads to the perpetuation of different types of poverty, which curtails them from availing and utilizing the development opportunities made available. Keeping in view the nature, magnitude and dimensions of literacy poverty, developing countries like India, which have to play a significant role in enriching the quality of human resources in the context of globalisation, have to design, develop and implement appropriate strategies to eliminate literacy poverty with due consideration to both demand and supply-side influencing factors, which determine and enhance the quality of our human resources. Productive and qualitative human resources is the only answer which makes India to shine in the present competitive world.

Introduction

The pro-globalisation economists argue that markets and political liberalization are the main drivers of economic and social change in an era of rapid globalization. This support led to the propagation of human development strategies with due emphasis on the need to reallocate public investments in favour of human development priorities. This emphasis resulted in added importance to the investments in favour of primary health care and education, which were considered to be the two pillars for promoting pro-poor growth.

Mahatma Gandhi said that the national wealth consists not in gold and silver, but in men and women. The first Human Development Report (1990) also emphasised that "People are the real wealth of the nation" because people are not only the beneficiaries but also the agents of economic and social progress. This is the reason why the strategies aimed at promoting human development have simultaneously emphasised on investments

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in education and health as these vital inputs are considered to be the two pillars of development and of mobilising individual agency by productive capacities.

Literacy Poverty

Poverty is much more complex than simply income deprivation and an outcome not only of economic process. It is an outcome of interacting economic, social and political forces. Poverty entails lack of empowerment, lack of knowledge and lack of opportunity as well as lack of income and capital. The recent experiences of developing countries amply proved that poverty is a state of deprivation of the people in well-being, particularly to be illiterate and not to be schooled. The World Development Report (2000-01) also accepted that the dimensions of poverty encompass not only material deprivation but also illiteracy and low levels of achievements in education. When illiteracy puts the life of a man into an impoverished state and makes him to lose the real opportunities in his life and leads to poverty of life and when illiteracy acts as a hindrance in the process of expansion of human capabilities, it could be said that a man is prone to "Literacy Poverty". A literacy poverty-stricken child/man lacks freedom by which he could get a range of options in deciding what kind of life he has to lead. Literacy poverty – absence of attainment of some basic level of education – does not allow for empowerment and does not ensure that the employed can do the productive jobs that open up and help to sustain economic development. Lack of education perpetuates poverty and poverty constrains access to schooling and poverty becomes both cause and effect of insufficient and /or absence of access to or completion of qualitative education. It is true that neglect towards this "Literacy Poverty" could be said to be one of the most influencing factors which led to a limited success of development efforts in India. When this literacy poverty merits special attention and accompanies material deprivation, it leads to 'Capability Poverty' and hence, elimination of poverty requires access to and provision of quality education. Particularly for developing countries like ours, education is not a way to escape poverty, but it is a way of fighting it, as Julius Neyerere commented. This broader approach to 'Literacy Poverty' brings to the fore more areas of action and policy on the agenda for eliminating poverty.

Symbiosis of Education and Development

The recent experiences of both developed and developing countries reveal that increasing education not only improves well-being but also leads to better health outcomes and to high incomes through taking advantage of higher-risk, higher-return opportunities by erasing the sense of exclusion. Particularly in the context of a rapid globalisation of the world economy, education acts as a passport to accelerated economic growth. This has been the experience of Japan, the East Asian Industrialised Economies and China also. Empirical evidence provides a strong support to this critical role of education in accelerating economic growth. (Schultz, 1988; World Bank, 1993; Lau et al, 1993; Birdsall et.al, 1992; Pudaisani, 1982; Romer, 1986, Solow, 1994; Becker, 1990; Knight

and Sabot, 1990; Rosegrant and Eevenson, 1993). The estimates of contribution of education to economic growth in various regions of the world indicate that it ranges from 27.0 per cent in India to 12.4 per cent in Kenya. These observations make it necessary for education to be part of a wider human development strategy because it is important in its own right and has strong spill-over benefits to mortality rates, income, and even social cohesion. In economic terms, 'education' increases future effectiveness both in consumption and production since educated people can make better-informed choices among alternatives in all their activities. Investments in women's education result in substantial social and economic gains. Educated women have fewer and healthier children and education provides women with greater opportunities of employment and income as proved in the case of Bangladesh, measured by 'Social Accounting Matrix' (CIRDAP, 1999). Education also acts as the road to empowerment and proves more effective in increasing income when combined with access to land and capital (Rural Development Report 1999; Colelough, 1993, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1994; Fields, 1980; Tilak, 1989). Education is also a catalyst of social change and it plays a significant role in cultural transmission too. It is a powerful tool for introducing members of a society to the system of Government. It eradicates the voicelessness, powerlessness and vulnerability by empowerment and enhances the feeling of security, particularly for poor people (Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, 1995)

Basic Education: The Engine for Growth

An analysis of the key results of various empirical studies reveals that particularly primary education has the highest rate of Social Returns and it emerges as the most significant contributor to predicted growth (Mahabub Ul Haq and Khadija Haq, 1998). While the East Asian 'miracle' was based on many factors, all the analysts agreed on the central role that the spread of basic education played in shaping this miracle. They have observed that the extent of predicted growth attributed to primary education ranged from a highest of 87.0 per cent in Thailand to 58.0 per cent in Japan (World Bank, 1993). Generally it is said that as the national income increases, the returns to all levels of education decline, but primary education still has the highest return. This observation proved good in the cases of South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa as the rates of returns on investment in primary education were found highest (Behrman and Birdsall, 1990). In addition, historical evidence indicates that as primary education becomes universal, the extent of child labour declines dramatically (Weiner and Noman, 1997). Provision of basic education empowers women particularly in rural areas and provides a sense of liberation and makes them to participate in political activities (World Bank, 1993) and raises the degree of economic participation of women (CENWOR, 1995). It may be noted that the universalisation of elementary education was perhaps the most significant achievement of western 'market economies' in the twentieth century. The post-reform experience of China illustrates the dangers of social abdication in the field of elementary education (Wood and Calandrino, 2000; Jean Dreeze and Amartya Sen, 2002). In the case of our country also, basic education was widely perceived as the most promising

means of upward mobility for the children of socially or economically disadvantaged groups. The empowerment role of basic education was also well understood by our social leaders like Gokhale, who had formulated a pioneering 'Elementary Education Bill'. Dr. Ambedkar also saw basic education as a cornerstone of his strategy for the liberation of the oppressed castes.

Literacy Poverty: The Global and National Context

At the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000, the Heads of 152 States pledged to achieve the 'Millennium Development Goals' including 'Education For All Children' by the historical marker of 2015. No doubt, it is essential and inevitable to provide every child the chance to learn and write and to achieve basic literacy skills essentially required both for democracy and development. It is also thought that 'Right to Education' flows directly from 'Right to Life' and for the development of a child, the initial 14 years period is crucial for its development and growth and education in this crucial period provides the basic foundation. However, the fact remains totally different, particularly when the provision of basic education is concerned and reviewed. Though the world is moving towards Universal Education by achieving 84.0 per cent (1998) of primary enrollment, the HDR (2002) indicated that of the 680 million children of the primary school age, 113 millions are not in schools, and 97.0 per cent of them are in developing countries. The HDR (2002) also observed that 93 countries with 39.0 per cent of world's people do not have data on trends in primary enrollment and 60.0 per cent children not in primary schools world-wide are girls. The data collected by Demographic and Health Survey (World Development Report, 2000-01) reveal that more than half of the 15 to 19 years olds in the poorest 40 per cent of households have zero years of schooling in 12 countries and India is one among them. The average schooling is less than 3 years for the poorest 20 per cent in rural areas in Mexico and the primary enrollment rate for 6 to 14 years old is 52 per cent in Senegal. The primary enrollments are also not satisfactory in Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania, Indonesia, Uganda, North America and South Asia. Besides, gender disparities in enrollment also vary enormously.

When we look at the situation of literacy poverty in South Asia, the status of three countries — India, Pakistan and Bangladesh — assumes much importance as they contain 97 per cent of total illiteracy. Particularly our country has the largest illiterates in the world (424 million in 1997) which exceeds the total combined population of the North America and Japan (UNFPA, 1997). This does not mean that India has made little progress in educational field and its progress is not remarkable. However, the cross-country data on monitoring the human development reveals that the performance of India is not satisfactory and the efforts are sub-optimal. Table 1 presents a comparative picture of performance in literacy development.

TABLE 1
Cross-Country Data on Performance in Education and Investments

Country	*HDI Rank 2000*	*Education Index**	*Public Education Expenditure (1995-97)*		
			As % of GDFP	*As % of Total Pub Exp.*	*On Pre-primary and Primary*
Norway	1	0.98	7.7	16.8	38.7
Sweden	2	0.99	8.3	12.2	34.1
United States	6	0.98	5.4	14.4	38.7
Japan	9	0.93	3.6	9.9	39.3
New Zealand	19	0.99	7.3	17.1	28.7
India	124	0.57	3.2	11.6	39.5
Sri Lanka	89	0.84	3.4	8.9	Na
China	96	0.80	2.3	12.2	37.4
Pakistan	138	0.42	2.7	7.1	51.8
Bangladesh	145	0.40	2.2	13.8	44.8

Note: *Education Index measures a Country's relative achievement in adult literacy and combined Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Gross Enrolment.
Source: UNDP (2002): Human Development Report – 2002, pp. 149 – 232.

The cross-country data on Investment in education reveals that our country occupies 124th place in HDI and the value of Education Index is very low compared not only to the developed countries but also to our neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka (0.84) and China (0.80). Our country is spending a meagre amount of 3.2% of the GDP for education, accounting for 11.6% of its total expenditure. Even viewed from expenditure on pre-primary and primary education, we are far behind (39.5%) compared to Pakistan (51.8%) and Bangladesh (44.8%). The developed countries are spending around 17% of their public expenditure on education and even China is spending 12.2% of its expenditure on education. This trend amply reveals that our efforts to literate all the children should be accelerated in the coming years with due attention on increased allocations for education sector.

Measures Taken

However, it is true that India started with a poor education base at the time of Independence, with a literacy rate of 17 per cent, and made committed efforts to eradicate illiteracy. Many schemes were implemented to achieve the goal of 'Education for All' taking into account supply and demand factors. During the period 1950-51 to 1999-2000, the primary schools have increased from 13,596 to 1,98,000. Consequently, the total enrollment at the primary and upper primary school levels has witnessed a steady increase. Total enrollment at the primary stage (I-V) increased from 19.2 million to about 113.61 million and the enrollment of girls has also increased form 5.4 million to about 49.5 million in 1999-2000. It is estimated that, of the 193 million children in the age group of 6–14 (I–VIII) in 2000–01, as many as 81.0% of the children are enrolled in

the schools, though it was 79% during the year 1999-20000. The details of enrollment of children and Gross Enrollment Ratios are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

No. of Children Enrolled and Gross Enrollment Ratio During 1970-71 to 2000-01

Year	*Gross Enrollment (In Million)*		*Gross Enrolment Ratio (In Percentage)*					
	Primary	*Elementary*	*Primary (I-V)*			*Elementary (I-VIII)*		
			B	*G*	*T*	*B*	*G*	*T*
1970-71	57.0	70.3	95.5	60.5	78.6	75.5	44.4	61.9
1990-91	97.4	131.4	114.0	85.5	100.1	100.0	70.8	86.0
1995-96	107.1	144.6	97.1	79.4	88.6	86.9	69.4	78.5
2000-2001	113.8	156.6	104.9	85.9	95.7	90.3	72.4	81.6

Note: B= Boys, G= Girls, T = Total.

Source: Government of India (2003) Economic Survey – 2002–03. P.224

Table 2 shows that gross enrollment in primary and elementary classes has been increasing over the period. However, its ratio is quite unsatisfactory as we could enroll only 6.7 million children (6-11) in the primary classes between 1995-96 and 2000-01 or only 12.0 million children in the age group of 6-14 years (I-VIII) during these five years. The sex-wise enrollment ratios also present a dismal picture. The enrollment ratio in primary classes and elementary classes declined from 100.1% in 1990-91 to 88.6% in 1995-96 and for elementary classes from 86.0% to 78.5% during this period. Even by 2000-01, the elementary enrollment is only 81.6% as against 86.0% in 1990-91 and for primary classes; it is only 95.7% in 2000-01 as against 100.1% in 1990-91.

The official statistics show that today nearly 4 out of 5 children in the age group of 6-14 years are in schools and 2 out of 3 persons are functionally literate. Nevertheless, the fact that elementary education in India remains far from universal is no secret. The data provided by other agencies and individual researchers reveals that the progress made seems to be quite inadequate.

The estimates of non-enrolled children according to the source are presented in Table 3. The data in Table 3 proves the fact that still a significant proportion of children in the age group of 6-14 years suffer from 'Literacy Poverty'. This literacy poverty rates vary a great deal by region, economic status, class, caste and gender. The problem of literacy poverty exists in 17 states (more than 53% of the states) in our country and its intensity represented by the gross enrollment of children in the age group of 6-11 years, considering the 100.0% gross enrollment ratio as an ideal state of affairs, is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 3
Estimations of Never-Enrolled Children in India

Source	*Survey Year*	*No. of Unenrolled Children in the Age Group of 6-14 years*
Census of India	1991	75.4 million
National Family Health Survey	1992-93	59.0 million
NSSO (52nd Round)	1995-96	90.0 million
UNFPA	1997	35.0 million
NSSO	1997	33.0 million
Mahabub Ul Haq	1997	28.0 million
Usha Nayar	1997-98	More than 40.0 million
Saldanha	1998	24.0 million
NIPEA	1999	35.1 million
India Education Report	1997	35.0 million
	2000(E)	40.0 million
Economic Survey-2002-03	2000-01	36.4 million

TABLE 4
Intensity of Literacy Poverty – State-Wise

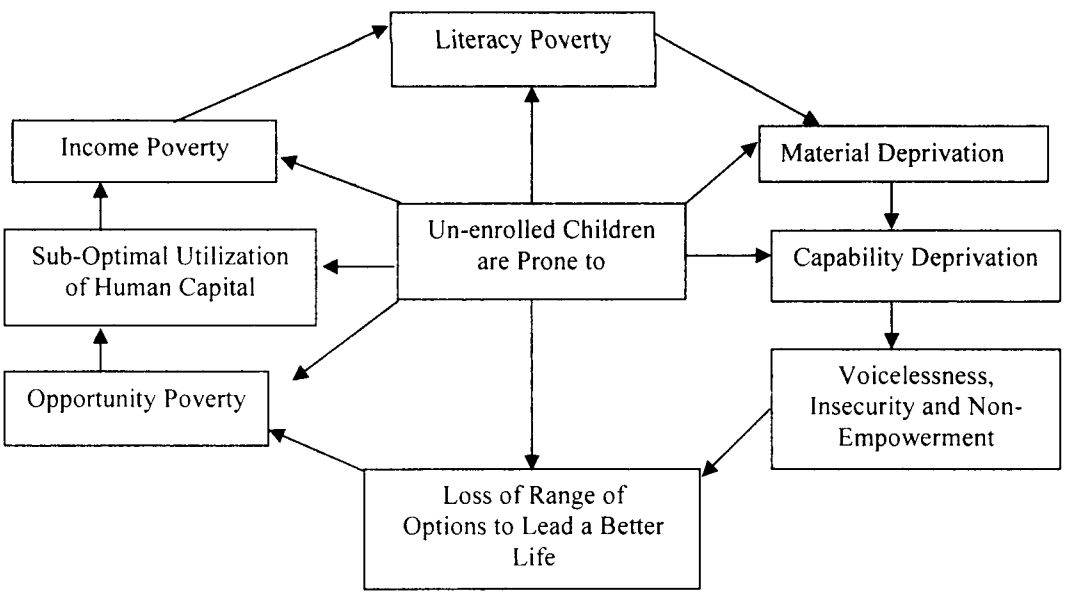
States with less than 100.0 % Gross Enrollment Ratio							
60-70 %		*70-80 %*		*80-90 %*		*90-100 %*	
U.P.	(65.7)	Punjab	(79.0)	H.P.	(88.6)	J & K	(91.8)
Delhi	(61.3)	Haryana	(78.9)	Kerala	(87.1)	Tamil Nadu	(96.4)
Chandigarh	(65.4)	Bihar	(79.9)	Andaman & Nicobar	(89.3)	Manipur	(97.1)
Goa	(66.2)			Pondicherry	(80.4)	Daman & Diu	(99.6)
				Rajasthan	(83.4)	Lak Deep	(99.9)

Source: GOI (2003), Economic Survey– 2002-03. Appendix Statistical Tables 9.2 and 9.3.

The Gross Enrolment Ratio for the primary classes (6 –11 years) reveals that it is less than 100% in 17 states which are having 43.2% of the total primary schools (276554) in the country. Though the states like Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Tamil Nadu and the two UTs are having around 7.0% of the total primary schools in the country, they have achieved 90 to 100% of gross enrollment Ratio. On the contrary, in spite of having more than 16.0% of the total primary schools, the gross enrollment ratio ranges from 60 to 70 per cent in the states like Delhi, U.P, Chandigarh and Goa. The ratio is 79% in the economically prosperous states like Punjab and Haryana. It is quite discouraging to note that the gross enrollment ratio for girls is the lowest at 50.3% in Uttar Pradesh. If a 100% Gross Enrollment Ratio is considered to be the ideal ratio, the performance of these 17 States needs a precautionary attention particularly with regard to the alleviation of Literacy Poverty.

The literacy poverty stricken children, the heart of our human resources, are to be taken care of in the process and efforts towards globalization of our economy. This issue requires a special attention because when children – the vital component of human resources – are not properly educated and labour as workers beyond their physical capacity and if the work interferes with their education, recreation and rest, their capabilities remain unutilised or under-utilised. When the child is out of the school and labours, his labour becomes an ovulate evil, and loses the capacity to avail the 'social opportunities' and thereby the chances to utilise the economic opportunities. Hence, 100% enrollment of children in the age group of 6-14 years and their retention is essential if the process of economic development is to be accelerated and to be successful in achieving the targeted growth rate of 8 % during the Tenth Plan. Schooling brings children in touch with others and broadens their horizons and this is particularly essential for the girl children. The non-enrollment of children in schools automatically leads to the poverty of life and also capability deprivation. The child loses the range of options, it has, in deciding what kind of life to lead and becomes inefficient to utilise the fruits of reforms, which are being implemented. The non-enrollment of children propels them to be engaged in different exploitative and un-remunerative activities or converts them as "Nowhere Children" (Chaudhri, 1996) and these disadvantaged children in urban areas become "Street Children" who represent the segment of sub-optimally utilised human capital resources. The conditions in which these little roses are working conflict with their physical, mental and personality growth and are prone to the fatal health disorders. The wastage of resources further perpetuates the vicious circle of poverty as shown in the following diagram.

Literacy Poverty Perpetuates Poverty of Different Types



According to the recent ILO (2002) estimate, 351.7 million children in the age group of 5-17 years work of the labour force, around the world in 2000 (23% of the Total Child Population). Of these working children, 60% are in the age group of 5-14 (210.8 millions) and 40% are in the age group of 15-17 years. It is painful to observe that 48 % of the working children are engaged in hazardous types of work (170.5 million). A heavy concentration of working children (61%) is found in Asia and the Pacific (214.6 million), followed by Sub-Saharan Africa (66.1 million) regions. Developed countries are also having 4% of this working children (14.0 million) force. The gender distribution reveals that 46.2% of these working children are girls and South Asia has the highest child labour in the world.

In our country also, the Labour Commission Report (2001) estimated that the number of working children is more than 100 million. These children represent deprived segments of human resources. Survey reports reveal that the incidence of child labour is highest in Andhra Pradesh (17.8%), Karnataka (13.9%), Himachal Pradesh (13.6%), Rajasthan (12.2%) and Tamil Nadu (10.4%). The experiences of the States like Kerala, Punjab, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Haryana and Gujarat show the significant impact of literacy on reducing the incidence of child labour compared to the other determinants (Dev and Ravi, 2002.)

The Need for the Management of Non-Enrolled Children

An analysis of incidence of child labour reveals that States with high incidence of child labour are prone to high incidence of literacy poverty and have to evolve efficient human resource management strategies though the roots of child labour are associated with the theory of labour market segmentation and complementarity (Burra, 2001 and Deshpande, 2000). Particularly, in Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhatisgarh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Uttaranchal and Assam, where the under-employment of human resources is quite high than the national average, appropriate human resource management strategies are of utmost importance. This importance and necessity for a suitable human resource plan emanates from the fact that the magnitude of out-of-school children to be provided education each year has been increasing with an increase in the population of primary school age children. The estimations of the number of out-of-primary school children, which was expected to increase to 43.9 million by 2003 in our country (Mahbub Ul Haq and Khadija Haq, 1998), warn our economy to have an efficient human resource management system so that these children may not be put to improper use and/or as underemployed. This exercise must also pay a sincere commitment to evaluate the status of girl children. Even today, female literacy is only 54.16 per cent (2001 Census) implying that our country has still 46% of illiterate female human resources, which is the token of the wastage of very potential resource. The PROBE Team (1999) observed that in as many as 72 districts of PROBE States, majority of the children in the age group of 10-14 were illiterate. The official statistics for 1997-98 show that around 11 million girls within the age group of 6-11 (88% of the unenrolled children)

and around 16 million girls in the age group of 11-14 remained unenrolled in schools (Usha Nayar, 2002).

Summary of Conclusions

The magnitude of non-enrollment is nothing but manifestation of deprivation of social opportunities, which takes the form of literacy poverty, breeds child labour and neutralises our planned efforts. The child labour involves the use of labour at its point of lowest productivity and its elimination certainly strengthens the heart of the human resources. The States with high incidence of child labour and non-enrollment of children only supply low-rated, unskilled and under-skilled human resources to our economy, which no doubt, dilute the spirit of our competitiveness. It should be kept in mind that "Development" is about improving the quality of peoples' lives by expanding their capabilities to shape their own futures. It involves provision of more equitable education with gender equality and better health. No doubt, reforms implemented so far have ignited new dynamism and new technologies are providing new opportunities for our economic and social development, at this juncture, the literacy poverty should not become a hindrance to the expansion of human capabilities and lead to the loss of options for a better life put forth by the reforms implemented so far in our country. It is an apt time for the Government to design an efficient human resource management system keeping in view both the demand and supply side influencing factors of literacy poverty, which enhance the absorbing as well as retention capacity of our educational system. More committed and sustained efforts are necessary for eradicating the incidence of Literacy Poverty so that all children eligible to get into schools are schooled. The public expenditure policy should be designed towards this high priority area, which enables us to attain and sustain even higher rates of economic growth than warranted a part of the Tenth Plan.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Tony BUSH (3rd edition) (2003): ***Theories of Educational Leadership and Management***, Sage Publications, London, pp. 209+xii, Price: £ 19.99.

The book under review is meant for students of educational leadership and management. But to some degree, its usage will also be worthwhile for head teachers and managers. Inferences of cases have been drawn from the current practices of management leadership both from the developed and developing countries. According to the author, there is now witnessed enough evidence of linkage between educational management theories, models and the main models of leadership.

It is viewed that leadership of an institution matters a lot. The leadership dimension embraces concepts of vision, values and transformational leadership. Being 3rd edition, the book has incorporated the contemporary scenario on the subject which has got evolved over the years due to fast changes during the last decade in management practices. The first edition of the book was out in 1986. It is now well recognized that school principals, assistant principals must need training to be effective for their specialist's roles as in the case for training for school teachers to be effective in the classroom. The aim of the book is to provide conceptual frameworks to guide the practices of educational leaders and managers. The author lists four objectives in preparing this third edition viz.:

- to integrate leadership theory with the management models featured in the two previous editions;
- to acknowledge the global significance of educational leadership and management by including much more material from a wide range of international settings;
- to update the literature by including many of the major sources published since 1995; and
- to scrutinize the material in the previous edition and to remove some of the less significant sources while retaining those texts central to theory development in the 1970s and 1980s.

There are nine chapters in the book covering: The importance of Learning and Management for Education; Models of Educational Leadership and Management; Formal Models; Collegial Models; Political Models; Subjective Models; Ambiguity Models; Cultural Models; and Conclusion. First chapter describes the conceptual framework of educational management, educational leadership, distinction between the two and definitions of instructional leadership. Practices in educational management have been established drawing heavily from disciplines of sociology, political science, economics

and general management. The diversity of these disciplines also is reflected in educational management. There is distinction made in the concept of leadership, management and administration. 'Management' is widely used in Britain, Europe and Africa, while 'Administration' is preferred in the United States, Canada and Australia. Dimmock (1999, p. 422) differentiates these concepts: school leaders (experience) tensions between competing elements of leadership, management and administration. Irrespective of how these terms are defined, school leaders experience difficulty in deciding the balance between higher order tasks designed to improve staff, student and school performance (leadership), routine maintenance of present operations (management and lower order duties (administration).

In Canada and most of the United States, for example, it is not possible to be appointed as a principal or vice-principal without an approved masters degree in educational administration. Similarly, Singapore has had a national qualification for school principals since 1984. Educational institutions operate within legislation framework set down by national, provincial or state parliaments. One of the key aspects of such a framework is the degree of decentralization in the educational system. Highly centralized systems tend to be bureaucratic and to allow little discretion to schools and local communities. France, Malta, Greece follow a centralized system. Even the United Kingdom's education system has experienced a continued and intensified centralization for the last 30 years (ibid, p. 11).

Dellar's (1998) research in 30 secondary schools in Australia, shows that 'site-based' management was successful where there was a positive school climate and involvement of staff and stake-holders in decision making. The main theories, described in the book, have either been developed in the educational context or have been adapted from industrial models to meet the specific requirement of schools and colleges.

In chapter 2, several models of educational leadership have been described. Theories of educational management are often based on or supported by observation of practice in educational institutions. Secondly, researchers may use a specific theoretical frame to select concepts to be tested through observation. In this book, the main theories are classified into six major models of educational management.

The formal models have their inherent limitations viz., unrealistic to characterize schools and colleges as goal-oriented; decision-making as a rational process is fraught with difficulties; under-estimation of the individual's contribution etc. Similarly, limitations of collegial models are characterized by their being normative rather realistic; decision-making tends to be slow and cumbersome, lack of time is also a great limitation; obtaining consensus is difficult; heads need to be genuinely brave to lend power to a democratic forum.

The political models, however, assume that in organizations, policy and decisions emerge through a process of negotiation and bargaining. Interest groups develop and form alliances in pursuit of particular policy objectives. Conflict is viewed as a natural phenomenon and power accrues to dominant coalitions rather than being the preserve of formal leaders (ibid, p. 89).

Political models too have their limitations. Their focus remains in the language of power, conflict and manipulation which results in ignoring other standard aspects of organizations. Subjective models, nonetheless, assume that organizations are the creation of the people within them. Participants are thought to interpret situations in different ways and these individual perceptions are derived from their background and values. Organizations have different meanings of each of their members and exist only in the experience of those members (ibid, p. 113). The limitations of subjective models are characterized by being prescriptive as these reflect beliefs about the nature of the organizations rather than presenting a clear framework for analysis. These are strongly normative; without defining the nature of the organizations, individual behaviours find their manifestation. A major criticism of subjective models is that they provide few guidelines for managerial action.

The Ambiguity models assume that organizations have problematic technology in that their processes are not properly understood.

Cultural models nevertheless assume that beliefs, values and ideology are at the heart of organizations. Individuals hold certain ideas and values-preferences which influence how they behave and how they view the behaviour of other members. These norms become share traditions which are communicated within the group and are reinforced by symbols and rituals (ibid, p. 156). Large multipurpose organizations, in particular, are likely to have more than one culture. Organized culture emphasizes the development of shared norms and meanings. Cultural models add several useful elements to the analysis of school and college leadership and management. Cultural models are characterized by three weaknesses:

- the search for a monoculture may mean subordinating the values and beliefs of some participants to those of leaders or the dominant group.
- the cultural models may be unduly mechanistic, assuming that leaders can determine the culture of the organizations.
- the cultural models' focus on symbols such as rituals and ceremonies may mean that other elements of organizations are under-estimated.

The six models do differ along crucial dimensions but when examined together, they provide a comprehensive picture of the management in educational institutions. Across the board, there are four aspects of management which have been addressed in the book, viz., goals, organizational structures, the external environment and leadership attributes required in each model. The validity of various models also depends on five overlapping considerations i.e. size of the institutions, organizational structure, time available for management, the availability of resources and the external environment.

The book is thus an attempt to synthesize the management models to educational management and may serve a useful purpose for students as well as research scholars pursuing their search in the area of quality management in education.

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R. NARASIMHAN (2004): ***Characterizing Literacy: A Study of Western and Indian Literacy Experiences***. New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London: SAGE Publications Pvt. Ltd., pp. 193+ index; price Rs. 280 (Indian currency) £14.99 (Foreign currency), ISBN 0-7619-9629-2 (Paperback)

The volume makes a serious probe into the changes taking place at societal and individual levels as a child transgresses through the ravines from orality to literacy issues right from its first language to skills acquisition. It explains the entire mechanism through the process of artificial intelligence, cognition and learning, maintaining equilibrium between the physical world and the behavioural world to which a child is exposed.

This document, unique in its endeavour, reveals through extensive review of literature and long-term past experiences that the patterns of learning and literacy in India and Western Europe are strikingly different. The practices have shown that the skill of literacy as a necessary condition for articulating features in words found more prominence in India and China whereas ancient Greece followed a different pattern where these skills came to be channeled to understand 'the world', more in terms of distal consequences where it would be seen as 'model' by the outside world. The literacy experiences in Indian traditions have shown that in addition to script, tacit literacy has played a considerable role even in the absence of script literacy. In fact, over the years, tacit learning substituted by orality in learning, so rampant in traditional society of India, has created serious cognitive constraints. The transformation of tacit literacy in the oral practices has almost faded away in transactions in the modern India. The use of non-script modes of literacy as in the transmission of the Vedas (not an ordinary 'oral' tradition syntax and vocabulary) or tabla playing (appropriate beats) and Kolam paintings (locating associations with special locations) has been promoting reflective behaviour. Unfortunately, the central role played by reflection in 'becoming' and 'being' literate has now almost diminished from our schools.

Modern India is now heavily guarded by rhetoric memory rather than reflective, innovative and creative thinking, which the examination system also does not, however, recognize. The volume supports this argument with empirical evidences gathered from two tests administered on children from schools of Mumbai. Therefore, it calls for emergence to the need to make children literate in the extended sense of the concept of reflective thinking. The book also presents a comprehensive picture of the classroom settings in traditional schools, still prevalent in most of the parts of the developing world, where knowledge is articulated in a 'telling' style, mainly showing concern for a modelled world than the 'real world. It argues further that it should be possible to provide meta-level training (i.e. training on how-to-learn) even in a real world context. And at the same time, the importance of technology underpins the reflective processes cannot be overlooked. It is, therefore, contemplated it should be possible to provide meta-level training even in a real world context, supplemented with detailed systematic empirical studies.

The book illustrates that literacy characterizes learning that promotes application of mind with accurate frame of reference in tune to the essential objectives of learning. Where western European culture has recognized language behaviour and modification as key instruments for the creation of new-engineered worlds, a sharp distinction can be noticed in formal and informal literacy domains in India and Europe. The author explains that literacy should not be limited to capability to read and write but it has to be examined as an extension of potentialities that enable a child to equip oneself to face the world and the self with better understanding of the "consequences" of literacy in a larger perspective. There is also a need to transact knowledge that builds up the essential capabilities of articulating and communicating the aspects of the world and specific situations independently and to understand their inter-relationships. When once the skill of expression gets sharpened, externalization processes get strengthened.

The final message as one can gather from the cross-cultural comparisons for at least 2,500 years, as revealed in the book, is that literacy should not be too exclusively identified with schooling but it needs to be understood in a larger socio-linguistic milieu especially because of the multiplicity of languages to which Indian children are exposed to at home, peer groups in school, teacher-student interactions and media interventions of all kinds. The textbooks and oral transactions (writing for most part was looked upon as a support to memory and recall) have remained strictly the products of learning and literacy in India, unlike China and European literacy practices that were closer in the use of both script and images as representational media. Therefore, it is being felt increasingly to create a framework for literacy studies in India promoting communication, co-operation and collaboration between interested and active workers in this inter-disciplinary area. The related activities could be promoted by application of successful practices of other countries in Indian context like building a bibliography on 'literacy', building a directory of groups engaged in literacy programmes, projects and studies, publishing of literacy journals, organizing periodic seminars on topics in literacy, scholar exchange programme, inclusion of different topics or courses in the area of orality-literacy and the instructional process in the teaching programmes in psycho-linguistics and education and finally undertaking specific collaborative or discuss collaborative research projects carried out separately with the freedom in approaching funding sources.

The arrival of the book has drawn the attention of readers to the richness of conventional practices in imparting literacy and learning supplemented with a strong blend of transactions in the light of technological transformations taking place in this global era. The arguments envision literacy in a broader perspective but also provide a platform for different activist forums including scholars, researchers, educationists, practitioners and local leaders to activate their minds and enrich their thought processes further to address to the issue of articulation and skills of oral and written script literacy and learning from situation-locale context-specific point of view. The discussions on the question of literacy as "literacy manifold" in a sequential interlude of historically achieved skills beyond reading, writing and use of script renders this volume as a rich

resource for all who are intensely engaged in this area, providing enough space to generate deeper concern for examining the issue of literacy "beyond".

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Vimala RAMACHANDRAN Ed. 2004. ***Gender and Social Equity in Primary Education: Hierarchies of Access***. New Delhi: Sage Publications. ISBN 81-7829-383-8 (India-Pb), Pages 381, Price Rs 390.

This book is an attempt to assess the last ten years or so of the sustained effort under the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) to extend and deepen the educational system. The method used includes desk research, using and reviewing the vast amount of material, evaluations and reports, generated by the DPEP structure, and case studies of a few selected schools. The findings of the book are sobering but not perhaps altogether surprising – the fact that 'the process of increased universalisation is accompanied by growing segregation by class, caste and gender.' (27). The result of the exodus to private schools, by those who can afford it, has serious implications.

'These trends have serious implications both for the quality of schooling and policy. Since many of the poor and socially deprived are first generation learners, they require more inputs. Instead, all they can access are under-funded and poorly functioning government schools and alternative schools, of which many have just a single teacher. Further, since the better off are increasingly turning to private schools, the pressure on government schools, which cater to the poor to improve, is reduced. This combination of increasing enrolment in private unaided schools and a clustering of the poor and the socially deprived in AS/EGS schools indicates that the formal increase in SC/ST enrolment is less positive than it might appear. The push towards privatization, whether by default or design, may well be penalizing those who require greater help in a situation of structural dualism' (28).

The emergence of these trends, this 'hierarchy of access', does not require any Machiavellian strategy to be at work. The explanation simply lies in the context of deep social division, and deeply entrenched practices and attitudes which pre-date the DPEP and shape the nuances of the programme. This is recognized by the study, which argues, however, that 'the true success of DPEP, especially the promise enshrined in decentralization and the twin-objectives of gender and social equity, is contingent on its abilities to successfully engage with these extra-educational issues in order to bridge the gap between its rhetoric and reality in a meaningful way' (29).

The chapter on data and its appendices is an extremely useful compilation of available data. It is suggested that the data that is still missing, and would be useful in policy assessment, includes data on 'net enrolment, retention, transition and average

years of schooling, data disaggregated by gender, social groupings (within them by gender) and type of school'. (51). The review of strategies adopted to reach out to remote areas and hard to reach children and the flexibility offered through the 'Alternative School' programmes under DPEP are indicative of the thought that has gone into the formulation of the programme.

Review of classroom practices suggests that the approach offered by DPEP, and the kind of training given to teachers, is along the right lines. To the extent that these have been adopted in the classroom, teaching processes have indeed become more child-centred and more 'joyful'. But the review also points out that discriminatory practices and attitudes continue to persist, so that 'only when age-old, socio-cultural barriers rooted in religion, caste and traditional social organization are recognized and crossed, can equal opportunity for education be available to all' (165). It is not at all difficult to agree with this finding.

The case studies that are included in the book are very interesting, they help to provide context and colour to the general conclusions, and also show some surprises such as the very positive picture of the EGS schools. Of course, one cannot draw any 'general' conclusions from these, but there is enough detail and analysis to convince any skeptic of the finding that stronger social groups are able to shape the available schooling options to reflect the existing divisions and power structures within the society.

In its descriptions, then, this book has served a valuable purpose, by demonstrating clearly that the Indian educational system is not a neutral and autonomous identity, it is deeply embedded in the existing social fabric and will reflect the perceptions and the biases of that society. The real questions then concern the ways in which we can find an answer to the question of 'how' the educational system can be made more responsive and more sensitive to those who are marginalized and disempowered – and as the study persuasively argues, these groups are defined differently in different local contexts and speaking in terms of broad categories, it is not very useful in identifying them. Just as problems are locally defined, so too are the resources available (both human and others). There is a suggestion in the study that what we need is more effort along the same lines, more training and monitoring so as to develop a cadre of teachers who are able to rise above all the biases and beliefs of the society they belong to, and be able to somehow perceive things differently. This is, of course, particularly difficult since what is needed is far more (human) resources to go into the most deprived areas, while the new aspirations generated by globalization are very different. Teachers who are qualified are being attracted into private schooling or even overseas, (where they may well be expected to show the same kind of sympathy and understanding towards marginalized groups).

If change is to be introduced and sustained inside the classroom and school, it needs reinforcement from the thinking and perception outside the school and in the general environment of the village. If the problem of inadequate sensitivity to social and gender concerns is to be found in the underlying and pre-existing social context far more than in the educational inputs, one can also argue that the solution needs also to come from a changing context. It is important then to understand how the context is changing, and

what the implications of these changes are. And in that sense, we cannot ignore the fact of a growing private schooling system: the values that it represents and strengthens will just as surely affect other schools.

The argument of the book is that DPEP can initiate change and that it has in fact been able to do so, although not in as substantial a way as one might have hoped. In the end, the question that one is left to reflect upon is whether more micro management is called for within the DPEP schools and in the implementation of training and other inputs, or, is the need for encouraging and strengthening influences that operate at a more meso or macro level but just as surely will influence the thinking and the environment inside the schools?

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Tilstone CHRISTINE and Rose RICHARD (eds.) (2003): ***Strategies to Promote Inclusive Practices,*** Routledge Falmar, London, pp. 225+index, ISBN 0-415-25485-X (Paperback), ISBN 0-415-25484-I (Hardbound)

The main theme of the book is *inclusion*, the processes through which schools develop their culture, policies and practices enabling them to include all pupils. The book is the collection of different articles dealing with the existing gap between the rhetoric and the reality of inclusion on daily basis. While some articles focus on formulations of effective policies, others have dealt with implementation of policies. The articles are organized and categorized according to the three thematic areas.

This book has been written in the context of major initiatives of U.K. Government that issued their Green paper "Excellence for All Children: Meeting Special Educational Needs" in 1997. Since then, inclusion of pupils with special educational needs in mainstream has remained an important agenda. After initiation of Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2001 (SENDA), discrimination against pupils on the basis of their disability has been considered unlawful and efforts are ongoing to protect their rights to education in the mainstream school. With this backdrop, the book under review attempts to elaborate some of the practices facilitating inclusion. Drawing reference from the experiences of different authors who have in-depth knowledge and experience of inclusion, ultimately the book arrived at an understanding that "Inclusion is a complex, multifaceted and layered process which is developing rapidly as an agenda and government policies need to be translated into practice to promote these".

In the introductory chapter, the definition given by *Inclusion International* (an organization) has been referred. According to this, "Inclusion refers to the opportunity for persons with a disability to participate fully in all the educational, employment, consumer, recreational, community and domestic activities that typified everyday society". Authors have expressed their views that the schools should develop their own

definitions of inclusion that are reflected in their beliefs, working practices and values of teachers and pupils. The book argues for development of a process recognising the individuality of children to provide them positive learning experiences.

The first part of the book includes the articles around the theme 'Responding to Diversity: the Development of Policy and Strategies'. This part deals with suitable policy and strategies to meet the diverse learning characteristics of these learners. In the first article of this part, while reviewing the ways in which 'theoretical and philosophical' arguments for inclusion, the author Richard Rose stresses on development of a more equitable education system for attainment of a more inclusive society as the teachers are not solely responsible for this. The researchers have an important role to identify the procedures that enable these learners to be educated.

Marie Howley and Sue Kime have examined two cases to show how the teachers face challenges to address the special educational needs of individual students in the whole class situation. The article explains how the priority areas of learning are identified to develop teaching strategies accordingly. They have also discussed the importance of developing whole school approaches to the management of individual learning for all pupils.

Ann Fergusson and Trendy Duffield have focused on inclusion of the pupils with multiple learning difficulties whose learning needs cannot be satisfied without addressing their cultural and linguistic needs. They have suggested for parental involvement and establishment of linkage between home and school in developing the policy for effective monitoring the achievement level of these students. In addition, the schools need to share their values and expertise to meet the diverse needs of such learners.

In the next chapter, Liz Gersehal attempts to establish linkage between Gender, Race and Special Educational Needs (SEN). The author has suggested that schools can be truly inclusive if they recognise the commonalities and distinctions between the groups of learners with special educational needs according to their ethnic, social and economic background. This would require reform in the system of education in terms of distribution of power and resources.

The author Ted Cole has stressed on positive behaviour management from the perspective of the political, theoretical and research agenda. The author has rightly pointed out that these pupils respond to the skillful and proficient teaching, which can be supported by effective school environment. In spite of many problems, some schools can achieve these strategies and their policy and practices must be shared with other schools facing tremendous challenges for inclusion.

The chapter written by Penny Lacey discusses the efforts that have been made by individuals and different agencies. The article includes the policies at national and local level, facilitating or creating difficulties for practising multi-agency work. After citing some examples of effective practices, the author has suggested for a radical restructuring of education to counteract some of the difficulties common in multi-agency work and use of a collegial approach for which the schools ought to devise their own policies promoting multi-agency work.

In the next chapter, Christopher Robertson has focused on inclusive therapy for children with learning difficulties. The author has proposed for developing systematic policy and planning at national, regional and local level promoting entitlement and equity approach, which can be achieved by providing education and therapy services, both simultaneously.

The next two chapters are included in second part – "Policies into Practice through two core subjects". These articles focus on learning difficulties of pupils in the two core subjects – Mathematics and English. Basic argument of these two articles is that along with giving importance to the subjects, other aspects of the curriculum should be taken into consideration. Jill Porter has discussed the policies and practices of schools to upgrade mathematics understanding of pupils and has also highlighted some difficulties that teachers face in improving the standards of mathematics of the pupil with special educational needs. He has also argued that, all pupils can make the progress provided they are given access to a daily lesson in mathematics. Finally, the author has suggested for introduction of policies to ensure the development and application of *mathematics thinking tools* in daily life.

Richard Byers and Linda Ferguson start their article with a brief historical overview of the teaching practices of literacy for the pupils with severe and profound and multiple learning difficulties. Recently the guidance given by the QLA/DFEE's in 2001 instructed the teachers to implement ' Literacy, Hour' and also emphasized on the flexible approach for development of curriculum by the teachers as per the needs of the pupils. According to the authors, the guidance for teaching the key skills of communication appears to be important for teaching English. Finally, the authors have suggested for continuation of school based enquiry and research partnership with practitioners to explore the nature of relationship between literacy and communication.

Remaining six chapters of the book are included in the third part under the theme of "Policies and Strategies: A Consideration of Other Wider Context". The first chapter of this part deals with the problem of special children of early year's age group. The author has given a brief account on how the present government has taken initiatives during recent years for promoting early childcare opportunities. The author has suggested for development of partnerships of different agencies, working for these children. It has been rightly pointed out that, though the U.K. government is giving enormous emphasis on development of inclusive system, there is no practical guideline available about inclusive practices and very little guidance is given for developing inclusive curriculum. The author has also suggested for rigorous training of inclusive practitioners and provision of necessary support to the parents as educators of their children.

Caroline Broomhead stresses on the needs for effective education policy for inclusion of the learners of 16-19 years age group. Emphasis has been given on provision of a curriculum enabling these students to succeed in their post-school years and also on development of effective policies in consultation with all the stakeholders. Mentioning the 16-19 phase of education as crucial, finally, the author has suggested for

implementation of robust school policies facilitating structured learning opportunities for meaningful education of this age group.

In the subsequent chapter, Sue Fagg has stressed on implementation of efficient and effective practices enabling LEA to perform the task of providing education within a centrally contracted legislative framework through differing local resources, which are also controlled by others. In the opinion of the author, the role of LEA as facilitator and partners will be enhanced in the near future.

Jim Welger has focused once again on the role of LEA in provision of inclusive education. The principles of new policy, funding strategies, processes and structures, management of change, partnership with parents and finally the external influences on LEA's activities have been discussed at length. He emphasized on implementation of current strategies that are important for translating the policy into action.

Referring to the recent research, Sue Sanderson has indicated that there has been a shift in understanding about learning and curriculum. In her opinion, students' motivation and sustenance of their learning needs to be considered. The relationship between psychologists and teachers is more of a collaborator in this regard. Finally, the author has suggested for redefining the role of educational psychologists to make it suitable to present situation.

The final chapter, written by Cristina Tiltstone, one of the editors of the book, focuses on the critical policy issues regarding professional development of all the staff and teachers, in particular, for promoting inclusive education policies. Criticising the existing teacher training policy, its content and methodology, the author highlights that the teacher education programme does not have much focus on the needs of the teacher and adequate resource is not available with the schools for continuous professional development, specially after the initiation of policy like "Grant Related" In-service Training' in U.K. The chapter as well as the book has been concluded with the comment - "ultimately the emphasis within the document must be enabling staff at all levels to encourage the full participation of pupils with special educational needs in all aspects of the life, of the school, of the community and ultimately of the society". This comment perhaps can be considered as a guiding principle for future policy formulation, though issues discussed in other chapters are equally important.

This book has covered all the aspects of inclusive education ranging from behavioural management of pupils, classroom transaction, teaching strategies, school based practices, professional development and so on. This book has also highlighted the need for establishment of linkages between various stake-holders involved and their expected roles for development of inclusive education policies and their implementation. Thus, the book provides new insights and an interesting reading to all those who have concern for educational development, with an approach of equity and justice and to those rigorously working for promoting inclusive education.

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Kameshwar CHAUDHARY (2004): ***Intellectuals and Society—A Study of Teachers in India,*** Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, ISBN: 81-7154-875-X, pp. 383+iii, Price: Rs. 375.

Whether one reads the whole book or only a part of it, what one must invariably read first is the book's Preface. The genesis of a book is always more interesting than its content. The present book is no exception. The author was motivated to make a foray into this area after having read a paper, by Marxist economist Ashok Rudra, published in the *Political and Economic Weekly* (Jan.21, 1989), "Emergence of the Intelligentsia as a Ruling Class in India". The issue also carried an opinion of Andre Beteille," Rudra has set our minds working on a subject of great importance, and I hope that this challenge will be taken up by those with an interest in data as well as in theory." The present study on the subject, it is claimed by others, has twin theoretical frameworks — the Marxist and the non-Marxist. The reason given is that plenty of material exists within both frameworks.

The introductory chapter deals with the definitional and etymological aspects of the terms *intellectuals* and *intelligentsia*. It also provides a classification of the Marxist and non-Marxists authors and their definitions, besides the origins and the usages of the twin terms. This chapter deserves to be read more closely than the rest of the six others.

The first chapter discusses the Marxist and the non-Marxist view of the intellectuals and society. While this chapter has its historical importance, the real meaning of these two terms – intellectuals and intelligentsia – remains vague and unclear. At times, they are used interchangeably but this is not always the case. Andre Beteille maintains that the modern Indian intellectuals form a 'highly differentiated category' as they differ greatly among themselves in terms of the background they come from. A greater diversity is seen in respect of their education and parental occupation. S.C.Dube recognized the contributions made by modern Indian intellectuals in the creation of a new world-view interlaced with the ideals of freedom, equality and development. Nirad C.Chaudhuri holds that the dominant intellectual minority constituted a ruling class in India. He identifies them as men belonging to the liberal professions and the higher ranks of the civil service. He refuses to accept the politicians as a class to belong to new intelligentsia because most of them come from the traditional middle class. This should be even truer in the case of India's political right. While using the two terms, under discussion, interchangeably, Rajni Kothari sees them belonging to two classes; one, self-serving status-quo-ist intellectuals and the other, involved in the non-revolutionary social transformation of the society. For him, the past failings and the betrayals of the intellectual community are untenable, as it served often enough as agents and brokers of tyrants and tyrannical regimes.

Seen in the context of the recent past, the roles of Indian intellectuals and intelligentsia, in and out of government bodies, makes the discussion about the characteristics of Indian elites, especially of the intellectuals most relevant and illuminating. If they have thus far failed to cover themselves in any particular glory, there

is hardly any promise that they are likely to brighten up the future scenario. Kothari says," The role of the intellectual in history is a modest one, though no doubt critical ...and yet in an era of technocratic regimes and computerization of human mind must build on the values and commitments of this very class. For, it alone can reverse the prospect of dispensability (of the masses) into that of their indispensability. And on that basis recreate the human enterprise."

As regards the methodology, the study was conducted on a sample from Bihar defining both from the Marxist and non-Marxist view class structure. As delineated in the study, according to the self-perception of the teachers, 91% thought they belonged to middle class, while 5% of the sample thought they were a cut above the middle class and the remaining 6% thought they were a class below the middle. Interestingly, 74% came from the white-collared job background.

The study concludes unequivocally that teachers do not constitute a social class. Instead, they come from a very diverse background. The study, however, avers, "The Marxist understanding of class composition and ideology of intellectuals/intelligentsia in general and post-independence Indian intellectuals and intelligentsia stands vindicated. Division on class lines, as posited by the Marxist view, is clearly evident. Obviously, the non-Marxist view of modern intellectuals/intelligentsia, which largely ignores division on class lines, does not grasp the reality."

On the whole, it is a very good attempt. One wishes that similar attempts should be made in Delhi as well, if only to discover what holds good for Bihar is sui generis and need not exist anywhere else. Perhaps the quality of proof reading could have been improved along with the printing. Recommended for all libraries where social sciences are taught. Also, it carries a tip or two for those who wish to undertake quality research.

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John F. JENNINGS (1998): ***Why National Standards and Tests? Politics and the Quest for Better Schools***. London, SAGE Publications, ISBN 0-761-1475-7, Pages 204, Price $ 36.50 (Hard Cover)

The author has touched upon a very crucial question of standards of the tests in a nation; and the nation, being USA, is an eye opener for the politicians, the people and the policy-makers of the entire world. The subject of national standards and tests has always remained a delicate issue, as the viewpoints of the experts and the public didn't match. But the seriousness with which the greatest democracy in the world has looked into the matter of National Standards and Tests is not only a great concern but also a great lesson

in the political and academic circuits of all the countries. The intervention of the head of the state in such an important pursuit of national development not only through mere quantified educated people but by providing highest standards of education is a remarkable contribution for the development of not only having the good educated but also having high quality human resources in the country. The serious concern shown by the heads of the state of USA over centuries to achieve the standards indicates the priority being bestowed on education and its system in the country. Keeping this in the background, the author has made an attempt in the book to unfold the constraints and acceptability of adopting such a challenging task in the country by the people, corporate houses, politicians and the policy-makers.

Unfolding the origin of such an idea by the previous US administration and the serious follow up by the preceding administrators to convince and adopt the methods to attain national standards in the education system in the country was a difficult task. But the political will and making the will acceptable has enabled the country to implement the toughest decisions for the benefit of the people.

There is a common feeling among the people to achieve education very smoothly without much effort, as a fear psychosis prevails that if the tests are rigorous may be it is impossible to get through it. This may be attributed to the fact that the standards of education provided in the schools is not sufficient and may be, there is no faith in the education being provided by the state to enable the people to achieve the highest scores in the national tests. Therefore, if such standards are implemented, many may not be in a position to attain the required qualification for competing in the job market, and to add to this, certain questions arise on this issue such as what is the quality of our education system?; is it really providing knowledge?; is it only providing the certificates, or is it only increasing the number of literates per se.

But the countries have to accept the hard realities of achieving not only the standards but also quality education. This can be achieved by sincere efforts of the politicians and the visionary academics and bureaucracy. The half-baked policies of vested political and bureaucratic interventions may retain the developing countries in the background with low quality human resources misfit for the developments taking place across the globe.

The efforts of the Head of the Democratic State of USA in pushing such qualitative initiatives in the system of education is noteworthy, the author due to his possible access to such information by virtue of his presence in the meetings and association in the negotiations was in a position to describe the delicate and intricate issues in this book on continuous struggle for making the National Standards and Tests adapted in the country. These descriptions are of high value to the policy makers as they provide ample vision and understanding of the dilemmas to be overcome, and also strengthen them for undertaking any exercises of improving education system in the country as well as the possible types of resistance needed to be neutralized for implementation of any change or reform to be implemented for the future development in a country.

The author has discussed in detail, through various chapters, the resistance of experts and senators from opposition involved in this exercise of implementation and in order to

counter the resistance, modifications were made to accommodate the suggestions and the changes were made so that the bill is passed successfully.

It is noteworthy to highlight the commitment by the senior republican members of the house and senate education committee sending their support to the President. The issue of raising standards in the schools, without resources, remained a debatable issue. However, backing by the opponents in such an important issue of federal school reform bill, its due national role in assisting the school reform received acceptability, while allowing some room for financial assistance to the states and the school districts considering quality as well as equity issues.

The references from the report "Goals 2000: Educate America Act, Senate Debate" have been discussed in the book, the view points of the senators, the business houses and the government with regard to obtaining quality education for the country remained priority. The eleven years old report, "Nation at Risk" and the concern of the governors on issues such as low expectations for students, a watered-down curriculum, minimal requirements for graduation, and shortage of high quality, experienced teachers remained as hot debatable issues over the period. The combination of endorsement by a party and non-endorsement by another in support of the bill, which is very common in any democracy remained in the process, despite all the roadblocks, President Clinton finally was able to sign the bill into law, the wonderful and committed statement which he made on the occasion is worth mentioning, "This is the beginning. Today we can say America is serious about education".

It enabled 70% of America's public elementary schools and 20% secondary schools to obtain federal aid to the schools. $ 10 billion of aid was provided that particular year to nearly every school district in the country for remedial education programs for disadvantaged children, for teacher training, for funding of innovative programs etc. The purpose was to raise standards for all children, including those with special needs, and to have federal programs back up state and local reform efforts. One of the notable features is that the programs were refashioned and redesigned in order to fit into broader framework of the policy that simultaneously satisfied many politicians, endorsing political viability.

The arguments and the counter-arguments to launch such an important program for the benefit of the people by enhancing the standards of education in the country is a very difficult task as many actors in the system of education are to be satisfied. Care has been taken of the economic factors of the schools, locations and the people utilizing the facilities and the sacrifice by the economically advanced states in terms of diverting some funds from the supporters of the government is also of great significance in achieving the national goals.

A flexible decentralized approach of the Clinton Administration is the passage of the education reforms, which, in a single go, passed nine items including the crucial revision of Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The press/columnists stated that it was not an easy task for any President to single-handedly change the nation's education system because the federal government pays for so little of the bill of

supporting the schools and has no direct control over the school. But the bill provided flexibility in exchange of high standards in the country, by restricting the role of the government to setting the goals and helping develop the measurements that would determine whether schools were meeting the goals, rather than the traditional role of prescribing detailed regulations.

Although the conservatives opposed the reforms, Clinton won his second term in 1996 by endorsing the need for quality and standards in education and adhered to his endeavor of reforms. This not only received the support from many of the governors but also the people. The reforms took into account the real issues of proper curriculum in order to raise the student academic achievement, setting clear standards and writing tests to measure their attainment, teacher training and retraining, improvement of textbooks and special care to students who are not doing well etc. The reforms touched upon the crux of issues crucial for the national development and also helped in obtaining better schools for the country as a whole.

As an insider, the author penned down a huge amount of information about the vision and the commitment of the implementers in the entire process of reform, which is goal-oriented and for the benefit of the nation is enhancing the standards of education and also to feel proud of it, deserves applause. And the book, on the whole, gives a glimpse of the pictorial factors of the entire episode of making the program launch successfully crossing all the barricades and tossing through all the hurdles otherwise, it would have been very difficult even to visualize by layman what are the intricacies in implementation of such programs in a huge democracy like USA. The book provides a wealth of information for the benefit of policy makers and experts involved in such exercises.

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Ta-Ngok CHAU (2003): ***Demographic Aspects of Educational Planning, Series on Fundamentals of Educational Planning*** (No. 72), UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, pp. 113

Planning for education is carried out on the basis of a sound database. However, in the field of education the database that is useful for planning does not pertain to only educational data but it is equally important to have a sound demographic database. It is on the basis of the demographic data including the present, past and future projections of population that estimations are made as to what will be the requirements of a particular area for schools, teachers, buildings, infrastructure, learning material and so on. The demographic pressure has a bearing on the education system and thus there may be direct effect of demographic factors on educational development in any country. It is, therefore, important for the educational planners and policy makers to know the structure and

distribution of population at a particular point of time and also have a clear idea of how it has changed over period of time in recent years.

The book under review is an attempt to show the effects that demographic factors may have on educational development and focuses on discussing how population data may be used in preparation of an educational plan. The author provides the keys to understanding the various types of demographic data and the essential techniques needed by those who desire to apply such data for planning and management of education system. The book has two parts: with Part I discussing the structure of a population and its effects on educational problems and in Part II the focus is on population trends and their impact on educational planning over the longer term.

According to the author, the population data are crucial to educational planning and no meaningful planning is possible without reference to the current and future demographic profile of the country. If that profile is avaiiable with some degree of accuracy, it is essential to be sufficiently flexible in the determination of educational targets to allow adjustments to be made in case more accurate data become available later.

Showing the importance of reliable demographic data for educational planning, the author explains that in countries where statistics are reliable, where censuses are conducted regularly and carefully and vital statistics units operate efficiently, population data are presented with all the necessary accuracy and precision, and the demographic projections based on such data have every chances of being accurate as well. However, there is always the possibility of error in the event of abrupt changes in population behaviour. In the other countries, and especially in the developing countries, where the planners do not have such accurate data, they must have to take precautions in using whatever statistics are available.

Educational planners may be concerned with the distribution of population for various reasons. They may be interested in its distribution by age and sex, they may be concerned with the distribution of population by sector of economic activity and within these sectors by occupation, or they may be concerned with the geographical distribution of population. The examination of population structure in the present book is confined to these three aspects. It gives a brief outline of the methods of analyzing population structure, particularly the methods of census taking.

It is found that in many cases the demographic data are marred with errors. The author cautions that the educational planners must nevertheless use them as the basis for taking decisions and for determining certain educational targets. They should, therefore, be well informed on the methods by which the data were obtained and especially on the degree of their accuracy. Planners must always bear in mind the limitations on the value of such statistics in their work and should allow some room for adjustment in their plans so that they can, if necessary, compensate for the effects of errors in particular estimates. However, the reality is that the demographic data are the foundation on which all educational planning is built, and they play a part whenever options are formulated or

decisions are taken. But at the same time, planners must not lose sight of the limits to their accuracy.

The book explains the importance of data on age structure of the population and its use in estimating teachers' requirements, its burden on educational expenditure as well as on school enrolment rates. In this regard, the methods of calculating enrolment rates, admission rates and indicators of efficiency of education system etc. have been explained and their use in educational planning are discussed.

The educational planners should not be content with knowing the current situation of population but they must also have an accurate picture of the problems likely to be faced in future. In particular they must know how the population is likely to change in future years. The study of population changes must, according to the author, take into account the trend of any increase or decrease in the population over a period of time. The two main factors that affect this trend are natality and mortality. The combination of these two factors, plus migration, determines the changes in the size of a population.

The book explains in details about the method of measuring natality and presents natality trends in selected countries. In this regard, it is explained that the number of births has significance for educational planners, as this number will determine the future number of pupils and students in the various levels of the education system. In most countries, educational planning is concerned with increases in the number of pupils and students but in others – after a period of declining natality – it may involve planning for a drop in this number, a task that raises problems of similar complexity.

The author also examines the methods of measuring mortality and presents the mortality trend in selected countries of the world. In mortality studies, special attention should, according to the author, be given to infant mortality, because the mortality level of very young children is relatively high. The infant mortality rate is of particular interest to educational planners because this determines the number of children for whom schooling must be provided in the future.

An important aspect covered in this book is a thorough discussion on the appearance of AIDS and its impact on demography and educational development. It explains the nature of this disease, methods of prevention from it and the possibility of its treatment. Explaining the impact of AIDS on educational development it is mentioned that in countries where the level of HIV infection is already high, AIDS has, of course, a considerable impact on educational development and quality. In analyzing this problem, it is, according to the author, appropriate to start by examining the impact of AIDS on the work and performance of teachers and its effects on students' learning. This is because AIDS leads invariably to death and the resulting decimation of teaching force, trained with difficulty and at considerable expense, forms an additional barrier to the development of qualitative improvement of basic education, particularly for the poor countries.

The future trend in population size and its impact on the school age population are of special interest to educational planners. The examination of population growth will therefore give special emphasis to methods of making population projections and

forecasting future school enrolment. While explaining the methods of forecasting of school enrolment, it is mentioned that such forecasting requires population projections and since AIDS affects both natality and mortality trends, it will have an impact on these projections.

Focusing on forecasting of school enrolment, it is mentioned that up to the end of compulsory schooling, the forecasting of school enrolment figures presents no difficulties as the number of children enrolled in schools is approximately equal to the school-age population. But at the other levels of education, only a part of the school age population will have access to education. Theoretically, this proportion depends on both social demand and the policy established by the government. In practice, however, things are not so simple. Even the most authoritarian governments are obliged to take social demand into account while setting policy. By same token, all governments, no matter how liberal, seek to influence that social demand. Ultimately, it is the combined action of these two factors that determines the level of educational enrolment rates. In this regard, it may also be kept in view that after forecasting the number of enrolments on national scale, it may be necessary to make similar forecasts at the sub-national and local levels.

The book is of practical use for educational planners and administrators who are working in the field and also to those who intend to join this cadre in the near future. It is useful to the planners and administrators to help them to use the findings, and particularly the projections, of the demographer with confidence and proper caution. Though the book is useful for the planners of all countries in general, it may be of special value for those working in the developing countries, where very reliable data are not available.

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Kuldip KAUR: ***Higher Education in India (1781-2003): Policies, Planning and Implementation***, University Grants Commission, New Delhi and Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh; UGC, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 388 (Hardbound)

This book is a highly informative venture about the history of Higher Education from its beginning to the present. Fifteen years back, a similar publication came out with the same partners – University Grants Commission (UGC) and Center for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID) – as Education in India (1781-1985). Hence, this is the second one in the series.

It contains compilation from various policies and planning documents, books, reports of various commissions, committees, workshops, conferences etc., which focused on the

development of higher education from its inception to the present continuing trend. Without such compilation, a work of this nature would not have been possible.

The book has got three sections. First section, and the core one, deals with the whole lot of recommendations and its working from the beginning to the present. The second and the third sections, the peripheral ones, are basically the support materials. Second section is a brief literature review cum bibliography, arranged chronologically and is divided into five sub-sections. It is claimed to be in the alphabetical order of the heading of the subject, but one may find ambiguities in it. Third section is the Annexure that gives us information mostly on the Grants to various universities.

The book has fourteen chapters and a section on final observations. Each chapter has two parts: Pre-independence developments and the Post-independence developments. In most of the chapters, the Five Year Plans were given due importance, since education is considered an important element of Planning.

The author, more or less, starts the work with a debate between Orientalists, who encouraged indigenous system of education and the Anglicists, who wanted to introduce the English system of education. Finally, the British introduced the English system of education as a part of Downward Filtration Theory. The author points out that the British Government failed to create a national system of education in India because of too many frequent changes in the education system, making the task of free India to remodel the complex system of education in the national interest.

After independence it is shown that the things are more or less the same, though lot of development has taken place in this field. There are many committees and commissions that talk about Higher Education and with the change in the Government, the educational policies also changes. The change took place for the first time when the Janata Government came into power in 1977 (in this context the author talks about 'the draft national policy on education' 1979 vis-à-vis National Policy on Education 1968). Such a trend seems to be continuing even now.

In the next chapter, the author shows the importance of education in the Indian Planning system. She points out that it is the result of planning that India has a total stock of around 2.5 million scientifically and technically qualified manpower, which happened to be the third in the world. The main task of the Indian Planning system was of Consolidation and Expansion.

The third chapter deals with the administration of higher education. In the Pre-independence period, the British policy had two stages – Centralization (1854-1919) and Provincial Autonomy (1920-1947). However, after Independence there was a radical change where both the Central Government and the State Governments, in addition to the Private enterprises, joined hands in the educational administration. The most important feature of educational administration that the author points out is that the administrative structure is to combine administrators and the specialists in the field of education.

The next chapter is on the Financing of Higher Education. Financial resources are very important for the educational attainment. But in the Pre-independence period,

finance was very much centralized and hence, there was a lack of major initiatives in the education sector, in spite of its gradual de-centralization.

After Independence, education and some parts of the source of finance were left to the States until 42nd amendment in 1976 when education became a part of concurrent list. From the First to the latest Plan (10th plan), the allocation for education has been increasing significantly. First Plan outlay was Rs 151 crore which increased to 42,850 crore in the 10th Plan. However the author points out that in 1985, the total expenditure per student per year by the Centre and the States declined in real terms. On the other hand, whatever is allotted for Education, more than 90% of the expenditure is spent on the teachers' salaries and administration.

It is because of the above factors that the Indian Education Policy 1986 emphasized the need for a much higher investment in education, at least six per cent of the national income. The author also stresses the need for diversification of sources of finance in the higher education sector.

In chapter V, the author talks about the structure of higher education. The main task was to come to a standard structure of education system and to properly divide the line between secondary education and higher education. It was after 1986, that as many as 26 states and union territories went for 10+2+3 pattern. This came to be known as the National System of Education. In spite of this, the structure is still not uniform throughout the country.

The next chapter is on Higher Education in India that gives a detailed description about the growth of educational institutions. The period from 1857-1947 witnessed heavy expansion of higher education through an increasing number of universities and colleges. Though the first institution of higher education came as early as 1781 (Calcutta Madrasa) with the personal efforts of the then Governor General Warren Hastings, it is only after the 1854 dispatch that institutions started expanding, both horizontally and vertically. The growth of most of the colleges was under private management, mainly missionaries and wealthy Indians.

In the post-independence era Indian planning played an important role in the development of higher education. From the 1st (1951-56) to the 5th (1974-79) Plan, the emphasis was more or less on consolidation and increasing the number of beneficiaries of the delivery of the mainstream education. In the 6th (1980-81) and the 7th (1985-90) Plan, the focus was on improving the quality and making it employment oriented. In the 8th (1992-97) and the 9th (1997-2002) Plan, the focus shifted to value education, making it relevance oriented and making optimal utilization of the existing infrastructure through institutional networking. The 10th (2002-2007) Plan, presently the latest, aims at increasing the enrolment in higher education of 18-23 years age group from 6% to 10% by 2007. As of now, there are 320 universities, 18 medical colleges, 40 agriculture colleges and 13,150 general colleges, and 4,683 colleges in rural areas.

In chapter VII the author deals with the development of technical education in India. It is the 1854 Dispatch that recognized, for the first time, the need to provide education of such a character that should be practically useful to the Indian people. The technical education, in the first three five year plans, was devoted to expansion to meet the growing demand for technical personals. From the 4th plan onwards, the importance was shifted to quality and the intake remained at a low level. However, in the 80's there was a policy shift to permit the involvement of private and voluntary organizations in setting-up of management and technical institutions on a self-financing basis. Now, more then 60% of the institutions are functioning on self-financing basis.

While dealing with teacher education as a separate chapter, the author finds that the reforms in the education sector have more or less failed to improve the standards of teachers. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, K.C Pant pointed out that the problem of teachers' training is not of equity or access but of the relatively low standard of candidates. The author takes a note of it but does not explore the reasons behind it. However, he points out that teacher education is an important challenge, the policy planners have to focus on, especially when new technologies are revolutionizing teaching in the classroom. The next three chapters focus on the steps taken by the government in involving SC/ST, women and the rural youth into the mainstream education system. The author finds further scope for their participation.

Chapter XII talks about the development of research in higher education in sciences and social sciences. She finds that there is an increase in the number of institutions that focus on research but thrust of such research is generally on the needs of the organized sector. The unorganized, the medium, the small-scale and the rural sectors are not getting adequate benefit of such research. The author also finds out that most of the research is uni-disciplinary and there is a need for multi-disciplinary research.

The next chapter focuses on Distance Higher Education, which does not have any pre-independence developments. The Education Commission (1964-66) was the first to make a statement on distance education, which was incorporated in the National Policy on Education 1986. The non-formal system of higher education (distance education) accounts for only 13% of the total enrolment in universities and colleges. The author points out that government should aim at providing distance education to those students of age group 17-23, who are unable to secure admissions to regular institutions of learning.

Finally, after giving a brief description about the roles of University Grants Commission (UGC) and All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), in the final chapter, the author points out certain policy measures, which she presumes, are relevant for the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Overall, the book is highly informative and gives a good record of events through which one can understand the history of higher education from its beginning. Most of the literature related to commissions, committees, conferences, seminars, workshops etc. are represented as points, which make the reader to grasp easily. One more innovative method that needs to be acknowledged is that she has given a brief review of literature

and references are related to Higher Education and more interestingly the place where one could get it. But one has to say that it is not without any gaps. One will find lot of problems with editing and 'dropping of things' and improper use of abbreviations.

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ANIL BHUIMALI (2004): ***Education, Employment and Empowering Women***, New Delhi: Serials Publications, ISBN: 81-86771-32-8, pages: 332, price: Rs.850 (Hardbound).

The development strategy of the mid-twentieth century has come under severe criticism, not only for its failure to deliver its promise, but also for working against the interests of womankind. Consequently, the late part of the last century witnessed the rise of women's empowerment perspective, particularly the emergence of feminist approaches that emphasized the dual role of women in production and reproduction. Some have even envisaged the rise of women as entrepreneurs and decision makers in the political spheres also. However, for the less advantaged of the social and economic ladder, the position is still precarious and the emphasis has been more on making them empowered to join the mainstream and the development process of the society. Empowerment serves as a catalyst that motivates individuals and groups to transform their position in social, political and economic world that affects the environment around them. It is a process which generates changes in the ideas and perception that creates awareness about one's rights and opportunities, acquisition of knowledge, authority and power to strengthen one's potentials. For some reason or other, women have been made unequal to men in social structures and many barriers have been erected that perpetuate this unequal power and oppress women without allowing them to realize their potentials and opportunities for self-respect and self-reliance. The concept of women empowerment seeks to change this unequal power relation between the sexes by promoting women's inner power and confidence to express and defend their rights and use the opportunities for self-development. Such a process of women empowerment has to be a holistic approach with social, political, legal and economic dimensions. There are basically two approaches to women empowerment: one, by the efforts of the state to improve women's position by statutory provisions and legal enactments, and the other, by representing a case of empowerment through mobilization. Both these aspects of women empowerment fall within the ambit of Women in Development. In fact, there exist plenty of laws and programmes, and women's organizations in India and in the third world countries that promise wider scope for women's empowerment. There are many emerging novel and innovative avenues like women self-help groups and women entrepreneurship programmes that help and contribute to the economic and social independence of women.

Many provisions like exclusive women industrial parks in the production sector are also available for women's development. In general, many socio-politico-economic-legal strategies provide for gender equity through women's development and women's empowerment programmes that pave the way for the realization of women's potentials and their participation in the development process.

In the academic spheres, most women empowerment studies aim at a balanced distribution of power between the sexes. Common in all women's studies is that women are supposed to take charge and control of everything – production, decisions, power, etc. The whole genre of feminist discourse on empowerment of women assumes a zero-sum model of power distribution in which if there are some who are powerful there will inevitably be others who are powerless. However, women's role as dual partners need not be looked as such extreme positions. Most often researchers seem to forget that gender relations have to be altered in such a way that men also get to share responsibilities with women as equals inside the house or outside. Therefore, it is necessary to put in perspective our understanding of power and power relations from the women's empowerment strategies. Power need not be coercive if viewed from the perspective of human collectives. Providing the platform for women to perform itself should be looked at as a great way to reduce gender inequality and women empowerment in the present suppressed and unequal atmosphere. Towards this end, education and employment of women have been understood as the greatest provider of economic independence, and thereby women empowerment.

In its pursuit to understand the process of empowerment of women through education and employment, the book under review attempts to elicit various historical as well as current scenarios of women's position and their participation in the development process. The book, an edited volume, consists of thirteen papers written by author from various social science backgrounds, divided into three broad areas with an introductory overview and a foreword. The first six papers deal with women's education, the next five papers discuss women's employment and the last two papers present the legal, political and administrative aspects of women's empowerment. The introductory paper narrates the position of women in the socio-economic spheres through historical accounts. It is observed that early women were oppressed and their status in society improved slowly, since the nineteenth century, as a result of enlightened despotism, industrialization and legal reforms. The paper also highlights women's position in division of labour, discrimination, agriculture, voting rights, inheritance, right to divorce, and education. It notes that even after fifty-five years of independence and the dawn of twenty-first century, "Indian women especially rural women have a long way to go to attain justice in education, employment and in politics" (p.6). Though this observation emanates without much analytical rigour of the papers in the volume, it speaks about the abysmal failure of the programmes of women empowerment in India and the bottom-rock position of women in the society. The subsequent papers by the social science researches attempt to paint a picture of women in their own perspectives, without much coordination among themselves. The rather lengthy paper on gender bias in education by Usha Nayar simply

describes the historical aspects of women's education and the constitutional mandates for non-discrimination. It also presents an ambitious outline of 'gender inclusive and socially strategic life skills' for women, without explaining the ways and means for such skill formation. Apart from some figures on literacy, enrollment, drop-out rates, and women teachers, one does not find any serious attempt to explain the sex bias and gender roles in societies and the paper lacks analytical content. The next paper by Hillol Kr. Chakrabarti presents the status of poor rural agrarian women, who form at least three-fourths of thirty-five per cent of India's rural poor. It discusses the major issues and problems of rural women such as unequal distribution of social, economic and political power, the invisibility of women's contribution to the family, low-level participation in decision-making, low access to land and economic opportunities, and lack of access to non-formal occupations or modern inputs. The suggested remedies are the involvement of women in non-agricultural income generating activities like livestock, and extension and training in empowering women as producers. The paper also emphasizes the attitudinal changes towards rural women. The paper by Anil Bhuimali again takes the historical route about education and employment of women with an aim to explore how and when to empower women. However, the analysis presented does not indicate any process by which women can be empowered. The paper by Mahmuda Khatun presents historical perspectives of women's education in Bengal. Completely alienating from the theme of the book, the paper by Sanjay K. Roy discusses the individual and the social world of women students in North Bengal University. The findings suggest the emergence of a 'feminist self' and a 'potential rebel character that can recreate the world around her', leading to the cultivation of 'own self'. Similarly, the paper by Sushil Kumar Haldar addresses the use of contraceptive among rural women. In effect, this section simply narrates the educational position of women, rather than discussing the effect of education on women's empowerment.

In the section on women and employment, Anil Bhuimali and Sampa Podder narrate the various employment schemes adopted for rural women empowerment. They find from two village surveys that low income group women contribute more (above 75 percent) to the family income and that as household income increases, women's contribution declines. For them, socio-economic status means only education and income; indicators like landholding, caste and family size do not find a place in their analysis. P.K. Datta presents the nexus between women, population and development, from the demographic aspects of education and employment of a case study project in West Bengal. Md. Gholam Kibra presents the historical data about workers in the organized sectors of tea plantation, jute, cotton and coal mining in Bengal. The paper by Siddhartha Sarkar looks into the plight of women domestic workers in Cooch Behar district of West Bengal, presenting the socio-economic backgrounds, earnings, family structure, and problems of women domestic workers. Dibyendu Bhattacharya and Nivedita Bhattacharya study women's employment in Sikkim. In essence, none of the paper writers in this section exhibit any awareness about empowerment of women; leave alone the impact of employment on empowerment of women. The final section of the

book deals with the legal perspectives of women empowerment. K.K.Bagchi approaches women's empowerment from legal and programme-based angles, outlining the constitutional privileges for women, legal provisions, and some of the specific programmes and schemes for women. The final paper by Dilip Kumar Sarkar is a politico-administrative and economic agenda for reconstruction in decentering women's development through women self-help groups at the local level. Overall, the contributors seem to have simply failed to understand the concept of women empowerment as well as the relationship between education, employment and empowerment. None of the authours could bring out any substantive issues, neither methodologically nor empirically. Since the collection of papers is from different disciplines, the scope of the papers is mixed and many papers are simple narratives. One does not find any worthwhile issue or discussion to ponder over. The database for most of the papers is also shaky. The discussions of the papers could hardly be used to formulate any kind of policy or programme for women's empowerment. In fact, some of the papers are total misfit for this kind of volume. It seems the editor of this highly priced book is in a hurry to put in print whatever comes while typographical errors abound. It seems the editor himself is unaware of the vast literature on this subject and the intricate links between the issues and the methods. The book might remain a burden for the bookshelves.

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Clive R. BELFIELD and Henry M LEVIN (eds.): ***Economics of Higher Education. The International Library of Critical Writings in Economics No. 165***. An Elgar Reference Collection, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2003, ISBN: 1-84376 0622, Pages 752, Price: £175.00, (Hardbound).

Though economics of education has become an important area of study, there are very few good textbooks in the area. The textbooks by Mark Blaug, John Vaizey, and the later one by Elchanan Cohn continue to be the best ones. But over the years, the field of economics of education has grown in geometric progression in terms of theoretical developments as well as applied research, a flavour of which could be found in the encyclopaedic versions of George Psacharopoulos and Martin Carnoy (both produced by Pergamon), and massive volumes edited by Blaug and Cohn (both by Edward Elgar). They serve both as textbooks and reference volumes. The research conducted in the 1990s in economics of education has been most diverse and vibrant. Economics of education could establish powerful interface with theories of growth, labour market economics, and public finance. Besides, the theory of consumer, theory of firm and theory of markets have also been found to be highly relevant for economics of education. Clive Belfield and Henry Levin make a valiant attempt to present an up-to-date reference volume for students and researchers in the area of economics of higher education.

The present 720-page volume, produced in the series of the International Library of Critical Writings in Economics series (series edited by Mark Blaug), consists of 37 excellent articles, originally published mostly in the 1990s in major journals. A few seminal writings of the 1970s and the 1980s such as those by Kenneth Arrow ("Higher Education as a Filter"), George Psacharopoulos ("Economics of Higher Education in Developing Countries"), and three more papers originally published in the 1970s and the 1980s, have also been included in the volume. Some of the authors of various papers included in the volume include well known names in economics of education: Kenneth Arrow, Elchanan Cohn, Nancy Birdsall, Nicholas Barr, George Psacharopoulos, John Creedy, Geraint Johnes, William Becker Jr., Ronald Ehrenberg, Martin Feldstein, Michael Rothschild, Bruce Chapman, etc. The selection is reprinted from the best journals such as American Economic Review, Economic Journal, Journal of Political Economy, Oxford Economic Papers, Review of Economics and Statistics, Economics of Education Review, Journal of Human Resources, etc., to name a few. As the editors rightly claim, the volume represents a substantial corpus of academic research in the area.

The 37 articles have been arranged under six major themes: Economic Benefits of Higher Education, Student Demand and Student Preferences, Technology and Production of Higher Education, Costs of Higher Education, Financing Higher Education, Markets and Competition. Several interesting and important themes are covered in the volume. Some not so common themes include university professor as a utility maximizer by William Becker Jr., Health, Wealth and Happiness by Joop Hartog and Hessel Oosterbeek, universities as a source of commercial technology by Rebecca Henderson, Adam Jaffe and Manuel Trajtenberg, and Seniority and Monophony in Academic Labour Market by Michael Ransom. If the number of articles under each head is taken as an indication of the research trends in the area, one can say that considerable attention is given to three aspects, viz., economic benefits of higher education, financing of higher education, and production of higher education. Student demand, and markets in higher education are not high priority areas of research. This may not be a proper conclusion, though such a massive volume might give such an impression. Certainly research applying market models to education are on the rise. Secondly, as the editors rightly mention, the various contributions pertain to theory of the consumer (focusing on individual benefits and demand for education in the first two sections), theory of the firm (covering issues relating to production, costs and financing of higher education) and theory of the markets. In a sense, the selection aptly represents the significant shift in research in economics of higher education in the 1990s in the western market economies. Issues such as social benefits, externalities, national development, and role of the state in higher education seem to be going into oblivion. No, the editors, in fact, admit that these are the major missing issues not just in the book, but also in the current body of knowledge, and hence expect more research in these areas, particularly on non-monetary returns, equity aspects and macro economic effects of research.

It is not fair to complain about the omissions. The volume is indeed very rich with theoretical and analytical contributions made by as many as 64 front-line economists to

various economic aspects of higher education. The theoretical and empirical insights the various contributors provide are valuable. But the omissions in the book are glaring. Researchers in developing countries would find three major glaring aspects, if not anomalies of the book: (a) Except two articles (by Nancy Birdsall and George Psacharopoulos), all the articles are devoted to economic problems of higher education in developed countries, US and western Europe, in particular. The papers by Birdsall and Psacharopoulos (who worked in the international organisation, viz., the World Bank) are also not on any single developing country in depth; they are on developing countries, making regional comparisons. (b) All the sixty-four authors are also from the developed world. (c) All the journals/books from which the articles are drawn were published in the developed countries! The editors refuse to acknowledge the research conducted outside the western world. That's really a pity, as important research does exist in the developing countries, some of which was also conducted by the western scholars, on issues such as graduate unemployment, financing higher education, R&D, private higher education and markets.

Despite this major bias, beyond doubt, Economics of Higher Education stands as a major contribution to the literature on Economics of Education, that one would desire to have in their bookshelf as a handy valuable reference volume, though, like many in the series, it is a very expensive one.

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