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Education as an Instrument of Social Transformation

— The Role of Mother Tongue^{**}

T.K. Oommen*

Introduction

In this article, the author proposes to interrogate the widely accepted view that education is always and necessarily an instrument of social transformation. It is argued that whether or not education can be a tool of social transformation depends as much on the values imparted through education as on the nature of society. In a society wherein material disparity is limited and inequality is not legally or morally sanctioned, education can and does play a positive role in social transformation. That is to say that education is not necessarily a social leveller but it can and often it does engender social inequality. This proposition is pursued by invoking the crucial importance of medium of instruction. Ideally the medium of instruction at the initial stage, which is the school, ought to be in the language of the social milieu in which the child grows up. This language is the child's mother tongue. But the marginalisation and eventual demise of mother tongues is so stupendous in the contemporary world that it may be designated as *culturocide*¹, that is, the systematic destruction of culture, of which language is a crucial dimension.

It is estimated that 6170 mother tongues are spoken in the world to-day and 96 per cent of the currently live languages are spoken by only four per cent of the world's population and 80 per cent of these languages are confined to single countries. And, one language disappears every year somewhere in the world. On the other end of the continuum, 50 per cent of the world population uses one of the eight spatially dispersed languages. The biggest of these eight languages is Chinese with 1.2 billion speakers followed by English (478 million) and Hindi (437 million). And the smallest in the big language league is French (125 million) and Spanish, Russian, Arabic and Portuguese coming in between. The point of interest in the present discourse is that an overwhelming majority of the over 6000 mother tongues are sentenced to death, one every year; indeed mother tongues are an endangered species today. And all the available evidence suggests that for the proper development of child's intellectual ability, the medium of instruction at the initial stage of education ought to be its mother tongue. In this lecture, it is proposed to examine the situation with special

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** Edited version of the NUEPA Foundation Day Lecture delivered on 11 August 2015.

¹ Oommen (1986) has introduced the notion of 'culturocide' in social science.

reference to India, although the issue is not confined to India. But before dwelling upon India, a brief journey into the world situation may be in order.

Those who hold diametrically opposite ideological positions hold identical views on the importance of language in characterizing a nation. As is well known, both Mazzini and Herder thought that language constitutes the inner core of the nation. According to Herder: 'Language expresses the collective experience of the group', and 'every nation has its own inner centre of happiness as every sphere had its own centre of gravity' (Smith 1971, p. 45). Stalin was equally unequivocal: 'a national community is inconceivable without a common language' (Stalin, n.d.). Paradoxically, in spite of the crucial role he assigned to language, it was language that had to be liquidated because nationalism and socialism were incompatible. Hence this utopian vision of the role of language:

After the victory of socialism on a world scale...we will have...hundreds of national languages from which at first the most enriched zonal languages will emerge as a result of lengthy, economic, political, and cultural co-operation of nations, and subsequently the zonal languages will fuse into one common international language, which will of course be neither German, nor Russian nor English, but a new language which has absorbed the best elements of the national and zonal languages (Stalin, n.d., p. 46).

That is to say, it is one thing to recognize the primacy of a dimension (here language) and quite another to retain it. For the nationalist, a nation without language is inconceivable: for a socialist, language is an unwanted entity to be exorcized from the body politic for the cause of socialism.

The fundamental flaw widely shared both by nationalists and socialists is that linguistic homogeneity fosters an ideal polity. Both try to liquidate linguistic heterogeneity although they traverse different routes. The assumption that linguistic homogeneity fosters an ideal polity attained considerable acceptability thanks to the ideology of the nation-state. After reviewing the two 'cross polity' surveys regarding the linguistic situation based on the Yale Human Relations Area Files, Joshua Fishman made a tall claim for linguistically homogeneous states which deserves to be quoted at length:

Linguistically homogeneous polities are usually economically more developed, educationally more advanced, politically more modernized and ideologically-politically more tranquil and stable... All in all, linguistic homogeneity characterizes the state in which primordial ties and passions are more likely to be under control, cultural religious homogeneity and enlightenment are advanced, more modern forms of heterogeneity via associational, institutional and political groups are fostered, and in which the good life is economically within the reach of a greater proportion of the populace (Fishman 1968, p. 60).

Thus viewed, linguistic homogenization becomes not only an ideal worth pursuing, but also a self-fulfilling prophecy. But what are the facts on the ground? Of the 114 polities analysed in the two studies, 52 are linguistically homogeneous and 62 are heterogeneous. The linguistically homogeneous category, in fact includes a few linguistically heterogeneous states, such as the United Kingdom and the United States. That is, a polity is viewed as linguistically homogeneous if it has one predominant language which is the official language of the state. This is not a correct characterization. However, a more important point that Fishman ignores is that, of the 52 linguistically homogeneous polities, only 27 have achieved very high or medium levels of gross national products (GNP). Conversely, of the 62

linguistically heterogeneous polities, 15 do have very high or medium levels of GNP. Admittedly, the lack of fit between linguistic homogeneity/heterogeneity and GNP is vivid. Further, some of the polities that are homogeneous and with very high or medium levels of GNP were not democracies (e.g, Argentina, Chile, Hungary, Poland, Cuba) at the time of data collection and analysis. Conversely, some of the linguistically heterogeneous polities with low or very low GNP were democracies (e.g. Ceylon, India).

This being so, the doctrine of homogeneity and its institutional vehicle, namely the nation-state, should be given a decent burial. And yet, the central tendency in Europe even today is to believe that cultural homogeneity is a prerequisite for the building of viable societies, and that the current trend of East European nationalism is the equivalent of democratization (Blommaert and Verschueren 1992, p. 372).

In ancient India, particularly North India, the production and dissemination of knowledge was done through Sanskrit and this privilege was assigned to Brahmins; Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Shudras above the ritual pollution line could imbibe knowledge with special reference to their assigned occupations. But women, irrespective of their caste status, Dalits and Adivasis did not have had any access to knowledge. This meant knowledge production and dissemination was the privilege of the Brahmin male and those who wanted to internalise knowledge needed to learn Sanskrit. Classical Europe too privileged Latin and Greek and although the caste system was absent there, the three- fold division of people as in Ancient Greece—Patricians, Plebeians and Slaves—privileged the first and stigmatized the last.

What was applicable in Ancient India, continued in Medieval India, although Persian replaced Sanskrit. Persian, like Sanskrit, was also the language of the elite. Although Urdu gradually evolved as an amalgam of Persian and Hindi, it had two disadvantages. First, it was not widely used as a medium of instruction and second, it came to be identified, unfortunately and incorrectly, with Islam in the Indian subcontinent. Incidentally, the phenomenon of linking religion and language is common in South Asia: Sanskrit with Aryan Hinduism, Tamil with Dravidian Hinduism, Pali with Buddhism, Punjabi written in Gurumukhi with Sikhism and Urdu with Islam. This linkage initiates and fosters prejudices against these languages which is detrimental to their development and acceptance by all of the religious communities.

When colonial regimes were implanted in India, they had brought in their languages: English by Britain, French by France, and Portuguese by Portugal in their specific enclaves and, with the subsequent takeover by Britain, a dual system came into vogue. Education imparted in the 550 princely states was through their respective local languages (mother tongues) but a chain of schools, in which instruction was imparted through English, also surfaced. This dual system substantially undermined the importance of mother tongues in the Indian education system. The attributed superiority of English medium schools and the stigmatization of schools which imparted education through the vernaculars, the pejorative term the British used to refer to Indian languages, became a persisting curse of the Indian education system.

The English medium schools posed three problems: Availability, Accessibility and Affordability. English medium schools in India were/are far too few viewed in terms of the number of children to be educated. By and large, they are inaccessible to the people inhabiting India's vast rural hinterland. These schools are situated in Urban India and in hill

stations, charge very high fees and, hence, unaffordable by the vast majority of Indians. William Digby, the colonial administrator, wrote in 1901:

There are two Indias: the India of the Presidency and the chief provincial cities, of the railway systems, of the hill stations.... There are two countries: Anglostan, the land especially ruled by the English, in which English investments have been made and Hindoostan, practically all of India fifty miles from each side of the railway lines (Digby, 1901, p. 72).

English Medium Schools accentuated the divide between Bharat and India, to recall the current phraseology. Small wonder that Jawaharlal Nehru, in his Autobiography, observed that mass education cannot be tackled in India through English. And, the Indian Constitution mandates that compulsory universal education should be provided to all children till the age of 14 through their mother tongues. This robust policy is observed in India more in breach like several other policies. And the foundational flaw here lies in following the model of nation-building that is followed in West European nation-states.

Nations and states existed since antiquity but they came to be linked only in 1648, with the concluding of the Treaty of Westphalia, which endorsed the Napoleonic dictum 'for each nation its own state'. This was a devastating error which resulted in what may be called *culturocide*, as noted above. Let me illustrate it with a few examples (for details, see Oommen 1997). When the Republic of France was constituted in 1789 there were several nations that were linguistic groups, in its territory other than the French, such as Alsations, Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corsicans, Flemings and Occitanians. But none of them exist today; all of them have been Frenchified. They lost their mother tongues. Similarly, the Lombardians, the Venetians, the Sardinians and Sicilians have lost their mother tongues when Italian language was made the official language in 1861. In the United Kingdom, which is not united even to-day (remember the persisting movement for a separate Scotland), Scottish, Irish and Welsh languages were subordinated to English. Similarly, multi-national Spain had marginalised several mother tongues in its mission of creating a nation-state. The point to be underlined here is that the institution of nation-state has been the graveyard of mother tongues.

It is necessary to identify the specificities of language as a social phenomenon at this juncture so that the rationale of nurturing several languages in a polity can be understood. One, there is no feature of society which is as crucial as language. Even religion is not because one can be an atheist, agnostic or rationalist and abjure religion. That is there are alternatives to religion. But nobody can live in society without a language; there is no alternative to language. Two, while alternatives exist for religion, they are mutually exclusive, even repulsive. Nobody can be an atheist and a believer at the same time, similarly a believing Hindu cannot also be a believing Muslim. In contrast, one can learn and nurture several languages without diminishing the importance of one's language, that is, mother tongue.

Linguistic chauvinism can be moderated substantially if not completely avoided. If so, why is it that linguistic chauvinism surfaces. This brings in the third specificity of language which is that language has symbolic and instrumental functions. The symbolic function of language is to bestow a common identity to those who share a common mother tongue. It is also possible to acquire a common identity by learning a language. The English speakers of India are drawn from the speakers of a large number of mother tongues; but they learnt it

for instrumental reasons, be it better employment prospects or marriage prospects. But mother tongues are not learnt, they are imbibed by the child, like and along with, mother's milk as Rabindranath Tagore opined. Even an illiterate person has a mother tongue and s/he uses it without formally learning it.

The fourth feature of language is that it is a group or community phenomenon. This is also true of religion, but one can establish a personal relationship with one's God or practice transcendental meditation alone. In contrast, one cannot meaningfully talk of a language which is exclusive to one person. Language pre-supposes the existence of a group, the members of which have shared competence of it, be it a mother tongue or a learnt language.

Finally, even the least developed language is adequate for conducting the basic functions of life such as economic transactions in the local markets, religious worship, local communication, making love and instructions for elementary education. How about those languages without a script if they too are to be used as medium of instruction? Please note that the number of scripts is far too few as compared with the over 6000 languages in the world and several languages can and they do share a common script.

The real issue to be tackled in a polyglot country like India is to identify the number and specify the features of mother tongues which should be used for school education. With the help of Census of India, the problem may be illustrated (Oommen 2004, chapter 4): The 1931 Census of India, the last census conducted by the British, identified 2000 mother tongues in undivided India. The count of mother tongues in Independent India varied and wavered-in 1951, it was 782; in 1971, 1019 and in 1991, 1576. This increase is astounding and there are two sources of this mindboggling multiplication of mother tongues. One, the procedure followed. The census enumerator simply lists what is claimed to be mother tongues by those who answer the question: what is your mother tongue? The mother tongues listed include: Dravidian, Madrasi, Reddy Bhasa, Muslim Pahari, Ahiri Hindi, Rajputi, Ad Dharmi, Islami, Christian and the like. That is, for many people mother tongue simply connotes their cultural identity. While mother tongue is a source of identity, as noted earlier, there are also other sources of cultural identity. That is, a wide variety of cultural identities are simply taken to be mother tongues. This inflates the number of mother tongues.

On the other hand, in quite a few cases, the number of persons who claim a particular identity as their mother tongue is suspiciously low. Thus, in 1951, 73 mother tongues had only one speaker each, 137 had 2-10 speakers. Out of the 782 mother tongues recorded in 1951 only 132 of them had 10,000 or more speakers. In 1991, only 216 mother tongues out of 1576 listed had 10,000 or more speakers. Even the study conducted in 1973 by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, counted 1598 mother tongues in India; of these only 263 had 10,000 or more speakers. Thus, the first step necessary to be taken to ascertain the number of mother tongues in India is to have a reliable listing of mother tongues. This is because if we are to meaningfully pursue the constitutional mandate of providing compulsory universal education through the mother tongue of the child, we must have a clear picture of the phenomenon referred to as mother tongue. Institutions like the National University of Educational Planning and Administration have a key role to play in this context because school education falls within its purview.

The issue of arriving at a clear understanding of mother tongues is only the first step. The NUEPA should clearly opt for one of the two possible perspectives of either following the model followed by West European nation-states, namely cultural monism, or celebrating cultural pluralism in tune with India's social reality and accommodative genius. The position

that the Official Language Commission took in its reports submitted in 1956 should be the guiding principle. It observed:

The variety of Indian linguistic media is not a national skeleton to be ashamed of and to be somehow hidden away. It is a wealth of inheritance in keeping with the continental size, ancient history and tradition of assimilating and harmonising diverse cultural and racial elements of which this country can be justly proud. (Government of India, 1956).

The State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) also submitted its report on linguistic re-organization of Indian states in 1956. This was a bold step but it remains an unfinished task and many groups remain dissatisfied. Since that time, 20 Provincial States, Union Territories or Autonomous Regions have been created and a dozen demands are pending. But there is a basic contradiction between the constitutional position and the SRC report, on the one hand, and the Official Language Commission, on the other. Article 351 of the Indian Constitution prescribes:

It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expression used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

Article 351 bristles with contradictions: for example, Hindustani is not listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution which listed 14 languages (Now the scheduled languages are 22). And, if Hindustani is to be nurtured, one has to draw as much from Persian as from Sanskrit. But above all, Article 351 smacks of the form and substance of the West European pattern of nation-state which is antagonistic to the letter and spirit of India's socio-cultural reality.

The Constitution of India conceives Indian polity as a union of states but article 351 and SRC created a hierarchy of Indian languages. At the apex of this hierarchy is Hindi, which is designated as the link, official and national language based on the argument that it is numerically the most important language. But the less than 40 percent speakers of Hindi is drawn from 50 mother tongues of which 18 have one million or more and four—Bhojpuri, Chattisgarhi, Magadhi and Rajasthani—have 10 million or more speakers. The resolve to create a national language, the crucial feature of nation-states, administered a deadly blow to the flowering of mother tongues in India.

The second layer in the hierarchy of Indian languages is constituted by the so-called 'regional' languages, those speech communities having their own states. The regional languages complain that they are subjected to Hindi imperialism forgetting that they invariably establish their hegemony over the mother tongues spoken in the territory of their respective provincial states by subaltern communities. But the subaltern communities of the Hindi region are the worst affected in the context of designating Hindi as the national language. For example, the mother tongues of peasantry such as Maithili, Bhojpuri, Brij Bhasha and Awadhi and Adivasi mother tongues such as Bhili, Gondi, Santali and numerous others are victims of culturocide. That is most mother tongues in India are an endangered species. To reverse this trend, mother tongue ought to be nurtured. It was stated—

Hindi does not enjoy in India such natural ascendancy over provincial languages as to incline the inhabitants to accept a secondary position for their own language. Hindi is the language of the minority, although large minority. Unfortunately, it does not possess any advantages, literary or historical, over other modern (Indian) languages (Government of India 1950).

This is not a quote from an anti-Hindi Tamil or Bengali chauvinist but a quote from report of the Commission chaired by S. Radhakrishnan who was India's Vice-President as well as President of India.

It may be emphatically stated that unless this language hierarchy, with Hindi at the apex, regional languages in the middle (which, incidentally, are only 11) and the languages of the subaltern peoples (peasants and Adivasis) at the bottom is dismantled, a just regime for the numerous mother tongues of India will never crystallize. Besides, the dream to achieve universal literacy will elude India in so far as the mother tongues are not used for school education. According to the latest data available through Socio-Economic Caste Census (SECC), more than a third of rural India is still illiterate. A quarter of households have no literate adults above 25 years. Less than 20 per cent households have one family member with primary education. Viewed against the constitutional mandate, this situation is nothing but dismal.

How can we rectify the present predicament? The linguistic re-organization of Indian states was intended to remedy injustice to smaller and weaker languages in addition to creating viable politico-administrative units of governance. But the SRC committed two fatal flaws. One, it did not consider mother tongues as the basis of creating provincial states but lumped together several mother tongues to create administrative units as illustrated by the case of Hindi, as I have already noted. Two, it did not consider recommending structures below the provincial states such as Autonomous Regions, Zilla Parishads or even Panchayat Samitis based on mother tongues.

If we are to deliver justice to mother tongues, I suggest that where ever a specified number drawn from speech communities are territorially anchored, they should be granted one of the four structures—Provincial States, Autonomous Regions, Zilla Parishads, Panchayat Samitis. For example, if 10,000 persons, who have a common mother tongue, live in a given area, a Panchayat Samiti should be given to them. Similarly, a population of one million can have their Zilla Parishads. However, it is not always possible to prescribe a fixed number but based on demographic density, geographic coverage, financial viability and the like, politico-administrative structures can be established. But common mother tongue, a pre-requisite for easy communication between people residing in a locality, should be the basic criterion in constituting these units. The moment we do this, a sea change in the social transformation of India will take place. Also, people at the grassroots can experience their participatory potential in governance through this device.

A few years ago, there was a press report regarding massive failure of school children in Hindi in Uttar Pradesh. On enquiry, it was discovered that it happened in the case of children of those districts in which the mother tongues of the pupils were Awadhi, Magadhi or Bhojpuri. The message is clear: if we do not impart school education in the mother tongue of the child, the dream of achieving universal literacy will elude us. It may also be noted here in passing that those states which have achieved universal literacy, such as Kerala, are linguistically homogeneous; 94% of the residents of Kerala have Malayalam as their mother

tongue. If children are not taught in their mother tongues, particularly in primary schools, they live in a socio-culturally divided world—that of home, where they speak their mother tongues, and the school wherein another language is used. This results in limited retention capacity and development of intellect.

In order to facilitate mother tongue as the medium of instruction, it is often necessary to keep those who share the same mother tongue in the same politico-administrative units. But we do not follow this practice. For example, the Bhojpuri speaking people are divided between Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Much worse is the situation with regard to Adivasis. The Bhils, whose language is Bhillodi, are vivisected between Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and the Bhil children study through Gujarati medium in Gujarat, Marathi medium in Maharashtra and their medium of instruction is Hindi in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Examples can be multiplied but it is not necessary.

A legitimate question which can be posed at this juncture is: Can mother tongue be the sole medium of instruction? The answer is certainly not in the affirmative. Gradually, a second language in addition to mother tongue needs to be introduced, that would vary from region to region. Still later, competence in a third language, be it Hindi or English, would be necessary. To impart knowledge in theoretical physics or econometrics, none of the Indian languages would be functional. But that does not mean that we should ignore mother tongues in those contexts where they are functional. As suggested at the very outset, appropriate languages should be adopted and nurtured for instrumental purposes without sacrificing the symbolic and instrumental importance of mother tongues.

It is necessary to underline here that linguistic homogeneity may not be prevalent in several territorial units and appropriate measures will have to be taken to attend to the voices of linguistic minorities in such contexts. That is, when linguistic groups are territorially dispersed, it is extremely difficult to nurture their language through constitutional provisions. Thus, in spite of the fact that Sindhi is included in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution, Sindhi, as a mother tongue, is fast disappearing. Here the distinction between national minorities and ethnic minorities is useful. National linguistic minorities live in their homeland, ancestral or adopted, and interact constantly with members of the same speech community. In contrast, ethnic linguistic minorities live as immigrants in the midst of other speech communities with limited possibility of interacting with members of their speech community. Different measures need to be taken to nurture linguistic competence of national and ethnic minorities.

To conclude, mother tongue, as the medium of instruction in schools, is a pragmatic ideal for the following reasons. First, clear and adequate communication at the grassroots level is possible through local languages that are usually mother tongues. Second, administrative units, in order to be effective and viable, ought to be co-terminus with communication units, i.e. areas in which mother tongue is used for communication. Third, languages are, generally speaking, linked to specific territories and territorially anchored linguistic communities have a shared culture and lifestyle. Fourth, most mother tongues, irrespective of their level of development, are capable of effective communication in the context of everyday life. Finally, the concept of neighbourhood school and the child's mother tongue, as the medium of instruction, works in tandem and such an arrangement is bound to foster social transformation through education.

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The Capabilities of Affirmative Action for Students in India's Higher Education Sector

Bharat Chandra Rout*
Michael F. Watts#

Abstract

The paper scrutinizes the importance of affirmative action (AA) provisions in India's higher education (HE) sector in developing capabilities and provides better experiences of higher education. The research indicates the potential that AA policies and practices have to increase the HE capabilities of ST students. The difficulties of accessing and participating in HE remain deeply problematic. ST students continue to approach HE from a disadvantaged position. Social attitudes in the universities may be more enlightened but attitudes in society as a whole still raise barriers that ST and other students need to negotiate. AA legislation expands the formal freedoms to enter and participate in HE but social conditioning sets limitations on those freedoms. Social conditioning is also likely to limit the substantive freedoms such students have to make use of their HE in terms of their future employment and social acceptance.

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Introduction

The higher education (HE) sector in India is one of the largest in the world. Its equity agenda stems from its Constitutional obligation to build 'a secular, democratic and egalitarian society by providing equality of opportunity' in education (National Policy on Education, 1986, pp. 4 & 6). Constitutional provisions relating to the promotion of equity and social justice are reflected in several of its Articles, including Articles 15(4), 29(1), 46 and 350(A). Article 46, which is included in the Directive Principles of State Policy, makes clear that the:

State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of underrepresented sections of the people, particularly of those belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 15 of the Constitution – which was later amended under the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 – notes that:

the State shall make special provisions for the educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the educational institutions, including technical and professional institutions like medical and engineering colleges.

However, the persistence of large scale socio-economic inequalities in the country is reflected in unequal access to and opportunities in education, in general, and HE, in particular. Given that education has considerable potential to address socio-economic inequalities, the policy of promoting equality of opportunity in HE is regarded as an essential step towards addressing such inequalities in India (Rout, 2012). Although the size and scale of the Indian HE sector, and the complexities of Indian society, give Indian HE and affirmative action policies their own flavour and present their own problems, the drive to increase participation – not just in numbers but also in trying to attract greater numbers from hitherto under-represented groups – is a key element of widening participation policies around the world (Yorke & Longden, 2004; Reay *et al.*, 2005; Côté & Allahar, 2007; Rothblatt, 2007; van Stolk *et al.*, 2007; Deprez & Butler, 2007; Watts, 2012, 2014).

This paper considers the importance of affirmative action (AA) programmes in Indian HE in enabling the capabilities – that is, the freedoms – of students to lead lives that they value and have reason to value. The capability approach (Sen, 1992, 1999, Nussbaum 2000), is concerned with the substantive opportunities a person has to choose and lead a life he/she values and has reason to value (in Sen's terms) and to flourish (in Nussbaum's terms). The capability approach (CA) is a comparative and normative framework that can be used for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies and proposals about social change in society. In educational contexts, it can account for both the procedural and outcome-based rights and justices that a system of education is supposed to promote and maintain.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part explores the relationship between the CA and HE. The second part of the paper deals with the empirical data collected from research involving AA students in an Indian university. The research involved working with

84 post-graduate ST¹ students, who were the beneficiaries of AA policies. Our concern here is to consider how their capabilities were shaped by their dynamic interactions with other (non-AA) students, teachers and non-teaching staff in the university. Thus, the study ultimately involves working with others in the university, even though our main focus in the paper is on the experiences of 84 ST AA students in the university. The data was analysed using Flores-Crespo's (2007) framework for evaluating the capabilities of university graduates and adapting it as a framework for evaluating the capabilities of these post-graduate students.

The Capability Approach and Higher Education: A Brief Overview

The CA is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements that can usefully inform the design of policies and proposals about social changes in society (Robeyns, 2005, p. 94). It makes a crucial distinction between the doings and beings individuals value and have reason to value (i.e. functionings) and the substantive freedoms they have to achieve them (i.e. capabilities). That is, it recognises that what people achieve is not the same as what they have the freedom to achieve. Its concern with what people are effectively able to do or to be – that is, on their capabilities – makes it particularly useful for evaluating educational systems. Sen argues that:

the capability approach to a person's advantage is concerned with evaluating it in terms of his or her actual ability to achieve various valuable functionings as a part of living. The corresponding approach to social advantage – for aggregative appraisal as well as for the choice of institutions and policy – takes the set of individual capabilities as constituting indispensable and central part of the relevant informational base of such evaluation (Sen, 1993, p. 30).

Economic, political and socio-cultural factors are all likely to influence the individual's opportunities to achieve a given outcome. In this context of HE, these factors mean that some students have greater opportunities to achieve and benefit from HE than others. It is, therefore, important, from a CA perspective, to acknowledge not only their achievements but their relative and substantive freedoms to realise those achievements. As we will go on to argue, some sections of Indian society have significantly fewer opportunities to achieve and benefit from their post-graduate studies. This reduced freedom should not be obscured by the fact of their securing their post-graduate qualification.

Walker (2003, 2006) identifies five reasons why the CA can and should be used in educational settings (see also Flores-Crespo, 2007; Terzi, 2007). Firstly, its focus on human flourishing rather than easily-countable measures such as enrolment (which say nothing useful about the actual experiences of individuals in higher education) offers a challenge to other forms of research that gloss over the difficulties encountered by AA students. Linked to this is its concern with the conversion of resources into functionings (that is, the valuable beings and doings the CA posits as the hallmark of well-being) and the ways in which this enables individuals to lead what Nussbaum (2000) terms the 'truly human life.' Thirdly, the

¹ SCs and STs are constitutionally scheduled as disadvantaged sections of Indian society and are eligible for States' policies for preferential treatments.

central human functioning capabilities advocated by Nussbaum and the basic capabilities Sen constantly refers to are all linked, to a greater or lesser degree, to education and learning. Fourthly, and following on from this, educational analyses enable significant insight into capability development and capability deformation. Finally, and fifthly, the CA is concerned with more than economic development and so incorporates a view of education that is consonant with democratic participation.

Education is central to human flourishing and HE can enhance the individual's freedom to achieve valued 'beings' and 'doings' (Sen, 1999). It opens up possibilities and opportunities to lead an independent, self-reflective and valuable life. The potential that HE affords an individual over his/her life time is tremendous and quality education provides one with the ability to do things in the future (Sen, 2000). HE can enhance instrumental capabilities such as employability and intrinsic capabilities such as job satisfaction. While people may find different ways of achieving these capabilities (Watts, 2009, 2013) HE policies and practices should ensure that those who wish to access educational resources are not debarred from them because of caste or racial differences. Access to HE is typically viewed as a liberating force, a force that generates greater opportunities and freedoms for the historically under-represented sections of society like SCs, STs and women.

However, freedom is a complex notion that can be determined internally and externally. The acknowledgement of and respect for human diversity is central to the CA. This sets it apart from other frameworks typically used to consider access to and progression from higher education that typically assess injustice by the shortfall from maximal outcomes. The CA is, therefore, a useful means of engaging with and accounting for diverse educational and post-educational aspirations. However, it does not seek to justify the highly unequal status quo. Nor does it shy away from the complex issues that persistently trouble the issue of progression to and beyond higher education.

Nussbaum acknowledges the different levels of innate 'equipment' possessed by individuals through the concept of internal capabilities (2000, 2011). In this context, it highlights the importance of intellectual capacities and tackles the issue as to whether someone has the ability and aptitude to progress to higher education. The freedoms the individual has to make use of her internal capabilities, though, are shaped by her interaction with society. There is a significant difference between internal capabilities and the combined capabilities which are 'the totality of the opportunities she has for choice and action in her specific political, social and economic situation' (2011, p. 21). The individual, with sufficient internal capabilities (here, her intellectual capacity), must still negotiate external constraints that may delimit his/her freedom.

Sen argues that there are two types of freedom – opportunity freedom and process freedom – and both are relevant here. Opportunity freedoms include formal freedoms such as, here, access to education, including higher education, and policies to support students negotiating caste/ethnic-based barriers to higher education. However, these formal freedoms are not by themselves sufficient because they are mediated by 'the *processes* that allow freedom of actions and decisions' (1999, p. 17, original emphasis). Such freedoms include fair and equitable recruiting processes but they also point to the more complex issues framed by social structures that continue to hamper attempts to widen the social base of higher education. Opportunity and process freedoms are distinct but closely related: process freedoms proceed from and enable opportunity freedoms; and opportunity freedoms are realised through process freedoms. Policies, such as affirmative action, link the

two because they acknowledge that formal freedoms are typically restricted by inequitable admission/recruitment processes.

The personal autonomy of young SC and ST people may be further restricted by socially structured beliefs concerning their right and ability to access higher education. They may come to internalise the external structures that delimit freedoms and, in becoming resigned to this impoverishment, they may adapt their preferences (Nussbaum, 2000, pp. 111-166), making 'great efforts to take pleasure in small mercies and [cutting] down personal desires to modest – 'realistic' – proportions' (Sen, 1992, p. 55). This resignation (Teschl & Comin, 2005) can lead them to exclude themselves from the places from which they believe they are excluded (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 471) so that they do not even consider the possibility of progressing to higher education. The adaptive preference problem is a central justification for the CA and, therefore, makes it an important means of assessing the successes of AA policies.

The issues of equity, social justice and human rights in HE have received renewed attention within the framework of the CA. The extent to which HE can enhance and equalise the capabilities of students entering it with different levels of educational resource will depend, in part, on its pedagogical and managerial systems. The abilities and opportunities of students to get into HE and make use of it typically differ according to their pre-university circumstances. Social structures (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) influence the conversion of educational resources into functionings and so delimit their capabilities. There are several areas where the CA can be justified as an appropriate evaluative framework, such as the development of capability-focused curricula and pedagogies that increase students' opportunities to engage with and benefit from their teaching. Further, the language of the CA – capabilities, functionings and conversion factors – are significant indices to the social value of education.

The distinction between the provision of educational resources and the individual student's ability to convert them into functionings is often overlooked in mainstream educational discourses. Although she overstates the matter, Unterhalter highlights this conversion gap when she suggests that:

Current evaluations of education systems only look at inputs (such as expenditure and level of teacher qualification) and outputs (such as what grades students get or whether they pass tests in particular skills) [but the CA] alerts us to the fact that we cannot simply evaluate resources and inputs (such as teachers or years of schooling) and that we must look at whether learners are actually able to convert resources into capabilities, and therefore into functionings (2009, pp. 218-19).

This distinction between resources/capital and capabilities are emphasised by Sen when he explains that:

there is a crucial valuational difference between the human capital focus and the concentration on human capabilities – a difference that is related to some extent to the distinction between means and ends. The acknowledgement of the role of human qualities, Sen argues, in promoting and sustaining economic growth – momentous as it is – tells us nothing about why economic growth is sought (Sen, 2000, p. 295).

Terzi emphasises this when she states that using the CA to address educational issues: requires focusing on the contribution that the basic capability to be educated makes to the formation and expansion of human capabilities, and hence to the contribution it makes to the opportunities people have for leading flourishing lives (2007, p. 41).

The Study

Research on AA in Indian education typically tries to define social inclusion in the conveniently simple terms of the enrolment and completion rates of students from under-represented sections of society (Wankhede, 2006; Paranjape, 2007; Desai & Kulkarni, 2008). With few exceptions, these studies seldom address the sort of issues that are highlighted by the CA – whether and how AA students enjoy the freedoms and opportunities to meaningfully participate in HE. The purpose of this paper is to help fill this gap in the research literature by considering how the policy of AA in Indian HE has enabled students from under-represented social groups to develop, realise and act upon their educational capabilities.

This paper is based on a study conducted by the lead author who worked with 84 ST students who were all beneficiaries of AA at Andhra University, Visakhapatnam during the period 2007-09. Data was collected from questionnaires and follow-up interviews, which addressed biographic and contextual issues including: parental education and occupation, pre-university schooling, future plans and a range of pedagogic and social matters ranging from participation in learning process, awareness of support mechanisms and the attitudes of academic and non-teaching staff as well as of other students. Due care was taken in collecting data from both male and female ST students in order to take into account gendered aspects of capability deprivation (Walker, 2007). The questionnaires were used to obtain background information. The follow-up interviews focused on the confidence and commitment of the students and their awareness of opportunities that were – or should have been – available to them. In this way, it was possible to obtain an insight into their freedoms to engage with and make use of HE. The data was then analysed using Flores-Crespo's framework for evaluating the capabilities of university graduates (2007).

Flores-Crespo's framework integrates Sen's instrumental freedoms and Nussbaum's central capabilities. It is divided into two sections: personal achievements (beings) and professional achievements (doings). This means the data obtained from the students taking part in this study could be evaluated in terms of a rich array of potential functionings, including Sen's instrumental freedoms (e.g. social and economic opportunities) and Nussbaum's central capabilities (e.g. practical reason and self-confidence). Thus, the framework brings several socio-economic, political and cultural factors into focus and allows us to consider the extent to which AA policies influence the opportunities the participants had to engage with their post-graduate studies and the wider life of the university and to benefit from their studies.

The 84 ST students selected to take part in the study were drawn from five departments across the Social Sciences and Humanities. The reason for this focus (which is explored in greater detail in the discussion section below) is that these are the departments most preferred by ST students at the university and one aspect of the research was to develop a deeper understanding of why AA students prefer particular courses and subjects. The study

was concerned with the dynamic relationships between subject choice, family circumstances and opinion of the provisions and facets of AA. The specific focus here on these departments, therefore, enabled a deeper examination of pertinent issues without distorting them through a consideration of atypical choices (something that we intend addressing in future studies). These departments are Economics, English, Hindi, Political Science and Telugu.

The questionnaire data was tabulated and subject to simple statistical calculations. This provided a base from which to identify concerns that were explored through the interview phase of the research. These concerns informed the analysis of the interview data. This was transcribed and coded and key responses were interrogated for their illumination of salient points. The more subjective data generated by the interviews was important in understanding the aspirations, contexts and experiences of the students. So, although the small survey size means that the research has very limited statistical significance, it is important in terms of apprehending their capabilities.

Table 1 details the students taking part in the study and contextualises their choices with information concerning the number of seats reserved for STs, the seats reserved in self-financing courses and the total number of seats filled by the ST students (both reserved seats and reserved under self-financing courses).

TABLE 1
ST Students, by Subject and Reservation (2007-08)

<i>Departments</i>	<i>No. of Seats Reserved</i>			<i>Reserved under Self-Financing Courses</i>			<i>Total Seats Filled</i>		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Hindi	12 (100)	8 (67)	4 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (100)	8 (67)	4 (33)
Economics	12 (100)	8 (67)	4 (33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (100)	8 (67)	4 (33)
English	8 (100)	4 (50)	4 (50)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2 (100)	10 (100)	4 (40)	6 (60)
Telugu	15 (100)	11 (73)	4 (27)	8 (100)	4 (50)	4 (50)	23 (100)	15 (65)	8 (35)
Political Science	15 (100)	11 (73)	4 (23)	12 (100)	8 (67)	4 (33)	27 (100)	19 (70)	8 (30)
Total	62 (100)	42 (68)	20 (32)	22 (100)	12 (55)	10 (45)	84 (100)	54 (64)	30 (36)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. Source: Field survey

This was a small scale study and the limited number of participants means that it has little statistical significance. However, the two phase approach to data collection – the initial questionnaire and the follow-up interviews – generated results that could be qualitatively analysed. The first phase of data collection utilised questionnaires for 84 ST students in various disciplines in the university. The second phase of data collection involved face-to-face interviews with selected ST students who were continuing their studies. The questionnaires were designed to identify the perceptions of these AA students on various provisions and facilities of AA and HE. The follow-up semi-structured interviews with ST students provided insight into their levels of self-confidence, self-reliance and critical reflection on several issues and about their own life plans, etc..

Findings

The study revealed three main inter-related findings. First, access to HE through the AA policy does not expand the capabilities of the students unless it is framed by an appropriate institutional climate that sustains a culture of reliance, tolerance and social justice for the healthy development of student capabilities. That is, simply progressing to HE is not enough: the enhancement of capabilities depends on what happens once the students have entered HE. Although the seats reserved for ST students are filled by them and a significant proportion of ST students are on self-financing courses, their enrolment in the courses in these departments did not, of itself, generate the capabilities considered here. Therefore, the HE environment needs to be considered if students are to have the substantial freedoms required to convert the resource of HE into appropriate functionings. Secondly, the study revealed that the achievement of academic, personal and professional functionings by ST students depends upon a range of personal, academic, institutional and larger societal factors. Whilst those large societal factors cannot be controlled beyond the university, they can be addressed on campus in order to increase capabilities rather than constraining them. A capability-enhancing campus climate should recognize the multi-dimensional and dynamic nature of those factors that enable and encourage the students to increase their capability sets. For example, most of the students taking part in the study were the first in their family to progress to HE and this articulated with several other factors like parental income and education, the place of birth and the types of schooling, the awareness on the part of larger community and most significantly the availability of social opportunities. Lastly, and following from this second point, the study highlights Sen's concern with instrumental freedoms. The lack of social and economic opportunities significantly influenced the capabilities of these ST students. This was illustrated by one MA Political Science student who, when reflecting on his parents' perceptions of his education, explained:

My parents think that my education will solve a great number of issues in my family. There are issues of our basic needs and also problems in financing the education of others in the family. Being the first generation of learners, and obviously the first person in my family attending HE, the trust that is placed in my education sometimes panics me.

Education is a cumulative process and educational opportunities can and should be traced back to the students' families. Table 2 summarises the educational and economic conditions of the students' parents.

TABLE 2
Educational and Economic Conditions of Students' Parents

<i>Educational Level</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Elementary</i>	<i>Sec- dary</i>	<i>HE</i>	<i>Income Level</i>	<i>Below Rs 50,000</i>	<i>Rs 50,001 – 200,000</i>	<i>Rs 200,001+</i>
Hindi	9 (75)	0	3 (25)	0	Hindi	9 (75)	3 (25)	0
Economics	12 (100)	0	0	0	Economics	12 (100)	0	0
English	9 (90)	0	1 (10)	0	English	8 (80)	2 (20)	0
Telugu	19 (83)	4 (17)	0	0	Telugu	19 (83)	4 (17)	0
Political Science	27 (100)	0	0	0	Political Science	24 (89)	3 (11)	0

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. Source: Field survey

The overwhelming majority of the students' parents had no formal education and are classified as being illiterate. Not surprisingly, none had attended university. The level of annual family income was taken as a proxy for the economic conditions of the students' families with an income of less than Rs 50,000 indicating poverty and over Rs 200,000 relative wealth. Eighty six percent of the 84 households were in poverty according to this metric and income and this was typically earned through agricultural work or daily wage labour. There is a strong correlation between levels of parental education and income and they indicate the conditions framing the students' pre-university studies: the education, occupation and income of parents are strong determinants of their children's educational opportunities. For example, patterns and traditions of family structure mean that in rural villages, it is likely that the students were managing their studies while helping their parents in agricultural production and this would have necessarily impacted upon their opportunities to study effectively. Similarly, students in urban areas are likely to have been working alongside their studies. Importantly, familial circumstances also frame the students' understanding of what it is reasonable to value and to expect (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1997).

The education of disadvantaged communities (including SC and ST communities) is primarily the responsibility of the state and all of these students attended local government schools. Telugu is the primary language used by the students and, as it is the regional language, it was their medium of instruction not only in school but in the university as well. State universities are more likely to use regional languages as their medium of instruction than the central universities (and universities in the south of India may be antagonistic to the use of Hindi which is often seen as a north Indian language – although that trend has recently started to change). The university's day-to-day academic and non-academic business is typically carried out in Telugu. The use of the students' primary language as the medium of instruction can enhance and inhibit educational capabilities: whilst it increases the freedoms of students to progress to university, it can disadvantage them when opting for courses like English and Hindi.

Campus facilities – including hostel accommodation, food and essential amenities as well as sports – provide the social context within which educational opportunities are located and are, therefore, an integral and important part of the university experience. As Table 3 shows, whilst just a handful of these students considered the facilities to be good,

nearly half expressed dissatisfaction with them and wanted them to be made more student-friendly. No matter how dissatisfied they are with them, AA students are heavily dependent on on-campus facilities because of the relatively high costs of private alternatives. Even when students receive merit or social welfare scholarships (such as those offered by state or national governments), they typically remain under the yoke of financial constraints because they need to support their families (whether that need is because they want to or because they feel obliged to). Thus, the wider learning contexts are not always conducive to the students' overall well-being.

TABLE 3
Facilities in Campuses

<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Campus facilities [i.e. hostel, food, sports and other essential amenities]</i>			
	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>Not Good</i>
Hindi	1 (8)	2 (17)	5 (42)	4 (33)
Economics	0	0	4 (33)	8 (67)
English	0	4 (40)	2 (20)	4 (40)
Telugu	0	6 (26)	6 (26)	11 (48)
Political Science	5 (19)	6 (22)	6 (22)	10 (37)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages.
Source: Field survey

Table 4 shows the students' awareness of and views on the various tribal schemes, including SC/ST cells, intended to support AA programmes and to assist the integration of AA students into the mainstream.

TABLE 4
Students' Awareness of and Attitudes towards Support Mechanisms

<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Awareness of Tribal Schemes</i>		<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Attitudes towards SC/ST cells, etc.</i>	
	<i>Awareness</i>			<i>Considered helpful</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Hindi	12 (100)	0	Hindi	7 (58)	5 (42)
Economics	4 (33)	8 (66)	Economics	4 (33)	8 (67)
English	8 (80)	2 (20)	English	0	10 (100)
Telugu	17 (74)	6 (26)	Telugu	8 (35)	15 (65)
Political Science	16 (59)	11 (41)	Political Science	18 (67)	9 (33)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. Source: Field survey

Nearly one-third of the students (32%) were unaware of the schemes for tribal development even though UGC has mandated several on-campus institutional provisions, such as the SC/ST cells and enhanced student welfare, to inform and advise them. This reported lack of awareness must be taken into account when considering how satisfied the students were with these support structures: over half (56%) responded negatively when asked about their usefulness. Taken together, these two issues – the lack of awareness of

the facilities and their apparent uselessness – suggest that efforts to increase inclusion through the provision of support structures are falling short. Yet all of the students reported that the SC/ST cells could be useful in providing academic and financial support (interestingly, they perceived them as potentially useful for providing both forms of support rather than one or the other alone) and this could be seen as emphasising the lack of support some students reported experiencing.

Table 5 shows the perceived responses of ST students of the attitudes shown towards them by non-SC/ST students, teachers and non-teaching staff. The non-beneficiaries include teaching and non-teaching staff as well as non-quota students. These three groups have been aggregated in the Table to show the overall perceptions ST students believe non-beneficiaries of AA (excluding self-financing ST students) have of them. However, the three groups were disaggregated for the purposes of the analysis. The perceived attitudes (both of non-beneficiaries and non-AA students) incorporate a range of pedagogic and social situations (e.g. classroom interactions, hostel accommodation, etc.).

TABLE 5
Perceived Attitudes of Staff and Other Students

<i>Perceived attitudes of non-beneficiaries</i>			<i>Perceived attitudes of non-AA students</i>		
<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Hindi	7 (58)	5 (52)	Hindi	9 (75)	3 (25)
Economics	12 (100)	0	Economics	8 (67)	4 (33)
English	10 (100)	0	English	10 (100)	0
Telugu	23 (100)	0	Telugu	15 (65)	8 (35)
Political Science	27 (100)	0	Political Science	17 (67)	10 (33)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. Source: Field survey

As indicated in the Table, most of the students felt they did not face any kind of caste or community-based discrimination. However, there were higher levels of perceived negativity from the non-SC/ST students they shared accommodation with, with nearly a third of the students reporting negative attitudes towards them. The highest levels of perceived negativity, though, were reported from non-teaching staff. Even when the professional obligations of teaching staff are taken into account, it is not unreasonable to conclude that higher levels of education generate higher levels of tolerance: perceived negativity towards these students was highest from those, it is presumed, who have the lowest levels of education (i.e. the non-teaching staff). One clear anomaly is the high levels of perceived negativity from teaching staff reported by the Hindi students. Bearing in mind the potential issues concerning the use of Hindi as a medium of instruction, this anomaly could arise from a mutual failure of students and teachers to fully understand each other when speaking in Hindi and the potential frustration this may generate on both sides. That is, and as indicated above, although there are clear correlations between caste/class and linguistic aptitude, the linguistic limits constraining the students' capability to take part in the life of the HE community stem from their levels of education, and discrimination is, therefore, indirect. However, there is also a more insidious interpretation with the Hindi spoken by the teachers incorporating greater levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu; 1997) than the Telugu spoken by the students: within this interpretative framework, the disparities in cultural capital more

clearly represent class/caste-based disparities and open up the possibility of a more direct discrimination. Put another way, the first interpretation sees the perceived negativity generated by mutual incomprehension arising from class/caste-based differences; the second by those differences. It is not, of course, unreasonable to assume that elements of both interpretations are at play here.

These concerns underpin the problems of language problems addressed in Table 6. As noted above, the medium of instruction can cause significant problems for students from tribal communities. These students have their own distinct language² but they also need to develop proficiency in English and Hindi as they progress from elementary to university education. They may find that the use of languages other than Telugu causes fewer problems than had been anticipated but this can be accounted for by both formal and informal language acquisition and also the progressive self-deselection of students as they advance through the education system (that is, those with the least proficiency in other languages do not even consider progressing to higher levels of education). Nonetheless, it is hardly surprising that the students of Telugu reported the lowest levels of language-based problems (none) along with the students of Hindi (none). That at least half the students of Economics, English and Political Science reported encountering language problems can, in part at least, be accounted for by the need to engage with technical terms in the medium of instruction.

TABLE 6
Language Issues

<i>Problems related to Language</i>		<i>Problems in class participation</i>			<i>Disengagement or potential discontinuation of study</i>			
<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Encountering Language problems</i>		<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Problems in class participation</i>		<i>Disciplines</i>	<i>Problems making you to discontinue your study</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Hindi	0	12 (100)	Hindi	7 (58)	5 (42)	Hindi	8 (67)	4 (33)
Economics	8 (67)	4 (33)	Economics	8 (67)	4 (33)	Economics	8 (67)	4 (33)
English	6 (60)	4 (40)	English	7 (70)	3 (30)	English	10 (100)	0
Telugu	0	23 (100)	Telugu	14 (61)	9 (39)	10	9 (39)	13 (61)
Political Science	16 (59)	11 (41)	Political Science	20 (74)	7 (26)	Political Science	18 (67)	9 (33)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. Source: Field survey

A far higher proportion of students (approximately two-thirds of them) reported experiencing problems with classroom participation. Clearly, self-acknowledged problems with the language of instruction play a significant part in this problem but this alone does not explain the problems reported by the students of Hindi and Telugu, all of whom had claimed that they had not experienced language problems. Within all disciplines, it is likely

² Tribes in India have their own distinct dialects though some have recently been recognized as languages for classroom instructions. Tribal students attending HE are primarily learned to know the mainstream/state languages (i.e. Telugu which they know as inhabitants of the State) and then English and Hindi.

that the well-known differentiations between types of language use (whereby people tend to find it much easier to listen to and read another language than to speak or write it) played a part so that students, who were confident listening to classroom interactions, felt less confident contributing to them. But it is also likely, particularly for the students of Telugu and English, that class-/caste-based differences played a part. We have suggested above that such differences may account for the perceived negativity students reported in their teachers; here they may have been unwilling to call attention to those differences by speaking out in class. Running through these issues is the deeper, and more complex, concern that these ST students lack the sense of belonging possessed by their peers. This lack of entitlement – which has been explored at length in the literature on widening participation in the developed world – is most obvious in their very designation as AA students and in the legislation and additional resourcing (however ineffective they may have found it) that has been necessary to propel them to university. Take away that support and it is likely that few of them would have progressed to HE. So, although the support is necessary, it can leave them vulnerable to the sense of being second rate citizens of the university, deserving charity cases, maybe, but charity cases nonetheless. As we suggested above, the lower levels of cultural capital these students possess may account for the perceived negativity some reported in their teachers and these externalities may account for their unwillingness to speak up in class. However, they may also have internalised those externalities and accepted that whilst they can sit in on the class, they have no claim to participate in it.

This leads into the last set of issues addressed in Table 6: the extent to which these educational and class-/caste-based problems contribute to the desire to discontinue their studies. A majority of the students (68%) explained that they had frequently thought about this. This is a significant problem that persists not only in the State universities but also in several Central and National universities where the problem is recognised by providing additional coaching to AA students in order to make them more proficient in the use of English as a medium of study. In this study, in all disciplines except, perhaps unsurprisingly, Telugu, a significant majority of these students reported that these problems did just that – contribute to the desire to discontinue their studies. In contributing to their evident discomfort in the university classroom, those problems signal a considerable level of capability deprivation. As State universities predominantly cater to the students from the state and the State language (Telugu) is used in academic and non-academic affairs of the university, it is, therefore, not that surprising as to why Telugu discipline students are less prone to withdraw from their studies.

The study also found that the future plans and careers of these ST students covered in the study were likely to be influenced by their families' educational and economic status as well as by wider socio-economic and educational opportunities.

TABLE 7
Future Plans

<i>Discipline</i>	<i>Future plans</i>		
	<i>Administrative (e.g. Civil Service, etc.)</i>	<i>Teaching & Research</i>	<i>Simply to get a good job</i>
Hindi	4 (33)	6 (50)	2 (17)
Economics	4 (33)	8 (67)	0
English	1 (10)	9 (90)	0
Telugu	9 (39)	9 (39)	5 (22)
Political Science	16 (590)	7 (26)	4 (17)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. Source: Field survey

A majority of these students had a clear employment goal in mind. There was an interesting correlation between these figures and those reported in Table 1. Those students whose parents had lower levels of education and income were more likely to aspire to a career in teaching. This may be because it is seen as an easier option and as having greater security and is, therefore, more likely to secure a return on their own education. At the same time, however, it could also be seen as a desire to promote education.

Discussion

This study focused on ST students who had benefitted from AA policies. The Indian government reserves 7.5% of university places for ST students. Beyond this, ST students can only get admission through reservation policies if places reserved for SC students are left vacant. However, they can finance their own studies (although this may present them with financial problems, leading to the possibility of non-completion) and this adds to the overall number of ST students in HE.

The evaluation of educational arrangements from a CA perspective necessarily involves the identification of the opportunity and process aspects of freedom. As Sen explains:

while the idea of capability has considerable merit in the assessment of the opportunity aspect of freedom, it cannot possibly deal adequately with the process aspect of freedom, since capabilities are characteristics of individual advantages, and they fall short of telling us enough about the fairness or equity of the processes involved, or about the freedom of citizens to invoke and utilize procedures that are equitable (2005, pp. 155-56).

This study considered two strands of the students' process freedoms. The first is the overarching policy strand that sets out to redress historically grounded inequalities through AA. The second concerns the more complex process generated from the operation of social structures and this was approached through consideration of the students' family contexts. Such limitations on process freedoms are typically outlined by group identities. As Stewart explains:

being a member of a group, or groups is an intrinsic aspect of human life: the quality of groups with which individuals identify forms an important direct contribution to their well-being, is instrumental to other capabilities, and influences peoples' choices and values (2005, p. 185).

The relationship between group identities, individual capabilities and limited freedoms is particularly complex when it challenges the status quo (see Watts, 2009, 2013 for discussions of the tensions between identity, multiple realisability and adaptive preferences). The policy mechanism guiding AA in India has been directed by concerns with group-based discrimination. The inevitability of human diversity – which is a central concern for the CA – means that different individuals will be more or less able to make use of the support offered. However, this study identifies several key issues that are pertinent to ST students as a group and as individuals.

The study specifically addressed the experiences and aspirations of students taking courses in the Social Sciences and Humanities. ST students tend to favour such courses over those such as law and medicine and this may be accounted for, at least in part, by two significant issues. Firstly, there is a strong link between caste/tribe and future occupation (indicated above in Table 8) with ST students more likely to limit their aspirations in terms of high status jobs. Secondly, courses leading to these higher status professions are likely to have some competitive and rigorous selection process and/or require qualifications that these students do not possess. Both factors articulate with Bourdieu's notion of the habitus—the set of mental dispositions that inform the individual's understanding of what it is 'reasonable to expect' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 226) which underwrite her non-reflective decision making processes and can be seen as a form of adaptive preferences (Unterhalter, 2009, p. 219; Watts, 2013, 2014).

These factors mirror similar concerns elsewhere in the world that students from lower castes or classes (that is, those with less of Bourdieu's cultural capital) tend to deselect themselves from higher status courses. However, it also raises questions about the validity of AA policies and can be seen to validate arguments that it is anti-competition. There is insufficient room here to do justice to this complex issue but we suggest that without these policies, there would be greater disadvantage for SC/ST students (see Watts 2012, 2014 on widening participation policies in the UK) and that the resulting appearance of non-sponsored competitiveness would be illusory as it would merely reflect caste-based social advantages rather than indicate the results of academic competitiveness. In short, despite the issues indicated here, AA policies work to level an extremely unlevel playing field and so facilitate genuine competition.

Institutional provision can enhance the individual's capability (Sen, 1992, 1999) but it can also point to the limiting effects of social structures and social discipline that make AA policies necessary. However, the higher concentration of ST students in certain subjects illustrates the distinction between Sen's notion of opportunity and process freedoms and indicates their capability deprivations. Although AA policies mean they have greater opportunities to progress to HE, educational, economic and social factors – which combine to mark out the limits of process freedoms – are likely to limit the range of courses realistically available to them.

The socio-economic and educational circumstances of students' families are widely recognised as shaping their attitudes towards HE (Reay *et al.*, 2005) and so influence their substantive opportunities to achieve educational functionings. The majority of the parents of these AA students are illiterate and impoverished. Such factors have an impact on the students' engagement with the academic and social dimensions of HE, including their choice of course and their prospects for post-HE employment. Although they have successfully progressed to HE, it appears that these students are resigned to choosing from a limited

range of courses and relatively low levels of successful pedagogic engagement (e.g. participation in the classes). This resignation – which suggests that they have adapted their preferences – is perhaps most obvious in the high numbers who have seriously considered dropping out of university. However, the support structures available to them, although not as effective as they could and should be, appear to have made some difference. It is important to note that many of these students had considered dropping out but had nonetheless continued their studies.

Yet, if socio-economic circumstances limit the educational capabilities of ST students, particularly in terms of their freedom to choose and progress to HE, appropriate policies can go some way to redressing this and so enhance their capabilities. Furthermore, although personal differences (typically associated, again, with socio-economic factors) can limit the substantive opportunities of ST students to engage with and progress through HE, appropriate support structures (such as SC/ST cells, student unions, etc.) can redress these inequalities. However, it would be wrong to be too optimistic. The evidence, generated by the survey and supported by the interviews with ST students, draws attention to several factors that could potentially reduce their capabilities including the language of instruction, classroom participation and the attitudes of teaching and non-teaching staff as well as of other students. These issues highlight the shortcomings of existing provision for ST students (as well as for those from other groups benefitting from AA policies and practices). A capability interpretation of the experiences of these students makes clear that equality requires more than simply admitting more students from historically under-represented groups to HE. It demands appropriate and effective support structures.

Our main focus here has been on how the socio-economic status of SC and ST students influences their substantive freedoms, or capabilities, to access and benefit from HE. However, we are sensitive to another significant social divide in India's HE sector – that of gender. There is a significant body of literature highlighting the disadvantages suffered by female students in all phases of India's education sector as well as of the increased disadvantages where gender intersects with socio-economic factors. This is emphasised by the latest report from UNESCO's World Inequality Database on Education (WIDE, 2014). The issues we have considered here in terms of socio-economic status disadvantage resonate with gendered disadvantage. That is, the capabilities of female students for accessing and benefitting from HE are less than those of their male counterparts. Having demonstrated that this analytic framework is appropriate for close examination of socio-economic disadvantage, we will return to a gendered examination elsewhere. Here, though, we want to note that when using the CA as the framework for assessing gendered equality, it is clear that female students, particularly SC/ST female students, must negotiate disproportionate disadvantages in order to realise their educational well-being.

Again, this highlights the importance of the distinction Sen makes between opportunity and process freedoms. There is no shortage of HE institutions in India and so it could be argued that there are plenty of opportunity (or formal) freedoms to progress to and through HE. However, such freedoms are restricted by social structures that typically limit the real opportunities available to ST students and others from historically under-represented groups. Their process freedoms, though, are increased by reservation policies. Moreover, although those same socio-economic factors limit the substantive opportunities such students have to successfully progress through HE, the various support structures go some way to redressing the unequal process freedoms available to them. There is, though, a long

way still go to and this suggests the need to re-orient AA policy goals in the changing context of Indian HE.

Conclusion

Considering HE through the lens of the CA provides a clearer insight into the experience of SC/ST students. The richer conceptualisation of HE facilitates a better understanding of why AA policies and practices may not be as effective as they could be even though they do increase the number of SC/ST students in HE. The small number of students taking part in this study means that it has little statistical significance. Moreover, it does not make comparisons with the HE experiences of other and more privileged students. In this sense, then, the study articulates more closely with Nussbaum's normative interpretation of the CA than with Sen's comparative interpretation. However, the issues raised are useful in identifying pertinent concerns that need to be addressed if the policy aims of AA are to be realised.

The research indicates the potential that AA policies and practices have to increase the HE capabilities of ST students. However, at the same time, by drawing attention to this potential, it also highlights their potential and actual capability deprivation. Additionally, it signals the capability deprivation of those members of historically under-represented groups who are unable to benefit from AA policies. The difficulties of accessing and participating in HE remain deeply problematic. ST students continue to approach HE from a disadvantaged position. This is indicated by the limited range of courses they typically choose but this, it could be argued, is indicative of the inequalities running through pre-university education in India. Social attitudes in the universities may be more enlightened (and such enlightenment is helped by relevant legislation) but attitudes in society as a whole—as indicated here by the attitudes of non-academic staff in the university — still raise barriers that ST and other students need to negotiate. There are also economic concerns: the sons and daughters of agricultural labourers may not be able to afford HE and their families may not be able to afford to let them go to university. AA legislation expands the formal freedoms to enter and participate in HE but social conditioning sets limitations on those freedoms. Social conditioning is also likely to limit the substantive freedoms such students have to make use of their HE in terms of their future employment and social acceptance.

From a CA perspective, access involves more than simply accessing and progressing through HE. The focus on well-being, that a CA analysis enables, calls attention to a wide range of pertinent issues that need to be addressed if AA policies and practices are to be more effective. This study has shown that AA can benefit individuals and that it can contribute to the realisation of a democratic education system envisioned in the Constitution. In shifting the focus from enrolment and completion rates to a more holistic view of the experiences of SC/ST students, it indicates those areas that need closer attention—in terms of both research and the practical implementation of policy — if AA is to lead to that democratic vision. That is, the study highlights the advantages of using the CA to interrogate AA and HE policies and so provides a firm basis for exploring issues raised in greater detail in future studies.

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School Leadership Development Programme[#] — A Road Map for Andhra Pradesh

N. Mythili*

Abstract

In this article, a roadmap for School Leadership Development Programme has been designed based on the situational analysis using secondary data and field data for Andhra Pradesh (united). The intent is to provide necessary skills and knowledge for school heads to proactively assume leadership roles for achieving school quality by transforming schooling processes. The programme design seeks to suggest an alternative approach to existing practices of training in India by way of designing different models of capacity building of school heads, different methods to provide continuous onsite support to school heads through mentoring, review and feedback to support leadership development among school heads; scaling up the programme to cover all school heads in the state. Vetting the design with the education functionaries and stakeholders of Andhra Pradesh was another step in this direction. This roadmap also holds good for the newly-formed Telangana and Andhra Pradesh as it is designed based on situational analysis.

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The draft action plan discussed in this paper was presented at the state-level consultation held on 26th August, 2013 in the then undivided Andhra Pradesh at Hyderabad. Secretary and Commissioner of School Education; State Project Director, SSA; Director, RMSA; Director and faculty, SCERT; implementing officers from SSA and RMSA, faculty from University, DIETs, CTEs, and IASEs; school HMs, representatives from NGOs participated. Feedback received from the group are incorporated into the paper here.

Introduction

A number of studies show that school leadership is critical for school quality and student learning. Some of these results have universal applicability to education systems across the world. "It has become an article of faith that the capacity of schools to improve teaching and learning is strongly mediated by the quality of leadership by head teachers" (Chaudhari, 2002:9) One-fourth of the total school effects on student learning is due to school leadership and is second only to classroom instruction (Leithwood et.al, 2000, 2004); School leaders can play a major role in creating conditions for teachers to teach effectively for student learning (Dinham, 2008); leadership effects are the largest in the most challenging schools when they are coming off their 'low base' and circumstances (Louis, et.al., 2010); School Leadership is an important factor for school success (Sujatha, 2011); Instructional leadership of principals for successful learning of all students and use of data to foster school improvement are important (Mendels and Mitgang, 2013).

School Leadership in International and Indian Contexts

The review of studies indicates that there are three important dimensions to the study of school leadership *viz.*, leadership styles, leadership process, and significance of leadership in the overall systemic change.

School leadership styles such as distributive leadership, transformational leadership, social leadership, instructional leadership and their relative merits are extensively studied in the international context (Bush, 2008; Simkins, 2005; Theoharis, 2007; Haris, 2004; Hallinger and Heck, 1996; Bennet et al, 2003; Leithwood and Jantzi, 2000; Wallace, 2002). Suitability or effectiveness of a particular leadership model is linked to local context of the school (Halinger, 2003). Transformational and distributed leadership styles are significant to school improvement (Bass, 1999; Riaz and Haider, 2010; Miller, 2013; Shotte, 2013) whereas instructional leadership is important to improve teaching-learning processes (Mendels and Mitgang, 2013; Sebastian and Allensworth, 2012).

Leadership, as a development process, consists of personalized learning, mentoring, coaching and group-learning (Bolam, 1999). Dufour and Mattos (2013) argued that instead of micro managing teachers, principals should lead efforts to collectively monitor student achievement through Professional Learning Communities emphasizing on collective responsibility and collaboration. Change in the roles of the principals entails five key responsibilities to foster school improvement. They are shaping a vision of academic success for all students, creating a hospitable climate, cultivating leadership in others, improving instruction skills of teachers, and managing people, data and processes (Wallace Foundation, 2013).

In system level changes, leadership is an important component which helps students learn better. Where a whole system approach is implemented, achievement of students has significantly increased (Fullan, 2010). Literacy levels at elementary stage rose from 62 to 75 per cent between 1997 and 2001 in Ontario and, in UK, the literacy levels rose since 2003 (*ibid*).

In India, the importance of developing school leadership is recognized by the government for improving school quality. The 12th Five Year Plan (GOI-Planning Commission, 2013) identifies School leadership Development as one of the four new strategic initiatives to be introduced under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) for improving the learning outcome of students. But research studies are very few. Govinda (2002) and NUEPA (2010) analyse the various systemic constraints that hinder the effective

functioning of the head teacher. Among them are HMs have to function in a constrained environment; the manner of their appointment; absence of designated HMs in a large number of elementary schools; no difference between the qualifications and salary structures of HMs and teachers; lack of freedom and authority of school heads. The other systemic constraints faced by the HM, in a situation where the school is at the lowest level of a multi-layered system with its hierarchical nature, are that a substantial part of the role of HMs has been given away to BEOs; their limited role in academic management due to centralization of curriculum and public examination; lack of rewards and recognition linked to performance; lack of academic support to HM from the system above. Besides these factors, the growing number of small schools pose a problem of appointing more school heads; there is also a growing gap in terms of division of private schools and government schools with diverse ground rules to operate with as also issues related to sharing the management responsibility with parents and community and ineffective integration of ICT in teaching school subjects.

The above review of research studies is a pointer to the fact that school leadership is critical to school quality for all school systems in the world. Challenges in performing the roles of school heads for improving school quality in the Indian context are mostly systemic constraints. Further, in India, school leadership development is a relatively new area of study, practice and intervention, with scant or no systematic research carried out in it so far.

Need for School Leadership Development in India

Starting from Operation Black Board (OBB) in 1980s to reform measures under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) till date, emphasis is on improvement of physical infrastructure, curriculum and materials for teaching and teacher capacity building. Despite these efforts on the supply side, lower learning levels of students continue to pose a challenge. The proportion of children studying in 5th standard and unable to read 2nd standard text book has increased from 49.3% in 2010 to 56.2% in 2011 and 58.3% in 2012 (ASER, 2010, 2011, 2012). On the demand side, there is a noticeable increase in the awareness of parents of the importance of schooling. The willingness to pay for the education of children and consequent expectations from schools has changed significantly for these parents. The percentage of 6 to 14 year olds enrolled in private schools rose from 18.7% in 2006 to 25.6% in 2011 and to 28.3% in 2012. Increase in the enrolment of children in private schools is almost equal in primary (Std. I-V) and upper primary (Std. VI-VIII) classes (ASER, 2012). Several other studies also indicate that the choice of parents is shifting from government to private schools (Kingdon, 1996; PROBE, 1999; Muralidharan, 2006; Tooley 2007; Tooley, *et.al.*, 2007; Panagariya, 2008; Kingdon, 2008; Muralidharan and Kremer, 2008; Narula, 2013). Private school enrolment is associated with higher learning outcomes, even after controlling for a variety of family factors (Desai, *et.al.*, 2008). All these evidences imply that not only school facilities and teachers are critical but something more.

Discussions held with school heads and administrators from different districts of Andhra Pradesh (united) revealed that HMs face several professional challenges. They mentioned that SSA had focused extensively on teacher development for a decade, leaving out the school head in the entire process of improving school quality. The school head has to monitor and support these teachers in the schools but is not supported with the same training to carry out his/her duties. A senior educational administrator observed that the job chart of the head teacher indicates that school head is made

accountable for all activities of the school, including building infrastructure facilities, but not student learning.

In the consultation meet held at Andhra Pradesh, school heads also shared the professional challenges they faced: lack of knowledge and skills about using ICT, inability to act as effective managers of time and resources, limited administrative skills and knowledge, lack of inter-personal skills and ability to involve teachers and parents in schooling processes, inability to communicate in English and low self-esteem. These challenges expressed by school heads also indicate that they are unable to look beyond day-to-day administration of the school to regard themselves as leaders who can make a difference to school quality.

Efforts to develop effective school leaders have been very limited in India. However, recognition of the importance of school leadership development has begun in recent times. With the help of non-governmental organizations, Departments of Education in some states (Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra) have initiated school leadership development since 2007-08. Although some efforts have been made to improve school leadership, there has been no system wide intervention covering these states in entirety so far. Besides, the focus of most of these trainings is limited to enhancing managerial and administrative skills of school heads rather than on school leadership development. These gaps indicate the fact that school leadership has so far not been considered central to school quality. Hence, there is a need for developing school leaders who not only manage the schools well but also the transformation required for achieving school quality.

Objective

To design a road map for implementing School Leadership Development Programme (SLDP) in Indian context.

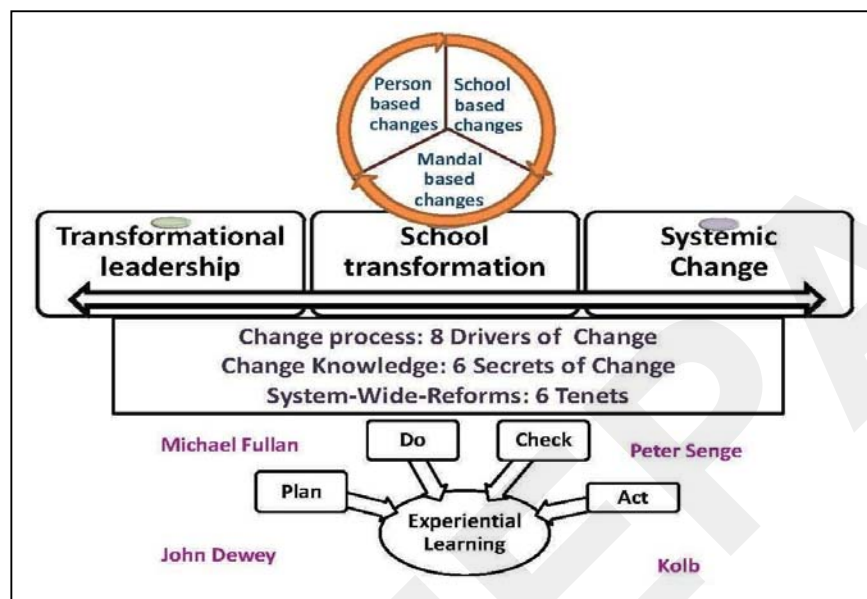
Framework for School Leadership Development Programme in India

The School Leadership Development Programme envisaged in this study adopts a holistic approach using theoretical and operational frameworks that incorporate theory into practice and practice informing the theory so as to make the programme practice-based and yet deeply rooted and informed by theory for the purpose of achieving school transformation.

Theoretical Framework: An Integrated Approach

In the context of school leadership development, transforming schools is a cumulative effect of sustained efforts carried out by the school head, involving others in the school over a period of time, to bring about change. School head and others engaged in change processes reflect on the practices carried out as school professionals experience the change within one self and environment around. They create opportunities for innovations to change the culture of the school. All these are expected to give rise to a collective moral purpose to reduce gaps in student achievement and improve school quality.

DIAGRAM 1



A transformation of this kind is achieved through capacity building, understanding change process, creating a culture of learning and evaluation, fostering coherence, developing leadership for change and tri level development involving school, district and state (Fullan 2001, 2005). It involves developing meaningful relationships with co-employees, forming a social glue and a 'we-we' connect for building people's collective power; encouraging peer interaction and learning to create energy, ideas and ownership; ensuring continuous access to practice, adopting work and learn approach to establish conditions of success; displaying of data and results to establish conditions of accountability, developing critical mass of leaders and sustaining change process (Fullan, 2008).

Transformation of this nature calls for a free environment, informal interaction with minimum hierarchical structures and flexible procedures that lends scope for learning, mutual interaction and collaboration to work together for greater effectiveness (Senge, 1990) and in reciprocal relationship between leader and follower who share the commitment to realize a common purpose (Bass, 1990, 1999, 2005). It is an outcome of experiential learning arising from the interface of continuity and interaction between present circumstances and past experiences (Dewey, 1938) caused by internalization of events, experience, filling gaps, discovering knowledge and understanding change. It necessitates a learning cycle consisting of *concrete experience*, *reflective observation*, *active experimentation* and *abstract conceptualization* (Kolb¹). Leaders engaged in this deeper transformation must necessarily be designers, teachers and stewards working with colleagues (Senge, 1990).

¹ [www.wilderdom.com/experiential /elc/experiential learning cycle.html](http://www.wilderdom.com/experiential/elc/experiential%20learning%20cycle.html)
<http://reviewing.co.uk/research/learning/cycles.htm>

Operational Framework for School Leadership Development in India

Even though it is common knowledge that leaders at all levels-school, community and government-have to come together to work individually as well as cohesively, the question of 'how, where and for what purpose' remains a complex challenge in all education systems. Fullan (2010:4-5) proposes five core tenets that are called "big ideas" for whole-school-reform (Chart 1).

CHART 1
System Reforms: A Summary of Ideas and Actions

<i>Big Ideas</i>	<i>Translation of ideas into actions</i>
All Children can Learn	Failure is not an option; High level of critical thinking and problem-solving skills
A small number of core priorities	Acting upon very few core priorities and doing them exceedingly well
Resolute leadership	Not to lose sight of whole system reform in the beginning and during rough times
Collective capacity	Maintaining Precision, well-designed strategies, acceleration of quality change
Intelligent accountability	Make internal and external accountability seamless by: a) Increasing individual and collective capacities to a 'transparent point' b) Sharing responsibility
All means All	Not piecemeal but system-wide efforts.

The 'big ideas' for transformative agenda in the Indian context is in the form of Operational Framework for school leadership development formulated at the national level with a vision that every child learns and every school excels. It consists of four aspects: curriculum and material development, capacity building, networking and Institution building, research and development (NCSL 2014a). *Curriculum and Material Development* focuses on designing and developing need-based programmes, materials and resources on school leadership development and customizing them for different purposes and diverse contexts and into different regional languages. *Capacity Building* intends to change the role of school heads from being functional managers to proactive and innovative leaders by creating a critical mass of experts who implement school leadership development in states and UTs. Objectives of *Networking and Institution Building* are to establish anchor institutions and leadership academies in the states for district and state-level operations. *Research and Development* aims at collecting, documenting, and disseminating best practices in school leadership, to contribute to new knowledge in the area of school leadership development (*ibid*).

Defining School Leadership Development and School Transformation in Indian Context

The primary unit of change is the school. Transformation takes place through innovative designing, systematic planning, meticulous operationalisation and its sustenance in which school leadership development is an important component and school leader is central to the change process. With this premise, the meaning of school transformation and school leadership are conceptualized for Indian context.

School leadership development is about the discourse of people development. It refers to school processes, leadership styles, ways of leading school, a particular mindset, a sense of ownership and so on. It is an input from systems approach. If considered normative, it implies that school leadership has to be coached, standards set, competency frameworks applied to measure against a set of behavioural changes. If it is considered as a people development, it is a process. There is a moral purpose for education in which school leader is a change agent who voluntarily assumes ownership of transforming with a belief that *as a school leader I can make a difference*. Then, the role of a school leader takes off to a paradigm shift in quality as a reflective actor who moves beyond meta cognition to be conscious of one self and act with *awareness*. The effect is felt not only within oneself but beyond-into the school's ecosystem. Hence, *school leadership development is a movement of a school leader from being a reflective actor to meta-cognitive thinker and an 'aware-d' change maker*. People around that school leader willingly and consciously look forward for guidance and support. The role of the school leader of *directing* and *influencing* others is replaced by *doing with awareness* together with others. It is a unique movement where practice informs knowledge, theory, and philosophy of school leadership. The school leader rises above the problem-solving mode and accepts a certain degree of uncertainty as a natural phenomenon. S/he catalyses a quality shift in school climate, culture and student learning with a stress-free environment.

Driven by school leader as a change maker with awareness, school transformation becomes a reality when there is opportunity for all stakeholders from within and outside the school to participate, learn and engage in meaning-making through their work. It seeks to establish sustained relationship amongst stakeholders through purposeful and continuous peer interaction, creating a "social-glue" for cooperation and mutual trust. School leader strengthens this social glue by working together with all towards realizing the school's vision through continuous practice, improvement and learning. Under this favorable environment, working, learning and capacity-building are not seen separately but as integral to school transformation and leadership development. Quality shift is not only in the individuals but also in the entire school. With work and learning becoming inseparable, school as a system and individuals in it can no more revert to their previous state. They cross the threshold level for transformation. In other words, transformation is that wherein both individuals and systems learn. Thus, transforming schools is a continuous process of learning and working.

The process and outcome of transformation is not linear and nor can it be attributed to causal relationships between a few factors. It is a path that the individual traverses in transforming oneself while attempting to transform the external environment. External environment, consisting of people, institutions and system, may act as triggers for internal transformation of self that is beyond motivation and inspiration. It is a highly organic process that is neither complex nor simple. It is profound as it is free of ambiguities. It is not an incremental change yet not sudden. It is but a complete shift from the previous state that has a lasting impact on the individual and spreads beyond oneself into the environment around him/her. The school leader is a person who leads school change by transforming oneself and working effortlessly with all stakeholders while navigating through the hierarchical system by understanding one's functional position within the larger system; innovating methods to create collaboration to achieve the goals by bringing about a shift in attitudes, knowledge, skills and beliefs; who converts pressure into opportunities; who responds to crisis and accepts limitations; negotiates between paradoxes of certainty and commitment and conservation and change. This process of leading change in school is called school leadership. A deeper

transformation of this nature entails designing different ways for people participation enabling them to grow professionally by integrating work and learning and creating learning spaces for experimentation.

Programme Design for Implementing School Leadership Development in Andhra Pradesh

Designing the programme for implementing the school leadership development programme is based on the situational analysis carried out using secondary and primary data. Secondary data is collected from DISE 2012-13, and primary data is collected through interactions with officials, participants in the state-level consultation meeting and a subsequent workshop. Implication for designing the school leadership development programme was derived from the results of data analysis. It led to proposing a transformative agenda for the state, different models for building capacity that address differential needs of school heads and local specific needs of the schools. It is then followed by conceptualization of alternative approach to cascade model to scale up the programme. All these aspects are presented in this section.

Situational Analysis

State of Andhra Pradesh was considered for the purpose². There are three regions in Andhra Pradesh *viz.*, Rayalseema, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Andhra Pradesh has a literacy rate of 67.66% (75.56% male and 59.74% female) with rural literacy rate at 61.24% and urban literacy rate at 80.54% (Census Report, 2011). Andhra Pradesh has one of the largest school education systems in the country with over one lakh schools having a large number of small schools with less than 50 students. These are mostly single-teacher and two-teacher schools. There are 38774 small schools with I-V standards. In addition, a total of 952 elementary schools have less than or equal to 50 students (Table 1). Several issues related to small schools are teaching-learning conditions, role of teachers in schools and involvement of community in the matters of the school, teacher education, provision and organisation of curriculum for multi-grade setting (Blum and Diwan, 2007). The drop-out rates in Andhra Pradesh are as high as 15.60 per cent in Classes I-V, 20.79 per cent at the Class I-VII level, and 45.71 per cent in Classes I-X classes (Deptt. of Education, Andhra Pradesh and SSA, 2011-12).

² In August, 2013, when the state consultation was conducted for School Leadership Development Programme, Andhra Pradesh was not yet divided into two states. Hence, situational analysis was carried out for united Andhra Pradesh. Later, in the year 2014, when the state was divided, implementing the school leadership development programme had already begun in Andhra Pradesh. After the division of the state, there are no changes at district and *Mandal* level except for the geographical sharing of districts between the two states. Hence, results of situational analysis carried out for united Andhra Pradesh continues to be applicable for Andhra Pradesh and Telangana even after division for designing the implementation of SLDP.

TABLE 1
Elementary School Education Profile in Andhra Pradesh

<i>School category-wise</i>	<i>I-V</i>	<i>I-VII</i>	<i>VI-IX</i>	<i>VI-X/XII</i>	<i>I-X/XII</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total schools	66721	15759	0	19053	903	102436
Government schools (<i>Mandal</i> Parishad Schools)*	56377 (49659)	8867 (8339)	0 (0)	10465 (8395)	629 (0)	76338 (66393)
Pvt. Aided	2091	423	0	821	0	3335
Pvt. Unaided	8253	6469	0	7767	274	22763
Schools per cluster	7	1	0	1	0	9
Schools per block	53	8	0	9	0	70
Single Teacher Schools	7541	17	0	24	0	7582
Two-teacher schools	31087	112	0	31	3	31233
Schools with ≤ 50 students	38774	952	0	543	8	40277
Schools managed by tribal welfare deptt.	3386	215	0	430	448	4479
Number of Head Teachers (total)	9823	97	--	9260	463	19083
(Head Teachers under <i>Mandal</i> Parishad)	(9218)	(42)	--	(8268)	(0)	(17528)
Number of Head Teachers (Rural)	8857	78	--	8092	387	17414

Source: (UDISE 2012-13)

A simple correlation analysis shows that there is a significant positive correlation between lower primary schools with single teachers and student enrolment less than 50 i.e. small schools. Similarly, there is significant positive correlation between two-teacher lower primary schools and student enrolment less than 50 (Table 2). It means that lower primary schools having single teacher or two teachers are also small schools with less than 50 students. Results support the fact that composite secondary schools in Andhra Pradesh (6th to 10/12 standard) are more and, hence, there is a higher percentage of small and multi-grade lower primary schools with acting HMs.

TABLE 2
Relationship between Different School Factors and Enrolment of Students

<i>Co-efficient of correlation between column 1 and column 2</i>		<i>r- value</i>
Column 1	Column 2	
Primary Only schools		0.8438 (**)
No. of schools I-VII std.		0.3114
Single teacher in Primary only	Enrolment	0.7676 (**)
Single teacher schools in P+UP	≤ 50	-0.018
2 teacher schools Primary Only		0.9583 (**)
2 teacher schools in P+UP		0.3685

(** significant at 1%)

There are 11092 state government secondary schools, 795 private aided schools and 8862 private unaided schools in Andhra Pradesh with 9801 Head Teachers (HTs) in secondary schools. Out of these, 8631 schools are managed by *Mandal* Parishads³. Schools managed by *Mandal* Parishads are significantly more as compared to any other type of management in Andhra Pradesh.

³ Presentation by RMSA in Joint Review Mission, New Delhi in July 2013 (Secondary Education Management Information System (SEMIS) (2011-12), New Delhi, NUEPA).

Implication for Designing the School Leadership Development Programme

As most of the schools are managed by the *Mandal* Parishad, transformative agenda and designing of school leadership programme should be conceptualized at the *mandal* level. Number of schools per *mandal* is 70 while the number of schools per cluster is nine. 'Primary only Schools' are eight per cluster, while there is one elementary school per cluster, and one upper primary with secondary per cluster (Table 1). Thus, *mandal* is the appropriate level for visualizing the change process since clusters are small in Andhra Pradesh while districts are large. Program goals, planning for change processes have to be located at the *mandal* level. Cluster resource persons and *Mandal* Education Officers (MEO) must be regarded as important change agents working closely with schools. School Leadership Development is perceived as the transformation of the school head into a school leader.

For implementing the programme, two districts each from three regions of Andhra Pradesh can be chosen. In each district, three *mandals* are selected, based on the educational backwardness of the *mandals*. As the number of clusters per block/*mandal* is eight, all clusters are selected in the *mandal*. Since there are only nine schools in a cluster, all schools in the cluster are considered for intervention. It implies that 63 schools per *mandal* are covered which is nearly all schools in the *mandal* i.e. 70. Thus, all school heads in a cluster can be considered together. Capacity building can be held in two batches of 30-35 participants each.

Transformative Agenda for School Leadership Development in Andhra Pradesh

The transformative agenda consists of a) Formulating the overall goals to be achieved in a span of four years and milestones to be achieved every year for the entire *mandal* and by every school; b) Approach to capacity building and; c) Alternative method of scaling-up of programmes.

Transformative agenda: Goals and Milestones

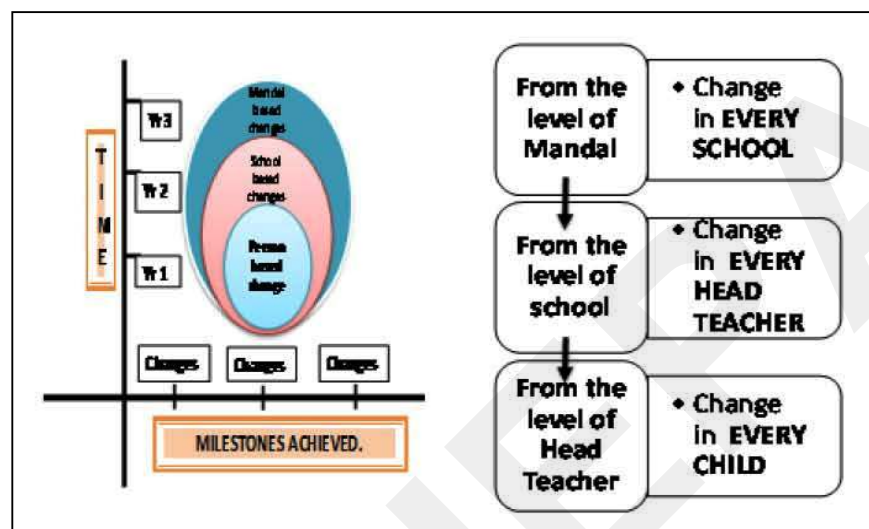
Primary unit of change is school and developing school leadership is central to school transformation. In the present school leadership development programme, transformation is three-fold: school head at the person level, school at the institution level and *mandal* at the school system level. The transformative agenda is *mandal-based, school-based and person-based changes*. From the level of the *mandal*, transformation must be observed in every school; from the level of the school, transformation must be observed in every school head and from the level of the school head, transformation must be observed in every child (Diagram 2). A transformation of this nature ensures that not only every school excels and every child learns, but also every school head excels and transforms the school quality. The transformative agenda for *Mandal* Education Officer is at the *mandal* level and for school head it is at the school level. The overall impact achieved in four years can be called transformation and yearly small changes observed are referred to as milestones.

Mandal-based Transformative Agenda

The Goals at the *mandal* level are: to provide Academic and Administrative Leadership to all schools in the *mandal*; to prepare and implement *Mandal* Development Plan to realize school-based Goals in all schools; to work together with all school leaders, the School Management Committee, Cluster Resource Persons and local experts and gram panchayats to realize the transformative agenda for the *mandal* and; to undertake

well-planned deliberations to initiate a discourse on school leadership in the entire *mandal* among HMs, CRPs, NGOs, teachers, parents and the community.

DIAGRAM 2



In the first year, milestones to be achieved by *Mandal* Education Officer are: provide support for each school with two mentors to work with schools by visiting the schools at-least once a week; identify the talents, opportunities as well as gaps by closely working with all school leaders and mentors in the *mandal*; enable all school heads in the *mandal* to collaboratively develop a school development plan by engaging teachers, students and stakeholders, other local experts. In the second year, MEO along with school heads attempts to achieve a balance between contextual needs of school and *mandal*- level transformation. In the third and fourth years, learning levels of at least 80 per cent of students in every school in the *mandal* has to be increased in comparison with that in the 1st year; at least 80 per cent of school- specific goals, as envisaged in the *mandal* development plan, have to be achieved by every school in the *mandal*; 80 per cent of goals set for *mandal* level transformation have to be achieved.

School-based Transformative Agenda

Transformative Agenda at the school level are led by the school head. The goals are: leading teaching-learning process by providing academic leadership; pro-actively promoting school development involving all stakeholders; developing and implementing a realistic school plan in collaboration with all stakeholders, teachers, education officials and students and; integrating self and group reflection amongst staff and teachers.

In the first year, the milestones to be achieved by every school leader in the *mandal* are: teacher professional development in every school; collaborative planning for effective teaching-learning processes by all teachers and stakeholders; identifying critical causes based on evidence to address the problems and; developing a school development plan of its own at the end of the first year.

In the second year, every school leader in the *mandal* attempts to establish systems and structures in the school to systematically implement school development plan from

the beginning of the second year; create at least a two-member team of experts in a minimum of two curricular subjects at the end of two years; initiate discussions for preparing school improvement plan in collaboration with stakeholders, teachers and students; create different teams to implement different areas within school improvement plan and; use self and group reflections regularly.

In the third and fourth years, every school leader in the *mandal* has to: implement School Improvement Plan and achieve at least 75 per cent of the intended outcomes; facilitate teams to achieve their team goals within the school improvement plan; achieve incremental improvement in learning in at least 75 per cent of students in every school as they graduate from class 1 to class 4 in all school subjects; ensure that at least 95 per cent of students participate actively in all co-curricular activities and sports; and create opportunities for students to become an integral part of the school development process.

Person-based Transformative Agenda

Person-based changes are common for both school leaders and *Mandal* Education Officer since the focus areas for transformation, viz. school improvement and student outcomes, is common to them. These goals are subtle in nature, intensely personal and require time to manifest in an individual. Hence, they are stated only as transformative agenda without milestones. These are: a leader understands oneself and acts as key change agent for transforming his/her school; owns up the responsibility and attempts to be independent in accomplishing the tasks; attempts to make changes in the school culture and climate; sustains initiatives for school transformation; changes at the level of self to one who is more caring, compassionate and empathetic to others; exhibits reduction in the levels of anxiety and work pressure arising out of changed outlook; develops increased understanding about one self and others and; receives greater acceptance by colleagues, stakeholders, students and higher officials.

Approach to Capacity Building of School Leaders

To achieve the transformative agenda, the methodology designed for capacity building has three stages that mutually support each other at different points of implementation. These stages are a) Induction Training b) Onsite Support c) Progressive Development.

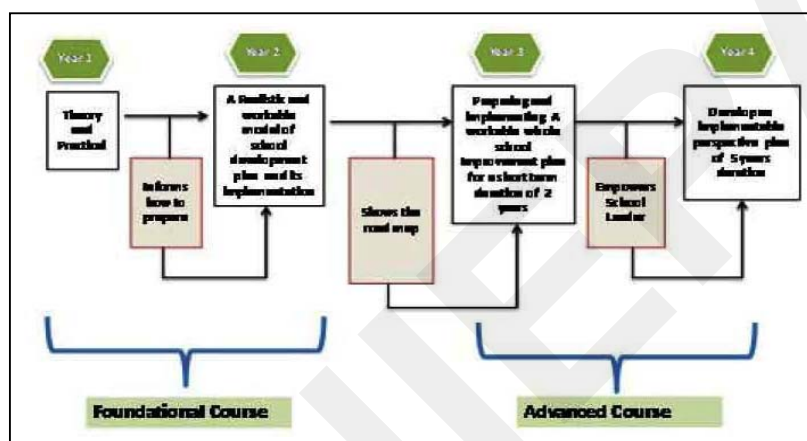
Induction Training

Different models of Induction to address diverse needs of the schools and school heads are conceptualized. The emphasis is to cross the threshold level, go beyond problem- solving, achieve school transformation by “doing” and develop, integrate, and apply theory and practice in school transformation.

Model 1: Long-term Development Cycles for School Heads: It is a serial long-term modular course for providing sustained support to the school heads to systematically address challenges in the school which is the site of leadership. It consists of four year cycle wherein school leaders undertake 2 to 3 small projects relevant to the school context and attempt to address issues in the first year. In the second year, s/he prepares a workable annual school development plan and implements the same based on the experience of the first year. On gaining experience in the first two years in systematically addressing issues and challenges, s/he formulates a school improvement plan collaboratively with all teachers and staff in the third year for implementation over a period of the next two years. These three years of practice enables the school head to develop a five year school perspective plan and implement it (Diagram 4). First and

second year engagement can be considered as foundational courses while the third and fourth year can be considered as advanced level courses. Practicum carried out in the schools is designed and planned by school heads in the workshops guided and supervised by mentors wherein practice-based knowledge inputs are integrated into it and accompanied by peer learning. Necessary review, monitoring, feedback and evaluation processes need to be built into these cycles for the purpose of certification for both foundational and advanced courses.

DIAGRAM 3
Model 1: Long-term Development Cycles for School Heads



Model 2: Short-term Programmes: A short-term programme, consisting of five days of induction workshop in the beginning, is followed by a series of small changes implemented in the school. In this process, school leadership development will be integrated with their work for the entire academic year. This model is suitable for secondary school heads who cannot be away from their school responsibilities for a longer period mainly due to shortage of subject teachers in their respective institutions.

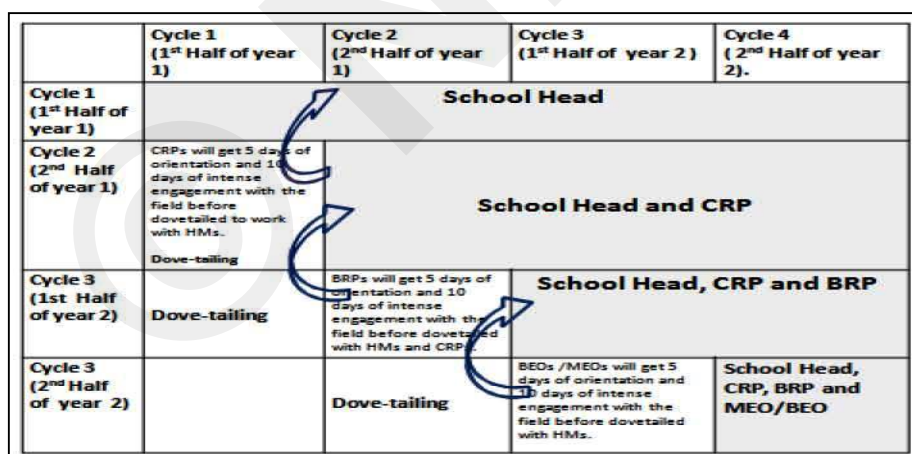
Model 3: Special Focus Areas: Capacity building programs in the form of short-term modular courses are also proposed for school heads working in geographically-challenged terrains, insurgency environment, tribal areas, among economically backward communities, remote rural areas, characterized mainly by small multi-grade schools with single or two teachers and student enrolment less than or equal to 50. The thrust is on-site support through mentoring for practicing leadership abilities and skills by the school head. A five-day induction will be given initially followed by on-site support through mentoring and differentiated support. As there is an acute shortage of teachers in these schools, bi-annual review and feedback will be held during holidays without affecting the school schedule. Enthusiastic retired teachers, who are willing to spare time to work with schools as mentors, are chosen from nearby areas.

Model 4: Blended Approach using an Alternate Delivery Method: In scaling up the program to reach all school heads, to explore opportunities with C-DAC, IIIT-Hyderabad, and ISRO. C-DAC in Hyderabad is already working on documenting and disseminating resources online to school education in the state. In this connection, an online orientation program for five days, followed by face-to-face and onsite mentoring support for practicum (bi-monthly visit to the school) and regular review and feedback through

blended approach, can be designed. Though online and blended approach is adopted in several states, the nature of its delivery conceptualized here attempts to provide an alternative or new dimension of using technology with an emphasis on people-centred approach as against distant communication that is mostly prevalent in India.

Model 5: 'Dove-tail' Education Functionaries to Support Schools from System Level: One of the roles of education functionaries is to support schools. However, it is a distant reality in the existing scenario in the country. A method by which they can be meaningfully engaged in the schools and with school heads is the need of the hour. In this model, system-level functionaries are dovetailed into the school leadership development programme at appropriate times in a period of two years to engage and work with school transformation. In the first cycle, i.e. in the first half of year 1, Head teachers will undergo capacity building programme and take up practicum to work in their schools. In the second cycle, i.e., second half of year one, CRPs will be 'dovetailed' to work along with school leaders while receiving the same training as the school leaders. In the third cycle, i.e., first half of second year, BRPs will join the team of school heads and CRPs to work with school leader in transforming schools. Before teaming up with the school head and CRPs, BRPs will be given orientation for five days. This will be followed by an intense engagement with the school leadership development programme taking place in the field for 10 days that will prepare them to actively participate in the school transformation process and school leadership development. In the fourth cycle, during second half of year two, BEOs and MEOs will also be dovetailed in the same manner as BRPs to work with the schools. Dovetailing of system level functionaries in this way helps to transform schools systematically by addressing issues arising from system-level administration (Diagram 4).

DIAGRAM 4



Model 6: Common Platform-Common Purpose for different Stakeholders: A platform for building capacities, wherein both HMs and SMC members come together to learn, explore, engage in constructive dialogue, exchange views, and discuss freely the points of divergence and convergence for school issues, will be focused in this model. The emphasis is on changing the perceptions about each other, building mutual trust, and seeking cooperation and collaboration in order to achieve the common purpose, i.e., school transformation.

Onsite Support: Role of Mentoring

Integral to induction of school heads into school leadership development, a continuous and sustained onsite support is critical. Mentoring is considered to be an important means for providing this support to develop leadership capabilities and skills. It is a collaborative relationship between mentor and mentee wherein mentors are not necessarily experts but have the necessary skills to help the mentee develop answers. Hence, the mentor need not have “the” answers for all questions. Both mentor and mentee help each other to improve their own leadership ability. It seeks to change the culture of the school system by questioning the perceptions and notions held by the school heads; provides opportunities to look out for evidences, reflect, and analyse situations; creates effective leaders focusing on personal, professional and organisational dimensions of growth (McIntyre et.al. (ed.) 1993; Hopkins and Thompson, 2000; Hobson, 2003. Arnau *et.al.*, 2004; Daresh, 2004; Mezas and Scandura, 2005; Lord, Pippa, *et al*, 2008; Dinham, *et.al.*, 2013; Forde et.al., 2013;)

Different types of mentoring⁴ can be used in the school leadership development programme. They are *one-to-one mentoring*, *Peer mentoring*, *Multiple mentoring and Differentiated support*. *One-to-one mentoring* is a method by which the mentee is guided by the mentor to discover the answers to challenges and problems with regard to his/her profession. Ideally, there should be one mentor for each mentee. However, the number can be 3-5 depending on the nature of the group and coverage that needs to be achieved in developing school leaders in Andhra Pradesh. A mentor cannot be expected to have expertise and solutions on all aspects of school leadership. As such, supplementing the lack of expertise by one mentor happens through the second mentor having the relevant expertise. In this way, a team of mentors can be guiding a school leader for transforming schools. Hence, mentoring can also be visualized as being given by more than one mentor to a single school, based on the skills and expertise possessed by different experts with the help of knowledge and experience. This refers to multiple mentoring. *Differentiated support* is a type of multiple mentoring to provide support to school-specific and teacher-specific issues by studying the challenges and needs of the schools and teachers. *Peer mentoring* by school heads supporting each other within the school cluster and block is another method of ensuring onsite support. In the school leadership development programme, first batch trained in school leadership in year one will be the *peer mentors* to the next batch and so on.

Since HMs, teachers and CRPs are closest to school realities, they are better placed to relate to their colleagues than others and there is scope for deeper understanding and learning. Each external mentor can be assigned to three schools and each peer mentor can be assigned two schools to provide support to school heads. The external mentors visit the assigned schools once a week to discuss and provide onsite support to school heads. There can also be a meeting of mentors within a cluster once in a month to discuss and exchange ideas and knowledge.

Review and Feedback

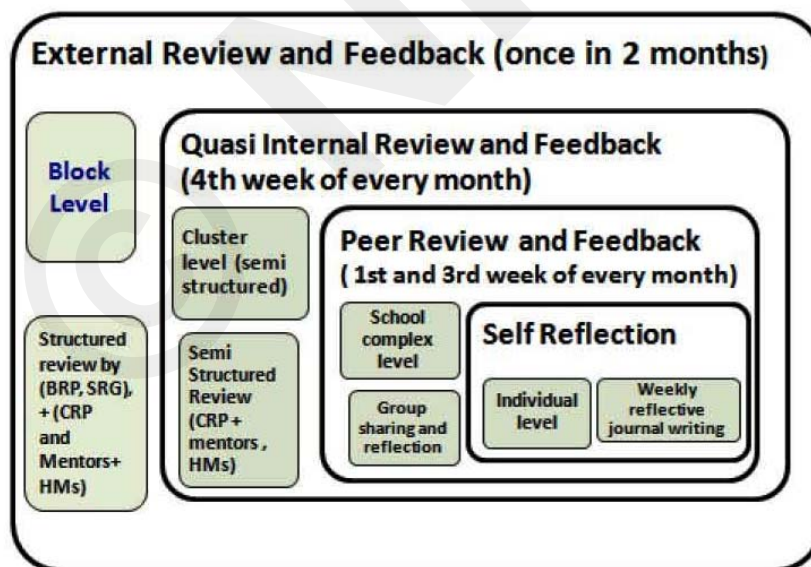
Review and feedback is one of the crucial steps to improve and sustain any change initiative for achieving school quality. While the review critically examines the performance of the task accomplished, it is completed only when followed by a

⁴ This portion on mentoring is reproduced in “Handbook for School Leadership Development (NCSL-NUEPA, 2014b) with a few ideas also drawn from review and feedback described in 7.3.3 in this paper and incorporated into mentoring to suit the objectives of the Handbook.

constructive feedback aimed at achieving intended outcomes. Review is mainly carried out by way of identifying and examining notions and built-in assumptions within the prevailing practices and change initiatives and how these assumptions are associated or dissociated and critical thinking for self-development (Peters, 1991). It is a practice of sustained enquiry into relationship between thought and action, between real and ideal, causing the practitioner to step back and examine actions and reasons for actions (*ibid*). A few support mechanisms are recognized as effective while conducting review and feedback, such as establishing clear guidelines; relying on standards and rubrics to identify good practices offering rich support for practice and opportunity for learning (Johnson and Fiarman, 2012). It implies that review and feedback is an integrated mechanism for learning from successes and failures experienced while initiating change in the school leadership development programme. It relies on evidence captured while practicing leadership by school heads in schools, formally or informally. Evidences can be captured internally or externally and in a structured or semi-structured manner. Review and feedback are used at regular time intervals or even when a necessity arises. It differs, therefore, from monitoring and evaluation that is usually conducted at the end.

The objectives of review and feedback in the context of school leadership development programme are: to examine the direction and quantum of school transformation; to validate the change in terms of transformative agenda of school leadership development programme; to build and enhance expertise and professionalism among school leaders; to strengthen implementation of School Leadership development and; to ascertain relevance and extent of experiential learning acquired through practice.

DIAGRAM 5



The proposed model of review and feedback (Diagram 5) is a progressive movement from Individual's self-reflection to external review and feedback for school leadership development. In step 1, review and feedback is at an individual level using self-reflection. Each school head writes a weekly reflective journal. In step 2, peer review and

feedback is at the school complex level wherein school heads share and reflect on their experiences using self-reflection journals maintained by school heads in which changing attitudes, assumptions are discussed along with change-initiatives undertaken for transforming schools. They meet during the first and third week of every month. The review is moderated by peers themselves. In step 3, review and feedback is Quasi Internal Review and Feedback held at cluster level during the fourth week of every month. School heads, CRPs and mentors will together discuss and give and receive feedback from each other. Structured process for review and feedback is moderated by a group comprising a Cluster Resource Person (CRP), mentor and a school head. Every month, the group of moderators conducting the review and feedback can be changed and opportunity given to all to learn and lead the review and feedback process. It helps schools heads to apply the process in their schools. In the fourth step, External Review and feedback will be conducted at the block level wherein school heads, CRP and mentors, one or two members of the State Resource Group (SRG), *Mandal* Education Officer (MEO) and Block Resource Persons (BRP) will participate. It will be held once in two months during the last week of the second month, or after completing one developmental cycle. It will be moderated by BRP, MEO, and SRG members with suggestions and inputs for future course of action, corrective measures, etc. While conducting the review and feedback sessions, CRP and mentors will facilitate the sub-groups to review the change initiatives carried out in their respective schools. In short, external review and feedback is conducted in a structured manner.

Important skills required for conducting review and feedback facilitate the process in terms of planning, designing the sessions and organising them. It is also important to consider efficient use of talk time and reflection time; using data-based information for review and feedback, decision-making, collaborative working and problem-solving; objectives'-based review and feedback sessions with expected outcomes; effective designing and execution of review-feedback sessions for developing future course of action. Attention must also be paid to role played by the moderator and the number of moderators required, with the method of presentation, sharing, giving and receiving feedback are among few other important points for the success of review-feedback sessions.

Scaling up Implementation – Alternative Approach to Cascade Model

Given the largeness of the system, the challenge to reach out to all schools is high. It is well known that the cascade model, which is in use now, has little impact on the ground. To ensure maximum impact and sustain the efforts, scaling up of school leadership development programme needs to be conceptualized differently with continued emphasis on participatory approach.

Alternative methodology wherein horizontal expansion of SLDP, with appropriate system-level support for reaching out all schools, can be through peer mentoring and peer support in which every trained school head will support and mentor three other school heads. In the beginning of the programme, capacity building can be conducted in two batches per block with the number of HTs being 35 per batch. The primary target group is school heads in V-X/XII standards and acting HMs in I-V school categories who are more in number. As HTs in I-VII and I-XII categories are small, they can be merged with V-X/XII category. In Table 3, the model of developing peer mentors for developing school leaders in the first year is presented.

TABLE 3
Coverage of HTs for Capacity Building in the First Year

<i>Categories of sample</i>	<i>Number calculation as per sampling</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Capacity building</i>
Districts	3 districts X 3 <i>Mandals</i> per district	9 <i>mandals</i>	18 batches
Number of schools	9 <i>mandals</i> X 70 schools (@ 70 schools per <i>Mandal</i>)	630 schools	of capacity building in a
Number of HTs	1 School Head per school X 630 schools	630 HTs	year

By developing peer mentors and attaching three schools to each peer mentor, the challenge of scaling up of the programme will also be addressed in order to reach the large numbers. This is in addition to regular capacity building programme conducted by the State Resource Group and Department of Education. In six years' time, all 19083 school heads at elementary and composite schools will be covered (Table 4).

TABLE 4
Model of Developing Peer Mentors for Scaling up SLDP in Three Years

<i>Year</i>	<i>District capacity building by SRGs as a ongoing continuous activity</i>	<i>Number covered through Peer mentoring @3 peer school heads per trained school head</i>	<i>Total</i>
Year 1: 2014-15	630		630
Year 2: 2015-16	630	1890	2520
Year 3: 2016-17	630	5670	6300
	Total		9450

The State Resource Group formed for SLDP, the DIETs and IASEs, and external experts from university and research institutes, with sufficient field connect, can act as external mentors, participate in review and feedback and act as key resource persons in building capacity of school heads. This process ensures that institutions above and beyond the schools working in the area of school education come closer to schools while also addressing the issue of widening gaps between schools and higher institutions. A perspective shift through participatory approach in bridging the gap between institutions of higher education and school and between theory and practice can lead to a qualitative shift towards transforming school quality. In this way, the alternative approach to cascade model wherein peer mentoring and peer support, with a school-based approach from system level for transformation, forms the main methodology of scaling up the implementation.

Horizontal approach has multiple advantages. Firstly, in addition to capacitating school heads, new peer mentors will also be created in subsequent years. Secondly, school heads will not only learn to handhold and support each other but also engage in professional dialogue about school leadership in transforming schools. Thirdly, both mentor and mentee grow together professionally. Fourthly, competition may be replaced by collaboration and cooperation. Finally, the time taken for this approach is not significantly different from that of cascade model.

Vetting the Programme Design for School Leadership Development

The action plan for Andhra Pradesh was shared with stakeholders from within and outside the school education system at the state-level consultation meet held in August

in which secretary, commissioner and State Project Director (SPD), director SCERT participated. A pre-consultation meeting was also held a month earlier, in July 2013, for two days with state-level officials and a few NGOs. In the consultation meeting, stakeholders felt that *Mandal* Education Officers and District Education Officers must be made integral to school leadership development so as to ensure their participation and support to the programme. Model 5 of capacity building aptly captures it wherein dovetailing of education functionaries from system level is described. Participants of the workshop strongly felt that model 3 on single-teacher schools and small schools is highly suitable for developing leadership among school heads as it covers 50 percent of schools in Andhra Pradesh as they are small and multi-grade primary schools having acting HMs. Onsite support through mentoring was appreciated by SCERT as most suited for developing school leaders in the state. It also felt the relevance of adopting head teachers as peer mentors and proposed the same in its presentation on school leadership development. School heads appreciated the provision of training directly to the HMs without one more layer of master trainers at district level. All these points have been considered in the action plan described above. The participants in the state resource group workshop also agreed that all schools in a *mandal* must be considered for school leadership development. Participants also proposed that as it was not feasible for school heads to leave their institutions for 10 days at a stretch, the 10-day programme should be replaced by five-day programmes conducted in two phases to enable completion of the stipulated agenda. This suggestion has been incorporated in the model 2 on Induction. On the question as to who should be given training since there are more acting HMs in primary and upper primary schools, it was agreed that whoever is in-charge as head teacher should be considered for the capacity building. The Secretary, School Education also expressed the need for leadership competency framework for developing school leaders. Referring to the challenges faced in implementing the programme, the state project director emphasized the importance of allocating funds every year without breaks.

Summary and Conclusions

School leadership is the second most important factor after teachers for ensuring school quality and student learning. However, studies also show that student learning cannot be directly attributed to school leadership in the same way as teacher quality. Even though there are a number of attempts to develop, research and practice school leadership in the international context, very little has been attempted in India. Studies in the Indian context show that school heads face many systemic constraints. They are left out of the training programmes for teachers and this puts them in a helpless position in the matter of getting the support or eliciting the respect of teachers from within their own schools.

Andhra Pradesh (united) is chosen as the sample state to design the roadmap for school leadership developments. A situational analysis of the state suggested a tri-level *mandal*-based, school-based and person-based transformative agenda. A few new ideas, approaches and processes are conceptualized to ensure that school leadership development is a people development process using participatory approach wherein education functionaries from different layers participate in school transformation and school leadership development.

Designing the methodology of school leadership development consists of several alternative models of capacity building of school heads to address their needs, onsite support through mentoring and progressive development through review and feedback cycles involving all actors.

Scaling up the programme to reach all schools is also designed in order to provide an alternative approach to the cascade model, while emphasizing a horizontal expansion using peer mentoring and peer support. Consultations with different stakeholders who are practitioners, policy-makers, academicians, and educational administrators reveal that multiple models of capacity building are important to address diverse issues and challenges in school leadership development and peer-mentoring and peer-support have relevance and scope in expanding the programme horizontally to address the limitations of the cascade model in scaling-up the programme.

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Performance of SC/ST Students in the Engineering Colleges in Kerala

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Abstract

The paper examines the performance of SC/ST students in Engineering Colleges in Kerala (in terms of pass percentage and the number of back papers obtained at each semester and at the end of the course) on the basis of data collected from four engineering colleges affiliated to the Universities in Kerala. The study found that the performance is very poor. Poor socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, low educational level of parents, lack of preparation at schools, poor academic background of education from low quality government or aided primary and secondary Malayalam medium schools, lack of basic knowledge in Mathematics and Physics at school and Plus Two stages, average marks in their qualifying examination, lack of hard work resulting in inadequate preparation for the examination, poor self potential stemming from low intellectual orientation, lack of sufficient motivation, inferiority complex, absence of student counselling, poor command over English and English communication are some of the important reasons attributed to their poor performance. The finding that the performance of SC/ST students is very pathetic is a matter of immense concern for teachers, parents, students, higher education professionals, government authorities and the general public. It is high time to concentrate on the issue of poor performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala and immediate attention of the authorities is warranted to improve the performance. Facilities like imparting classes in English medium to improve the quality of primary education of SC/ST students, creation of a strong base in Mathematics and Physics at the School and Plus Two level need to be provided to students who would pursue engineering course. Remedial coaching, extra classes within and outside the college, classes to improve the communication skills in English, improving the quality of classes, suitable direction, student and parent counselling, hard work by devotion of more time for studies, implementation of 'Year Out Rule' are the important measures for improving the performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala.

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Introduction

Investment in education is vital for the development of a country. Hence, in India, governments have accepted the responsibility of educating the children and have been spending huge amounts for the educational development of the citizens. This has led to tremendous progress in the educational level of the people in the country. However, the educational status of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is extremely low and, therefore, Government of India has been trying to improve the educational status of these communities by providing them various incentives. In order to remove the disparities between Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (SC/STs) and non-SC/STs, a major emphasis is on reservation of seats in higher education (Chanana 1993, p.79). Special reservation policies were introduced for SC/STs in all educational institutions and they are being given a concession of 5% marks in the minimum marks in the qualifying examination for admission into courses against their reserved quota of seats. As a result, the enrolment of SC students in the higher education has increased from 7 per cent to 7.8 per cent and that of ST has increased from 1.6 per cent to 2.7 per cent (Rao 2002, p. 47). To increase the enrolment ratio of SC/ST students at par with the general enrolment ratio, the Kerala government has also introduced special reservation schemes for SC/STs in addition to many incentives like the provision of financial assistance to deserving SC/ST students.

However, the enrolment ratio of SC/STs in higher education and especially in engineering education in India is very low compared to the enrolment ratio of non-SC/STs. For example, in 2004, the enrolment ratio in engineering education for STs was 0.13 percent and that of SCs was 0.74 percent against the enrolment ratio of 2.74 percent for others (Azam and Blom 2008, p. 21). According to the study by Upadhyaya (2006), the proportion of SC/ST students graduating from engineering colleges is much lower than the SC/ST percentage in the total population and the vast majority of the Information Technology (IT) workforce was from upper castes. In a sample of 132 IT professionals selected for his study, he found only one worker from SC/ST community and, according to him, this was the result of deliberate policy of exclusion of SC/STs from the educational and recruitment system. The recruitment process favours students with 70 to 75 percentage marks from standard 10th onwards and, hence, excludes SC/ST engineering graduates whose scores are much lower in their previous examinations and who secured seats in engineering colleges against government quotas with lower cut-off marks.

Although the reservation schemes in Kerala have also increased the enrolment ratio of SC/ST students in general, the enrolment ratio of these students in engineering education is still very low compared to the general enrolment ratio in the engineering sector. Hence, to increase the enrolment ratio of SC/STs in the engineering sector, the Government of Kerala has introduced reservation of seats for these communities in the engineering colleges. As per the mandatory reservations of the government of Kerala, 10 percent of the seats in engineering colleges are to be reserved for SC/ST students - 8 percent for SCs and 2 percent for STs (Prospectus for Admission to Professional Degree Courses 2005, Kerala, p. 2). In Kerala, the process of economic reforms witnessed the emergence of a number of self-financing engineering colleges. As a result, engineering education has come into the hands of the private sector and a few private players make huge profits by managing the self-financing engineering colleges. It should be noted that some of the private self-financing engineering colleges have agreed to provide certain percentage of their seats to the

Government and these government seats in the self-financing colleges are filled up by following the mandatory reservation principles of the government. However, many private engineering colleges have admitted students from their own list prepared by the college/association of colleges and not from the government merit list of Commissioner for Entrance Examinations (CEE) and, hence, the reservation norms are not followed by these institutions. Thus, the emergence of a large number of self-financing engineering colleges in Kerala will result in the widening of the already existing inequalities in respect of engineering education between SC/STs and non-SC/STs. However, considering the government seats in the private self-financing engineering colleges, it is possible for SC/ST students to get engineering admission under merit quota even if their entrance rank is very low compared to that of general category students. In other words, students admitted in engineering colleges in Kerala under the SC/ST quota are those who scored lower marks in their qualifying and lower ranks in the entrance examinations compared to the marks and ranks of students admitted under the general merit category.

There are people who oppose this caste-based reservation of seats for students with low rank and marks on the ground that this will certainly result in the induction of undeserving candidates into professional education. The opponents argue that the academic performance of the reserved category students in professional colleges will be much lower than that of the performance of students admitted under the general merit category (Weisskopf 2004, p. 4341). Hence, the critics of reservation argue that students admitted under the SC/ST quota cannot perform well in their studies and the bulk of them will be failing in the examinations, resulting in wastage (complete the course without being eligible for the degree). There is supporting evidence from nationally reputed institutions like the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) that reservation of seats will result in loss of quality. There are instances of expulsion of SC/ST students from reputed educational institutions on the basis of poor academic performance. In 2008, IIT Delhi had expelled 12 SC/ST students on account of low academic performance (<http://ibnlive.in.com/>). On the other hand, there are complaints from SC/ST students that their teachers label them as weak students, incapable of doing well, because of their caste (Ravindra 2008).

With regard to Kerala, which has many self-financing engineering colleges, there is a possibility that SC/ST students studying in these colleges have to face additional problems (compared to government and aided colleges) as it is felt that the quality of teaching and educational facilities available in these colleges are poor compared to government and aided colleges. Hence, it is very interesting and useful to study the dimensions of SC/ST students in the self-financing engineering colleges and the government and aided colleges.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of reservation will not be achieved by merely admitting students to the courses as per reservation rules. The purpose of reservation will be served only if the admitted students become eligible for the degree for which they have been admitted to the course. Hence, there is a need to assess the performance of students admitted under SC/ST quota in the engineering colleges in Kerala and compare it with that of other non-SC/ST students in order to assess the relative position of SC/ST students in these colleges. If the performance of SC/ST students is unsatisfactory, there would be a need to improve it by adopting suitable policies. Thus, the specific objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the academic performance of students admitted in the engineering colleges under SC/ST quota.
2. To examine the factors affecting the performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala in order to suggest measures to improve it.

Data Sources and Methodology

The study is based on both secondary and primary data. Secondary data relating to the number of engineering colleges, branches, and seats etc. have been collected from the Economic Review (Government of Kerala) and Prospectus for Admission to Professional Courses and Centralised Allotment Process brochure. The admission details regarding number of SC/ST students, personal and study details, like their marks and the number of back papers in semesters, were collected with the help of a data sheet from the students' records maintained with the departments of engineering colleges. We also collected the students' marks and the number of back papers from the Universities and verified this with the records maintained in the departments. We have also used information available from other published sources like Government Reports, Journals and Websites. Primary data on the performance of SC/ST students was collected from the students with the help of Schedules/Questionnaires. In addition, data was collected in the course of discussions and interviews with parents and wasted students (failed students who completed the course) and also from other learned persons. We have entered the collected data in SPSS 10 and tables were prepared.

Sampling Methodology

In Kerala, there are 97 engineering colleges, with sanctioned intake capacity of 31,000 in 2010 (Rajasenan and Binu 2011). However, there were 83 Engineering Colleges (excluding NIT, Kozhikode and CUSAT, Cochin) in Kerala in 2004. Of these, nine are government engineering colleges from which we selected one engineering college (College A). Likewise, out of 49 private self-financing colleges, we selected one college under Roman Catholic Management (College B) which admitted students not from the Commissioner for Entrance Examinations (CEE) merit list but from the list prepared by the college/association of colleges. Further, out of five government-aided colleges, we selected one college (College C), and out of five self-financing colleges under the Co-operative sector (Co-operative Academy for Professional Education, CAPE) which admitted students as per government rules and regulations, we selected one (College D). It was seen that of the 24 engineering disciplines, as much as 64 percent of the seats covered the three disciplines of Electronics and Communication (EC), Electrical Engineering (EE) and Computer Science (CS). We, therefore, selected these three popular and important disciplines, that were there in almost all colleges.

We selected 185 students from College A (Electronics and Communication 66, Electrical Engineering 56 and Computer Science 63), 173 students from College B (EE 52, EC 61 and CS 60) and 185 sample students from College C (EE 60, EC 65 and CS 60). As College D did not have an Electrical Engineering branch, we chose Information Technology in lieu of Electrical Engineering while selecting a total of 122 sample students from this College (EC 64, CS 43, and IT 15). In all, the number of students selected for the study from all the four colleges and all the related disciplines aggregated 665. Among these 665 sample students, there were only 47 SC/ST students consisting of 20 from government engineering college (College A),

seven from Private Self-Financing (College B), 10 from Aided College, (College C) and the remaining 10 from Self-financing College under Co-operative sector (CAPE) (College D). Incidentally, there was a dearth of ST students and we could manage to get a total of only three of them and that too from the government engineering College. The selected colleges were affiliated to three Universities – 2 (College A and College B) to Calicut University, one (College C) to Mahatma Gandhi University and one (College D) to Cochin University of Science and Technology.

Period of Study

The study was carried out during the period 2009-10 (29-05-2009 to 31-05-2010) with the secondary data for the study collected from the colleges and Universities during the period July 2009 to January 2010 (20-07-2009 to 21-01-2010). The required primary data from the students was collected during November 2009 to February 2010. The study relates to the engineering college students who joined their respective courses in November 2004 and completed them in July 2008.

Performance of SC/ST students in the Engineering Colleges

Better and improved performance of SC/ST students is an important indicator of the educational development of Scheduled Castes (Chitnis 1972, p. 1676). There is evidence that the pass percentage of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala is very low. It is barely 15.8 per cent for SCs and 3.4 per cent for STs and this is due to lack of adequate consideration for these students in the engineering colleges (Chandrasekhar 2013). The factors affecting the performance of students may be external factors like their economic status, social pressure, family support and internal factors like self-interest, career prospects and self-potential (Ranganath and Mishra 2008, p. 61). Similarly, there are teacher-related factors negatively affecting the performance of students like irregularities of teachers, unattractive classes and incompetent teachers etc.. There are also student-related factors like low intelligence, lack of aptitude and talents, inadequate preparation adversely affecting students' performance. We have made an attempt to identify the primary reasons for the poor performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges.

The performance of students can be measured in terms of several indicators like the pass percentage, classes obtained, percentage of students wasted (failed students), number of papers failed in each semester etc. Here, we have analysed the performance of SC/ST students in terms of their pass percentage, the number of back papers in each semester and after the completion of the course as well as in terms of the present status of the students.

According to the sample data, the performance of SC/ST students in terms of pass percentage is very poor as only 27.7 percent of the students have passed the B.Tech examination in their first attempt (Table 1). Among the colleges, the highest percentage of SC/ST students (57.15 percent) passing the engineering degree course is from Private Self-Financing College, (College B), followed by Aided College, College C (30 percent), Government Engineering College, College A (25 percent) with the least percentage of students (10 percent) passing from the Self-financing College, College D under the CAPE. In other words, the failure rate among these students is very high as about 72.34 percent of the SC/ST students have failed in the engineering examination in their first attempt. However, the general performance of students in the engineering colleges is very good, with 500 of the

665 students passing the examination, accounting for the overall pass percentage of 75.19. In effect, if we exclude the SC/ST students and consider only non-SC/ST students, their pass percentage goes up to 78.8. In other words, the pass percentage of SC/ST students is only one-third the pass percentage of non-SC/ST students. However, about 11 percent of the SC/ST students have passed the examination in their subsequent attempt, thereby raising the pass percentage to 38.3. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the performance level of the SC/ST students is very poor and needs to be improved substantially if education is to function effectively as a mechanism for advancement of the status of SC/ST community (Chitnis, 1972, p. 1680).

Therefore, our study reveals that the performance of students admitted under SC/ST quota in terms of pass percentage in the engineering colleges in Kerala is very poor and, hence, the facilities provided by the government have not been able to improve the performance of these students significantly (Kalra 1980, p. 236). Thus, the analysis indicates that there exists a wide disparity in the educational performance of SC/ST and non-SC/ST students in the engineering colleges of Kerala. Our finding is also in conformity with those of other researchers who unanimously concluded that on an average, the academic performance of SC and ST students are well below that of their peers (Weisskopf 2004, p.4344). Thus, it is most imperative that the students admitted under SC/ST quota perform well so as to be eligible for the degree for which they have been admitted, if the ultimate objective of reservation is to be realized. For this, it is necessary that the government should initiate suitable programmes for improving the performance of these students so that they become competent to successfully complete their engineering course. The government and the college authorities may launch a year-long foundation course for those SC/ST students whose performance in the qualifying course and the entrance examination is below that of the general merit students. The students may be admitted to the reserved seats only if they successfully complete that introductory programme (Weisskopf 2004, p. 4341).

TABLE 1
Performance of SC/ST Students in the Engineering Colleges in Kerala

	<i>College A</i>	<i>College B</i>	<i>College C</i>	<i>College D</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total Students	185	173	185	122	665
Total Students Passed	151 (81.62)	125 (72.25)	148 (80.00)	76 (62.30)	500 (75.19)
Total SC/ST Students	20	7	10	10	47
SC/ST students Passed	5 (25.00)	4 (57.15)	3 (30.00)	1 (10.00)	13 (27.66)
Total Non SC/ST students	165	166	175	112	618
Non-SC/ST Students Passed	146 (88.48)	121 (72.89)	145 (82.86)	75 (66.96)	487 (78.80)
SC/ST Students Passed in the Second Chance	2 (10.0)	-	3 (30.00)	-	5 (10.6)
Total SC/ST Students Passed (Including 2 nd Chance)	7 (35.00)	4 (57.15)	6 (60.00)	1 (10.00)	18 (38.29)

Source: University Records

Figures in parentheses denote percentages

As our study reveals that the performance of SC/ST students in terms of pass percentage is very poor, we have made an attempt to examine the performance in terms of the number of back papers in each semester and at the end of the completion of the course as this is another important indicator of academic performance.

Back Papers of SC/ST Students

As stated before, among the many indicators of performance of engineering college students, one of the important ones is the number of back papers in each semester and after the publication of the eighth semester examination results. We have examined the semester-wise back papers of SC/ST students in their first attempt (first chance) and also the total number of back papers after the publication of eighth semester results. Students who are good performers will not have back papers in semesters or even if they have back papers, they may have cleared it before the end of the final semester. On the other hand, those whose performances are very poor will have a large number of back papers in each semester and the number of accumulated back papers will go on increasing as they move to higher semesters. At the time of the completion of their course, they will have a large number of accumulated back papers which become impossible to clear, resulting in them ending as wastage. The following paragraphs examine the performance of SC/ST students in terms of their back papers.

Back Papers at S1S2

It is generally seen that the failure rate in semester one and semester two (S1S2) are very high and the number of students having back papers in these semesters are highest in engineering examinations. It is found that if a student has several back papers in the S1S2, the chances of passing out the engineering course successfully are very rare (Sivasankaran 2004). The large number of back papers at S1S2 may be because of the conduct of combined examinations for these two semesters and due to the largest number of papers for these semesters (12 or 13). Classification of students according to the number of back papers shows that about 81.8 percent of the SC/ST students have back papers (18.2 percent do not have back papers) at the S1 and S2 examinations. Thus, more than four-fifths of the SC/ST students have back papers in the first two semesters of their engineering course. Categorization of students on the basis of number of back papers shows that more than half of the students (52.3 percent) have more than five back papers; about 22.7 percent have back papers in between three and five while 6.8 percent have back papers between one and two (Table 2). A large number of back papers make them difficult to concentrate on the next semesters and this may make it tough for them to complete the remaining semesters successfully. Hence, students who have a large number of back papers at S1S2 ultimately end up failing in the engineering examinations.

Back Papers at S3

Classification of students according to the number of back papers at the third semester (S3) shows that about 89.4 percent have back papers. Among those who have back papers, about 36.2 percent have back papers between three and five; about 29.8 percent have more

than 5 back papers whereas about 23.4 percent have between one and two back papers at their S3 examination.

Back Papers at S4

At the fourth semester examination stage, about 85.1 percent of the students have back papers. Highest percentage of students (44.7 percent) have between three and five back papers while 23.4 percent have more than five back papers and about 17 percent have between one and two back papers in the fourth semester.

Back Papers at S5

At the fifth semester, about 91.5 percent of the students have back papers and, among them, 34 percent have more than five back papers. About 27.7 percent have between three and five back papers while 29.8 percent have between one and two back papers. It should be noted that among all the semesters, the highest number of students (91.5 percent) have back papers in their fifth semester.

Back Papers at S6

Classification of students, according to the number of back papers in the sixth semester, shows that about 83 percent have back papers. Among them, about 34 percent have between three and five back papers while about 14.9 percent have more than five back papers in their sixth semester examination.

Back Papers at S7

In the seventh semester, about 66 percent have back papers and among them, about 29.8 percent have between three and five back papers; about 10.6 percent have more than five back papers while more than one-fourth (25.5 percent) have between one and two back papers in their seventh semester.

Back Papers at S8

In the final and 8th semester, about 42.6 percent of the students have back papers and among them, about 21.3 percent have between one and two back papers while 19.1 percent have between three and five back papers in their eighth semester examination. It should be noted that the percentage of students having back papers is lowest in the eighth semester. Our analysis of performance of SC/ST students on the basis of back papers in the engineering colleges in Kerala shows that a large number of students have so many back papers in almost all semesters. The percentage of students having back papers in the semesters ranges between 42.6 percent (eighth semester) and 91.5 percent (fifth semester). Thus, cumulative accumulation and existence of back papers is a very serious problem among the SC/ST students in the engineering colleges, which compel them to end up in wastage.

Back Papers after 8th Semester

Our examination of back papers after the eighth semester shows that about 72.3 percent have academic arrears after the publication of eighth semester examination result (Table 2). It is quite alarming that about three-fourth of the SC/ST students have back papers after their engineering course and among those who have back papers after the eighth semester, about 61.8 percent have more than five back papers; 20.6 percent have between three and five back papers while 17.6 percent have between one and two back papers. Similarly, among those who have back papers after the eighth semester, highest percentage of students have back papers at S6 (82.4 percent) (third row, table 3) followed by S3 (67.6 percent), S7 (64.7 percent), S4, S5, and S8 (58.8 percent) while the least percentage of students with back papers is at S1S2 (50 percent).

TABLE 2
Classification of SC/ST Students according to the
Number of Back Papers at the end of each Semester

<i>No. of Back Papers</i>	<i>S1S2</i>	<i>S3</i>	<i>S4</i>	<i>S5</i>	<i>S6</i>	<i>S7</i>	<i>S8</i>	<i>After 8th Semester</i>
No. of Back Paper	8 (18.2)	5 (10.6)	7 (14.90)	4 (8.5)	8 (17.0)	16 (34.0)	27 (57.4)	13 (27.7)
Between 1 and 2	3 (6.8)	11 (23.4)	8 (17.00)	14 (29.8)	16 (34.0)	12 (25.5)	10 (21.3)	6 (12.8)
Between 3 and 5	10 (22.7)	17 (36.2)	21 (44.7)	13 (27.7)	16 (34.0)	14 (29.8)	9 (19.1)	7 (14.9)
More than 5	23 (52.3)	14 (29.80)	11 (23.4)	16 (34.0)	7 (14.9)	5 (10.6)	1 (2.1)	21 (44.6)
Total	44 (100)*	47 (100)	47 (100)	47 (100)	47 (100)	47 (100)	47 (100)	47 (100)

Source: University Records

Figures in parentheses denote Percentages

*3 Students entered directly to S3 through lateral entry

The fact that about 61.8 percent of the SC/ST students have more than five back papers after the completion of the course (after the eighth Semester) is very shocking (Table 3). It is also significant to note that about 50 percent have back papers at S1S2 out of which about 75 percent have three or more back papers while about 25 percent have more than five back papers. The finding that about 40 percent of the students at S5 and 25 percent of the students at S1S2 having more than five back papers even after the result of the eighth semester and in spite of availing several chances for reappearance for S1S2 and S5, makes us conclude that it will be very challenging for these students to complete their engineering degree course successfully and hence their chances of getting the degree are remote.

TABLE 3
Classification of SC/ST Students According to their Back Papers after 8th Semester

	<i>S1S2</i>	<i>S3</i>	<i>S4</i>	<i>S5</i>	<i>S6</i>	<i>S7</i>	<i>S8</i>	<i>After 8th Semester</i>
No. of Back Papers	16 (50.0)	11 (32.4)	14 (41.2)	14 (41.2)	6 (17.6)	12 (35.3)	14 (41.2)	13 (27.7)
Back Papers	16 (50.0)	23 (67.6)	20 (58.8)	20 (58.8)	28 (82.4)	22 (64.7)	20 (58.8)	34 (72.3)
Total	32 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)
Between 1 and 2	4 (25.0)	8 (34.8)	6 (30.0)	4 (20.0)	8 (28.6)	6 (27.3)	10 (50.0)	6 (17.6)
Between 3 and 5	8 (50.0)	12 (52.2)	10 (50.0)	8 (40.0)	14 (50.0)	12 (54.5)	9 (45.0)	7 (20.6)
More than 5	4 (25.0)	3 (13.0)	4 (20.0)	8 (40.0)	6 (21.4)	4 (18.2)	1 (5.0)	21 (61.8)

Source: University Records

Figures in parentheses denote Percentages

From the foregoing analysis, it is apparent that the vast majority of SC/ST students have back papers in their semesters and almost all these back papers are found to be either in Mathematics/Physics or papers related to Mathematics or Physics. As such, we can safely conclude that the performance of SC/ST students on the basis of the number of back papers in the engineering colleges in Kerala is very poor. Existence of a large number of back papers ultimately results in huge wastage among these students in the engineering colleges and, hence, wastage is a problem that entails grave concern of the government, parents, teachers and students and the society at large as it involves huge wastage of scarce resources as well as valuable years of the students. Thus, wastage among the SC/ST students in the engineering colleges is a menace to the students as well as to the society and is to be avoided at any cost. The 'Year Out Rule' that had prevailed in Kerala, (under which students, who have failed in several papers in their semesters, are asked to temporarily withdraw from the course until they clear all the papers and allowed to join the next batch after clearing the back papers), may be insisted upon to prevent the students spending eight semesters (they may discontinue engineering course and join other courses to which they are suited) in the college without a chance to pass the examination.

Campus Interview

The placement of students in jobs can also be considered as an indicator of good academic performance as the best performers get employment without much waiting. Conduct of campus interview in reputed engineering colleges is very common and the brilliant performers in these colleges are selected for employment even before the completion of their course. Campus interviews were conducted in the selected colleges and majority of the SC/ST students (52.8 percent) have attended the interview for employment. However, some of the students admitted that they were not selected as their performance at

the interview was very poor and they attributed this to their poor English communication skills. Hence, special classes for SC/ST students in Spoken English will improve their skill in English communication which will boost their confidence level and, in turn, improve their performance in the engineering examinations and in the campus interview.

Present Status of SC/ST Students

Placement or present status of the students, who have completed their engineering degree course, is also an indicator of their performance as the bright students are able to get admission for higher studies or employment. According to available information, vast majority of SC/ST students (59 percent) are unemployed, with only about 5.1 percent going in for higher studies. Only about 35.9 percent are employed and among them, only 7.7 percent are employed in government service while the remaining 28.2 percent are employed in the private sector (Table 4). Hence, our analysis of the present status of the SC/ST students show that in spite of completion of B.Tech engineering course, bulk of them are not able to get employment despite the reservation of jobs for them.

TABLE 4
Classification of SC/ST Students according to their Present Status

<i>Present Status</i>	<i>College Code</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>College A</i>	<i>College B</i>	<i>College C</i>	<i>College D</i>	
Govt. Service	2 (5.1%)	1 (2.6%)	-	-	3 (7.7%)
Pvt. Employment	3 (7.7%)	3 (7.7%)	-	5 (12.8%)	11 (28.2%)
Students	1 (2.6%)	-	1 (2.6%)	-	2 (5.1%)
Unemployed	13 (33.0%)	2 (5.1%)	5 (12.8%)	3 (7.7%)	23 (59.0%)
Total	19 (48.7%)	6 (15.4%)	6 (15.4%)	8 (20.5%)	39 (100%)

Source: University Records

Figures in parentheses denote Percentages

Thus, our analysis of the performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala indicates it as very poor in terms of their pass percentage, the number of back papers and in terms of their present status. Having found that the performance of SC/ST students is very poor, we have made an attempt to examine the causes for such performance.

Reasons for Poor Performance

There are umpteen reasons and multiple factors behind the existence of a large number of back papers and in the consequent failure of majority of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala. We have also made an attempt to examine the characteristics of SC/ST students which may help us to find some of the reasons for the poor performance. The

following paragraphs examine the possible reasons for the poor performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala.

Socio-cultural background

There are researchers who believe that the most significant deficiency of Scheduled Caste students in comparison with that of the general entry students is 'cultural capital'. Deficiency of cultural capital among the families of SC/ST students in India is evident from their low level of education, lack of participation in cultural activities, adverse home environment to learning and lack of good command over English (Weisskopf 2004, p. 4344-45). Poor socio-cultural and home surroundings of SC/ST students do not provide them sufficient incentives to set higher goals for themselves and, hence, are important factors adversely affecting their performance. It has been documented that students from families with poor socio-cultural backgrounds have higher chances of poor performance at school and college. Poverty and starvation, together with low educational status of parents, adversely affect the comprehension capacity of SC/ST students. Thus, the relatively poor academic performance of most of the SC/ST students may be due to their backward socio-cultural environment.

Family background and Lack of Motivation

Family background is an important factor having a bearing on the performance of students, as children from better family backgrounds do better in their studies compared to those whose family backgrounds are not conducive for studies. Lack of motivation from parents may be factors behind the poor performance of SC/ST students. The unpleasant home environment will also adversely affect learning and understanding and as a result their academic performance. Hence, we have examined the family background of students in terms of educational and occupational profile of parents and the economic condition of the family etc. for ascertaining whether these factors have been responsible for their poor performance.

Parental Education

Parental education is an important factor influencing the performance of students as it is found that children of highly educated parents generally perform well in their studies (Khandekar 1979; Tiwari 1979). Generally the children of educated parents have more chances of getting educated compared to illiterate or lowly educated parents. We have examined the educational level of parents by classifying them into four categories below eighth standard, eighth standard to 10th standard, pre-degree to graduation and above graduation. Our data shows that 56.5 percent of the fathers have an educational level of SSLC or below, 41 percent an educational level of pre-degree to degree while only 2.6 percent have educational level above graduation. The educational level of mothers is somewhat better than that of their fathers. About 46.2 percent of the mothers have an educational level between pre-degree and graduation while 7.7 percent have an educational level above graduation. In overall terms, the level of education of the parents of SC/ST students is very low with 56.5 percent of the fathers and 46.2 percent of the mothers having an educational

level of only S.S.L.C or below. Hence, parents whose level of education is low may not generally enquire about the study details of their children and this may lead to the children neglecting their studies, resulting in poor performance in their examinations.

Parental Occupation

Parental occupation is an important variable that influences the performance of students (Kuruvila 1963). There are studies which have found that most of the parents of SC/ST students are labourers while the number of professionals among them is comparatively lower (Patwardhan and Palshikar 1992). We have classified students according to the occupation of their fathers into four categories- government service (high employment), private service (low employment), daily wage earners/coolie (very low employment) and others, which include those without any jobs and those who have expired. According to our data, majority of the fathers (73.7 percent) are in government service, while private service (10.5 percent) and daily wage earners/coolie (10.5 percent), together, constitute only 21 percent. Thus, the findings of Patwardhan and Palshikar that beneficiaries of reserved seats are increasingly second-generation (the parents who got employment in government service through reservation) students from the privileged groups may be true according to our data. The low percentage of those in private employment and wage-earners among the fathers of SC/ST students may be due to the fact that the children from more backward sub-castes and tribes among the SC/ST communities may not be able to compete with the well-to-do sections of SC/ST groups and they rarely get admission to the engineering colleges. Hence, it may be true that only the cream among the SC/ST communities make use of the opportunities offered to these groups for engineering education, which is, incidentally, beyond the reach of the vast majority of children of poor daily wage earners from these families. Classification of students, according to mothers' occupation, shows that only about 34.2 percent are employed in government service while the remaining 65.8 percent belong to the category of housewives. Thus, about three-fourth of the fathers and over one-third of the mothers of the SC/ST students are in government service. This shows that the employment status of the parents of SC/ST students is very good and only the children of parents in government service avail the opportunity for engineering education in Kerala. Thus, the poor performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges is not on account of the low employment status of their parents.

Economic Condition

Financial background of students is an important factor influencing student performance, with the economically well-off in an advantageous position compared to poor students. In this context, studies found that the SC/ST students are from a relatively low economic background and belong to a disadvantageous economic environment compared to their peers and this may have resulted in their poor academic performance (Weisskopf 2004; Chitnis and Aikara 1977; Colon 1974). It may be possible that owing to their poor economic background, a number of SC/ST students are unable to go in for extra coaching outside the college or may be prevented from buying good books or other relevant study materials that may have helped in improving their performance. The poor economic status of SC/ST students may result in their inability to live and dress like others which could cause

them to develop an inferiority complex and consequently adversely affect their studies (Kirpal 1978, p. 169). The economically well-off can even attend practical classes outside the college and in private laboratories which, in turn, would help them secure more marks in the examinations. Thus, private spending majorly influences the performance of students and, hence, the poor economic condition of SC/ST families may act as a hindrance in successful completion of their engineering courses. In view of the poor financial condition of SC/ST students, there are suggestions to increase the financial aid by the government to them so as to improve their academic performance and reduce the high incidence of wastage among these students (Aikara 1980). Hence, in order to assess the reasons for the poor performance of SC/ST students, we have analysed the economic status of the students in terms of their family income.

Annual Income of the Family

To understand the economic condition of students, we have classified the families of SC/ST students on the basis of their annual family income into four classes viz. below Rs. 75,000 (very low income), between Rs. 75,000 to 1.5 lakh (low income), between Rs. 1.5 lakh to Rs. 3 lakh (middle income) and above Rs. 3 lakh (high income). It was seen that the bulk of the students belong to either middle income (26.3 percent) or low-income families (36.8 percent) barring a few who are from high income families (23.7 percent). The high income of a few families may be due to the employment of both the parents. As the income of most of the families is average, backward economic conditions may be a factor responsible for the poor performance of SC/ST students.

Type of Schools

The SC/ST students lack access to high quality secondary education or high-cost private preparatory coaching classes, which may have increased their chances of successfully completing their courses. There is evidence to indicate that only low quality government and aided primary and secondary schools are accessible to SC/ST students and that quality educational institutions are beyond the reach of most of the SC/ST students (Velaskar 1986; Salim 2004). We have classified students according to the nature of schools viz. government, aided and unaided. The vast majority of the SC/ST students are either from government or aided schools (89.1 percent) and the predominance of government and aided schools for study by SC/ST students may be due to the fact that they get all the benefits and incentives from government only when they study in government or aided schools. Similarly, the syllabus of majority of the students at school is State Syllabus (92.3 percent) and the medium of instruction of majority (about 69.2 percent) of students at school is Malayalam. The students who are from schools where regional language is the medium of instruction may find it difficult to understand lectures in English because of their poor proficiency in English (Kirpal 1978, p. 167). Thus, Malayalam medium may make it difficult for them to easily follow the classes in English in the engineering colleges and may be a factor responsible for the failure of the SC/ST students. There are studies which show that the poor performance of SC/ST students is due to the fact that a lesser percentage of them are educated in English medium higher secondary schools (Kirpal and Gupta 1999). Hence, educating bright SC/ST students, when they are very young, in good educational institutions

through special coaching classes in English will boost their self-confidence, their speaking ability and enable them to successfully complete their engineering courses.

Lack of Preparation at School Level

There are researchers who feel that relative neglect of elementary education and inadequacies of the school curriculum, to which SC/ST students are exposed throughout their childhood and adolescence, are the causes of the high failure rate of SC/ST students in their higher studies (Kumar 1983, p. 1568). Hence, changing the school curriculum to suit the SC/ST students may help them in improving their performance in their higher studies. Provision of career guidance to students, even at school and Plus Two levels, and identification of students who are interested in engineering and imparting special coaching for them in important subjects like Mathematics and Physics would help them perform better when they are in the engineering colleges. Some of the students reported that lack of preparation at the school level, especially in Mathematics and Physics, have resulted in their failure in the engineering examinations. Hence, if the Mathematics base is created for the students in school, they could improve their performance in the engineering colleges.

Lack of Basic Knowledge

The performance of students will definitely be influenced by what they have learnt before at school. If they are good in subjects like Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and English at school, they can perform very well in their engineering courses as the engineering course has many Mathematics or Physics related papers. On being asked whether there was any lack of basic knowledge in Mathematics and Physics at school and Plus Two levels and also whether this had adversely affected their performance in their engineering examinations, about 37.1 percent students attributed the lack of basic knowledge as among the reasons for their failure in the engineering examinations. As such, measures to improve the knowledge and understanding of Mathematics, Physics and English (basic knowledge) would definitely enhance their capacity to learn more at higher levels and help them in successfully completing their engineering courses.

Marks in 10th Standard

There are studies that have established that the higher the marks obtained in the 10th standard examination, the higher are the chances of student success in future studies (Deshmukh and Kamat 1960). Hence, we have examined the performance of SC/ST students in terms of their 10th standard marks, in general, and the marks scored in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, in particular. Students are classified, according to their marks, into five categories viz. 50-60, 61-70, 71-80, 81-90 and above 90 percent. About five percent students scored more than 90 percent in their 10th standard and they are all from Government Engineering College. About 36 percent (35.9) of the students scored over 80 percent while the score of the same percentage of students was 70 or below. However, about 15 percent of the students scored less than 60 percent marks in their 10th standard examination (Table 5). Overall, about 64 percent of the SC/ST students, who got admission to the engineering courses, scored more than 70 percent marks in their 10th standard

examination. An examination of the performance of marks in Mathematics shows that 50 percent of the SC/ST students scored excellent marks above 80 percent while the score of 15.7 percent was 60 percent or below. In terms of marks in Physics, the performance of 59.4 percent students was excellent (above 80 percent) while the score of 31.2 percent was in the range of 70 percent or less. Classification of students on the basis of Chemistry marks shows that majority (56.3 percent) scored excellent marks (more than 80 percent) while the marks of 15.6 percent were average (60 percent or below). Thus, the marks secured by the students in their 10th standard were very good although a minute fraction had average marks of less than 60 percent. As such, the poor performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges cannot be attributed to very low marks in their 10th standard examination.

TABLE 5
Classification of SC/ST Students according to their Marks in 10th Standard

Marks in 10 th	College Code				Total
	College A	College B	College C	College D	
Above 90%	2 (5.1%)	-	-	-	2 (5.1%)
81-90	8 (20.5%)	-	2 (5.1%)	2 (5.1%)	12 (30.8%)
71-80	4 (10.3%)	4 (10.3%)	2 (5.1%)	1 (2.6%)	11 (28.2%)
61-70	4 (10.3%)	1 (2.6%)	-	3 (7.7%)	8 (20.5%)
50-60	2 (5.1%)	1 (2.6%)	1 (2.6%)	2 (5.1%)	6 (15.4%)
Total	20 (51.3%)	6 (15.4%)	5 (12.8%)	8 (20.5%)	39 (100.0%)

Source: University Records

Marks in the Qualifying Examination

The lower marks at the qualifying and entrance examinations along with insufficient academic preparation, associated with poor socio-economic backgrounds of SC/ST students, have reduced their chances of success (Weisskopf 2004, p. 4341). Hence, we have examined the performance of the SC/ST students on the basis of their marks in their qualifying course (Plus Two) and particularly the marks scored in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. As per our data, about one-fourth (25 percent) have average marks of 60 percent or below, about 45 percent secured moderate marks between 61 and 70 percent while about eight percent (7.5 percent) secured excellent marks of above 80 percent (Table 6). Hence, the high achievers at the qualifying examination may have successfully completed their course while the score of the bulk of the SC/ST students was not brilliant and this may be a reason for the poor performance of a majority of the SC/ST students in the engineering colleges. Although marks in the qualifying examination is an indicator of the performance of students, marks scored in Mathematics in the qualifying examination is a better indicator of the performance

in the engineering colleges since the engineering course is highly Mathematics oriented (Sivasankaran 2004). Classification of SC/ST students on the basis of their marks in Mathematics in the qualifying Plus Two examination shows that 50 percent are poor performers as their score is 60 percent or below. It is very shocking that about 15.6 percent have secured less than 50 percent marks in Mathematics in their Plus Two examination. Distribution of students on the basis of their Physics marks shows that a significant percentage of students (about 37.5 percent) scored 60 percent or less while 6.3 percent scored over 80 percent. Performance of students in terms of marks in Chemistry shows that about 37.5 percent have secured 60 percent or less while only 9.3 percent scored more than 80 percent in Chemistry in their Plus Two examination. Overall, the performance of majority of SC/ST students, in terms of their marks in Mathematics and Physics in the qualifying examination, is either average or poor.

Hence, it appears that there is a positive correlation between the performance of SC/ST students in the engineering examination and their marks in the qualifying examination, particularly the marks in Mathematics and Physics. In other words, the chances of success at the engineering examination are higher for those who were excellent in Mathematics and Physics in their qualifying course compared to those who scored very low marks in these subjects. Therefore, it may be concluded that the average marks of the SC/ST students in their qualifying examination and marks in Mathematics and Physics are among the most important reasons for their poor performance in the engineering examinations.

TABLE 6

Classification of SC/ST Students according to their Marks in the Qualifying Examination

<i>Marks in the Qualifying Examination</i>	<i>College Code</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>College A</i>	<i>College B</i>	<i>College C</i>	<i>College D</i>	
81-90	3 (7.5%)	-	-	-	3 (7.5%)
71-80	3 (7.5%)	2 (5%)	2 (5.0%)	2 (5.0%)	9 (22.5%)
61-70	11 (27.5%)	2 (5%)	2 (5.0%)	3 (7.5%)	18 (45.0%)
50-60	3 (7.5%)	3 (7.5%)	1 (2.5%)	3 (7.5%)	10 (25%)
Total	20 (50%)	7 (17.5%)	5 (12.5%)	8 (20%)	40 (100%)

Source: University Records

Medium of Instruction and Poor Command over English Language

The medium of instruction, the syllabus of the course, the mode of examination, the type of questions, the pattern of evaluation etc. are all important factors having a bearing on the performance of students. There are evidence that the performance of a small segment of SC students, who come from well-off families and English medium high schools, are on par with that of general entry students (Velaskar 1986, p. 604). However, the majority of the SC/ST

students lacked a sound understanding of English (unless they were given an opportunity to improve their skills in English language) and this may have adversely affected their performance (Tripathi 2008). Classification of students, according to the medium of instruction in the schools, shows that the medium of instruction of more than two-third of the students (69.2 percent) were Malayalam while the medium of about 30.8 percent were English. Students from Malayalam medium schools were not conversant with English and this consequently resulted usually in their failure. Malayalam medium students may find it difficult to comprehend the classes in English at their Plus Two stage and subsequently in the Engineering Colleges. The medium of instruction in the engineering colleges is English and, hence, we asked the students as to whether they experienced any difficulty in understanding the classes in English. More than one-fourth of the students (28.9 percent) reported difficulties in following the lectures in English. Similarly, 11.4 percent of the students also reported that their poor communication skills in English (poor command over English language) adversely affected their understanding of what was taught in class and, in turn, their performance in the engineering examinations. The percentage of marks in their Plus Two Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry was relatively lower than their corresponding 10th standard marks where the medium was Malayalam. Hence, medium of instruction at the school level may pose a hindrance for these students at their Plus Two and Engineering where the medium is English.

Average Daily Hours of Study

The performance of students largely depends upon their educational preparation or period of study. Consequently, lack of sufficient preparation is cited as the most likely cause of the high failure rate among SC students (Kumar 1983, 1568). To find out whether insufficient preparation has been a factor in the poor performance of these students, we have classified them into four categories based on their daily average hours of study. They are those who did not undertake any regular study, studied less than two hours, studied between two to four hours and lastly those who put in more than four hours of study.

It is surprising to find that about 34.4 percent of the students did not undertake any regular study. About 43.8 percent studied two to four hours, with about 12.5 percent studying more than four hours and 9.4 percent studying less than two hours (Table 7). Considering the fact that some of the students who secured admission under reserved quota were having very low marks in the qualifying and entrance examinations, they needed to put in more hours of study even for a pass and, hence, their very low average daily hours of study is the most important reason for their failure. To be more precise, lack of hard work and preparation among the SC/ST students are the causes for the large number of back papers and consequent failure in the engineering examinations. Hence, hard work by SC/ST students through putting in more hours of daily study would help them improve their performance and qualify for the engineering degree.

TABLE 7
Classification of SC/ST Students according to Average Daily Hours of Study

<i>Study Hours</i>	<i>College Code</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>College A</i>	<i>College B</i>	<i>College C</i>	<i>College D</i>	
No Regular Study	7 (21.9%)	-	2 (6.3%)	2 (6.3%)	11 (34.4%)
Less than 2 hours	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	-	-	3 (9.4%)
Between 2 and 4	6 (18.8%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (6.3%)	5 (15.6%)	14 (43.8%)
More than 4 hours	2 (6.3%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	-	4 (12.5%)
Total	16 (50.0%)	4 (12.5%)	5 (15.6%)	7 (21.9%)	32 (100%)

Source: University Records

Poor Self-Potential

Intelligence is an important variable influencing the performance, and students vary in their capacities and potential depending upon the individual differences in their intelligent quotient. Learning also depends on the aptitude of the learners. Hence, the intelligent and students having an aptitude for engineering can understand the classes much faster than the less intelligent and inept students; the average students take more time to understand the classes. The academic performance of students is related to the competitive, high aspiration values and intellectual orientation of students (Kalra 1980, p. 236). The academic and intellectual orientation of SC/ST students may be backward and they may also lack high achievement values with all these factors resulting in their poor performance. Here the role of the teacher is very important as s/he can identify the slow-learners and pay special attention to those who have difficulties in understanding. The teacher can also solve the problem of slow-learners by adopting necessary corrective measures. Hence, lack of sufficient potential may be a reason for the poor performance of at least some of the SC/ST students.

Attendance in Classes

Attendance in classes is an important factor having a bearing on the academic performance of students and shortage of attendance may result in poor performance in the examinations. Hence, we have asked the students whether they have any attendance shortage at the engineering colleges in order to assess whether the poor performance of SC/ST students is on account of shortage of attendance. About 96.6 percent of them reported that they did not have attendance shortage in any of the semesters. Thus, non-attendance in classes is not an important reason for their poor performance in the engineering colleges.

Lack of Proper Aim and Planning

Lack of proper aim and planning with regard to their studies may have adversely affected the performance of SC/ST students. They may not prepare for their examination from the beginning itself and may wait till the last minute to start their studies, and this may result in their poor performance. As such, the continuous study approach right from the beginning to the end while making study a habit will help them improve their performance in the examinations.

Absence of Counselling

There are chances that SC/ST candidates may get into the engineering course without having any aptitude for engineering due to the benefit of reservation and they will subsequently find it difficult to perform well in the colleges. Such students may be identified by student advisors and may be given counselling so that they may be persuaded to change the course at an early stage. Students will have a lot of doubts about their engineering courses in the initial years, and this will call for expert guidance. As such, provision of expert guidance and counselling to the students by counsellors inside and outside the college will definitely help them in improving their performance and reducing the wastage in the engineering colleges. In our study, all the students attributed the absence of student counselling as one of the reasons for their poor performance.

Lack of Confidence due to Back papers in the Previous Semesters

There are studies, which have found that the poor performance of SC/ST students is due to their lack of self-confidence (Kalra 1980, p. 236). Lack of confidence due to back papers in their earlier semester examinations may have adversely affected their performance. Only about 2.9 percent of the students reported that lack of confidence due to back papers was a reason for their failure in the examinations.

Thus, our analysis of the reasons for the poor performance of SC/ST students shows that there are various hurdles before the SC/ST students that hinder the successful completion of their engineering courses. Poor socio-cultural and economic backgrounds like low level of parental education and occupation, low levels of participation in cultural events, poor knowledge of English, backward home environment and low level of income are factors adversely affecting their performance. Education from less prestigious primary and secondary Malayalam medium schools, low marks in the qualifying examinations, particularly in Mathematics and Physics, lack of hard work and insufficient hours of study, absence of student counselling, low intellectual orientation, lack of confidence due to poor command over English, large number of back papers and a feeling of inferiority are some of the important reasons for the large number of back papers and the consequent poor performance of SC/ST students in engineering colleges in Kerala.

Suggestions to Improve the Performance of SC/ST students

The knowledge that these students are mostly from socially and economically backward surroundings and require special care and concern necessitates special programmes to bring them at par with general standards instead of shutting them off from engineering colleges

because of poor performance. Educating bright SC/ST students, when they are very young, in good educational institutions may enable them to successfully complete their engineering courses.

The government and the engineering colleges concerned may constitute an expert body, consisting of teachers, to conduct an interview for SC/ST students while admitting them into the reserved seats in the engineering colleges. The committee may recommend a one-year 'special course' (preparatory course) similar to the special courses provided to the SC/ST students in IITs in India who are not competent to register for the 1st year B.Tech course. The classes may be provided in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and English to those SC/ST students whose level of knowledge and understanding in these subjects are inadequate for comprehending what is taught in the engineering colleges. Those who come up to the required standard may be admitted to the engineering course along with the next year's batch.

The 'Year Out Rule' may be insisted under which students who have failed in several papers in their semesters are asked to temporarily withdraw from the course to clear the arrears and may be allowed to join the next batch after clearing all the back papers. This may allow those students who cannot clear the arrears to join other courses of their interest rather than waste many years in the college without becoming eligible for the degree.

Improving quality of primary education by conducting classes in English, creation of a strong base in Mathematics and Physics at School and Plus Two levels for those who aspiring for engineering courses, classes for improving English communication skills, remedial coaching and extra classes inside and outside college, parent and student counselling, improving quality of classes in Engineering Colleges, hard work by students, with more time devoted to studies, are among the important measures for improving performance of SC/ST students in engineering colleges in Kerala.

Conclusion

This paper has analysed the performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala in terms of their pass percentage, the number of back papers at each semester and after the completion of the course and in terms of the present status of the students. Although all the SC/ST students have completed their engineering course, in terms of pass percentage, only 27.7 percent of the SC/ST students have passed their examination in their first attempt. Thus, the remaining 73.3 percent have failed in their examination and thus constitute wastage. The back papers also show that the performance of SC/ST students is very poor, with bulk of them having back papers. Performance of SC/ST students in terms of their present status is also very poor as 59 percent are unemployed despite reservation of jobs for these candidates. The large number of back papers in Mathematics/Physics or papers related to these subjects show that one of the important reasons for the poor performance is their insufficient knowledge in Mathematics or Physics.

The reasons for their poor performance include poor socio-cultural background, low level of parental education, economic backwardness due to average income, poor academic backgrounds viz. education from low-quality government or aided primary and secondary Malayalam medium schools, lack of basic knowledge in Mathematics and Physics at School and Plus Two levels. Other major factors attributed to their poor performance are average marks in their qualifying examination and in Mathematics and Physics, poor command over

English and English communication skill, lack of hard work due to inadequate preparation for the examination, poor self potential like low intellectual orientation, lack of sufficient motivation, absence of student counselling and lack of proper aim and planning.

The finding that the performance of SC/ST students is very pitiable gives rise to immense concern for teachers, parents, students, higher education professionals, government authorities and the general public. As such, it is high time to concentrate on the issues of poor performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala, with immediate attention of the authorities required to improve the performance of these students. Improving quality of primary education of SC/ST students by imparting classes in English, creation of a strong base in Mathematics and Physics at the School and Plus Two levels, remedial coaching and extra classes, classes to improve communication skills in English, student counselling, improving quality of classes, daily preparation by increasing the hours of study, preparatory course for those with insufficient knowledge in Mathematics and Physics, insistence of 'Year Out Rule' are among the important measures for improving performance of SC/ST students in the engineering colleges in Kerala.


Notes

1. We got information regarding the total number of failed SC/ST students from the data sheet maintained in the departments of Colleges whereas the data sheet of a few students are not filled for certain items. However, we got information from some of the students when we contacted them while some others declined to give the necessary details and, hence, there are differences in the total number of students in the Tables.

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Gender Equity in Education in Bihar

Renu Choudhary*

Abstract

Literacy is the key to socio-economic progress for any society. Education is universally acknowledged to benefit individuals and promote national development. Educating females and males produces similar increases in their subsequent earnings while expanding future opportunities and choices for both. However, educating girls produces many additional socio-economic gains that benefit entire societies. This paper provides an account of gender equity in schooling in Bihar, with particular emphasis on educational access. It aims to highlight educational access issues affecting girls in Bihar and the types of initiatives taken and are still needed to secure meaningful and sustainable access of education for all. Both data and research literature are analysed to highlight the interlocking nature of educational inclusions and exclusions, viewing gendered access of education and whether quality of education is maintained or not.

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Introduction

Literacy is the key to socio-economic progress for any society. Education is universally acknowledged to benefit individuals and promote national development. Educating females and males expands future opportunities and choices for both of them. However, educating girls produces many additional socio-economic gains that benefit entire societies. These benefits include increased economic productivity, higher family incomes, delayed marriages, reduced fertility rates, and improved health and survival rates for infants and children.

The education of parents is linked to their children's educational attainment, with the mother's education usually exerting greater influence than the father's. An educated mother's greater influence in household negotiations may manifest in her securing more resources for her children. Educating a female is of great importance as it is very likely that an educated mother can educate all her children. Educating females, thus, leads to educating a whole generation. As such, it is very important to have gender equity in education.

There is occasionally confusion on the difference between the concepts of equality and equity. In gender literature, the terms gender equity and gender equality are used interchangeably. Equality *focuses on creating the same starting line for everyone*. Equity *has the goal of providing everyone with the full range of opportunities and benefits – the same finish line*. Gender equality entails equal enjoyment of socially-valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards by both women and men. In other words, gender equality refers to equal access to social goods, services, resources and equal opportunities in all spheres of life for both men and women.

Gender equity is the process of allocating resources, programs, and decision-making fairly to both males and females without any discrimination on the basis of sex while addressing any imbalances in the benefits available to males and females. The different life experiences and needs of men and women are taken into consideration and compensation is provided/factored to offset women's historical and social disadvantages. Gender equity, thus, serves to level the playing field and empower women. Therefore, it can be stated that equity is essential to achieve equality.

Gender equity in education indicates the degree of participation of girls in the domain of education. To what extent gender equity in education exists in Bihar is the basic theme of this paper which also presents the steps taken by the government to enhance gender equity in education.

Bihar is one of the largest states of India with a huge population and is viewed as a backward state. The state is regarded as traditionally agrarian in nature with a patriarchal society. Considering that Bihar is a backward state and given its patriarchal culture and other socio-economic factors, the status of women there is not very satisfactory. In such a scenario, education can usher in positive changes in the society. However, at the government level, various steps are being taken to provide gender equity in education in Bihar. This paper provides an account of gender equity in schools in Bihar, with particular emphasis on educational access. It seeks to highlight educational access issues affecting girls in Bihar and the types of initiatives taken so far and those that are still needed in order to secure meaningful and sustainable access of education for all. Both data and research literature are analysed to highlight the interlocking nature of educational inclusions and exclusions, in the context of gendered access of education.

Factors Affecting Female Education

Female education has long been acknowledged to have strong correlation with other dimensions of human and social development. As Mehrotra (2006) notes, low levels of education significantly affect the health and nutritional status of women. For instance, in the case of India, he notes that chances of suffering from the diseases caused by malnutrition decrease steadily with increased levels of education. There are many factors which affect female education. Some of them are the following:

Deep-rooted features of gender relations

Drèze and Saran (1994) attribute the low value attached to female education in India to deep-rooted features of gender relations. Ideologies that shape female and male identities in Indian society are mutually reinforcing across institutions such as the family, workplace, and community (Kabeer and Subrahmanian, 1999), leading to vicious cycles of under-investment in females. Education has the potential to contribute to alternative socialization, challenging conventional gender ideologies, levelling the playing field between males and females in relation to skills, credentials and qualification, and allowing women the use of knowledge to empower themselves in diverse ways.

Gender division of labour

The gender division of labour continues to reward women less in the workplace (Kingdon, 1998b). This has resulted in relatively lower female education and work participation, thereby reflecting the ideological bias against considering women as household bread-winners. Low valuation of female labour in the market place and association of female labour with fulfilling domestic responsibilities, including child rearing, has led to a deep-seated cultural association of women with the institutions of marriage and family.

Despite strong economic and social evidence of the high returns of female education, most communities continue to under-invest in female education relative to male education. Even as the thresholds of schooling completion increase, with significantly narrowing gender gaps in primary education, in particular, discrimination against girls in secondary and higher education remains an issue. Economic and social privileges also affect gendered patterns of access, with girls in secondary and higher education predominantly drawn from higher income and social groups, endowed with higher social status.

Early Marriage

Jha and Jhingran's (2002) detailed study of schooling in communities across 10 districts of India, 'Gender Equity in Education: A Review of Trends and Factors' shows the continued belief in the importance of marriage for girls at an early age, and in maintaining asymmetries between men and women in educational attainment as a marker of relatively greater male social status. Marriage is so important in a girl's life that even education is seen as criteria that fulfils girl's eligibility in the marriage market. In many families, higher education is denied to girls as it would imply that their parents would then have to look for grooms with higher educational attainments with the attendant possibility of having to pay higher dowry in the process.

Dowry System

In traditional society in Bihar, dowry is very much prevalent. It is also one of the causes which constrain female education, especially higher education. Instead of investing money in their daughters' education, parents tend to save money for their marriage.

Concept of paraya dhan

In traditional Bihari society, daughters are regarded as paraya dhan, which means that in accordance with Hindu norms, the daughter has to move to her in-law's house after marriage. A Telegu expression conveys this effectively: 'Bringing up a daughter is like watering a plant in another's courtyard'.¹ Thus, investing in daughters' education directly is not remunerative for their parents. As such, many poor parents tend to save this money for their daughters' marriage. While changes are taking place in the attitude of parents towards the education of girls, the percentage is very low.

Sexual harassment and violence

Sexual harassment and violence also continue to be major constraining factors inhibiting parents from freely sending their girls to school. Public spaces in India continue to be relatively hostile to the presence of women, and rarely function in a way as to make women feel secure and confident. Transporting girls to school and back safely, especially where secondary schools and universities are far away from their homes, is a critical policy measure that has received scant attention. These are, therefore, some of the factors that constrain gender equity in education.

Before assessing gender equity in education in Bihar, we will first take into account the comparative profiles of Bihar and India.

TABLE 1

Comparative Profile of Bihar and India

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>Bihar</i>
Total Population	1,210,193,422	103,804,637
Decadal Growth(2001-2011)	17.64	25.01
Sex Ratio	940	916
Child Sex Ratio	914	933
Urban Population	68.84	11.30
Rural Population	31.16	88.70
Literacy rate	74.04	63.82
Per Capita Income (2011-12)	4.66	11.75
Poverty Ratio	53.54	29.8
Infant Mortality Rate per 1000 live birth	44	43
Total Fertility Rate	2.4	3.6

*Census of India (2011)

Above data shows very clearly that Bihar is lagging behind at various indicators as compared to the national average. Bihar is the third most populated state of India with a population density of 1106 persons per sq. km, compared to the national average of 382

¹ Chanana, Karuna (ed), Socialisation, Education and Women: Exploration in Gender Identity, Orient Longman New Delhi, 1988, pg. 168.

persons per sq. km. With a total population of 103.8 million in 2011, Bihar constitutes 8.6 percent of the total Indian population. Three demographic features of Bihar which are substantially different from India are – decadal growth rate of population, density of population and rate of urbanisation. The decadal growth rate of population for Bihar (25.1 percent) is much higher than for India (17.6 percent).

The rate of urbanisation of Bihar was 11.3 percent in 2011 and 10.5 percent in 2001, implying an increase of barely 0.8 percentage points over the decade. For India as a whole, this difference was 3.4 percentage points, indicating a much faster growth of urbanisation in the country (Census 2001, 2011).

While comparing the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Bihar and India, it has been noticed that the TFR is consistently higher in Bihar. But fortunately, some early indicators of demographic transition are noticed here. The TFR in Bihar has decreased from 3.9 children in 2007-08 to 3.5 children in 2011-12, a drop of 0.4 children. The drop in the all-India rate is 0.3 children.² The other indicator of health is Infant Mortality Rate (IMR). It is interesting to note that in spite of being an economically and socially disadvantaged state, the IMR in Bihar is very close to the all-India average. Further, the improvement in the IMR during the recent years has been as fast in Bihar as in India as a whole. In 2012, the IMRs in Bihar were 43 and, for India, it was 42.

Bihar is a densely populated state with a sex ratio of 916 females per thousand males while the national average is 940 females per thousand males. However, the child sex ratio, at 933 per thousand males, is better than the national average which is at 914 females per thousand males. Bihar's economy is primarily based on agriculture, with 88.70 of its population residing in the rural areas. Bihar is a poor state with poverty ratio of 29.8 percent and is also lagging behind in literacy while accounting for a literacy rate of 63.82 percent.

TABLE 2

Trend of Literacy Rates in India and Bihar

Year	India			Bihar			Gender Gap	
	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	India	Bihar
1961	40.4	15.4	28.3	35.2	8.2	22.0	25.1	27.0
1971	46.0	22.0	34.5	35.8	10.2	23.2	24.0	25.5
1981	56.4	29.8	43.6	43.8	15.8	32.3	26.6	28.0
1991	64.1	39.3	52.2	52.5	22.9	37.5	24.8	29.6
2001	75.3	53.7	64.8	60.3	33.6	47.0	21.6	26.7
2011	80.9	64.6	74.0	71.2	51.5	63.8	16.3	19.7

Source: Department of Education, GOB.

² Sample Registration System, Registrar General of India(2011)

For a socially disadvantaged state like Bihar, it is the elementary education sector that commands the highest importance. The success of elementary education is determined by two crucial educational indices — high enrolment ratio and low drop-out rate. This is particularly important for a state like Bihar where most of the families dwell in rural areas and depend on government schools for their educational needs.

In recent years, Bihar has reportedly shown considerable improvement at each level of education for boys as well as for girls. Drawing on data from the Census, it is evident that literacy rate has gradually increased both at the national level as well as in Bihar. During the decade 2001-2011, there has been significant improvement in literacy, especially in female literacy, which has risen from 33.6 percent in 2001 to 51.5 percent in 2011 although there is still a gap of 19.7 percent between the genders.

Gender Parity Index (GPI) is a *socio-economic* index usually designed to measure the relative access to *education* of males and females. In its simplest form, it is calculated as the quotient of the number of females by the number of males enrolled in a given stage of education (*primary, secondary, etc.*).

Gender disparity in literacy rate has decreased from 180.4 in 2001 to 137.7 in 2011. It is a positive trend indeed but there is yet a long way to go. However, rural-urban disparity in literacy also shows an encouraging trend. It has decreased from 78.4 percent to 61.1 percent.

Table 4 shows total enrolment at Primary and Upper Primary Levels in Bihar, during 2007-08 to 2011-12. The annual growth rate in primary enrolment was 2.6 percent during this period. The total enrolment in primary level was 156.50 lakhs in 2011-12, which had increased from 146.3 lakhs in 2007-08. At the upper primary level also, the enrolment has risen during the last four years. The total enrolment at this level in 2011-12 was 50.55 lakhs, with an annual growth rate of 14.4 per cent; for the SC and ST students also, the growth rate was high. As a whole, the total enrolment, taking primary and upper primary together, rose to 207.25 lakhs in 2011-12 from 176.64 lakhs in 2007-08, with an annual growth rate of 5.0 per cent. The SC enrolment during this period has witnessed a higher rate of growth of 6.7 per cent.

TABLE 3
Gender Disparities and Rural-Urban Disparity in
Literacy Rate in Bihar

<i>District</i>	<i>Gender Disparity</i>		<i>Rural-Urban Disparity</i>	
	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2011</i>
Patna	144.3	126.1	65.8	78
Nalanda	172	140.7	73.6	86
Bhojpur	177.8	139.7	79.3	88.9
Buxar	180.2	138.5	74.7	87.4
Rohtas	164.8	131.2	79.9	92.1
Kaimur	179.6	136.7	70.6	83.1
Gaya	172.5	136	61	75.6
Jehanabad	177.9	141.1	76.5	86
Arwal	NA	142.9	NA	88.4
Nawada	188.2	139.7	62.9	77.3
Aurangabad	169.7	132.9	75.5	89.2
<i>Saran</i>	<i>188</i>	<i>140.1</i>	<i>76.1</i>	<i>87.4</i>
Siwan	182.4	137.1	72.5	86.4
Gopalganj	195.7	140	75	86.8
West Champaran	202.8	145.7	56.7	77.4
East Champaran	202.9	143.5	52.8	77.7
Muzaffarpur	165.1	129.6	57.8	77.4
Sitamarhi	189.3	142.2	55.4	70.2
Sheohar	189.5	134.7	79.9	85.4
Vaishali	173	130.3	75.2	88.9
Darbhanga	184.1	146.3	55.4	72.6
Madhubani	216	150.1	65.3	82.4
Samstipur	181.7	136.6	58	76.6
Begusarai	166	130.3	59.8	84.7
Munger	147.5	122.3	69.5	84.7
Shekhpura	182.6	138.6	73.7	88.4
Lakhisarai	178.5	134.8	74.6	87.1
Jamui	217.1	149.4	58.6	79.7
Khagaria	176.2	131.2	56.6	76.2
Bhagalpur	155.4	128	62.8	79.4
Banka	192.7	141.3	70.3	80.9
Saharsa	204.3	152.7	51	67.4
Supaul	252.4	153.9	58.5	79.2
Madhepura	220.8	149.1	51.6	70.3
Purnea	194.9	141.4	44.3	67.2
Kishanganj	229.6	136.7	46.9	75.3
Araria	207.1	142	54.1	73.6
Katihar	190.3	134.4	43	64.8
Bihar	180.4	137.7	61.1	78.4

Note: Gender Disparity in Literacy Rate (GDLR)=(Male L.R./Female L.R.)X100
Rural-Urban Disparity in Literacy Rate=(Rural LR/Urban LR)X100

TABLE 4

Total Enrolment (in lakhs) in Primary and Upper Primary levels

<i>Level/Type of Students</i>		<i>2007-08</i>	<i>2008-09</i>	<i>2009-10</i>	<i>2010-11</i>	<i>2011-12</i>	<i>CAGR</i>
Primary							
Boys	Total	78.19	74.27	77.56	80.76	82.29	1.9
	SC	14.28	13.13	13.68	15.23	16.1	4.0
	ST	1.93	0.89	1.31	1.07	1.34	-5.3
Girls	Total	68.11	57.74	61.52	68.57	74.21	3.5
	SC	11.52	9.35	9.85	12.17	13.29	5.6
	ST	1.62	0.6	0.73	0.73	1.14	-4.9
ALL	Total	146.3	132.1	139.8	149.34	156.50	2.6
	SC	25.81	22.49	23.54	27.4	29.39	4.7
	ST	3.55	1.5	2.03	1.81	2.48	5.2
Upper Primary							
Boys	Total	17.28	20.66	23.42	26.65	27.04	12.2
	SC	2.39	3.08	3.24	3.82	4.26	14.7
	ST	0.28	0.19	0.36	0.25	0.36	18.1
Girls	Total	13.06	14.56	17.85	22.14	23.51	17.3
	SC	1.56	1.83	2.09	2.78	3.37	21.6
	ST	0.2	0.12	0.18	0.18	0.3	12.9
ALL	Total	30.34	35.22	41.27	48.8	50.55	14.4
	SC	3.94	4.92	5.33	6.61	7.63	17.6
	ST	0.48	0.31	0.54	0.44	0.66	10.4
Total							
Boys	Total	95.47	94.93	100.98	107.41	109.33	4.0
	SC	16.67	16.21	16.92	19.05	20.36	5.8
	ST	2.21	1.08	1.67	1.32	1.7	-3.2
Girls	Total	81.17	72.3	79.37	90.71	97.92	6.2
	SC	13.08	11.18	11.94	14.95	16.66	8.1
	ST	1.82	0.72	0.91	0.91	1.44	-2.3
ALL	Total	176.64	167.23	180.35	198.14	207.25	5.0
	SC	29.75	27.41	28.87	34.01	37.02	6.7
	ST	1.52	4.03	1.81	2.57	3.14	-2.8

Source: Department of Education, GOB

It is encouraging to note that the enrolment of girls is increasing at a faster rate than that of the boys. The annual growth rate of girls was 3.5 per cent during 2007-08 to 2011-12, compared to the annual growth rate of boys which is only 1.9 per cent. The total enrolment of boys (82.29 lakhs) at the primary level was higher than that of the girls (74.21 lakhs) in 2011-12. The ratio of girls' enrolment to boys' was 0.87 in 2007-08, and this ratio shifted to 0.90 in 2011-12. The same picture is emerging at the upper primary level as well. There is a difference of 5.1 percentage points between the annual growth rates of girls' enrolment compared to that of the boys during this period. Taking primary and upper primary together, boys' enrolment accounted for 54.0 per cent of the total enrolment in 2007-08; but in

2011-12, this share was 52.7 per cent. This indicates progress towards gender parity in the enrolment in Bihar. A similar trend is observed in the enrolment of SC girls at both primary and upper primary levels during that period.

The drop-out rates at primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary levels during 2006-07 to 2011-12 in Bihar are presented in Table 5 for all levels of education; these rates have continuously decreased over the recent years. At the primary level, the drop-out rate registered a decrease of 11.3 percentage points from 2006-07 to 2011-12. At the upper primary level, the decrease during the corresponding time period was 6.32 percentage points. This implies that decrease in drop-out rate of children at the primary level is higher than that at the upper primary level. At both the levels of education, the drop-out rate of girl students is lower than that of the boys. The decrease in drop-out rates, especially in the case of girls, is an important indicator of progress in the field of education.

TABLE 5
Drop-out Rates at Primary, Upper Primary, Secondary and
Higher Secondary Levels

Year	Primary			Upper Primary		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
2006-07	45.7	46.4	46.1	60.1	62.8	61.8
2007-08	45.2	45.6	45.4	61.1	61.5	61.4
2008-09	44.6	45.1	45	NA	NA	60.3
2009-10	41	43.5	42.5	56.7	60.2	58.8
2010-11	35.3	42.13	39.27	51.31	57.87	55.14
2011-12	30.74	38.01	34.80	51.07	58.61	55.48

Year	Secondary			Higher Secondary		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
2006-07	79.2	75.4	76.8	82.3	82.7	81.9
2007-08	75.6	72.6	73.7	83.7	82	82.6
2008-09	NA	NA	72.1	80.7	79.9	80.2
2009-10	67	69.9	68.8	73.4	76.3	75.2
2010-11	58.85	64.38	62.24	69.42	72.93	71.61
2011-12	62.71	66.87	65.18	64.67	68.37	66.98

The drop-out rates at the secondary and higher secondary levels are much higher than that at the earlier stage sat 65.18 per cent and 66.98 per cent respectively in 2011-12. This implies that only about 35 percent of students enrolled in Standard I complete their secondary education. The proportion of students completing the higher secondary education is even lower at about 30 percent. Initially, the drop-out rate of girl students was higher than that of the boys at both the levels. But from 2009-10 onwards, the girl students have accounted for a lower drop-out rate than the boys. Though this rate is decreasing over the years at secondary and higher secondary levels, it is still very high, and warrants some policy

intervention. The continuation of the students at this level is very crucial for building human resource for the state.

Drop-out rates among SC/ST students have also decreased in Bihar at all levels-primary, upper primary and secondary. Drop-out rates constantly increase at the upper primary and secondary levels. It is interesting to note that at all levels, the drop-out rate of girls is lower than that of boys among SC/ST students. It is a positive trend indeed but one possible explanation for all category students may be that parents tend to educate their male children in private schools, if possible, as there is a general perception that in private schools, the quality of education is better. No such facility is given to girl children unless they belong to really progressive families. In any case, the number of such progressive families in traditional Bihari society is very low.

TABLE 6
Drop-out Rates (SC & ST) at Primary, Upper Primary and Secondary Level

Year	SC								
	Primary			Upper Primary			Secondary		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
2006-07	51.2	51.6	51.5	77.8	72.8	72.8	86.7	85.4	85.9
2007-08	51	53.3	52.4	70.3	71.8	71.2	86	83	84.1
2008-09	49.5	50.5	50.1	69.4	70.5	70.1	83.2	82.8	83
2009-10	49.7	50.9	50.4	69.8	72.7	71.6	80.7	81.4	81.1
2010-11	35.9	40.9	38.8	63.8	68.2	66.5	76.8	78	77.6
2011-12	30.55	36.73	34.11	60.45	67.22	64.56	72.65	75.86	74.65
	ST								
2006-07	32.4	35.7	34.5	61.6	79.8	66.9	81.9	83.8	83
2007-08	25.6	35.1	31.6	57.2	67.8	64.3	82.2	82.8	82.6
2008-09	29.2	30.9	30.3	55.8	65	61.9	75.9	79.6	78.4
2009-10	15.6	8.1	10.9	20.1	11.9	14.8	62.1	66.4	65
2010-11	19.8	31.6	27.1	46.1	56.5	52.6	68.1	70.9	69.5
2011-12	NA	14.43	NA	22.67	43.50	35.68	32.59	49.26	43.49

Source: Department of Education, GOB

Incentive Schemes of the Bihar Government

Balika Poshak Yojana

It is a scheme for the provision of school uniforms to girls in middle school. Under it, girl students from Class VI to VIII are given Rs. 700 each while those from Class IX to XII are

given Rs. 1000 each per year for purchasing two pairs of uniforms. However, now the scheme has been made extended to all students.

Mukhyamantri Balika Cycle Yojana

As per the Mukhyamantri Balika Cycle Yojana, all girls, on admission to Class IX, are to be given bicycles free of cost by the State Government. The scheme mandates a cash transfer of Rs. 2,500 per girl child to purchase a bicycle within a stipulated time. It has been really helpful for girls while facilitating easier access to schools, particularly distant schools. Now, the scheme has been made universal covering all students.

In 2013-14, 68.95 per cent students were availing the benefit of Cycle Poshak Yojana. Of the beneficiaries of this scheme, 71.36 per cent were female students. The incentive is aimed at motivating the students to attend school regularly, with 75 per cent attendance necessary to avail these schemes.

Mukhyamantri Balika Protsahan Yojana

Under this scheme, girls securing first division in the Bihar board examination are given a reward of Rs. 10,000. Started in 2009, this scheme seeks to encourage girls for higher education.

Mukhya Mantri Akshar Anchal Yojana

This adult literacy programme was launched by the government of Bihar in September 2009 to address high levels of illiteracy among women. With an allocation of Rs. 52.6 crores, it aimed to make 40 lakh illiterate women in the age group of 15–35 years literate within a period of six months.

Mid-day Meal

The Mid-day meal scheme was started in Jan. 2005 for students from Std. I to V and was extended in 2010-11 to those studying in Std.VI to VIII. Under this scheme, nutritious food is provided by the school to all students during the lunch break. This scheme serves the twin purpose of increasing school enrolment while also providing nutritious food to school students during school hours. This is a centrally sponsored scheme and covers all districts of Bihar.

Educational Tour

Every school in Bihar gets Rs.10,000 per annum to organize educational tour to the places of historical and geographical importance.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV)

It was introduced by the Govt. of India under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) in Aug. 2004 to provide educational facilities to girls belonging to SC, ST, OBC and minority communities as well as BPL families in Educationally Backward Blocks. Initially, it ran as a separate scheme, but was merged with the SSA programme with effect from 1st April, 2007. With the Right To Education Act (RTE Act), 2009 coming into force with effect from 1st April 2010, and the SSA Framework of implementation being revised to correspond to the RTE Act, the KGBV component of SSA would also be implemented in the overall context of child rights and child entitlements and in harmony with the spirit and stipulations of the Act.

Bihar KGBV

Sanctioned post	Operational	%	SC	ST	OBC	Muslim	BPL	CWSN	Target Enrolment	Percent	Gap
535	529	98.88	44.25	6.25	31.23	13.47	4.81	1118	53500	88.4	6189

Source: TSG, SSA (EdCIL)

The girls are provided training in cycling, karate, dress-making, computer and music. Group Insurance coverage of Rs. One lakh has been introduced, through LIC of India, for girls studying in KGBV with 35221 girls benefiting from the same.

Impact of these schemes

These schemes have definitely helped in increasing female enrolment, decreasing drop-out rates among female students and increasing student attendance, with a minimum 75 per cent attendance stipulation for availing the benefits under many of the schemes. Various schemes are running unidirectional to increase students' participation in schools. For instance, the mid-day meal serves as an excellent incentive particularly for the poor, with very little to eat, to attend school and, in the process, get some food. Under this scheme the cause of education, enrolment and retention is served even as the issues of hunger and malnutrition are addressed. Indeed, nutritious food is provided as part of a different menu everyday as a step forward to curb malnutrition to some extent.

Balika Poshak Yojana is of great significance in a state like Bihar, with such a high incidence of poverty, as it ensures that children wear a proper uniform while attending school. Incidentally, in rural areas it is a common sight to see these school children in uniform even at home. Clearly these two schemes- viz. Mid-day meal scheme and Balika Poshak Yojana- are at least fulfilling the two basic needs of food and clothing to some extent while drawing children to school in a focused campaign to make them literate.

Likewise, the Mukhyamantri Balika Cycle Yojana has facilitated students in accessing distant schools. Distant schools pose a major constraint especially for girl students as parents are reluctant to send them to school through public transport for fear of sexual harassment and violence. By providing girl students with individual means of commuting to school, this issue has been effectively addressed with the result that girls going to distant school in clusters on their bicycles has become a common sight now.

With increase in enrolment of girls, they are now required to spend hours in schools and consequently, their exposure to household chores, which they used to do earlier the whole day, has become somewhat restricted. However, it is a fact that gendered division of labor is still prevalent in families of Bihar, with boys being more benefited than girls in this regard.

With increase in enrolment and decrease in drop-out rates of girls, they are becoming literate, translating to better leverage in their marriage. However, the marriageable age of girls, both at the national level as well as in Bihar, remains low. So far as the dowry system is concerned, it is very well entrenched in Bihar. With all these schemes operating, under the state government and the central government, the expenditure on education till higher secondary is negligible, with the result that money no longer acts as a constraint and parents are now willing to send their children to schools.

Conclusion

From the above data, the scenario that emerges indicates that education in Bihar is headed in the right direction, with at least some positive changes happening after a long period. In so far as gender equity in education is concerned, the government has taken many steps which have definitely had good results. Data nevertheless reveals that of the total students enrolled in Standard I, only 35 percent complete secondary education and only 30 percent complete higher secondary, indicating high drop-out rates while progressing to these higher levels of school education. Incidentally, the drop-out rates among girls have shown a declining trend. While this is an excellent development, but we will have to see the reason behind this also. True, government policies have made a positive impact but we will also have to consider the societal level where parents opt for private education for their male children if the same can be afforded. Unfortunately for the girl children, these privileges remain secondary in the traditional society of Bihar with the result that they have no other option but to get enrolled in government schools if their parents are interested in their education. Incentives given by the government have definitely raised the attendance of girls in the schools. Quality of education in our government schools still remains a grey area which needs to be focused upon so that all sections of society could have equal opportunity for entering the job market. While Government of Bihar is focusing on the enrolment of students, the appointment of contractual teachers has also been carried out even though the quality of education in appointing teachers is being overlooked. While the enrolment in schools has increased, various surveys have indicated that there is significant gap in attendance in these schools. There is question also with regard to the quality of education. While recruitment of contractual teachers has been done on a large scale, still more teachers are required. In the recruitment of a teacher, emphasis should be laid on quality. An ineligible teacher ruins the career of many generations. Teachers should be involved exclusively in the teaching job only. In Bihar, other than mid-day meal and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, which are run by the central governments with state governments, at least seven other schemes related to uniforms, free cycles, free books and financial assistance are being carried out exclusively by the state government. Instead of separate staff to administer these schemes, teachers shoulder the responsibility for implementing, documenting and also being accountable to the government. Besides they have taken on other duties ranging from distributing Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards to organising awareness rallies, election duties and other administrative work, as and when the district administration requires. Government should realise that and besides running various programmes for gender parity, it should also focus on the quality of education.

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Book Reviews

IAN Macpherson, SUSAN Robertson and GEOFFREY Walford (eds.) (2014): *Education, Privatisation and Social Justice: Case Studies from Africa, South Asia and South East Asia*, Symposium Books, Didcot, Oxford, ISBN: 9781873927373, pp. 310, price not mentioned, Paperback.

A brief conversation with a co-passenger in the metro rail one day gave me a clear signal of how salient and contentious is the theme of privatization in education (in all its variants across the globe) that the edited volume under review carefully examines in its several chapters. Seeing me reading a book she asked, 'where do you work?' 'I teach' I replied. She immediately deduced, 'Oh, you are a private tutor!' I explained otherwise. Perhaps at the risk of over-interpreting this seemingly stray comment, it is possible to take a leap following the Gramscian notion of cultural hegemony and argue that the modern incarnation of privatized education, the profit-driven education system in particular, has become a part of the 'common sense' values of all.

This received wisdom, this 'no-so-silent crisis', this public (mis) perception about the private delivery of education and its theoretical underpinnings – its efficiency, quality and equity effects – have been scrutinized and analysed in this volume through the probing pen of a group of scholars, who have studied the education system in a number of countries from Africa, South Asia and South East Asia, having their own contextual specificities and yet sharing the common tag of 'developing countries'. These include countries as diverse as Bangladesh (Sommers), Cambodia (Brehm and Silova), Ghana (Riep; Rolleston and Adefeso-Olateju), India (Aslam and Atherton; Srivastava and Noronha), Nepal (Bhatia; Subedi, Shrestha and Suvedi), Nigeria (Rolleston and Adefeso-Olateju), Pakistan (Ahmed, Amjad and Habib; Aslam and Atherton; Menashy, Mundy and Afridi), the Philippines (Sandoval and Soriano), and Vietnam (Van Tuan).

The strength of the approach, adopted by the editors and contributors of this volume, lies, among other things, in the fact that it does not begin with a polemical view that the idea of the private is necessarily bad (Macpherson, Robertson and Walford). Nor does it fail to recognize that 'the involvement of private actors in education is not new...[and that] there is a long history of private education around the world.' (p.9) What is new, however, about recent incarnations of the privatized education delivery system 'is their scale, scope and penetration into almost all aspects of the education endeavour' and the 'agenda-setting by private, commercial interests'. '[T]he learner is increasingly conceptualized as a consumer, and education a consumer good' (ibid).

Indeed, schools are increasingly being seen as businesses. Moreover, there is an expanding global education industry consisting of for-profit education firms active within a global financial capital market. This sector claims to offer a range of education services including testing services, education apps and software and so on. Not only is its aim to develop curriculum content and teacher–training models but to also secure control to do so, without however being amenable to democratic public scrutiny for the consequences of its

decisions and actions. And in its subtlest form, privatization in education entails an active role of private corporate players in shaping both the international education agenda and country legislations and policy decisions in the field of education. As a correlate of this, there is a routine focus on government failures in providing, regulating and financing education for all, amounting to a 'truism' that the 'private' is always better than the 'public' when it is a question of educational effectiveness, efficiency, and even equity.

Against this backdrop, the contributors undertake an evidence-based thorough investigation of the so-called 'private-school promise' intentionally using the prism of social justice. The visible drift towards coordination, financing and governance of education services by private actors indeed raises important social justice questions: Does the promise of private schools energise or enervate the core value of education, namely, the goal 'to create the conditions for both the flourishing of the individual and the good of society', and to contribute towards the dual objectives of 'making citizens and making economies'? (p.12). Or is the private sector, in its diverse forms and practices, actually a regulation-free zone, making already indigent and marginalized families and communities prey to profiteering?

To address these basic conundrums, the authors cast the analytical net widely so as to accommodate many forms of privatization, ranging from privatized delivery of schooling, to accessing of supplementary private tutoring, to cost-recovery through user fees curiously dubbed in some country contexts as 'socialisation of education reforms', to support by international donor agencies such as the World Bank of private for-profit schooling, to diversion of public funds to private schools through 'free seats' provision for marginalised children, to Low Fee Private Schools (LFPS) that have emerged 'to serve low-income communities' in widely divergent countries like India, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malawi, Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, often managed by school chains/franchise, even on the basis of 'pay per day to attend classes'. The drawing power of the volume lies in its thorough inquiry of many such dimensions of privatization *in* and *of* education.

In a number of countries under scrutiny, the authors notice reflection of 'social hierarchies' in private-school enrolment patterns and, therefore, raise critical questions about equity effects of private schooling, even though, in some cases, a positive private-school advantage or private tutoring advantage is acknowledged, measured in terms of test results. The authors furnish clear evidence to demonstrate that the incidence of private tutoring increases with the ability to pay and that this is more a practice in private schools than in state schools. Large private-tutoring industries are now known to exist in economically and geographically diverse countries, catering to students of all social classes. There is, therefore, no reason to presume that only government-school students, apparently in search of quality service, will seek supplementary private tutoring. Affluent students from elite private schools also go in for extra coaching. What is important to underline, however, is that private tutoring imposes a substantial burden on low income families, raising serious doubts about whether it is an 'egalitarian supplement'.

To mention once again, discussions in this volume on LFPS add much value to the scholarly debate on this subject. Since children from poorer backgrounds are allegedly opting out of state schools even if these are free, the LFPS advocates claim that this shift indicates that LFPS have both efficiency and equity advantages: these schools apparently can improve both access to and quality of 'basic education for the world's poor'. This is indeed a tall claim. One may, however, raise three concerns here: First, as many contributors in the volume have pointed out, LFPS may still exclude the poorest of the poor from their ambit.

Second, research from different parts of the globe indicates that the one undisputable way to improve the quality of learning is to improve the quality of teaching. Yet, among the advocates of LFPS, and, to some extent, among their critics too, there is so little discussion on the professional preparedness, authority and education of teachers in these schools. These schools seemingly aim at some standardization of services, but are at once zones of informalization, and de-professionalization. In his analysis of Omega Schools Franchise in Ghana (a LPFS chain), Riep hints at “deskilling of teachers’ labour” when he quotes its co-founder Ken Donkoh as stating that ‘Experienced teachers write out lesson plans at the head office and then give them to the schools such that our teachers can read them and *just* deliver them’ (p.268) (emphasis added). It is as though the role of teachers is acknowledged by rendering it irrelevant. Third, the same study quotes Michael Barber, the chairman of the Pearson Affordable Learning Fund, as saying in a BBC HARD Talk interview in 2012, that LFPS are ‘high quality and still very low-cost’ (p.264). One obvious question that comes up in this context is that following the economic logic of maximization and efficiency, why aren’t upper and middle classes choosing these schools even though they are good quality and cheaper than the high-end private schools? If the choice of poorer parents is seen as an enigma (they seem to choose fee-paying private schools over free state schools) that is explained in the end in terms of their preference for quality, why isn’t the same enigmatic behaviour seen among the more prosperous parents who are rather counter-intuitively not choosing educational services that are allegedly ‘good’ quality and simultaneously ‘cheaper’? Implicit in their choice for more expensive private schools, isn’t there a move away from integration – a step that cannot be understood only in terms of penchant for quality? Isn’t the former segmentation between government and private schools going to be replaced by the new segregation between low-fee and high-fee private schools, reinforcing rather than reducing educational opportunities between have-littles and have-enoughs?

It is in this connection that I find the analysis in the volume on ‘the state subsidization of the private sector through the free-seats provision for children from weaker sections’ a bit limited. It is indeed deeply disturbing that in some cases children from disadvantaged groups are seen to be taught in a separate shift in the evening with separate staff in the same school. Srivastava and Noronha rightfully conclude that such a practice ‘...not only goes against the spirit of the Act [the Right to Education Act], it contravenes it’ (p.190). The egalitarian potential of the Act, can, thus, get forfeited in many ways. But that there is such a potential does not necessarily appear convincing to the authors, as the free-seats requirement is seen to be ‘...diverting funds from the already under-resourced state sector’ (p.196). Two quick points can be made. First, per student public expenditure will remain the same irrespective of whether a child is in a state school or a private school. In that sense, the free-seats requirement is different from the logic of a voucher system; since almost all recognized private schools will have to reserve a quota of 25 percent of seats for children from disadvantaged backgrounds, this will be a model different from the one under which funds follow the students. Second and more important, this is an equity measure in a broader sense in that it ideally aims to promote socially mixed schools in order that entrenched forces of school segregation can be mitigated somewhat. This underlying integrationist spirit is passed by in the analysis.

While I remain persuaded in general by the core arguments presented in this volume, one lingering concern is that the privatization of education for the rich lies outside its analytical radar. Yet, what is shaping the contours of the contemporary educational

discourse and agenda are precisely the developments (both in educational idea and practice) that are taking place in these elitist educational enclosures. How do the market-mediated aspirations routinely churned out in these privatized zones shape the aspirations of weaker sections, what implications these individuated goals have for the development of children as future citizens, and what bearing they have on the 'silent crisis', that the editors allude, to remain under-studied. Furthermore, much of the discussion in the volume concentrates on parental perceptions and expectations to the relative neglect of voices of teachers. Barring a few references (Riep; Sandoval and Soriano; Sommers) to pre-service and subject-based refresher training of teachers, the criticality of teacher education and training, and the damaging effects of 'teaching to the test', the problem of teachers' isolation and the protection of their rights and welfare and their social justice implications do not receive much attention here.

In the introductory chapter, the editors quote David Harvey's question, 'What is the appeal of the idea of the private and individual over more social, collective and relational understandings of individuals and their societies?' (as quoted in p.10) Indeed, at the root of the privatization debate in education lies this moot question of treating teaching or learning as an individuated pursuit, as 'bowling alone', instead of a cooperative endeavour built on a network of connections and collaborations. Distributing education as a market commodity in a profit-driven delivery system is likely to lead to a number of distortions, since education is not an ad-hoc purchase; it has to be a sustained activity pursued in a predominantly non-profit system. In this context, it is deeply disconcerting to learn what an Omega School student in Ghana said, 'I sell water on the streets one day so I can go to school the next' (p.271). For reasons like this, under the system of paying on a daily basis in Ghanaian Omega Schools, a noticeable proportion of the student body is absent everyday. Imagine what will happen to continuous evaluation in such a situation! The volume under review has opened up many such crucial issues for a serious public debate on not only the quality but also the purpose of education.

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ANANDAKRISHNAN, M. (2014): *Higher Education at the Crossroads*, Indian Society for Technical Education and Bloomsbury, New Delhi, pp. 716 (Hardbound), ISBN 978-93-82951-39-1, Price: ₹ 1495.

Unlike school education, higher education system in India has been subjected to different pressures right from 1980s resulting in serious damage to its exalted image in society as well as in deterioration of its standards and quality. One was the dwindling state support and funding, resulting in serious deficits on maintenance and expansion, which forced the universities to start self-financing courses and self-financing colleges, both under government, aided and un-aided categories to make up for the deficit and also address the increased social demand for higher education. The entry of self-financing private colleges from late 1980s, with profit as the only motive, further damaged the image of the higher education system that was already subject to serious interference in academic,

administrative and governance matters. Perhaps there is no single volume for the academic community to know how and to what extent the higher education system coped with all these issues and pressures. The book under review viz., *Higher Education at the Crossroads* by Anandkrishnan is a collection of his writings about *all these and many other related issues* that dominated debates and policy discourses in higher education in India in the last 3-4 decades. It serves not only as a window to various developments in higher education but also gives an informed view of the author's understanding as also the contemporary standpoints on all these issues relating to higher education. Penned mainly during 2001-10, the writings cover a variety of aspects of higher education – as many as 44- included in this volume, many of which had their antecedence many decades ago.

From this vast collection of Anandkrishnan's writings, one could discern certain trends about the issues that dominated his concern. The first category of aspects on which his writings could be grouped includes the developments following the Reforms on liberalization, globalization and privatization and their adverse impact on (i) autonomy and accountability of higher education institutions – colleges and universities, (ii) governance of higher education institutions and the position of Principals and Vice-Chancellors; (iii) the entry of private agencies in higher education – general, technical and professional, and the casualty of social equity. The writings on these aspects constitute the largest proportion in this volume – writings that were published in leading dailies like *The Hindu*, *The Times of India*, etc., many journals like *Economic and Political Weekly*, *University News*, *Journal of Engineering Education* as well as presentations and keynote addresses made in National, Regional and International Conferences. The one hallmark of these writings, especially on these aspects, is his sincere efforts to study the viewpoints of different commissions and committees on higher education from the beginning.

The range and variety of issues on which Anandkrishnan wrote could qualify him as an all-rounder although the concern for equity-related issues like Common Entrance Test, reservation policy, privatization of higher education: opportunities and anomalies, etc. seems to be a pervasive facet of his engagement with the higher education system. The all-rounder brand could be evident from the variety of contemporary issues he tackled in this volume like: flexible graduation requirements, referring to the choice-based credit and semester system, accreditation system, the rating race, internationalization of higher education, ICT and social transformation, FDI in higher education: misleading mirage, and facts and fallacies, etc.

An indication of the value of his views can be seen from the reports that he was entrusted to prepare as an expert of the nation on critical issues like (i) Privatization of Higher Education and Protection of Social Equity in the context of XI Plan; (ii) Reservation Policy and Academic Performance: The Tamil Nadu Case Study, prepared for the Moily Committee on Reservation for admissions in higher education institutions in 2006; (iii) Preparation of State Reports on School Education and Higher Education in Tamil Nadu in the context of XI Plan; and (iv) Abolition of Common Entrance Test for admissions in engineering and professional courses in Tamil Nadu and adoption of normalization processes to reconcile scores of different boards of higher secondary education (as the Head of an Expert Committee in 2007). These reports, as included in this volume, indicate the trust of national level agencies like Planning Commission, UGC, and the Government of Tamil Nadu etc. in his views and recommendations. Anandkrishnan was part of an international

team, which included representatives from Malaysia and Taiwan, in spelling out the role of Diaspora in National Innovation System.

What Anandkrishnan wrote and published in the *Journal of Engineering Education* in 2008 on Influence of Interference Factors on Quality and Autonomy and included in this volume (p. 215) became a perfect box item in the Report of 'The Committee to Advise on Renovation and Rejuvenation of Higher Education' (p. 33), headed by Prof. Yashpal, in 2008, as below:

In many private educational institutions, the appointment of teachers is made at the lowest possible cost. They are treated with scant dignity, thereby turning away competent persons from opting for the teaching profession. A limited number of senior positions are filled at attractive salaries, especially from other reputed institutions, mainly for prestige. Otherwise, there are many terrible instances of faculty being asked to work in more than one institution belonging to the management; their salary being paid only for nine months; actual payments being much less than the amount signed for; impounding of their certificates and passports; compelling them to award pass marks in the internal examination to the "favorites" and fail marks for students who protest illegal collections and so on.

In another piece on Privatization of Higher Education and Protection of Social Equity, as a Major Research Project for UGC, Anandkrishnan portrays some more gripping realities about private engagements in HE – an indication of his persona as a socially conscious scholar, administrator and a policy-maker on HE. Calculating the regular fees and capitation fees for professional and medical courses in a year, Anandkrishnan concludes "Considering all such programmes, about 2 trillion rupees is transferred to private persons from the society. Unfortunately, only a part – about 30 per cent of this amount is invested in buildings, labs, other infrastructures and salaries of the institutions. Nearly 70 per cent of this amount is diverted for other non-institutional ventures such as real estate, race horses, cinema houses, shopping complexes, liquor business and so on. It is known that some political parties thrive out of such funds. This money also goes to buy political favours. Many entrepreneurs multiply their number of such institutions by corrupting officers and politicians to "buy" more private colleges and private universities and deemed universities" (pp. 262-63).

We cite just one more example of how much influence his views have had in learned circles. In a piece on "Higher education: The underbelly of privatization" carried in the website 'India Together: The News in Proportion', Kannan Kasturi mentions how an academic like Prof. Anandkrishnan, Chairman of IIT Kanpur, was recently reported voicing his concerns: "In one year the number of engineering colleges has gone up to 2250 from 1600. There is a mad rush for starting up engineering colleges. Also, the state of Tamil Nadu alone has 340 engineering colleges. This is a scandal in technical education, and nothing much has been done to prevent this". (*Times of India*, 20 Oct 2008).

It can, thus, be concluded that this volume would be useful to scholars interested in specific issues like privatization and its adverse effects on social equity and also to generalists interested in contemporary issues of higher education in India – in fact a huge variety – as covered in this volume. The one plausible limitation of the book that one could think of is the inclusion of small addresses/lectures, running to two-three pages in a book of substantial pieces, as this; although lectures, these could have been developed further for a book of this

kind and on other hand, not including them in such a huge collection of writings would not have robbed the volume of any of its value.

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KOSHY Valsa (2010): *Action Research for Improving Educational Practice*, New Delhi: SAGE, ISBN: 0978-1-84860-159-8, Pages 160, Prices: £ 20.99

In the past few years, action research has become increasingly popular as a mode of research among practitioners who are constantly faced with the challenges of providing effective teaching strategies, raising achievement, exploring pedagogical issues and addressing the special needs of the students. The main role of action research is to facilitate practitioners to study aspect of practice-where it is in assessing and reflecting on the effectiveness of existing practice, with a view to improving practice. This process is often carried out within a researcher's own setting.

This book attempts to meet the needs of all the educationist groups of people by providing a coherent, accessible and practical set of guidelines on how to carry out action research. However, it also needs acknowledging here that one book alone cannot provide a complete account of all aspects of research. Readers, therefore, are given a list of some authoritative sources and reading for further research.

The main purpose of this book is to offer practical guidance to those who intend to carry out action research. The Author has attempted to address all these questions in this book. Doing action research facilitates evaluation and reflection in order to implement necessary changes in practice-both for an individual and within an institution. As new initiatives are introduced with greater frequency within education polices all over the world, practitioners can often be left with conflicting view points, doubts and dilemmas which, in turn, need exploration, evaluation and reflection. Evaluating one's own practices is an integral part of an applied discipline such as education.

This book addresses the needs of the two groups of researchers: Firstly, those who wish to undertake small-scale research into an aspect of their practice. This may be facilitated by external funding or may be the outcome of a local necessity to evaluate the effectiveness of an innovation or an initiative. Understating an action research project would involve looking at issues in depth and gathering and assessing the evidence before implementing new ideas or changing one's practices. Secondly, post-graduate students or those studying for practical doctorate courses – who wish to carry out research as part of accredited courses. Some of the projects within this context could, of course, belong to the action researcher.

The Author hopes that the above groups will find the step-by-step guidance provided in this book useful. He belief that carrying out action research is all about developing the act of knowledge through observation, listening, analysing, questioning and being involving in construction one's own knowledge and experiences gained will inform the research's further direction and influence action. This book is written in an interactive style and the reader is invited to join the author in exploring aspects of what is involved in conducting *practitioner*

research, as it is sometimes called. The use of examples, case studies and short tasks in the book should make the contents more accessible.

The book is presented in eight chapters. *Chapter 1* explores the concept of action research and considers how it is distinctive from other forms of research. Reader is provided with an overview of how action research has developed over the past decades, its background and the key concepts of action research—planning action, evaluation, refinement, reflection, theory building. References to experts' view and models of action research should assist the new action researcher to plan his or her work to the vindicate choice. The possible advantages of using action research as a methodology are discussed here. Detailed examples of action research projects carried out by practitioners from a variety of contexts and dealing with a range of topics, are also presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the theoretical underpinnings of action research in order to support the researcher to articulate his or her positioning in terms of ontological and epistemological assumptions.

Chapters 2 to 6 address the various stages of action research. *Chapter 2* addresses some of the criticisms raised against action research as a methodology. It explores the views of experts-in terms of its role in the professional development of a researcher- and discusses the structure and processes involved in conducting action research. The aim of this chapter is to offer practical guidelines to action researchers who are about to take the first step. It offers examples of topics selected by practitioners for action research. Although the stages of action research are not strictly linear, it should help a researcher to think in terms of planning the project in stages – with a built-in flexibility to refine, make adjustments, and change direction within the structure. This feature of flexibility for refinement makes action research an eminently suitable method of enquiry for practitioners. Using examples, the reader is guided in his or her choice of topic for research and is also helped in considering the suitability of using action research in various contexts.

Chapter 3 focuses on the role of literature search and writing research reviews within action research. The justification for undertaking research reviews and guidance on how to gather, organize, analyze and make use of what is read are presented. Utilizing electronic sources for a literature search is dealt with in this chapter, along with some additional support culled from the evaluation of sources of literature obtained from the Internet.

Having selected a topic and collected the background literature, a researcher would then begin to plan his or her project. *Chapter 4* supports the reader, using practical examples, by illustrating how interventions and activities have been planned by other practitioners. The process of action planning is discussed and a practical planning sheet is also provided. Special consideration is given at this point to the all-important aspect of 'when things go wrong' in the process of conducting the research by researchers. In *Chapter 5*, different types of instrumentation for gathering data are presented. Using practical illustrations, the advantages and disadvantages of using different methods are discussed. The importance of being systematic in the data-gathering process is emphasized. Ethical considerations are also dealt with.

Chapter 6 focuses on the complex issue of the analysis of data and data display. Action research, by its nature, is unlikely to produce universal findings – its purpose is to generate principles based on experience. The analysis within action research seeks to identify themes and issues which are relevant and applicable to a particular situation. Guidance is provided on how the data may be analyzed and presented, including the use of computer software packages. Examples of practitioners' accounts data analysis are provided within the chapter.

The chapter concludes with a consideration of the fundamental issues of establishing the trustworthiness of evidence and the validity of both the procedures and the conclusions.

The type of report written by action researchers will depend on the circumstances of those researchers. Funded research requires a certain format to be followed, whereas a report in the form of a dissertation for an accredited course will need to follow a different and often predetermined format. Examples of producing reports and the process involved in writing up or disseminating findings are provided in *Chapter 7* and *Chapter 8* discusses more ways of disseminating the findings. Guidance on how to publish action research in various forms – newsletters, conference presentations and journal articles – is also provided.

There is a reference section in the final part of the book which draws on a range of authors who have contributed to the ongoing dialogue on action research. Further reading and a list of useful websites are included at the end of the chapters where these are appropriate.

On the whole, the book under review is a very valuable book for researcher scholars, teachers, administrators, educational planners and teacher educators. This book proves successful in providing the answers of several typical questions related to action research. It not only supports practitioners in seeking ways of providing good quality education by transforming the quality of teaching-related activities, but also enhances students' learning.

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IVETA Silova and Gita Steiner-Khamsi (eds). (2008): *How NGOs React: Globalization and Education Reform in the Caucasus*, Central Asia and Mongolia. Bloomfield, CT, USA: Kumarian Press, Inc.

The Open Society Institute was founded by George Soros and is an international grant making institute that supports civil society groups in advancing justice, education, public health and independent media. George Soros, a Hungarian born American, who survived the Nazi occupation of Hungary and fled the communist regime to become the world's richest hedge fund manager, has been very influential in post-socialist educational reform, through the Open Society network. This book discusses the contributions made by NGOs, in particular the Soros network, to education change in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia.

The 'post-socialist education reform package' included extension of schooling to twelve years, reduction of number of subjects, introduction of new ones (eg civic education, computer literacy), student centred learning, electives in upper secondary schools, standardized student assessment, reorganization of schools to get larger and better equipped ones, decentralization of educational finance and governance, liberalized regulations for textbook publishing, private sector involvement in higher education. Broadly, the changes are similar across countries although there might be some country-specific features. This similarity has to do with shared history with earlier education systems having been shaped by Soviet policies; as well as similar structural reform policies influenced by the World Bank, the ADB and UN agencies in early/mid 1990s.

The book explores the role that NGOs of the Soros network have played in bringing about these changes in different countries. There is a complex relationship between NGOs, the state and donors. Donors use varying criteria in approving funding. [For example, the editors point out that Switzerland selected for funding only countries that are mountainous and small such as Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan]. Ministries of Education 'had to familiarize themselves with the new philosophy of aid; it was necessary to emphasize needs, not accomplishments. They had to convey a graphic sense of educational crisis to attract external funding' (p.14). As the examples offered in the book show, NGO supported reforms could complement, correct, replace or hybridize the existing reforms.

It might well be questioned why NGOs are needed at all; when there are governments committed to the change process, and donors willing to support it, what if any role is there for non government players. Soros' commitment to an open society is a move away from one where 'society is dominated by the state, and the state is in the service of a dogma that claims to embody the ultimate truth. In such a society there is no freedom' (p.46). Independent civil society is essential to this vision. Soros Foundations have supported local NGOs, local initiatives, in three broad phases. The first phase focused on demonstration projects showing best practices in schools. The second phase tried to increase the systemic impact of the education initiatives. The third phase included efforts to get involved in national education policy making. In some countries these have been sequential, in others all at the same time.

Community participation in education is advocated by NGOs, by governments, by donors, although each might have a different understanding of what that actually means. Tadevosyan discusses the Armenian experience with this, and raises the important question of why subsequent donors might disregard similar existing projects. The 'latecomer' choosing not to draw from existing experiences, staff and networks might be to do with reasons such as stakeholder replacement, distributive practices, and competition – 'even though there is a limited number of reforms circulating, every donor insists on having its own variant or best practice of community participation' (p.99).

Reforms called for new textbooks. Kazimzade discusses in Azerbaijan how the outcomes of textbook reform could not match up to the intentions, for one thing because of the emphasis on replacing 'old' ideological values with 'new' ones with less focus on quality control or consumer influence. Matiashvili writes about decentralization reform in Georgia. The Open Society Foundation supported a locally developed model of administrative decentralization; however the government chose to introduce a new package through the World Bank, with a focus on decentralization of finance. Kalikova and Silova discuss the role of international NGOs in Kazakhstan in a context of decreasing aid dependency, and the manner in which the NGO shifted into building local capacity in education policy making. Such capacity building of local policymakers matched with the government's aspirations to reduce external inputs. In Tajikistan, as analysed by Ivanov and Deichman, Soros Foundation supported the voucher-based teacher training system. This innovation was received positively as a pilot and as they point out, will call for fundamental changes in attitude apart from the managerial requirements: leading towards a 'future in which teachers will determine what they need in terms of professional development, and in which government officials will have redefined themselves as coordinators and facilitators of innovative practice' (p.168).

Enkhtuya shows how best practices have circulated in Mongolia, with cross-institutional borrowing. A new way of teacher training, distinct from the standard cascade model, spread out in this way. Abdushukurova discusses how in Tajikistan an independent and locally run education policy think tank attempted to function in an environment of government control and international donor agendas. The original plan to institutionalize this within government structures could not materialize; as an independent NGO, the relationship with the Ministry of Education has gradually improved although future roles remain uncertain.

Turkmenistan, as Dailey and Silova point out, was until 2007 'deliberately propelled backward toward illiteracy and isolation from the world for political ends' (p.211), with limited spaces for NGO actions. Ashrafi writes about Uzbekistan and the authoritarian regime's closing down of 'more than 60 percent' active local NGOs by 2005. Yet some NGO legacies have survived.

The mission of the Soros Foundation and its commitment to building an open society is political. This book discusses some examples of its presence and role in the post-Soviet Union republics. Soros reform strategy sought to work with governments, influence systems. Steiner-Khamsi suggests the role of NGOs in this post-socialist region as being of three types, complementary, co-operative and surrogate – the latter, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, where scope for direct NGO actions was virtually absent. While projects and education funding have been scaled down across the region, the Soros network leaves behind the capacity that has been built up in local NGOs, material resources and individuals; whether the political impact of these will grow over time remains to be seen.

Overall, this is a fascinating book. Although the specific examples discussed are from a particular historical point in time and a particular geographic region, the nature of educational reform being attempted is similar to educational reform in other parts of the world as well. The history, funding and role of NGOs discussed in the book is again particular and unique, yet many of the experiences are similar to those in other countries. The Soviet education system and the belief that 'government knows best' changed slowly, not always in a linear progressive fashion. The hesitation of governments to allow greater role to non-government actors and agencies is seen elsewhere too. Precisely because education holds out the prospect of deepening democracy and of transforming societies, education reform, as this book reminds us, is never apolitical.

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PHILIP G. Altbach and Jamil Salmi (edited) (2011): *The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities*, Directions in Development, The World Bank, Washington DC.

Discussions on the idea and form of the University have certain timelessness—from the Greek Akademons to India's own Takshila and Nalanda are invoked and discussed even as we deliberate on the modern form of this institution, as it has evolved mainly in Europe and America. This edited volume has a more contemporary character to it—it's analysis and discussion is set in the context of global capitalism and its requirements of a "skilled,

productive, and flexible labour force” that can assist countries—specifically middle income and developing countries to “become more competitive globally by creating applying and spreading new ideas and technologies” (p.1). The edited volume is in essence an illustration of the various institutional pathways that universities around the world have traversed to realize the idea of the “world-class university”—research universities with high quality faculty and students, and outputs of excellent quality research and teaching.

Through nine carefully selected country cases, representative of regional as also institutional diversity, the volume extends the body of knowledge that exists on world-class research universities, specially that which each of the editors of this volume—Altbach and Salmi have put together in the past. Examples are Philip G. Altbach’s volume edited by himself and Jorge Balan (2007: *World Class Worldwide: Transforming Research Universities in Asia and Latin America*, (Johns Hopkins University Press; and Salmi), Jamil Salmi 2009: *The Challenge of Establishing World Class Universities* (Washington DC: World Bank). And this is considerable as the two editors are noted scholars and practitioners of the intricacies of institutional and policy dynamics of the tertiary education sector. Whereas earlier, the status of a good university was largely reputational, and based on aspects that were at best subjectively perceptible, there now seem to be more explicit statement of the features of a world class knowledge institution, and many of these can be measured in a manner in which cross national comparisons are possible. Global rankings offer such a mechanism, indeed a yardstick for extended institutional comparisons. While this volume does not make explicit comparisons across countries, what it does is to identify features of world-class universities, as also the facilitating conditions under which they prosper, in the nine selected cases. Also, features of world-class research Universities identified in prior research in the area are used as an implicit comparator in the discussions of these country cases. Volume co-editor Jamil Salmi summarises these key features as follows: a. high concentration of talent, abundant resources to create a rich environment for learning and research, and favourable governance features that encourage leadership and allow its functioning unencumbered by bureaucratism (Salmi 2009, cited in this volume, p.3). Of course, either new institution could be set up *ab initio* with such features or existing universities could possibly upgrade or merge and achieve these standards.

The ideas in the volume can be organized in two parts: first, analytical discussions on the world class universities, done by the volume editors in three chapters by way of way of lead-in material and conclusion, and secondly, analysis in each of the selected cases. Volume co-editor Altbach leads the analytical discussion, making an eloquent case of the idea of the research university, rooted in certain key tenets—namely the prevalence of meritocracy, academic excellence, and academic freedom. He notes that although they are complex institutions and serve only a minority of students, they are central to the global knowledge society. They produce the bulk of the original research important in order to drive innovations, as well as improve the human condition. The idea of the contemporary research university dates back to the 19th century when Humboldt reformed the University of Berlin to engage in research for national development and applied work. This model also led to the emergence of disciplinary fields in the sciences as well as social sciences. Humboldt’s university was a state institution and enshrined a great deal of autonomy and academic freedom. At present, the US has the maximum concentration of these institutions numbering over 150, all with a global reputation. In contrast, India has only about ten notable research institutions.

The contemporary global context presents certain challenges to the research university. These emanate from, but are not limited to, the massification of higher education, with much larger enrollments expected still from China and India, the increasing role of the private sector specially the institutions run for profit, but most importantly the cut-back in resources for higher education in the face of the economic crisis. Here Altbach argues that the economic crisis may prove an opportunity for the expansion of the University in Asian countries such as China and India, where the budgets for higher education have not been slashed, notwithstanding fiscal constraints. Here the editor's enthusiasm may have been correct in identifying the opportunity structure that exists, but the empirical reality is somewhat different. For one, the two countries with a very large population of the young eligible for enrollment in tertiary education have performed differently in terms of building capacities for tertiary education. But more generally, there has been very little geographical relocation of the "academic core" of the global knowledge, and developing countries and emerging markets have differed significantly in terms of setting up new institutions with world class research university features.

The discussions on a wide panorama of selected universities, and the regional diversity of their institutional existence and developmental pathways is done with an objective—to assist middle income and developing countries advance in their pursuit of global knowledge, and participate effectively as equals amongst institutions with such standards. The research questions for this volume are: What mechanisms allow universities to become centres of excellence? And how can countries of Asia and Latin America develop universities of this kind?

Although Altbach's is a passionate and a fine exposition of the concept of the research university, and his passion for the concept is notable, a few issues are not adequately clear: first, whether these institutions thrive in an eco-system of universities or as lone institutions that emulate the features of "world-class". The three-tier California model (that Altbach elaborates upon in the volume) is an example of one such vibrant eco-system of differentiated tertiary-level institutions, at the top of which is perched the research university of Berkeley, and at the base a wide network of community colleges, where greater community service and teaching is a priority. This raises the related question whether new institutions can be set up, emulating merely the features, or is the wider context equally important? And relatedly, what about the social and political embeddedness of these institutions? Altbach himself notes that the reasons why the original model of Humboldt succeeded, and why the model was later adopted with enthusiasm by the US and Japan, was its strong association with the goals of national development. Later, the US variant specially with its emphasis on meritocracy and talent, participatory academic governance, and English as a medium have become not just institutional features, but bearers of the idea of the very idea of the research university, readily available for adaptation world-wide.

Coming to the second part—the country cases, the volume has in essence, an analysis single country cases, with only a few exception of two case comparisons that discuss common institutional origins, with diverging trajectories over time—one example is the case of the National University of Singapore (NUS) and the University of Malaya (UM). The two had a common origin as separate campus of the same university, but branched as two institutions under different country settings, and diverged in their growth trajectories. While the NUS was able to adapt to global competition and introduce the changes required to do so, the UM lost out especially as competition from China mounted. The second comparative case

is that from Chile—while world-class research universities outside of the United States, are mostly public universities, Chile presents an interesting variant where two of its universities set up in the 19th century—one public and one private, have been able to achieve excellence, competing for academic talent and research funding.

The most notable and recent examples of institutionalization come from two countries with a common past of Communist party dominance and state control of economy and society—China and Russia. China's efforts at producing quality graduates who could contribute to its remarkable economic growth led to the adoption in 1998 of an ambitious plan of setting up nearly 100 good quality tertiary education institutions, with a selected few to achieve global quality by the end of the 21st century. This latter effort was led by the 985 project that provided the participating institutions with governance autonomy so as to catalyse academic achievements and scientific research and innovations. An old technical institution of the country—Shanghai Jiao Tong University (SJTU) became a part of this latter plan and achieved world-class status by a process of strategic planning and management in a short time period close to a decade. Key aspects of this strategic maneuvering were the clarity of goals and purposes, and great flexibility. The institutional features that the SJTU evolved included, evolution of governance structures focused on promoting research and academic excellence, benchmarking with performance indicators, development of five different campuses, and promoting internationalization by efforts such as bi-lingual teaching, and dual degree and student exchange programmes. The University acquires its resources from a diversity of channels—governments, research, tuition fees, donations and income from enterprises. The notable aspect of SJTU is that within a short span of time, by adopting a strategic bold process, it has been able to scale up from domestic competition to global completion in the world of knowledge creation.

The Higher School of Economics (HSE) evolved following the breakdown of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Established in 1992, the HSE as an important regional standing within Europe, and is in close links with European Universities and specially the London School of Economics and Political Science. Unlike the SJTU, the HSE did not evolve on the basis of a strategic planning exercise, but more in a reactive sort of way, under the directives of the Ministry of Economy of Russia, responding to the challenges of Russia adopting large scale privatization, and entering the bracket of an emerging market economy. The HSE was set up by a directive of the government to train a cadre of professionals for this emerging market, as well as advise the Ministry of Economy. Where reforms of existing state Universities proved near impossible, the HSE adapted to new challenges of the market and overcame the barriers anticipated for new entrants in the higher education sector. That in less than two decades a new institution was able to set itself up as a flagship nationally, and within the European region, points further to the possibility that new institutions too can aspire for this position.

Three institutions imparting high quality technological education also make their place in the volume—these are the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST), the Pohang University of Science and Technology in Korea, the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai (IIT-M), and the Monterrey Institute of Technology, Mexico. Of these the HKUST stands out for being a new institution established at the time of the end of British colonialism in Hong Kong and its accession to China as a Special Administrative Region. Strategic use of this political opportunity, as also the new economic moment when low-skill manufacturing jobs were shifting to the Chinese hinterland, whereas high end

manufacturing and services required the support of knowledge institutions imparting high end training in science and technology. It was this opportunity that the HKUST capitalized on, and provided the best by hiring Chinese trained in and teaching/employed at the world-class American Universities, and adopted governance structures that enabled fast and high quality academic decision making. It soon achieved impressive score on many league tables of university ranking. Located in the same part of the globe is the new Pohang University of Science and Technology set up as private initiative of steel major the POSCO in 1986. Using the model of the California Institute of Technology, and adapting features of a world class University such as high-class faculty and students, high per student expenditure, and infrastructure facilities, as also the use of English for instruction, Pohang University has been able to set itself as a world- class institution. This is notable as even similar private institution such as that set up by the Hyundai in Ulsaan province have not met with similar success.

While the HKUST and POSTECH are new institutions, the IIT Mumbai is an old institution set up in 1958 with the support of the UNESCO and the USSR. Although it is a public funded institutions and has to cope with the problems of bureaucratic control by the government there are features of the governance of the IIT system that help maintain its academic autonomy and a culture of meritocracy. Insulated from political interference, wherein the institution appears to be an “island of excellence” despite public and political control at the top. The IIT-Mumbai is one of the original five institutions set up by the deliberations of the Viceroy’s executive Council as early as 1946 (when India was just about to gain independence. IIT-Mumbai is also the preferred destination of top ranking entrants to the IIT system, and has a strong backing of its alumni—a feature that helps it raise both its stature as well as additional resources. It maintains its public commitments by undertaking research for the government, as also special access to disadvantaged communities. But the institution does not compromise on its commitment to meritocracy. Instruction in English remains a matter of contention, specially given the fact that there is a diversity of regional languages tat exist in India and for students coming from the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder, it is a language acquired with difficulty and effort. The other notable concern remains the issue of brain drain—nearly 30 percent of the IIT graduates leave the country and a large proportion of them serve mainly in the USA. Given the fact that each IIT receives many times over the public funds received by other regional engineering colleges, this is an issue of great concern.

The story of the long trajectory of rise-fall, and resurrection yet again of the Ibadan University, Nigeria adds to the diversity of cases presented in the volume in many ways. First, it includes the dynamics of the African continent to the volume, and second it is one of the richest case studies that brings to the fore the difficulties of institutionalisation of world class higher education in post-colonial settings. Despite close association with colonisers the UK, and its affiliating University of London, the Ibadan University faced a challenge following independence and *nigerianisation*. This challenge was made acute by the political conflicts in the country—the civil war for dominance between different tribal-ethnic groups, and two rounds of control by the army of the national political system. This coupled with demands for rapid expansion and differential access are hardly the conditions under which institutional quality of global leaders can be maintained. In fact the case makes a specific mention of a particular time when the University had to be led by its former librarian, such was the severity of shortage of competent academics following large- scale exit at a moment

of political turmoil. Since 2008-09 the country has adopted a strategic plan to transform itself to a world-class research institution, but that is still sometime away, and relies heavily on strong political backing and abundant resources. The Ibadan story also makes us aware of the conditions where even a good university can fall to poor standards, and attaining world class may not be so easy.

Three issues may be pointed out, as missing in the cases or in the analytical sections:

First, while the discussion of cases brings out abundantly the significance of political-economy contexts in which these institutions emerge and are located, the analysis itself stops short of fully analysing the ramifications of such a context.

Second, even the best efforts at internationalization, connect with Universities abroad, and ranking as “best” within national systems does not lead any of the country cases discussed here to become institutions of global reckoning. They remain peripheral institutions in a global ecosystem. To that extent, the more such institutions expand in developing countries—which is the stated intention of ideas in this volume—the greater the chances that a “core” of Universities largely in the USA and some in Western Europe will be affirmed. In other words, it reproduces and reaffirms a “core/centre-periphery” model of institutionalization in higher education, with the US as the centre.

Third, it does not provide much guidance on what set of organization behaviour or endeavours can help achieve world-class status, only tells us what the features are. The issue of organizational behavior is important, as a large number of university leaders may be doing just about anything (and everything) to get the rank right. They may benefit if they know the “how to” and develop the next steps.

Overall, the volume leaves one wanting to know more, about each of the specific cases as also the analysis. Perhaps this more than anything else is a testimony to both the relevance and substance of the volume, intended for both academics and reform practitioners.

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