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CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

On the Perils of Reforms in Higher Education on 'Neo-Liberal' Lines[#]

Arup Maharatna[*]

Neo-liberal reforms of education at all levels have proceeded quite apace all over the world and in developing countries in particular. The literature produced so far on the patterns and directions of change is already pretty large, but it is mixed and indeed hazy. There is a growing bewilderment, discontent and even alarms voiced particularly in electronic and various academic media and other forums. In fact the time seems ripe enough for undertaking serious objective review and evaluation of the net upshot of various ongoing reforms in educational finance, policy and programmes. The present paper consists of a modest attempt in this direction and more specifically, it seeks to trace the trajectory of the post-war dominance of neo-liberal economic perspective on higher educational policy and finance, with its far-reaching ramifications with respect to contemporary trends in educational outcomes and standard. This entire exercise is undertaken, of course, with an aim to unravel useful insights and guidance towards re-formulation of higher educational policy perspective ahead.

Paradigm Shift in Educational Discourse: Economics Captures the Centre-Stage

Soon after the World War II, the role, functions, efficiency and finance of educational sector began receiving a major chunk of strategic attention from influential quarters at various levels in advanced Western nations generally and USA in particular. It was possibly because education was a potent channel for shaping and moulding people's ideology, world view and opinions in the context of a raging Cold War. While well up to the World War II America's education, much like the rest of the Western world, has been guided largely by liberal ideals such as democratic/political rights and equality, primacy of cultivation of intellect and intellectual skills distinct from information, practical knowledge and applied skills (Mulcahy 2010). The 1950s witnessed a beginning of intellectual groundwork for ostensibly radical (not essentially 'progressive') changes in ideational, attitudinal and ideological arenas pertaining to education. To start with, there emerged almost suddenly

[*] Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, BITS-Pilani, Hyderabad Campus Jawahar Nagar, Samirpet Mandal, Hyderabad-500078. E-mail: arupmaha@yahoo.com

some 'conscious efforts to organise, institutionalise and promote the comparative study of education in the United States', with the formation of Comparative Education Society in 1956, followed next year by the inauguration of its service organ, namely *Comparative Education Review*. In this formative period 'considerable emphasis was placed on the teaching of comparative education in American colleges and universities and its use in the preparation of teachers' (Kazamias and Schwartz 1977:154), but the Society's many other activities such as study tours, conferences, seminars and preparation of text books, sooner or later, pervaded much of the globe.

The new comparative education paradigm invoked a practical view of treating education as an instrument for achieving social, economic and political objectives. Unlike in the traditional or conventional approaches, it emphasised the theoretical imperative of applying to educational discourse the concepts and quantifying techniques of social sciences, especially those of sociology, political science and economics. Although the subject matter of comparison in the field of comparative education was originally of 'ideas, ideals and forms' of education, it eventually got centred on two distinct domains, namely, school-centred problems and school-society relationships (Ibid: 153-154). Major dimensions and underlying premises of comparative education approach include structural-functionalism, developmental education and methodological empiricism, much in line with broad neo-liberal thinking.[1]

Almost simultaneously, a section of mainstream *economics* profession began highlighting and publicising the role of education, predominantly as a means to the creation of a 'new' economic resource, namely 'human capital'; a term first coined around the early 1960s, meaning the people's productive capacity/potential attributable to education, skill and training. An (allegedly) new revelation the 1960s that 'investment expenditure' on education represents essentially human capital accumulation took on immediately 'the character of a discovery' (Myrdal 1968, vol. 3, p. 1544). As its immediate upshot — thanks to substantial benefaction from major multinational agencies and big corporate foundations — nearly the whole world began treating 'education' as an 'investment in man' crucial for economic growth. The clue to the immediate popularity of this idea does not lie exactly in its newness, as it was already an 'article of faith' by the early part of 20th century (Cohen and Neufeld 1981:71). What appeared really remarkable about it was its far-reaching influence

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[1] Neo-liberal (ideological) predilections/overtones of the new comparative education paradigm, of course, evoked criticism. For example, the emphasis on a crude functionalism founded on instrumental values of education in maintaining stability or in raising 'social efficiency' gives it not only a static and politically conservative temper, but 'by refusing to deal frontally with categorical purposes and human projects, functionalism depoliticises its subject-matter and trivialises its concerns' (Barber 1972 quoted in Kazamias and Schwartz 1977:162). Besides, the structural-functional perspective is characterised by its reductionist tendencies, its restrictions on questioning, conservative ideology regarding schools and its disregard for important aspects of educational change (Kazamias 1963, 1972). Indeed, structural-functionalism as a framework to analyse and interpret society and social changes has often been assessed as 'consensus-oriented, politically conservative, and ahistorical', with its tacit acceptance of 'the inevitability of some social and economic inequalities' (Kazamias and Schwartz 1977:162). But such critiques generally proved to be of negligible consequence relative to the immensity of the then newly launched global endeavour forging neo-liberal (economic) perspective on educational thinking and practice.

in making globally pervasive, a rather narrow economic notion, purpose, and goal of education.

Education — particularly higher education — was virtually never put into a conceptual straitjacket of *financial investment* prior to the currency of the 'human capital' in the 1960s, when there was 'a mounting campaign for the *laissez-faire* finance of education' (e.g. 'the imposition of direct charges and the establishment of private institutions') (Preece 1971:154, 162). A pioneering and influential voice for *laissez-faire* policy in education was put forth in 1962 by Milton Friedman, who proposed not only that 'individuals should bear the costs of investments in themselves', but also that the existing State schools should be denationalised, with a view to reaping potential benefits (e.g. optimum allocation of resources, competition between educational institutions and parents' freedom of choice for school/college) contingent arguably upon the scope for free-play of market mechanism in the educational sector. In the parlance of mainstream economics, education since the early 1960s thus began to be increasingly seen as a private good, calling for private *investment* expenditures by parents and thereby, weakening its centuries-old notion as a public good or a publicly-funded 'service' (Desai 2002 and literature cited therein). One clear ramification of education being viewed increasingly and widely just as a vehicle for human capital formation has been its ideational/ideological congruity and complementarity with the simultaneous build-up of a neo-liberal case for subjecting education increasingly to market forces and business competition — thanks to the vigorous initiatives, both on the part of major international funding agencies and a section of economics profession. For example, many privately managed research organisations, under a new generic name 'think-tank', sprang up with implicit or explicit agenda of instilling/advocating neo-liberal ideas and policy, namely a ruthless attack on the overwhelming share of State expenditure and responsibility in the provision of education as a public good (West 1965).

There has been a galloping sway of human capital paradigm since the early 1960s under the newly found rubric of capitalist growth, namely that '[t]he accumulation of knowledge and its transmission to new generations represent an increasingly important part of economic activity' (Vaizey 1962:619), with its concomitant case for freeing education from age-old protection and responsibility of the State. Educational research began to be conducted increasingly within the disciplinary domain of economics, since education now came to be viewed as 'an industry like any other', of which production technology needed to be understood (only through economic analysis) with a view to enhancing its 'productivity' (Vaizey 1962). This marked a virtual call for a conscious break from the pre-existing foremost ideas and arguments pertaining to the philosophy and practices of education even in its immediate past.

An early survey of the literature on the economics of education notes that 'while economists have long been aware of the importance of education, it is only recently that attempts at quantifying the value of this education have been made' (Woodfill 1963:4). The 1960s and 1970s witnessed attempts both at challenging the classical arguments favourable, on balance, to the comprehensive provisioning of education as a public good or service and hence, at advocating free market enterprise in the provision of education (West 1965). While purposive use of selective pro-market excerpts/evidence was harnessed to discredit the classical case for public funding of education in the 20th century context, the classical concerns for societal hazards and risks of leaving education at the hands of private business/enterprises (driven by profit motive) were, on the whole, overlooked. Indeed

E.G. West concludes his arguably self-styled dissection of selective classical arguments favourable to the State's sway over education by stating that 'there is no special virtue in the passive acceptance of a dominant government role in education, merely on the ground that "history" supports it' (West 1965:233).

All this together contributed to a growing global consensus favouring the enhancement of the private sector's stake in education and/or restructuring of *public* educational institutions, in tune with the logic of competitive market. In fact, there has been a luxuriant growth of economic analyses of what were hyped as the most pressing proximate malice pertaining to financial and other economic issues of educational provision. First, the 'rising cost of education per student' [i.e. increasing proportion of total public expenditure on education] in most of the western/industrialised countries raised a voice of alarm, calling for its detailed economic diagnosis and appropriate economic remedy (Bowen 2012 and literature cited therein). The explanation, sought mostly within 'production function' framework in the neo-classical economics tradition, was often shown to lie in labour-intensive nature of higher educational activity and output, with relatively little absorption, unlike in most other productive processes, of productivity-enhancing capital-intensive technological changes. To put the point in terms of a simple but astute analogy: '[w]hile productivity gains have made it possible to assemble cars with only a fraction of the labour that was once required, it still takes four musicians nine minutes to perform Beethoven's String Quartet in C minor, just as it did in the 19th century' (Quoted in Bowen 2012:4).

The policy recommendations turned (unsurprisingly) to be in tune with what was pushed globally (at the behest of major multilateral agencies such as WTO, World Bank, IMF) under the generic names of economic reforms and structural adjustment programmes: First, cost-reducing methods, reforms and technological change to be increasingly introduced in educational institutions throughout the world; and second, for the sake of augmenting 'efficiency' and 'productivity' in educational enterprises, there should be growing incentives and encouragements towards privatisation and free market competition in the provision or sale of what has increasingly come to be portrayed as private educational 'care' of citizens or 'clients'. The latter is particularly relevant to the increasingly pervasive notion that 'education is a commodity, the only purpose of which is to provide individual students with a competitive advantage in the struggle for desirable social positions' (Labaree 1997:42).[2] In its sequel, the entire education question and related research and policy formulation appear to have got eclipsed by the neo-liberal *economic* thinking and premises/perceptions. These newly mounted *economic arguments* in the neo-liberal lines could walk rather easily over the discipline of education, with comparatively little effective resistance and opposition from the latter.[3] Even though there have been a few serious questionings within the disciplinary boundary of education (Preece 1971, Grace 1989, and Giroux 1988, 1998), such stray dissenting voices have been hardly heeded on the floors of parliamentary discourse, discussions and legislative sessions across the world. In this overarching background of the

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[2] Labaree (1997) has called this 'social mobility' goal of education, which does not mesh well with the two other major goals of education, namely, 'democratic equality' and 'social efficiency'.

[3] There have been, of course, some economists such as Amartya Sen and James Heckman, who have persistently held a much broader view about the role and purpose of education, albeit without questioning vigorously the domineering narrow economic perspective on education and its deeper civilisational ramifications.

growing dominance of human capital perspective of education, three major—albeit mutually reinforcing—developments have steadily taken over the global educational sector, especially at the higher education level, namely rapid expansion, all-encompassing *vocationalisation* and increasing privatisation. We now turn to each of these major upshots of the pervasive sway of the human capital perspective and also their educational implications, with a view to building on the thesis that these three inter-related developments are responsible for a substantial toll on the standard, content and outcomes of education at all levels, at the global plane, particularly in the recent past.

Vocationalisation and Expansion of Higher Education: Inter-Complementary Trends

Once the role and value of education came to be judged overwhelmingly by its quantifiable contribution to the economic growth, i.e., material production of goods and services, the relative priority of vocational education and training—which is, by definition, restricted to teaching/instructing rather mechanistically, only skills that are directly required for the day-to-day production processes and such basic operations in industries and other economic enterprises — would get inflated. While academic/general education has decidedly been treated as a separate or perhaps even insulated from vocational education and training for at least over a century in the major western countries,[4] this age-old dichotomy has been increasingly made indistinct ever since the human capital perspective of education managed to find a firm foothold around the world, beginning in the 1960s. Its detailed processes and mechanisms could come under a broad rubric of what can be termed as 'vocationalisation of education'.

As in the case of propagation of the human capital perspective of education around the globe, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in its role as an original propagator (joined later by IMF and World Bank) has taken active interest in boosting a distinct vocational orientation or 'vocationalism' in the curriculum reform, starting at schools and then at higher levels of education, in an effort to shape international educational policy on the neoliberal lines. The OECD-propounded new education policy, since the 1970s, thus sought to promote 'schooling as a means of providing students with the so-called generic employability skills that [were] supposedly transferable between different occupational domains' (Hyslop-Margison and Sears 2006:13). This entire project entails essentially concrete programmes and initiatives that mould the general educational content/curriculum, teaching mode and methods in such directions that the students' learning or knowledge becomes *more directly* relevant, useful and responsive to the practical or particular needs and skills required by the contemporary industries and the overall market. As Hyslop-Margison and Sears (2006:18) have recently noted, '[t]he effort to convince students that education is primarily about work rather than democratic citizenship, pervades much of contemporary curriculum', almost as if there are no other curricular aims. Note that this form of vocationlisation of education is distinct from the vocationalisation in a more straightforward sense of the relatively rapid expansion of traditional vocational

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4 In American high schools the vocational and academic education separated at the turn of the 20th century (see Bodilly *et al* 1993:v).

education/training facilities per se (vis-a-vis that of general educational opportunities), with no implied alteration in the nomenclature and structure/content of the curriculum of either. While this latter sense of vocationalisation, as it has historically done pretty well in the major western countries up to the World War II, could perhaps have taken care of a substantial part of the required supplies of workers with instrumental skills and expertise in industry and economy at large, the new economic (human capital) perspective on education and educational reforms since the 1960s evoked mostly — albeit not surprisingly —the first form of vocationalisation across the world.

For example, a US study at the secondary education level was sponsored in the 1980s by the National Assessment of Vocational Education (formed under the US Department of Education) 'to identify, describe and assess the potential of innovative approaches to integrating vocational and academic education as one way of helping students to understand the utility of academic learning' (Adelman 1989: Abstract). The report of the study begins by setting out the core issue at its hand as follows:

> 'Vocational education provides a natural setting in which to experiment with creating new connections between academic learning and the uses of that learning. For many reasons, however, the full potential of the vocational classroom has not been developed. Educators, researchers and policymakers tend to think of vocational education in isolation from the rest of the educational enterprise and frequently, in pejorative terms. The result is that an important resource and a major educational investment is probably being underutilised'. (Adelman 1989:1)

Indeed the domineering waves of vocationalisation of academic education (or what is sometimes called 'the integration between vocational and academic education') soon pervaded all levels of education, including higher education (see Grubb 2004 particularly for England and USA), fueling rapid enhancement of enrolment-ratios in post-secondary educational institutions. For instance, a doubling of enrolment rates in higher education from 17 per cent to 34 per cent in England between 1986 and 1997 was largely contributed by declaring polytechnics as full universities and also by rapid expansion of the former polytechnics (Grubb 2004:23).

The same scenario of rapid expansion of higher education, going hand in hand with growing 'vocationalism', has held true in the USA and much beyond. Indeed, '[i]n spite of their traditional status as the gatekeepers of intellectual freedom, universities have not escaped the educational drift toward human capital preparation and other demands of the marketplace' (Hyslop-Margison and Sears 2006:13). As is amply evident and is often lamentably noted by scholars, the universities, faced with drastic public expenditure reductions, have increasingly become 'institutions focused on technical training and skill development', 'with tremendous upsurge of training programmes with many new institutions or pseudo-universities, entirely devoted to instrumental learning, credential building and occupational preparation' (Ibid. 13, 21). In its sequel, there has been both a shrinking of liberal education's traditional ambit and sway (taken over by greater vocationalism and its associated 'worldview devoid of imagination, hope or possibility') as well as a weakening of the 'apprenticeship' tradition after having been historically prominent until the 1960s. All this, as we would explicate shortly, could not help taking a perceptible toll on the standard, rigour and content of general (academic) education and learning, apart from a momentous assault on the universal enlightenment-borne visions and

values of education, namely the creation of informed, engaged, democratic and humanistic citizens.

Amongst myriad forms and means of vocationalisation of general education, what stands out particularly common is the tendency for a shift from liberal education to a more starkly occupational curriculum, so much so that the majority students (and of course parents) treat the very notion of schooling and higher education merely as a route to high-paid occupation, not as opportunities for learning in any deeper sense. This leaves increasingly distant and unachieved the goal and need both of students' civic and moral character formation and the generation of academic passions and faculties in pursuit of truth and purely new knowledge. Students thus may appear more ready-made or tailor-made than ever before to the occupational work environment, but they may, by the same token, turn out to be much less educated and less socially engaged (and enlightened) than the society should expect them to be as its good civilised citizens. It is extremely important that all the pros and cons of a relatively unbridled vocationalisation of then entire educational spectrum are duly weighed with much prudence by those who frame educational policy and programmes.

As for illustration, one interesting American historical study on educational expansion/reform and manufacturing development in the mid-19th century Massachusetts reveals that a spurt of modern factory manufacturing did induce a rapid expansion of public schooling, not as a predominant means to 'human capital formation' narrowly interpreted in the neo-liberal economics, but chiefly as a 'universal agency of socialisation, 'which would insure a self-disciplined, deferential, orderly, punctual and honest citizenry and labour forces' (Field 1976: 266). This finding illuminates rather succinctly a genuine predicament that should arise from an increasing focus on vocationalism and work-preparation orientation of students at a relative neglect of students' preparation for being good democratic citizens or for being passionate and inspired researchers and hardcore academicians. To make matter worse, the rapid expansion of enrolment and coming of 'mass higher education' has been generally accompanied by a remarkable sluggishness — in lines with the neo-liberal thinking — in public funding and provisions. In consequence, the cost of higher education per student in real terms has been even halved in many countries such as UK, but not, unlike the admirable effects normally derived from the economies of scale and technological progress in case of other economic commodities, without adverse influences on the quality or standard of education. As we would discuss in a greater detail shortly, there are already somewhat scattered evidence and indications suggesting that the current spree of vocationalisation of educational curriculum and programmes [which is distinct from the expansion of vocational educational institutions, facilities and enrolment per se] has been taking a perceptible toll on the quality, standard and outcomes of education at all levels. We now turn to an another major corollary or offshoot of the domineering neo-liberal thinking on education, namely privatisation and commercialisation of higher education, that has, arguably, a substantial potential for contributing to a decay of educational standard, quality and outcomes.

Pervasive Private Capital in Higher Education

Although quite a lot has already been written and deliberated, over a fairly long period of time, on the role and ramifications of private capital investment in education sector, the debate is far from resolved, let alone over. While the volume of written or published pages

favourable to private capital and privatisation of educational services perhaps far exceeds that which airs its contrary view, this is scarcely a right criterion for judging whether the first line of thinking/argumentation has won over the other. Private provision of school education under an overarching State regulatory body has long been in vogue at the international plane, while rapid rise of private universities and colleges with full autonomy and authority for awarding degrees and diplomas is a relatively recent phenomenon. Therefore, the present section of the paper reexamines standard neo-liberal arguments for private investment and privatisation in higher educational sector (or 'tertiary sector' in the currently prevalent parlance) as well as their counterarguments, with a view to evaluating their validity and net strength in the light of recent trends and evidence with respect to educational standard and outcomes.

As noted already, an overt (and increasing) encouragement to private capital or private provisioning of education has been a major fall-out of the growing dominance of human capital perspective of education, backed by a flood of concerted econometric exercises in the estimation of 'costs' and 'returns' to public expenditure on education since the 1980s (e.g. Teixeira 2000). By following, or perhaps indeed subtly imposing, a narrow neo-liberal worldview and its intrinsic value-loaded assumptions, it did not seem difficult to show that the econometrically estimated 'private returns' to public expenditure on education were almost always higher than the corresponding 'social returns' defined in narrow pecuniary terms. Without adequately caring for whether a *more* judicious policy judgement could have emerged by *not* ignoring, as these run-of-the-mill variants of econometric estimations summarily did, the issues, dimensions and considerations not readily amenable to empirical estimations and calculations, especially pertaining to the question of education, the domineering neo-liberal school of thought, multilateral agencies and the powerful politicians across the globe nearly jumped over the newly propounded scheme of cutting down public expenditure (or 'subsidy' as its currently preferred name) on higher education, along with a 'neo-liberal invitation' to the private capital for taking increasingly over the higher education sector. Long-standing views about higher education as a public good or merit good with a huge potential (hence immeasurable) positive externalities for long-term civilisational, social, cultural, political and economic development have been sought to be swiftly brushed aside by an arbitrarily-designed depiction of its private pecuniary returns turning higher than its 'economic' gains to the society.[5] This narrowly or incomprehensively constructed set of econometric estimates was cited by the influential quarters as a basis for advocating and implementing both drastic reduction in the public expenditure (in relative and sometimes even absolute terms) and a restructuring of higher education in favour of increasing private capital across the world.

Of course, there are a few other reasons typically adduced in favour of private investment and privatisation in higher education. For example, as price or cost of public goods is generally found to have risen faster than that of private commodities or services, this is often portrayed as a manifestation of an infallibly inefficient State provisioning of public services, lending further a case for enhancing private investment in higher education. While it is routinely posited as if a private enterprise is inherently more efficient than a State-run organisation, there exists little pondering over the question as to why appropriate

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[5] For an excellent overview of the arguments both in favour and against privatisation of higher education, see Tilak (2006).

reforms and innovations within the latter cannot make them equally efficient and competitive, so that overall improvements in cost-efficiency in the higher education sector could come about without curtailment of the State's financial involvement and thereby, of its overall role and control over higher education.

Some researchers have discovered perverse distributional effects of public expenditure or subsidies on the higher education on the ground that most of the readily measurable pecuniary benefits of the latter go usually to the richer sections of population (Tilak 2004 and literature cited therein). However, the subsequent detailed research and analysis of evidence has shown convincingly that such perceived equity concern of which genesis is generally attributed to the State expenditure on higher education, does not carry cognisable force. Besides, as the argument of a regressive bias of State subsidy on higher education is not meant to have been less relevant in the past when higher education was almost entirely funded by the State treasury, one could be curious as to why this question of regressivity of State-funded higher education, even if true, should deserve a special attention and response now. This latter question assumes added significance particularly because the State-funded higher education has carried with it a glorious past of academic flourishing and civilisational progress over at least one and half century preceding the World War II. It would scarcely be wise to be ambivalent towards the rich lessons from long educational history of rich debates, deliberations and worthy experiments both in parliaments and academies of higher learning and research across the Western world.

In fact there is considerable historical evidence to suggest that the long-standing decision of keeping away free market enterprise and of maintaining State control and expenditure on higher education institutions was not arrived at whimsically or by mistake. A lot of judicious thought had to be put before settling down on a decision in favour of State-funding in higher education in the history of educational policy of advanced western countries. Private sector's generic motive for profit seems to have always been a major consideration that used to tilt the policy against its free entry and its full autonomy in respect of such important public domains as higher education or police or judiciary services. For example, it would perhaps be quite illuminating to refer to a few major findings of an interesting study (sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation in 1908) on the quality of teaching and standard of education being imparted in various colleges of medicine across the USA and Canada in the early 20th century. The study based on detailed relevant information of 150 medical schools concludes inter alias that 'for twenty-five years past there has been an enormous over-production of uneducated and ill-trained medical practitioners' — a phenomenon that the study attributes to 'the existence of a very large number of commercial schools, sustained in many cases by advertising methods through which a mass of unprepared youth is drawn out of industrial occupations into the study of medicine' (Flexner, A. 1910:x).

It is highly instructive to find in the following except how similar does the present Indian (or the entire developing world) scenario stand to the one that had prevailed in the USA and Canada about 100 years ago in so far as the issue of quality and standard of higher education in the wake of its commercialisation and privatisation is concerned:

'A clerk who is receiving $50 a month in the country store gets an alluring brochure which paints the life of the physician as an easy road to wealth. He has no realisation of the difference between medicine as a profession and medicine as a business, nor

does he have any advisor at hand to show him that the first requisite for the modern practitioner of medicine is a good general education. Such a boy falls an easy victim to the commercial medical school, whether operating under the name of a university or college, or alone' (Flexner 1910:xv).

As has been argued vehemently in this report, even though private commercial medical schools or engineering colleges for that matter, may turn out to be efficient in churning out degree-holding doctors or engineers at a lower per unit cost, a rational society must not be allured by this apparent immediate advantage if quality, standard and depth of knowledge acquired in such inadequately equipped private educational institutions, especially when driven overwhelmingly by profit motive, are found to be intrinsically lacking and lower (see e.g., Tilak 2014).[6] Indeed there is already a considerable body of evidence and somewhat mounting literature that strongly points to the distinct declining trends in standard, quality, and critical/analytical skill and aptitudes acquired by respective cohorts of students across the globe and almost at all educational levels (Maharatna 2014).

In Lieu of Conclusion

Irrespective of whether higher academic education (exclusive of vocational/technical education/training) is a narrowly (and technically) defined as 'public good' or 'private good', it has historically and universally been almost alone responsible for the nurture and supplies of scientific, creative, analytical and insightful minds scattered (admittedly) randomly in human society. Such intellectually gifted minds generally strive and excel best under the dominance of passions, not constricted pecuniary calculations or incentives. Thus, higher education has long (perhaps until recently) been nurtured as a self-enlivening mainspring of creative intellectual impulse and/or enlightened urge for objective search for truth and knowledge, making possible an inexorable flow of scientific inventions, technological, intellectual and social progress. The prominent 'breeding place' of such precious impulse and inspiration for exploring the 'new' and 'more efficient' has traditionally been the seats of academic learning and research (e.g., universities and colleges) liberally patronised and comprehensively supported — but hardly dictated or unduly interfered - by the State.[7]

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[6] To illustrate: In a recent disturbing revelation it is found on the basis of official data in eight major States of India that 'over 90 per cent of engineering colleges have at least one teacher whose name also features on the rolls of another college, and there are at least 50,000 such "duplicate" teachers'.. 'to meet official norms' (*The Hindu* 2015:1). Recent all-India level surveys of secondary school education and learning show a widening learning gap: while close to half of children enrolled in Class VIII cannot do a division problem, the reading and basic math levels or skills of a specific Class say VIII get *lower* over time than those of their preceding counterparts (Banerji 2015).

[7] A key role that was played historically by State in supporting and maintaining standard, quality, and rigour in academies and higher educational institutions got reaffirmed in the late 19th century when Britain — though one of the pioneers in the Industrial Revolution — experienced relative declines in industrial economy and its international competiveness vis-a-vis other and newer industrial economies marked by far more extensive State involvement in the higher education than in England (Hobsbawm 1999).

Educational values received by academic scientists over the preceding centuries designed them to be driven *not* by the prospect or incentives for big pecuniary largesse and wealth, but by a deep potential feeling of accomplishment/self-esteem obtaining at the moment of their new inventions or intellectual breakthroughs meant for the entire humanity. Even a stupendously enormous bounty and perks cannot guarantee a scientist's success in inventing a fundamental scientific principle such as the law of relativity or law of gravitation. Nor the *prospect* of a huge personal bounty attached with the Nobel Prize has ever been instrumental to the stupendous academic (scientific) contributions of the Nobel laureates.[8] But passion for transcending the already known or achieved can only be, like fire, kindled through enlightening, inspiring and liberal education; it cannot be manufactured like any other economic commodity. As Bertrand Russell cautions the world, '..men in whom this passion exists must *not* be fettered by the shackles of a *utilitarian* philosophy, for to their ardour we owe all that makes man great' (Russell 1926:197; emphasis added).[9]

Since the era of Renaissance, the role and purpose of higher education has continued for long to be viewed as lying not just in its immediate instrumentality or utility to the tangible material achievements, but much beyond and indeed as the 'lifeblood' of civilisational *progression* (e.g. through cultivation of fundamental research, objective ideas, critical thinking and passion for making newer intellectual contribution towards fuller understanding of nature and society).[10] In constantly keeping up its excellence, there has perennially been a judicious exclusivity of higher education reserved only for those who have the right passion and mind for it. This natural exclusivity of *higher learning* (similar to exclusivity in gymnastics or classical music) ought not to be foregone, say, just for the sake of 'economic growth' imminent due to the boost spurred by emerging 'mass market for educational degrees and credentials'. Let a person with her rising incomes and wealth *buy* a new painting or classic stories for their enlightening ingredients and universal tastes, but not for the creator's eminence, esteem and creativity. Let us not forget about the immense relevance of the famous French proverb, namely that one can, by dint of force, bring a horse to the bank of a river, but the horse cannot be forced (against its will) into drinking even a single drop of water! We can, of course, produce at our will hordes of 'educated' people for doing myriad ostensibly useful and necessary works of life, but no amount of financial investments can guarantee our success in *manufacturing* at our will a single creative mind crucial, not just for running the existing system, but for moving our civilisation on to a higher level. Therefore, it is highly imperative that we take great care in defining and designing

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8 However, as is exemplified in the history of civilisation, pecuniary gains such as personal wealth and affluence, while 'condemned' from being the *mainspring* of inventive and creative passions, are very often found, not surprisingly, to trail the latter.

9 The preponderance of secular, humanistic and liberal ideals of education of all levels over the post-Renaissance eras did not come about abruptly, but through indomitable agencies of enlightened/objective thinking, reasoning, debating, educating and legislating along with strengthening democracy and human liberty.

10 In this process of civilisational progression, the role of higher education has been pivotal, albeit invaluable and hence, largely immeasurable in strict empirical terms, since its extensive reach and depth is hardly amenable to mundane pecuniary calculations and such other mainstays of mainstream economics.

education from a deeply civilisational standpoint, so that a functional view of education, while fulfilling the first requirement abundantly and directly, does not damage the fountains of the latter, which has perennially been the mainspring of civilisational progression.

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NUEPA

What Determines Students' Preferences for Small Class Sizes?[#]

Bernd Süssmuth[*]
Philipp Mandel

Abstract

Using stated preferences data obtained from a representative survey of all the students of business administration in Munich, Germany, we analyse the determinants of welfare surpluses drawn from small class sizes. Our central research objective is to identify significant covariates of students' preferences for preserving the status quo class size in counterfactual scenario computations, where class size is raised at different extents. In line with enrolment at small groups teaching private business schools in Germany and with experience-earnings profiles, we find male students to systematically show a higher preference for small class sizes. Additionally, students' cost awareness and a general appraisal of higher education have a significant positive impact on preferences for small classes.

Introduction and Motivation

All over the world, the university-rating agencies, administrators, students and tuition-paying parents claim to place more weight on small classes, which implies a less anonymous and more personal learning environment. However, as these preferred, i.e., most satisfying, class sizes at the college level are neither guaranteed nor   is there a direct market, class size has the notion of an intangible. This holds, in particular, for public schools in continental Europe. In Mandel and Süssmuth (2011), we make a first attempt to quantify the implied welfare surplus of this preferred class size, using a survey among a representative sample of all students enrolled in business administration at the two universities in Munich, Germany. To obtain our welfare measures, we made use of the fact that Munich local media frequently discusses the merger of business schools located at the two universities (Munich University of Technology and University of Munich). The monetary value derived from the stated willingness-to-pay (WTP) and willingness-to-accept (WTA) responses in the counterfactual scenario of a merger that students ascribe to the preservation of the status quo class size lies between five and 300 Euros per semester per student over the range of class sizes. From an administrator's perspective, our findings imply that welfare measures are highly elastic in classes with less than approximately 100 students, while beyond this threshold the valuation of the status quo becomes insensitive to increases in class size. But what determines these findings? What role is played by students' study progress, financial situation, educational background of parents and gender?

The present paper, building on Mandel and Süssmuth (2011), seeks to answer these questions by analysing the determinants of students' preferences for small class sizes. Thus, our central research objective is to identify and quantify significant co-variates of students' preferences for small class sizes. The latter are measured by monetary values ascribed by students to preserving the status quo class size in counterfactual scenario computations, where class size is raised at different extents. We find male students to systematically show a higher preference in terms of their WTP and WTA for small class sizes. This finding is reinforced by the observed gender composition of enrolment rates at high-tuition but low-class-size private business schools in Germany. The finding can be rationalised on two grounds. First, small college class sizes are perceived to foster teaching effectiveness (Arias and Walker 2004, Kokkelenberg *et al*. 2008, Bedard and Kuhn 2008, Westerlund 2008, Mandel and Süssmuth 2011). Secondly, in Germany possibly anticipated experience-income and age-income profiles of male students run markedly above the ones of female students in the economics and social sciences field. Hence, from a human capital theory perspective, small class sizes reflect the more profitable investment for male students.

Additionally, we find that cost awareness of students, captured by their need to work or externally finance their studies, has a significant positive impact on their preference for small class size. The same applies to the individual attitude of a general appraisal of higher education, while the parental educational background seems not to matter.

The remainder is organised as follows. Section 2 outlines our strategy to obtain measures of preferences for small class sizes by Munich business administration students. Section 3 reports our estimates of determinants of valuing preferred class sizes. In Section 4, we give some interpretation and rationalisation of results and finally, in Section 5 the Conclusion.

Students' Preferred Class Sizes: Results of a Survey

In 2007 we conducted an online survey, for which we recruited participants online and offline. On-campus offline-interviews and pre-tests supplemented the survey. In order to avoid issues of selectivity we tried to get our number of respondents as close as possible to the total population. Furthermore, no information on the survey's content was given prior to the interviews and online query. The withdrawal rate after an individual start of the query was less than three per cent After some stratification along the two central dimensions gender and progress during course of studies (first two years vs. three years and beyond),[1] the sample consists of 553 individuals (Table 1).

TABLE 1

Sample and Central Dimensions of Stratification

Business administration students in Munich in Summer 2007, enrolled at the two universities: University of Munich and Munich University of Technology		
	Total population	*Sample*
Number of students	1786	553
Male students	1087 (60.86%)	341 (60.89%)
Female students	699 (39.14%)	219 (39.11%)
Study progress: ≥ three years	1266 (70.88%)	397 (70.89%)
Study progress: first two years	520 (29.12%)	163 (29.11%)

In the survey, students were first asked some introductory questions on their financial situation, the educational background of their parents, the progress of their studies and the personal weight they place on the quality of higher education in comparison to their peers (Table 2). Thereafter, they were asked for the average number of student class mates they are currently attending classes with. We used an interval-scale relying on nine different categories of class size: 1-19, 20-39, 40-59, 60-79, 80-99, 100-149, 150-199, 200-299 and 300-500 students. It was followed for about one half of the respondents ($N_{WTP} = 278$) by the following counterfactual scenario:

> "*As has been recently discussed in the media, the two local departments offering programmes in business administration at the University of Munich and at Munich University of Technology will be merged into one department. Overall, the aim of the merger is to realise synergies. The merger implies that, on average, more students than before attend the average class offered. For you this would bear the implication that you end up in the next higher class size group [pop-up with ticked average class size group and next higher group is shown]. Please abstract from any other imaginable consequences of the merger − like changes of staff or changes in the corporate identity of the department − and focus on the increase in class size. Would you personally be willing to contribute some of your own money every*

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[1] At the time, the two business administration programmes at the University of Munich and at Munich University of Technology, on average, ended after five years of study. In case of successful graduation, students were awarded the German degree "*Diplom Kaufmann*" which is the equivalent of a master's degree in business administration. Tuition fees amounted to about 500 Euros per semester.

semester to ensure that class size remains the same as before the merger of departments?"

The other approximate half of students (N_{WTA} = 275) was confronted with the same scenario, however, with a different last sentence, that is, different ending question:

"[...] How much of your paid semestral tuition does the university need to transfer back to you in order to make you indifferent to the class-size situation before the merger?"

For more details on the survey, the interested reader is referred to Mandel and Süssmuth (2011).

Scenario 1 in Table 2 refers to average stated WTP and WTA amounts that are calculated for a scenario for the counterfactual of increasing class size from the status-quo size to the double of it. It is computed as follows. Taking the average of two neighbouring class size groups $\alpha = [A$ to $B]$ and $\beta = [(B + 1)$ to $C]$, i.e., different mean values $\propto\beta$ and $\propto\beta$, there is one average amount X (in Euros) stated for sticking to size.

α and not moving to size β. From this it is straightforward to calculate the considered

counterfactual increase in per cent as $(\propto\beta - \propto\alpha)/-\propto\alpha.$ (Rescaling the effect to 100 per

cent (doubling class size) and applying it to X renders the calculated amount for this scenario.

Scenario 2 refers to a scenario for the counterfactual of increasing class size by one additional student. With X calculated as before, the average amount stated in WTP and WTA responses in order to avert the increase of size by one additional student corresponds to

$X/(\propto\beta - \propto\alpha)/-\propto\alpha).$

TABLE 2

Average Stated WTP and WTA amounts for two different Scenarios

	Total sample	WTP	WTA
Average amount in Euros	145.80[115.50] (118.15)	85.00 [60.50] (100.78)	207.26 [225.50] (101.56)
For Scenario 1:	324.74 [288.75] (287.88)	184.67 [90.75] (235.56)	466.33 [450.0] (266.14)
For Scenario 2	4.87 [3.03] (5.14)	3.03 [1.50] (4.20)	6.76 [5.78] (5.33)
Male	60.89%	59.71%	61.82%
Study progress: first two years	28.93%	26.62%	31.24%

Note: Respective median is given in rectangular parentheses; respective standard deviation is given in round parentheses; definition and calculation of Scenarios 1, 2 are given in the text.

From the figures reported in the second column of Table 2, we infer that on an average, students are willing to pay for the avoidance (or need to be paid for the acceptance) of a marginal deterioration of class size by one additional student 4.87 Euros per semester. For a substantial increase, i.e., for the doubling of the existing class size, the corresponding amount is 324.74 Euros.

Figure 1 summarises mean and median values of WTP and WTA for Scenario 1 by class size category. Figure 2 analogously summarises mean and median values of WTP and WTA for Scenario 3, that is, for the counterfactual of increasing class size by 10 additional students compared to the status quo size.

As can be seen from Figure 1 and Figure 2, average WTP and WTA measures are quite elastic in classes with less than approximately 125 students, while beyond this threshold the valuation of the status quo becomes rather insensitive to increases in class size. This can be seen from the rather steep shape of functions in Figure 2 and Figure 3 up to ordinate values of 125 and a rather flat shape beyond this point.

FIGURE 1

WTP and WTA Means and Medians for Scenario 1 by Class Size Category
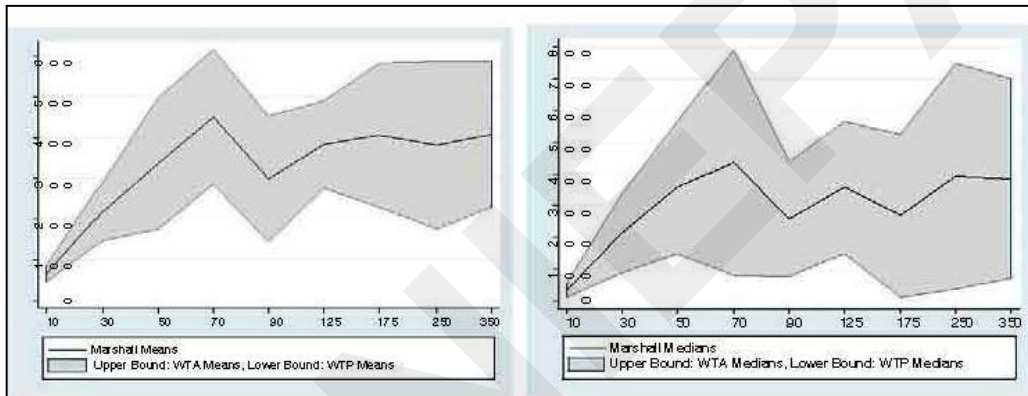
Note: Left panel is based on means, right panel is based on medians; bands: [WTA; WTP]; definition of Scenario 1 is given in the text.

FIGURE 2

WTP and WTA Means and Medians for Scenario 3 by Class Size Category
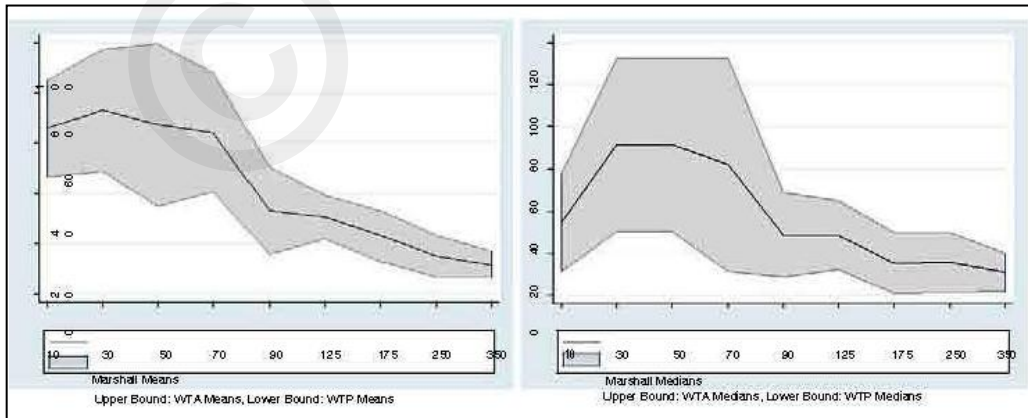
Note: Left panel is based on means, right panel is based on medians; bands: [WTA; WTP]; definition of Scenario 3 is given in the text.

Determinants of Valuing Small Class Size

In order to assess what determines students' preferences for small class sizes, we use the information underlying the averages across respondents in the second column of Table 2 at the individual (unaveraged) level as our central dependent variable. As explanatory variables we consider several measures and indicators based on questions that we asked respondents in our survey before asking them for their WTP or WTA in the merger-of-departments counterfactual. The available information includes educational background of parents (i.e., a binary that takes on a value of 1 if, at least, bachelor degree; a value of 0 else), cost awareness of students as captured by their need to work or externally finance their studies (binary: 1 if work and/or credit financed), study progress (binary: 1 if first two years student), self-assessment of a relative high weight put on higher education as compared to a student's peers (binary: 1 if above average; in the table denoted as "High weight on HE"), sex (1 if male), and average class size of currently attended courses.

Regression results from corresponding least squares specifications are reported in Table 3 below. The first obvious point to note with regard to our estimates is that the educational background of parents seems not to be associated in any statistically significant way with students' preferences for small class sizes. Less surprisingly, we find that a student's self-assessed relative weight on higher education compared to her classmates is sizably and significantly associated with a higher valuation of small class sizes. A coefficient of approximately the same size is estimated for the study progress variable. According to this estimate, it is in particular the group of younger students that shows a relatively high preference for small class sizes.

However, as can be seen from the last column of Table 3, the effect is estimated as not statistically different from zero in the case of just minor deteriorations in class size, that is, an increase of adding another ten students to the class. The same applies to the estimated coefficient for cost awareness of students. Students who have to work and/or to take a loan in order to cover their tuition fees and living expenses show, in general, a stronger preference for small class size. This does, however, not apply in the minor deterioration scenario. Another and possibly more straightforward interpretation is the following. If cost awareness plausibly coincides with lower income students, it is this group of students that realises higher returns to college education and most probably also to smaller class sizes. Thus, this group should be willing to pay relatively more for smaller classes. This is not to say that lower income students have higher post-graduation earnings than higher income students, but the difference in earnings between higher versus secondary educated students is likely to be larger than the difference for higher income students. The returns to successful higher education graduation are larger for this group of students. Hence, given that educational success is presumably related to smaller classes, this is why those students are willing to pay relatively more.

A final significant association, lying in terms of magnitude between the relative weight on higher education and the cost awareness coefficient, is found for students being of male gender. It is estimated throughout statistically significant at a five per cent level. This is a remarkable result. It implies that given that small college class sizes foster teaching efficiency as found in recent studies (Arias and Walker 2004, Kokkelenberg *et al.* 2008, Bedard and Kuhn 2008, Westerlund 2008, Mandel and Süssmuth 2011), male students

would only be willing to invest more in quality of education (show a higher WTP or WTA), if their present value of revenues from this education will be higher.

TABLE 3

Determinants of Small Class Size Preferences for Different Scenarios

	Next Category		Double Class Size		Plus 10 Students	
	Reference Group		Reference Group		Reference Group	
Class Size 1-19	21.22	12.87	156.74**	137.65***	10.61	7.81
	(32.25)	(32.58)	(20.86)	(38.01)	(16.12)	(15.75)
Class Size 20-39	4.95	-0.34	262.19***	249.08***	2.47	0.61
Class size 40-59	(32.75)	(32.74)	(31.42)	(41.91)	(16.37)	(15.89)
Class Size 60-79	4.64	-6.71	390.97***	364.73***	2.32	-1.14
	(35.18)	(34.68)	(61.07)	(63.15)	(17.59)	(16.89)
Class Size 80-99	-24.16	-15.90	196.62**	215.28**	-33.67**	-30.55*
	(36.07)	(34.78)	(50.44)	(52.46)	(16.33)	(15.76)
Class Size 100-149	33.77	4.49	334.25***	264.39***	-30.72*	-39.30**
	(35.91)	(35.58)	(48.43)	(55.09)	(15.86)	(15.60)
Class Size 150-199	60.09	17.20	369.21***	268.65***	-37.79**	-49.63***
	(36.28)	(36.52)	(47.12)	(58.16)	(15.64)	(15.61)
Class Size 200-299	32.29	-9.66	330.56***	230.66***	-46.74***	-58.31***
	(34.45)	(35.79)	(41.26)	(57.01)	(15.51)	(15.58)
Class Size 300-500	48.83	19.94	345.27***	273.64***	-50.81***	-58.74***
	(35.25)	(36.59)	(43.10)	(57.89)	(15.47)	(15.68)
WTP		-120.71***		-276.06***		-39.09***
		(8.61)		(20.18)		(3.56)
Parental Education		4.31		6.89		0.53
		(8.60)		(20.11)		(3.62)
Male		19.78**		45.94**		7.46**
		(8.72)		(20.47)		(3.59)
First two years student		31.89**		77.36*		7.91
		(16.25)		(39.86)		(5.07)
Cost awareness		14.61*		34.96*		2.68
		(8.55)		(20.15)		(3.58)
High weight on HE		30.38***		82.16***		9.85***
		(8.44)		(19.77)		(3.51)
Constant	124.91***	156.97***	62.46	129.86***	62.46***	73.62***
	(30.86)	(34.29)	(15.43)	(61.73)	(15.43)	(16.19)
N obs	553	553	553	553	553	553
Adj. R-squared (%)	1.58	30.43	9.82	35.86	20.83	36.41
F-statistics for Class Size	2.17	24.68	26.84	30.90	38.40	28.82
p-value of F-statistics	2.83	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Root MSE	117.21	98.55	273.38	230.56	45.75	41.00

Note: WTP is a binary indicator that is 1 for a WTP question and 0 for a WTA respondent; $^{*}p < .10$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$

Rationalisation and Interpretation of Findings

The point made in the last paragraph of the preceding section can be rationalised by a classical investment in human capital model as is, for example, Ben-Porath (1967): Let $K(t)$ denote an individual's human capital in the t-th period of time and the $w(t)$ proportion of non-leisure time in period t, respectively. Hence, the net present value (NPV) of life-time earnings for individuals of this model's economy corresponds to

$$\int_{t=0}^{T} aw(t)K(t)e^{-rt}\,dt\,, \tag{1}$$

where $0 < a < 1$ denotes a potential wage penalty for female individuals. For male individuals $a = 1$. The per-period time spent for acquiring human capital in this model is $1 - aw(t)$. Hence, in the presence of some erosion of skills due to time, denoted by δ, the individual human capital stock grows according to

$$K(t) = 1 - aw(t)t - \delta K(t)\,. \tag{2}$$

The corresponding Hamiltonian for the constrained maximisation of the NPV of life-time earnings is

$$H = aw\,t\,K\,t - \pi(t)\,K\,t - (1\,aw\,t\,t) - \delta K(t)\,. \tag{3}$$

It is straightforward to derive from the first order conditions $\partial H / \partial aw(t) = 0$, $\partial H / \partial K(t) = 0$, and $\partial H / \partial \pi(t) = 0$ the following law of monition for human capital:

$$K(t) = \frac{1}{2} - K(t) \cdot \frac{1}{2t} - \delta\,. \tag{4}$$

Using a Taylor series approximation and the terminal condition $K(t) = K(t)$, we find the solution of (4) to be

$$K(t) = \overline{K}(t) + \frac{t}{2}1 + \frac{\ln t}{2} + t\delta - \frac{T}{2}1 + \frac{\ln T}{2} + T\delta\,. \tag{5}$$

Combining $\partial H / \partial aw(t) = 0$, $\partial H / \partial K(t) = 0$, and $\partial H / \partial \pi(t) = 0$, we can solve for earnings

$$aw(t) = \frac{1}{2t}1 - \frac{K(t)}{t}\,. \tag{6}$$

Finally, combining (5) and (6), we obtain an equation that helps us to assess the dynamics of earnings by male and female individuals implied by such a simple investment in the human capital model

$$E(t) = aw(t) \cdot K(t) . \tag{7}$$

According to (7) in combination with (2), earnings initially rise, plateau and eventually fall, due to depreciating human capital, for the remainder of an individual's working life. Another obvious implication, given the existence of $0 < a < 1$ in (2) and (7), is that experience-earning profiles of male individuals would lie above the ones of females. In Germany this is indeed the case for university graduates in law, economics and social studies (LES) as can be seen from the graphs in Figure 3 that are based on Mincer-type regressions (Weldi 2009).

Thus, in the presence of some female wage penalty, the whole working-life cycle present value of revenues from higher education for males will be higher than for their female counterparts. Hence, our finding of males being willing to invest more in quality of education (show a higher WTP or WTA for small class size) is backed up by classical models of the dynamics of human capital investment.

In Germany, the few non-public colleges are known and promoted to teach their students in rather small classes. Thus, if our findings reported in Section 3 are reasonable, we would expect a higher share of male students enrolling in these institutions.

FIGURE 3

German experience-income profiles: LES graduates, full-time working
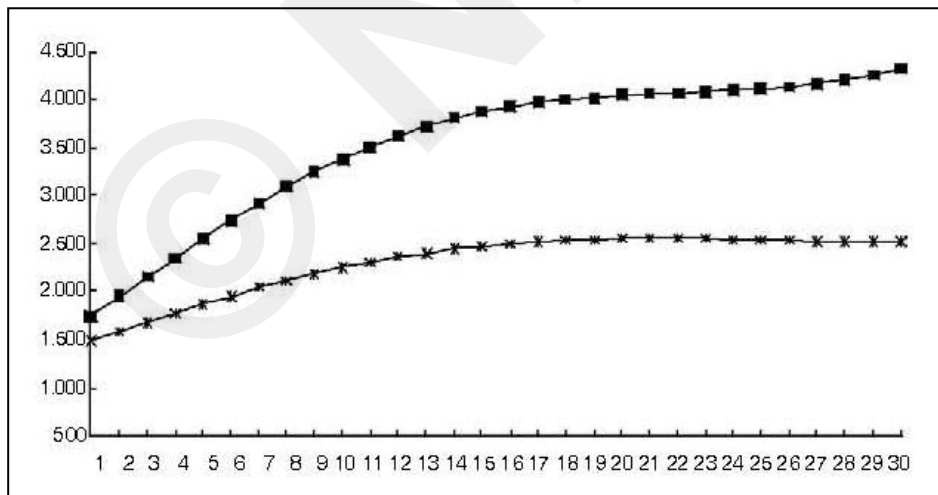
Note: Male graduates' profile represented by rectangles, female graduates' profile by asterisks; ordinate depicts monthly net income (in Euros); abscissa depicts work experience (in years); data source: German Statistical Federal Office.

As can be seen from Table 4, the average share of male students in the four most popular private universities in Germany, which in the majority represent business schools, lies at 64 per cent. Obviously, this fact can also be interpreted as reinforcing our findings of males attaching a higher weight on small college class sizes compared to corresponding females of their cohort.

TABLE 4

Male student share of the four most popular private universities in Germany

Private university	Male students	Female students	Male student share
University of Witten-Herdecke	532	524	0.5038
HHL Leipzig Graduate School of Mgmt.	254	95	0.7278
WHU Otto-Beisheim School of Mgmt.	451	162	0.7357
EBS European Business School	867	417	0.6752
Total	2104	1198	0.6372

Note: Figures refer to study years 2011-12.

As argued in Weldi (2009), graduation from private schools leads to a positive entry salary premium due to a positive signaling effect (Spence 1973). Some authors also argue that it represents a higher quality investment, which at least in part may be due to smaller class sizes or due to a better access to networks (Naylor *et al.* 2002). Arguing along these lines, Rumberger and Thomas (1993) for the United States, Naylor *et al.* (2002) for the UK, and Peter and Pippig (2007) for management and economics departments in Germany, find that graduates from a private institution receive a higher entry salary even when accounting for individual characteristics. Overall, existing studies indicate a positive signaling effect or a premium due to higher quality of education and/or access to an employment network. If male graduates benefit more from these traits in the labour markets (Figure 3), it is not surprising that these schools attract in the majority male students. A further way of interpreting our finding of a significant difference in preferences for small class sizes by gender, is that male and female students learn in different ways: Recently, an emanating strand of empirical literature suggests that male individuals through their different learning style and peer effects benefit relatively more from the more personalised attention due to class size reductions (Maasoumi *et al.* 2005, Bosworth 2011).

Conclusion

In this paper we analysed the determinants of students' stated preferences for small class sizes. It is found that male students systematically show a higher preference for small class sizes. This finding is reinforced by the observed gender composition of enrolment rates at high tuition private universities in Germany. It is also in line with the recent findings of small college class sizes fostering teaching effectiveness, which in turn might be relatively higher rewarded for males than for females in the labour market: Indeed, we highlight that experience-income profiles of male university graduates in Germany run for the whole working life period above the one of their female counterparts. Against this background, we show that the found male students' higher preferences for small classes can be rationalised

by predictions of human capital theory models. Furthermore, our findings are in line with the recent insight that male individuals, through their different learning styles and peer effects, potentially benefit relatively more from the more personalised attention due to class size reductions than their female peers.

Additionally, we find that—besides a general preference for higher education—cost awareness of students, captured by their need to work or externally finance their studies, has a significant positive impact on their preference for small class size. Surprisingly, the parental academic background seems not to shape students' preferences for small class sizes.

In sum, from an educational planner's perspective, our identified profile of business administration students putting a high weight on small class sizes and hence, on personalised learning environments shows the following characteristics: young (in terms of study progress), motivated (for higher education in general), male, irrespective of the academic background of parents, facing some budget constraint restricting the student to an efficient course of studies. It remains for future work to extend our analysis to other fields of study and to consider more and better (i.e., more continuously) measured covariates, in particular, concerning the educational background of parents and cost awareness variables.

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ARTICLES:

BOOK REVIEWS

Relevance of Systems Thinking in Educational Administration in India

Gaurav Sinha[*]

Will our education system ever change as we desire? What is the real problem which impedes us in our way towards a desired change in the education system? What will be the strategies of bringing the desired changes in the education system? *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organisation*, authored by Peter M Senge (2006), comes up with a lot of insights for addressing such questions. Till date we have focused on several reforms in the Indian education system, but we have not been able to achieve the desired outcomes. The reasons could be many. But after reading this book, one tends to agree with the author that we lack a thorough understanding of how systems work. Perhaps this lack of understanding of the systems is the root of the question as to why our problems do not get solved.

In the field of educational administration, applying systems thinking can be useful (Betts 1992, Siegrist, *et al*. 2013, Sullivan 2004). The arguments presented in this book, as to why seeing a whole pattern is important and why we are not able to see the whole pattern, seem valid in the context of the current status of the Indian education system. The author aptly puts forth the reasons for the lack of such understanding. Reasons such as our socialisation and conditioning do not allow us to see the whole pattern of how systems work or how we are a part of the change process.,

The book starts with a discussion on the features of learning organisation, a term which represents an organisation where people focus on learning, growing and aspiring collectively to create the results that they truly desire. The author argues that there is a need for learning organisations today as they can help in constantly enhancing capabilities of people that further help in realising their highest aspirations. Emphasising the importance of learning, he suggests that it involves a fundamental shift or movement of mind and as human beings we all love to learn because it is inherent in our nature. The author proposes mastering five disciplines which help in the development of learning organisations. The five disciplines are: systems thinking – i.e., understanding the whole pattern; personal mastery – special level of proficiency required for constantly working on the personal vision; mental models–deeply ingrained assumptions and generalisations that influence our understanding of the world; building shared vision (and not merely making vision statements); and team learning. He mentions that a systems thinking is the fifth discipline that integrates other disciplines, making them a coherent body of theory and practice.

[*] Azim Premji Foundation, #134, Doddakannelli, next to Wipro Corporate Office, Bengaluru, Karnataka-560 068. E-mail: gaurav.sinha@azimpremjifoundation.org, grsinha@yahoo.com

But a question arises here as to why we need these five disciplines and how these disciplines help us in our attempts to bring large-scale change in the educational system? Citing reasons, the author introduces the concept of learning disabilities in the organisations. He mentions that because of learning disabilities in the organisations it is difficult to bring any long-term sustainable change. Examining the history of our education system, one can clearly identify such learning disabilities too. For instance, Gijubhai, a noted experimental educationist, advocated different learning styles of children and changing examination patterns towards the end of the 19th century (Gijubhai 1998). But till date, we are still figuring out how to apply those reforms. *Nai Taleem* (education through productive work experience), advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, was also made irrelevant by giving it a face of socially productive useful work (Sadgopal 2004). The author also highlights that in order to cure learning disabilities, there is a need to first identify those learning disabilities and work upon them. For many of us, these learning disabilities appear familiar, but we rarely work on them. One can find these learning disabilities in any organisation including educational administration system too. Take for instance, the first disability, i.e., "I am my position". People generally identify themselves as the position they are in, e.g., a DEO or a BEO or a head-teacher, but they do not consider themselves as a component in achieving the larger purpose. Or the "enemy out there syndrome" is fairly common. On the one hand, teachers and head-teachers often blame the authorities for not providing support to them while on the other hand, authorities blame the teachers and head-teachers for not carrying out their responsibilities effectively. Taking the example of a simulation game, where no strategy works better in terms of cost-saving, the author draws the learning as to how structures influence a person's behaviour. He contends that whenever we place different persons in the same structure, they tend to produce similar results. Perhaps, that is why we see little change in the education system. Rather, we are witnessing declining standards of our mass schooling system, including the reports on closure of several government schools (Gupta 2012).

The author connects the issues related to learning disabilities and draws certain laws for the fifth discipline in the subsequent section. These laws suggest how to construct knowledge on understanding systems. For example, the first law states that "today's problems come from yesterday's solutions". It implies that the problems are merely shifted from one part of a system to the other part, without being detected as people in the positions (or authority) change. Thus the new person inherits the problems and looks for solutions afresh. One of the classic examples of this is the Green Revolution in India, which promoted the use of chemical fertilisers on the farmland about three to four decades back. But now, as the fertility of land has depleted and several health hazards are being attributed to the use of chemicals in the farmland, the focus has shifted to the use of organic manures again. Similarly, the second law, i.e., "the harder you push, the harder the system pushes back" raises the issue of what is termed as compensating feedback. Using the example of reforms proposed for low income housing projects in 1960s in the US, which later resulted in conditions becoming worse in 1970s, despite generous government aid, the author attempts to highlight the importance of understanding the whole pattern. We need to understand the fact that sometimes our push becomes an obstacle if we push harder after initial failures, no matter how sincerely we push. The above phenomenon involves a time lag between the short-term benefits and the long-term detriment, termed as the law — "behaviour grows better, before it goes worse". One can aptly map the case of Indian education system here.

The initial phases of *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) saw a lot of enthusiasm in opening up a lot of schools. But the recent closure of schools in various parts of the country seems in line with the third law. The other laws like "the easy way out leads back in or the cure can be worse than the disease" can also be mapped to various issues that have emerged over the years in the Indian education system.

Senge further focuses on the "shift of mind" (usually it means change the way one thinks) that is required for adopting systems thinking. It requires a person to see the interrelationships and not the linear cause-effect. The management tools like forecasting, analysis, etc., are designed to handle complexity with many variables (termed as detail complexity). But in reality, there is another type of complexity — dynamic complexity. In this type of complexity, cause and effect are subtle and the effects of interventions over time are not obvious. The author suggests that we need to develop understanding of the nature of dynamic complexity. He mentions that the current education system has prepared us for thinking linearly. Instead, we need to focus on seeing the circle of causality. He uses a simple example of filling a glass of water, which we usually consider a simple process, and see it linearly. But in reality, the process consists of monitoring the gap between the level of our goal of desired water level, faucet position, and the speed of flow of water. He further argues that aggressive action often produces exactly the opposite of what is intended. This is visible in all our efforts to bring about a change in the educational system in India or elsewhere. We introduce reforms one after the other in order to arrive at the ideal goals quickly, but we fall short in achieving the mark. The example of Finland makes a case in point. The process of transformation of education system in Finland started about four decades ago. The Finns waited for more than 30 years, only to get a surprise that their schooling system was so successful that it was the best in the world, Programme for International Student Assessment (Sahlberg 2013).

Senge discusses in detail the ways of identifying the patterns that control events. He presents two key system archetypes – patterns of structure that recur again, to facilitate our understanding of the systems language. The first one is the limit to growth which espouses the principle of removing the factors limiting growth rather than pushing the growth itself. The second one is shifting the burden which recognises the need for emphasis on the long-term fundamental solutions. In most cases, it usually happens that we look for symptomatic solutions, and not primary causes, which results in short-term benefits. But over the period the problem emerges again and needs enhanced doses of symptomatic response. One of the best examples in education is of quick fixes like provision of appointment of *shiksha karmis* on contract, for the reason that we did not get enough trained people at that point of time. Eventually, what have we seen happening? *Shiksha karmis* have initiated agitation or protest for regularisation of their jobs and the worst is that we still find ourselves debating the decline in the quality of education.

The book deals with the core disciplines of building a learning organisation. It underscores the importance of other disciplines that complement the systems thinking and lead us to be more aware about seeing the world not only from a linear perspective. It starts with personal mastery which the author mentions as a continuous process of learning. This is important to strengthen the capacity to produce the results which a person really wants. The people who practise personal mastery are aware about their ignorance, incompetence, growth areas and are highly self-confident. Senge uses a term called "delayed gratification" for the people with personal mastery. This led them to aspire for the objectives (long-term in

nature), which others would often disregard. The author raises a question that given the benefits of personal mastery, who would resist it? But in reality, as he also asserts, many organisations and people resist it because it requires departure from the current traditional relationship between the employees and an organisation. He also cautions about counter-productiveness as a result, empowering people in an unaligned organisation due to personal mastery.

The author brings forth mental models, which are simple generalisations or complex theories and shape our actions. There are three important aspects to developing an organisation's capacity to figure out and test the mental models. Conscious use of tools that promote personal awareness and reflective skills; infrastructures that can help in institutionalising practice with mental models; and a culture that promotes inquiry and challenges our current thought processes. If we map a case of practising openness in the education system, we can find a paradox. We often preach openness in our discussions, but it requires a deep commitment to practice; skills that people (even administrators) often lack; and opportunities to practise openness which is rarely available in the current system. The importance of shared vision in educational administration has been highlighted in many research studies, especially on the school systems. Shared vision, as the author mentions, is a force that compels people to commit to common aspirations. It also changes people's relationship with each other.

Team learning is an important discipline contributing to learning organisations. The author makes a case for alignment as a necessary precondition for team learning. It builds on the discipline of developing shared vision and personal mastery. Team learning starts with identifying the nuances of discussions and dialogues. While the purpose of discussion is to accept one's point of views, the purpose of the dialogue is to go beyond the individual's understanding. One can relate this with current reality in the educational administration in our country. There is hardly any dialogue in the system and it is mostly discussion which takes place or orders that are issued. Even in the smallest unit of our system, i.e., schools, the best of the head teachers, try to bring a consensus rather than entering into the process of dialogue. Drawing a link between systems thinking and team learning, the author emphasises developing a shared language for dealing with complexity which is dynamic in nature. It draws our attention to the present notion of seeing only detail complexity which focuses on tangible aspects like numbers and financial performance. It can easily be observed in many progress reports of our education system like physical and financial utilisation reports of SSA rather than highlighting complex issues. Senge concludes with an emphasis on learning a new language of systems thinking by the entire team, so that complexity can be understood clearly.

The book also provides insights from the practice. It is based on the author's conversations with practitioners from various organisational contexts like business, governmental, non-governmental, education and community organisations. It starts with why some core foundations are important for practising systems thinking as a discipline. The author's arguments seem to be valid on building learning culture in organisations. It takes time and effort and fraught with a risk of either becoming a threat to those who want to keep things as they are or failing to bring the desired change (Kotter 2007).

He provides a framework which requires thinking and acting strategically. This framework is useful for developing systems understanding as it succinctly encompasses approaches that enable learning culture in an organisation. The first one is more

instrumental in nature and includes methods like innovations in organisational infrastructure. The second one is more intrinsic, e.g. processes of deep learning cycle that involves ways of change in beliefs and assumptions, enhancing skills and capabilities and establishing network of relationships. Imagine if we apply this framework to our education system, it requires creating opportunities in the system for people to practise new learning that emerges from change in culture of the system itself.

The description of components of the framework follows eight strategies, though not comprehensive, in the author's view, yet are useful for practical applications. For example, the first strategy talks about integrating learning and working entailing reflection and action which we seldom do and lack of investment in learning over time. The main flaw is lack of sufficient infrastructure to provide an enabling environment to the people for practising this as we have discussed earlier. Likewise, the change has to start with the existing human resources by tapping their talents and deepest aspirations. Similarly, the third strategy is about becoming bicultural, which means working under the radar for some time and in the language of incumbent – which people-in-position can understand. Research has shown that for a change to be successful, it is important that it needs to be understood by the people who will become a part of this change (Fullan 2007). Similarly, the seventh strategy is not new, but we have not been very successful in implementing it. This is working with others like traditional non-partners, other sectors; and appreciating the diversity.

The author also presents his views regarding the role of leadership in bringing the desired change. Perhaps this is why there is an attention to the qualities of leadership required for building learning organisations. Studies in education leadership have highlighted the role of leadership in driving the change process in the education system (Bush 2007, Leithwood, *et al.* 2004). Senge compares leader to a designer of the ship; as a great teacher around whom others learn and she herself being a learner first; and as a steward who serves those she leads and being a steward of vision. The author raises a crucial question of how such leaders can be developed, which ultimately leads us to follow a quote by Confucius, "to become a leader, you must first become a human being".

Senge concentrates on developing systems citizens, people who can see the patterns and understand the system. His opinion about changing the nature of education for the new generation to include systems understanding is perfectly in sync with the change that we desire. The acceptance of innovations in education represents a herculean task and hence Senge's advice regarding focus on co-creation by a microcosm of the whole system, including various stakeholders in the society to boost this effort finds a merit here. The author's emphasis on the need of the school for addressing the issues of lack of understanding of the world's problems and how to work on them also symbolises its importance in the future. He cautions that schools may be marginalised and irrelevant for the kids in future, if they do not focus on developing systems understanding. In his concluding remarks, Senge talks about the next generation of leaders like women, people from economic periphery and youth, who bring a lot of energy, have a lot of potential and perhaps, the strongest stake in the future. One can find reference to these leaders in current discourses across various disciplines.

Integrating systems thinking with various disciplines pays rich dividends. It changes our current ways of thinking – not linearly, but trying to see the whole. This book is seminal contribution in the field of systems thinking. It can serve as a good reference point for the practitioners, scholars, researchers, academicians and other stakeholders, who are working on, or looking forward to, bringing large-scale education change.

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Community Participation in School Education

— An Empirical Review

G. Nagendra Prasad*

Introduction

As an institution, school provides an opportunity for education to children in a society and the teachers facilitate students to acquire educational competencies. Schools are the structures for learning and knowledge-building. Effective community participation in the educational processes enables the schools to provide good and qualitative education. Families living in a community determine the provision of education to their children. Despite education for eligible children being mandatory, "*the community is often the provider of children's education" (Bray, 2000; Williams, 1997).* Those, who do not have access to school, lose opportunities of education. The State as well as the national educational programmes consider public participation an important aspect in building the desired environment for a sustainable change. One of the objectives of the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) in India was to universalise primary education, and as a continuation to it, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) has been working with an avowed objective of providing quality elementary education to all.

A literate society with informed choices can demand quality education. Jennifer Swift-Morgan (2006) suggests "*Six domains for community participation in schools: infrastructure and maintenance, management and administration, teacher support and supervision, pedagogy and classroom support, student supervision and student recruitment".* Monte Mayor, (2000) was of the opinion that community participation in school education is potential enough to transform *"parents as teachers, as resources, as decision makers, and ultimately, leaders and trainers of other parents…. Impact of parent involvement can be felt beyond the classroom".* Community participation in education means some form of people's active involvement in school development process for its '*efficacy and students' success'.* Schaeffer, S. (1994) offered explanation on categories of community involvement in education that range *"from the lowest, being the mere use of a service in a school, to the highest, representing true responsibility and power that is described as participation in real decision making at every stage of education".*

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* 708, 66th Cross, Kumara Swamy Layout-Stage-I, Bangalore-78, Karnataka.
  E-mail: drgnprasad@gmail.com

Mere consultation in the name of participation leads to '*tokenism'*[1]. Community participation is a '*means*' as well as an '*end'* in development projects. C. Moser explains (1983) that the objective of community participation has two sides *"Where participation is interpreted as a means, it generally becomes a form of mobilisation to get things done…….Where participation is identified as an end, the objective is not a fixed quantifiable development goal, but a process whose outcome is an increasingly 'meaningful' participation in the development process".* Moser further explained that 'participation used as a tool to achieve something is more meaningful than for mere physical benefits'. *"Identification of the process whereby participation as a means has the capacity to develop into participation, as an end".* Community participation facilitates owning local educational initiatives, problem identification, *"planning, implementation and evaluation"*. Community-based educational initiatives provide durability to the long-term educational objectives like access, retention and quality education.

Community Participation in School Development

In India, community participation in school education is not altogether a new subject. Educational projects involved the local communities in school development activities. In the state of Karnataka, local communities evolved school development plans, educational micro-planning, participated in enrolment drives, 'School towards Community' (Samudayadatta Shale), interaction programmes on school education at least once in a month and 'School adoption programmes'. Schools have statutory management committees called 'School Development and Monitoring Committees' (SDMCs), represented by the parents and community members. They participate in school development programmes, take decisions on construction activities, cooperate in implementing the schemes to ensure regular attendance of students and consult the teachers for qualitative change in school education.

Village Level Institutions that Promote Community Participation

At the village level, there are development institutions. The Gram Panchayat (GP)[2] has a standing committee, called 'Civic Amenities Committee' (CAC), responsible for the development of education in villages, under its jurisdiction. As per the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, the GPs are mandated to take decisions on 29 development subjects for implementation. Among them, education to all eligible children in villages through local schools is one of the important subjects. Certain 'Community-based Organisations' (CBOs) also work for the promotion of education at the village level. Teachers in *Anganwadi* (AW) Centres work with children below the age of six years with pre-school activities. They function as enabling centres that enrol children into the formal schools. They play a significant role in supplementing nutritional deficiencies among children and address the issues of child health and infant mortality. The AWs extend nutritional and health support services to pregnant mothers and also educate them on the need for sending children to

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[1] Sherry R. Arnstein (1969) '*A Ladder of Citizen Participation'*, Journal of the American Planning Association.

[2] The Gram Panchayat is an elected body, where a group of elected representatives work for village development.

school regularly. The AWs influence the initial school enrolment and act as feeder centres to primary schools. In a larger sense, 'Community' includes Parents, CBOs, School Development and Monitoring Committees, Gram Panchayat and the AW Teachers and the Centres. All these, at the village level can collectively influence the educational processes in a village school.

An Experimental Project on Community Participation in Karnataka

One of the community-based educational initiatives called *'Namma Shale'* (NS), meaning 'Our School' was implemented by the Policy Planning Unit (PPU) in government lower and higher primary schools (LPS and HPS) from 2006-07 to 2009-10 in Karnataka, with support from Azim Premji Foundation. The project facilitated the community, comprising the SDMCs, parents, households and the CBOs, through interactive communication processes on the need for improving school education. The project staff facilitated the community members, establishing linkages with the government bodies for positive educational change in schools. The project covered 71 'Lower and Higher Primary Schools'. Expectation was that the project experimentation would result in increased school retention, enrolment, attendance and student achievement levels. It was implemented in four selected clusters[3], which are located in four revenue blocks[4] of four districts[5]. Data collected for the project related to two reference periods. Analysis of baseline data was to set the benchmarks and plan appropriate project interventions. End-line data analysed the impact of designed interventions. The paper empirically reviews the relationship between community participation and school development and tries to validate positive changes in school due to community participation.[6]

Broad Objectives of the NS Project

The NS project implementation envisaged the following processes in place which would contribute for school development and quality instruction.

- Develop effective communication processes between school and the stakeholders.
- Develop interactive communication system with the community that builds accountability in schools towards parents for quality education in a sustained manner.
- Build awareness among the stakeholders on realistic issues, related to school and improve their participation in school development processes.
- Enable the community through capacity building programmes to monitor schools with self-correction processes and with improved understanding on its roles and responsibilities.

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[3] Cluster is a group of 10 to 15 schools, where academic aspects are coordinated by the 'Cluster Resource Person'.

[4] 'Block' is a revenue area which consists of a group of clusters.

[5] District is a larger revenue area than the block. It consists of a group of blocks.

[6] The author was the principal researcher who actively involved and implemented research activities of the project. He sincerely acknowledges the NS team, its efforts in the collection of data and project implementation.

- Strengthen and institutionalise community participation processes to develop and manage the educational resources.
- Enable the community to demand the expected levels of learning for children from the school.

The above processes aimed at the provision of awareness among the stakeholders through a system of interactive communication process, which leads to quality interaction with the community for school development.

Objectives

1. To review empirically the outcome of NS project interventions and understand the relationship between community participation and school development.
2. To understand the changes in school educational indicators due to community participation in selected villages.
3. To conclude on the effectiveness of stakeholder participation — the SDMCs, community members and the parents in the process of school development.
4. To have an experiment-based understanding on the influence of community related indicators on school education and its quality.
5. To triangulate the results to understand holistically the role of community participation in the process of education.

Methodology

This paper analyses participation levels of the community, parents and the SDMC members with respect to the emerged patterns, factoring for significant changes in school educational indicators. The focus is to analyse relationship between school development and community participation, which includes participation of the SDMC members, discussions in village council meetings and parent enquires on child-learning status in schools. It draws attention to the significant levels of association among the selected indicators which are positive and potential enough to influence school development. Given the relationship, the paper notes statistically significant associations between community participation and educational progress. Results are compared to conclude on changes, using suitable statistical tests and it assesses differential impact at two reference periods. Improved community participation is assumed to result in (i) Active participation of the SDMCs in school development processes (ii) Discussions on school education in the Village Council meetings and (iii) Sustained parent enquires on child-learning status in schools. These are expected to result in improved enrolment levels, attendance, retention and student achievement levels.

Pre and Post Project Periods

Interactions with community members, teachers and the households in sample villages were organised at two time periods. Baseline data was collected at the beginning and End-line data at the end of the project. The objective was to have an understanding on 'before' and 'after' project conditions. Baseline data described the situations before attempting experimentation. End-line data was to assess the changes at the end of the project. Analysis

focused on changes in values, available in pairs for two time periods. Differences between two time periods indicate comparable changes. The paper studied changes in awareness levels among community members on the need for education and improvements to schools. Certain activities implemented by the education department influenced community participation. These are complementary to the core element of community participation. For example, '*Samudaydatta Shaale*' (School towards Community) programme initiated by the department created good impact in the sample area and hence, it logically gets included in the overall participation levels of the community.

Study Area

The Study Area comprises four districts, four educational blocks and four clusters in Karnataka. The total number of selected schools is 71. The Table 1 below shows information on the location of the selected sample.

TABLE 1

Sl. No.	Name of district	Name of revenue Taluk	Name of cluster	No of schools	Location in the State
1	Mysore	Hunusur	Gawadagere	20	South-east
2	Davangere	Honnali	Kundur	16	South-west
3	North Canara	Kumta	Mirjan	16	North-west
4	Yadgir	Surpur	Rukmapur	19	North-east

Data Sources and Analysis

Collection of data from selected villages was through the survey method. Government Lower and Higher Primary schools, located in the villages were selected as sample. Data on enrolment, student attendance and retention levels were collected from the school records (N=71 Schools). Student achievement levels are assessed through tests for 3rd, 5th and 7th standard students. Tests were conducted by the Karnataka State Quality Assessment Organisation (KSQAO) during the academic years 2007-08 and 2008-09. School average achievement levels in both the years are compared for significant changes. Pre and post project data indicated comparable educational changes in schools. Community participation is treated as 'Independent' variable and indicators on school development are treated as 'Dependent variables'. Focus is to note the changes in growth levels due to community participation in the following indicators.

- Changes in attendance as percentage to enrolment
- Retention levels of students in schools
- Student achievement levels
- Participation of the SDMCs
- School enrolment
- Parent enquiries on child education
- Discussions by the community members on school education in the Village Council meetings.

1. Changes in School Setting due to Community Participation

Mean growth levels of indicators in two time periods are compared to conclude on significant differences.

Changes in Attendance as Percentage to Enrolment

Regular attendance of students to school is a requisite condition for quality education in schools. Project implementation included certain sensitisation processes to parents and the community members on the need for sending children to schools regularly. Impact of this is understood through growth in mean attendance as percentage to school enrolment. Out of 71 schools, 70 schools (98.6%) have attendance in the range of 75 to 100 in the post-project period. Attendance as percentage to enrolment increased significantly. Paired 't' value of mean attendance to enrolment is t $_{(70)}$ =-5.60, p <.05, indicating a significant change in mean attendance at the end of the project period.

TABLE 2

Percentage of Attendance to School Enrolment: Before and After

Sl. No	Attendance as % to enrolment %	Before (No of schools) %	After (No of schools) %
1	10 to 25	0 (0.0)	1(1.4)
2	25.1 to 50	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)
3	50.1 to 75	11(15.5)	0 (0.0)
4	75.1 to 100	59 (83.1)	70 (96.6)
	Total	71 (100.0)	71 (100.0)

TABLE 3

Schools as per Retention levels: Before and After

Sl. No	%age of retention %	Before %	After %
1	0 to 25	6 (8.5)	3 (4.2)
2	25.1 to 50	1 (1.4)	1 (1.4)
3	50.1 to 75	16 (22.5)	7 (9.9)
4	75.1 to 100	48 (67.6)	60 (84.5)
	Total	71(100)	71 (100)

Changes in School Retention, Based on Entry Level

Growth in retention levels during the post-project period is more than that of the pre-project period. By the end of the project, differential growth in retention, in the category of 75 to 100%, was to the tune of 17 per cent scores. Retention rates in lower ranges gave way

to those in higher ranges by the end of the project. Mean retention during the pre-period was 79.46 and the same in the post period was 85.90 with an absolute mean difference of 6.44. In the post period, growth in retention was stable and consistent with relatively less standard deviation (SD-Before: 27.81, SD-After: 20.14). However, there is no significant difference in mean retention levels between the pre and post project periods. Paired 't' value of the mean is: $t_{(70)} = -1.721$, $p > .05$, implying that mean difference is not statistically significant.

TABLE 4

Number of Schools with Average Student Achievement Levels during Pre and Post Project Periods

Achievement in ranges	Before	After
No response	12 (16.90)	11 (15.49)
10 to 25%	7 (9.86)	8 (11.27)
25.1 to 50%	3 (4.23)	2 (2.82)
50.1 to 75%	20 (28.17)	19 (26.76)
75.1 to 100%	29 (40.85)	31 (43.66)
Total	71 (100.00)	71 (100.00)

Changes in Mean Achievement Levels of Students: Before and After

An assessment test was conducted for 3rd, 5th and 7th standard students. Cumulative mean achievement levels are compared for noteworthy differences. Average achievement levels of students from 71 schools during the years 2007 and 2008 were studied. Mean achievement in the year 2007 was 54.10% which increased to 55.68% during the year 2008, representing an absolute difference of 1.58 per cent scores. Growth in average achievement between two years is not highly varied, implying no significant difference in mean achievement levels. Less magnitudes of standard deviation (SD-Before: 35.02. SD- After: 35.28) indicate that the change is almost consistent with little variance. Mean difference, as per the 't' statistic is, **$t_{(70)} = -.354$, $p > .05$,** which is not significant.

Changes in Mean Levels of Participation by the SDMCs

SDMCs are the entities to look after school development activities. They represent parents and the community with linkages to the system of decentralised governance. Community ownership of a school is expected through active participation of the SDMCs. Awareness among parents about the importance of education and quality education in schools are expected from the SDMCs' active participation. Towards this, they were facilitated for pro-active participation. Each school has an SDMC and 71 school committees were asked to specify on the participation levels. Out of 71 committees 42 of them (59.15%)

responded, saying that they actively participated in school development activities. This number, during the post project period, increased to 67 (94.36%). Similarly, inactive SDMCs were 29 in the pre-project period with 40.84% in the total, which came down to 4 (5.63%) during the post-project period. This means that a positive difference of 35 per cent scores in participation levels of the SDMCs was noticed in the post period. Out of 29 inactive SDMCs, 25 were rejuvenated with constant facilitation. Fisher's 'exact test' was used to understand the effectiveness of SDMC participation during the pre- and post-project periods. Fisher's exact significance level (one-sided) was .458, indicating no significant difference.

TABLE 5

Changes in School Enrolment Level

Sl. No.	Enrolment during pre-project period	Enrolment during post-project period				Total
		5 to 50	51 to 150	151 to 300	301 to 500	
1	5 to 50	19 26.8%	1 1.4%	2 2.8%	0 0.0%	22 31.0%
2	51 to 150	2 2.8%	21 29.6%	3 4.2%	0 0.0%	26 36.6%
3	151 to 300	2 2.8%	2 2.8%	10 14.1%	0 0.0%	14 19.7%
4	301 to 500	3 4.2%	1 1.4%	0 0.0%	4 5.6%	8 11.3%
5	501 to 630	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 1.4%	1 1.4%
	Total	26 36.6%	25 35.2%	15 21.1%	5 7.0%	71 100.0%

Changes in School Enrolment

Enrolment levels in schools were compared for significant mean difference. Previous average enrolment level was 139.22, which came down to 111.61 during the post period, representing an absolute decrease to the tune of 27.61 per cent scores. However, the standard deviation was less than that of the previous level (SD-Before: 133.58, SD-After: 100.99), implying that enrolment levels in schools decreased consistently. Decreased mean differences between two time periods are significant. Paired mean 't' value is $t(70) = 2.434$, $p < 0.05$, implying that decrease is significant, which is not necessarily due to chance but due to shifts in perceptions of the community to enroll children in private schools. Private unaided schools in Karnataka during 1990-91 was 20.7 per cent and by the year 2010-11, they increased two-fold (40%) due to increased number of admissions (Vide Table-5). Demographic changes in the region also contributed to consistent downward trends in enrolment levels. As per the Annual Report-2011 on registration of births and deaths in Karnataka through 'Civil Registration System', birth rate in the year 2000 was 20.04. It decreased to 18.72 in the year 2011, representing a net decline of 1.32. Decreased birth rates and increased admissions in private schools are the causes for a significant decline in school enrolment levels.

TABLE 6

Management-wise Growth of Secondary Schools in Karnataka

Year	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Total
1990-91	30%	49%	21%	100%
2010-11	35%	25%	40%	100%

Source: Department of Education, Government of Karnataka.

TABLE 7

Status of Participation by the SDMCs: Before and After

Status	Before	After
No	29 (40.84%)	4 (5.63%)
Yes	42 (59.16%)	67 (94.37%)
Total	71 (100%)	71 (100%)

TABLE 8

Parent Enquires on Child Learning Status in Schools: Before and After

Parent Enquiries-Before	Parent Enquiries-After		Total
	No	Yes	
No	0	9	9
	0.0%	12.7%	12.7%
Yes	11	51	62
	15.5%	71.8%	87.3%
Total	11	60	71
	15.5%	84.5%	100.0%

Parent Enquiries on Child Education

Parent enquires on child learning status in schools was elicited. Previously, 87.3 per cent parents used to enquire about children's learning status in schools. It came down to 84.5%. Reasons are largely those that the rural parent community that engrossed in livelihood practices has confidence on schooling system that their children can learn under teacher's guidance through Activity-Based Learning (ABL). ABL for primary sections has been in vogue since 2009 in the State, which warrants that the teachers act as facilitators. School visits by the SDMC members increased with decreased number of visits by the parents. This is indicative of the fact that the parents' confidence in the schooling system increased. Participation of the SDMCs in school development activities increased consistently. The

difference in mean is not statistically significant. As per Fisher's exact test, (one-sided) the difference is .199.

TABLE 9

Number of Village Council Meetings (VCMs) held to discuss Village School Education: Before and After

| Village Council meetings-Before	Village Council meetings-After		Total
	No	Yes	
No	8	17	25
	11.3%	23.9%	35.2%
Yes	11	35	46
	15.5%	49.3%	64.8%
Total	19	52	71
	26.8%	73.2%	100.0%

Discussions in the Village Council Meetings or the Gram Sabhas

The households in selected villages were asked about the number of 'Village Council Meetings' (VCMs) that discussed the status of village school education. Only those meetings that discussed school education were considered. Number of villages, where VCMs were organised increased from 46 to 52 in the post-project period, indicating a growth of 8.4 per cent scores (Vide Table-9). Differential growth is not statistically significant, indicating that organisation of VCMs got stabilised. Scope for stakeholder participation in school development processes increased and the village community members were aware that collective decisions in VCMs would lead to local-specific action plans. They were aware that quality discussions in VCMs to bring certain positive changes in school setting.

Five crucial areas largely discussed in the VCMs were: (I) Mid-day meals (II) Teacher regularity (III) Child attendance (IV) Learning levels of children and (V) The issue of dropout. There are variations across the regions in prioritising the issues for discussion in VCMs. Community members gave and sought donations, both in cash and kind, for school development. Management of mid-day meals in schools was important for the community. Construction and infrastructure development in schools is another relevant area for discussion in the VCMs. Village communities were of the view that action on decisions arrived in the VCMs were to be initiated thoroughly. In their opinion, decisions taken in the VCMs, if not followed up seriously, education in schools is affected. Participation of the GP members in the VCMs ensured follow up on enrolment, attendance and retention in schools.

FIGURE 1

**Participation of SDMCs in School Development Activities:
Before and After**
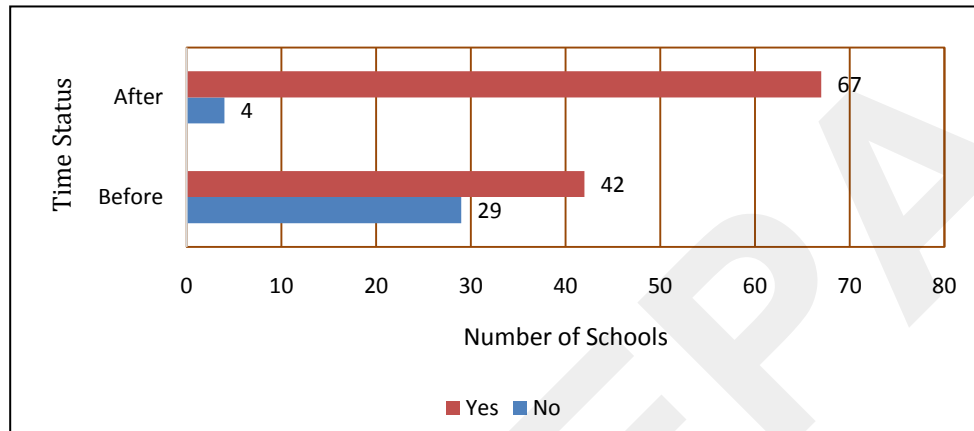
2. Comparison of Educational Progress due to Community Participation: Before and After

TABLE 10

Mean levels of School Development Indicators: 'Before' and 'After'

School development indicators	Project period	No. of schools (N)	Mean	Standard Deviation
Attendance as % in enrolment	Before	71	84.33	11.07
	After	71	93.56	10.81
Retention levels of the students	Before	71	79.47	27.81
	After	71	85.90	20.15
Achievement levels of children	Before	71	54.10	35.03
	After	71	55.68	35.29
Enrolment levels in schools	Before	71	139.23	133.58
	After	71	111.62	100.99

Community participation is analysed through (i) participation of the SDMCs in school activities, (ii) discussions in the Village Council Meetings and (iii) parent enquires on children's education. Paired mean differences, except in school enrolment levels increased more or less consistently (Vide Table-10).

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FIGURE 2

Status of Community Participation in Schools: Before and After
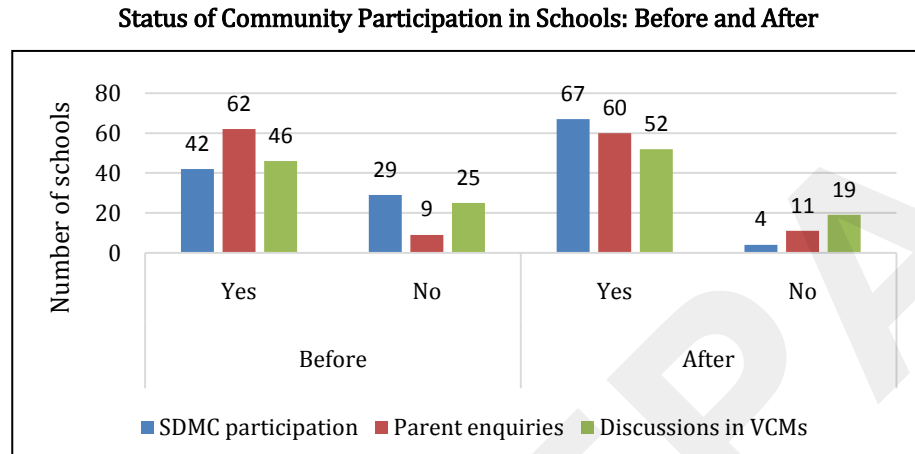
Changes: Before and After

In 71 schools, mean levels of selected indicators increased over the previous levels, except for parent enquiries on children's achievement levels and school enrolment. Growth in means is consistent for almost all the variables except for 'student achievement levels' and school enrolment. One of the problems in government-run schools is decreasing trends in enrolment levels. This is reflected through negative mean differences in enrolment between two time periods. Lower magnitudes of standard deviation indicate consistent decrease in enrolment levels. Mean levels of other school development indicators are on the higher side, when compared to the previous levels, indicating that over a period of time, there are positive development changes in schools (Vide Table-11). Significant differences in educational indicators were understood, using paired-'t' test statistic. Pre and post data on 'Percentage of attendance in enrolment', 'Participation of SDMC members' and 'School enrolment' revealed significant changes. Differences in school retention levels, between two time periods can be validated with 90% confidence level. Community facilitation resulted in positive differentials on retention levels in the post-project period.

TABLE 11

Paired differences in Mean Values between two time Periods

Paired variables: Before & After	Mean Difference	Standard deviation	't' statistic value	Significance (2-tailed)
Attendance as % in enrolment:	9.23	13.88	-5.60	.000
Retention levels of students:	6.43	31.49	-1.72	.090
Participation of the SDMCs:	0.35	0.56	-5.27	.000
Parent enquires on child education	-0.03	0.53	0.44	.658
Achievement levels of children:	1.58	37.60	-0.35	.724
Enrolment levels in schools:	-27.6	95.56	2.43	.017
Discussions on school education in VCMs	0.08	0.63	-1.14	.260

TABLE 12

**Changes in School Development with Respect to Community Participation
(Before and After)**

| Status of SDMC Participation	Sub-group statistics	Attendance as % to enrolment		Retention levels of students		Achievement levels of children		Enrolment in schools	
		Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
NO	Mean	85.24	94.60	73.14	77.25	52.46	26.26	147.66	72.00
	No of schools	29	4	29	4	29	4	29	4
	Standard Deviation	8.88	5.60	33.64	28.49	34.76	30.65	128.36	71.59
Yes	Mean	83.69	93.49	83.84	86.42	55.24	57.44	133.40	113.99
	No of schools	42	67	42	67	42	67	42	67
	Standard Deviation	12.43	11.06	22.36	19.72	35.59	34.96	138.30	102.39
Parent enquiries on child learning status in schools									
NO	Mean	83.78	95.28	91.67	92.00	37.82	62.16	181.78	112.45
	N	9	11	9	11	9	11	9	11
	Standard Deviation	10.58	4.28	9.34	10.48	39.76	33.52	144.94	102.64
Yes	Mean	84.40	93.24	77.70	84.78	56.47	54.50	133.05	111.47
	N	62	60	62	60	62	60	62	60
	Standard Deviation	11.22	11.61	29.17	21.33	34.00	35.75	131.97	101.57
Discussions on school education in the VCMs or in Gram sabhas									
NO	Mean	81.62	94.23	78.84	88.58	57.42	61.38	121.92	81.32
	No of schools	25	19	25	19	25	19	25	19
	Standard Deviation	11.16	5.82	28.04	23.12	32.50	31.27	117.29	67.62
Yes	Mean	85.80	93.31	79.81	84.92	52.30	53.60	148.63	122.69
	No of schools	46	52	46	52	46	52	46	52
	Standard Deviation	10.87	12.17	27.99	19.10	36.55	36.71	142.00	109.17

FIGURE 3

**Status of School Development Indicators with Respect to SDMC Participation:
Before and After**
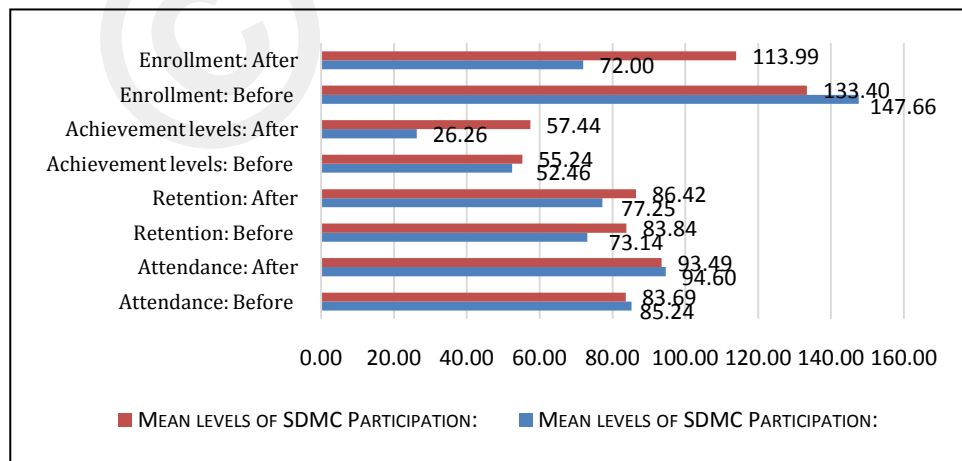
Differences in the rest of school development indicators did not depict significant changes. It is a note-worthy observation that changes in 'Student achievement levels' and 'Parent enquiries' are not significant, implying that marginal improvements in achievement levels are independent of parent enquires in the two time periods.

FIGURE 4

Discussions on School Education in the VCMs, with Active and Inactive Participation of Parents: Before & After
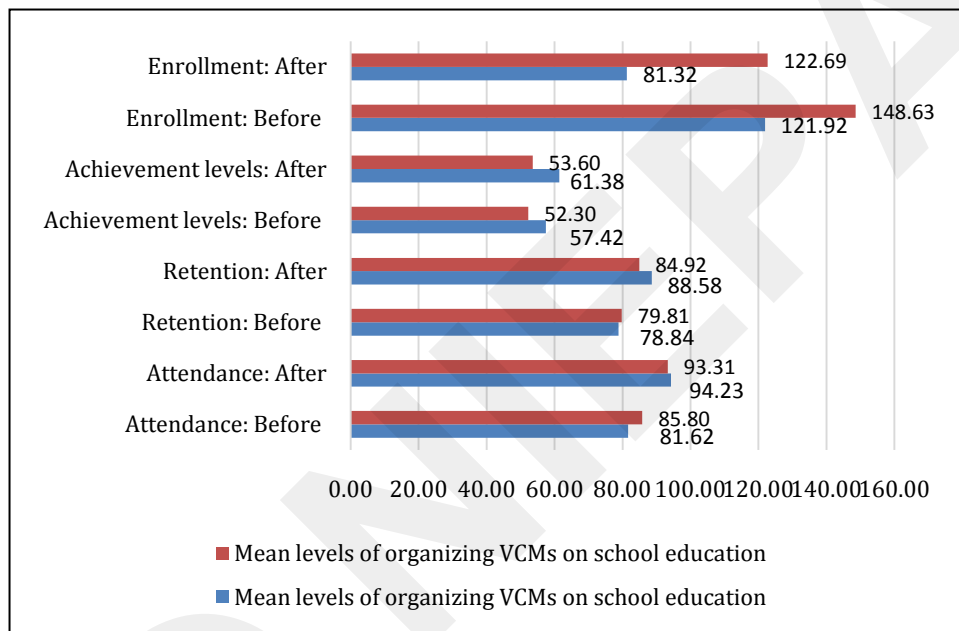
Other Changes due to Community Participation

Difference between the number of sanctioned and working teachers in schools is reduced. When the difference is reduced to zero level, the schools can function optimally. The Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) and Student Classroom Ratio (SCR) are favourable for effective classroom transactions. Decreased levels of school enrolment and increased number of admissions in private English medium schools reduced the above ratios. Community came forward and actively participated in developing physical infrastructure of schools. Percentage of dropouts in total enrolment decreased over the base line magnitudes, largely due to monitoring of school attendance by the community members. In general, percentage of schools organising SDMC meetings regularly increased by the end of the project. Efforts of the SDMC members to mobilise the community for school development resulted in favourable changes in the school setting. Hitherto unresolved issues of teachers with the community were addressed through facilitation of the SDMCs. Teachers were made aware of their accountability towards the community. However, no big difference in teacher absenteeism was observed for several reasons. Number of household-visits by teachers and

the SDMC members increased in the post period. The visits were meant to sensitise the community members on the need for child's regular attendance to ensure continuous instruction in schools. Increased number of school visits by the GP members to enquire on operational issues exhibited their accountability for school development. Time spent by the community members on school development increased over a period of time. This is reflected through increased number of parent meetings, discussions on school education in the VCMs and regular interactive meetings of the SDMCs in schools. To some extent, perceptions of the community on government schools underwent a change. Reasons for such a change are: visible development in English learning, cleanliness and introduction of uniform in schools. The community is not completely satisfied with children's levels of learning in schools. Its focus is shifted from enrolment to retention of children.

3. Community Participation and its Relationship with School Development

The relationship between community participation and educational progress is analysed after checking for the problems of multi-collinearity. Data related to educational indicators was in numbers, whereas the data on community participation was in binary form. Active participation of the SDMCs enabled student achievement levels and to some extent the retention levels. Parent enquiries on children's education could bring a change, but the relationship is not strong enough. Other than these, no strong and significant correlations were noticed. (Vide Table-13).

TABLE 13
Correlations between Community Participation and Education

Community participation	Educational Indicators							
	Attendance as %age to enrolment		Retention levels		Student achievement levels		Enrolment	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Participation of SDMCs	-.070	-.095	.190	.056	-.200	.305*	-.053	.141
Significance @ 95% confidence level	(.565)	(.432)	(.112)	(.640)	(.128)	(.018)	(.662)	(.242)
Parent enquires on child's learning	-.005	-.069	-.148	-.131	.251	-.040	-.148	-.004
Significance @ 95% confidence level	(.970)	(.568)	(.220)	(.278)	(.058)	(.763)	(.222)	(.976)
Discussions in VCMs	.181	-.038	.017	-.081	-.004	-.061	.096	.183
Significance @ 95% confidence level	(.130)	(.752)	(.889)	(.502)	(.976)	(.643)	(.425)	(.127)

Associations: Before and After

Significant paired correlations in 'school enrolment' and 'student achievement levels' were noticed, which indicate that enrolment is a basic requisite for learning and achievement levels. By the end of the project period, R^2 of school enrolment and student achievement levels were 49.14 per cent and 19.9 per cent respectively (Vide Table 14). Lower mean differences in achievement levels with relatively high standard deviation, implies that achievement levels are not uniform. Variations are discernable among them across the regions. Trends in retention levels of the schools are positive, depicting improvements.

TABLE 14

Correlations in Pairs: Before and After

Sl. No	Variables in two time periods	Paired Correlations	R^2
1	Attendance as % in enrolment	.195 (.103)	0.038 (3.80%)
2	Retention Levels of the students	.168 (.162)	0.028 (2.82%)
3	Participation of the SDMCs	-.117 (.332)	0.013 (1.36%)
4	Parent enquiries on child education	-.155 (.200)	0.024 (2.40%)
5	Achievement levels of children	.446 (.001)	0.198 (19.9%)
6	Enrolment levels in schools	.701 (000)	0.491 (49.14%)
7	Discussions on school education in VCMs	.087 (.469)	0.007 (0.75%)

Note: Figures in brackets under column paired correlations are significance levels at 95%.
         Figures in brackets under column R^2 are presented in percentages.

Each Indicator's Association with Community Participation

Degree of association of an individual indicator with community participation, controlling for the effects of another is attempted through the method of partial correlations. They signify association strength of one indicator with community participation (Vide Table-15). Positive increase in coefficient values over the first order correlation coefficient suggests relatively positive relationship and decrease depicts weak levels of association. Four possibilities are noticed during two time periods: (i) Positive increase (ii) Positive decrease (iii) Negative increase and (iv) Negative Decrease. When both general and partial correlation coefficients are negative, tending towards '0' are considered 'improved', because the results depict decreased negative correlation. Emerged trends in variable relationships are furnished in Table-16.
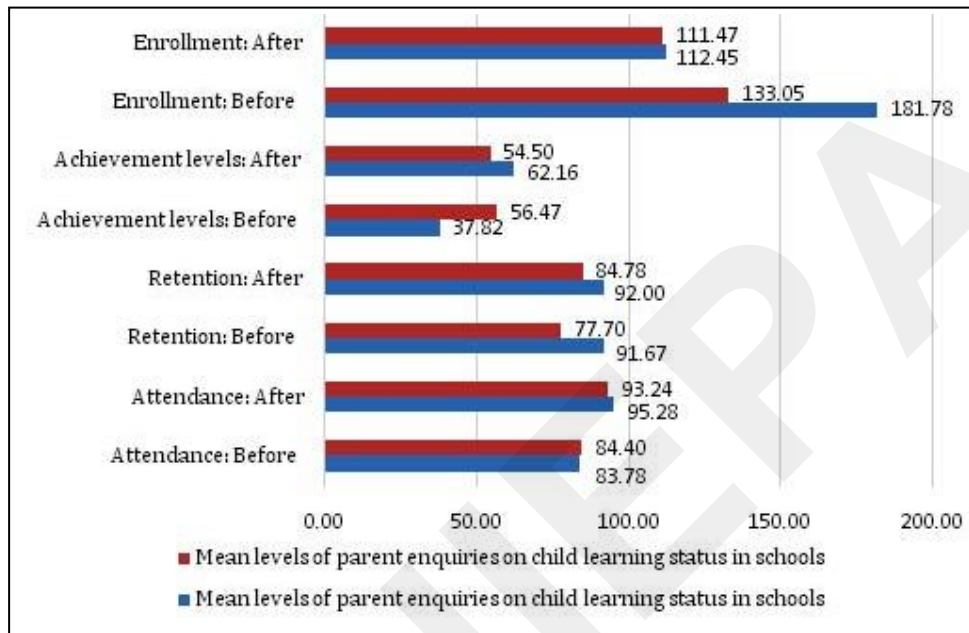
FIGURE 5

Parent Enquires: Before and After

TABLE 15

Changes Over First Order Correlations: Before and After

Indicators	Percentage of attendance to enrolment		Retention of children		Achievement		Enrolment	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Participation of SDMCs in school activities	-.063# (-.070)	-.019# (-.095)	.157* (.190)	.118# (.056)	-.114# (-.200)	.391# (.305)	-.080* (-.053)	.075* (.141)
Parent enquiries on child's learning	-.020* (-.005)	-.058# (-.069)	-.114# (-.148)	-.104# (-.131)	.266# (.251)	-.008# (-.040)	-.163* (-.148)	-.121* (-.004)
Discussions on school education in VCMs	.189# (.181)	-.000# (-.038)	.014* (.017)	-.027# (-.081)	.022# (.004)	-.099* (-.061)	.104# (.096)	.210# (.183)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate first (Zero) order correlations (ZO). One can compare growth over first order correlation. Sign of the Coefficient indicates directionality of association. Absolute values indicate strength of relationship.

'#' =Increase over '0' order 'r'   '*' = Decrease over '0' order 'r '

Active SDMC participation and student achievement levels are correlated up to 39 per cent. School retention and SDMC participation are associated notably. Discussions in the

VCMs is correlated with school enrolment levels at least up to 21 per cent. Rest of them are either negatively correlated or partially correlated within five per cent.

TABLE 16

Community participation	Educational progress	Before	After	Remarks
SDMC Participation	Attendance	Negative decrease	Negative decrease	Not a notable association
	Retention	Positive decrease	Positive increase	Notable association-Marginal
	Student achievement levels	Negative decrease	Positive increase	Notable association
	School Enrolment	Negative increase	Positive decrease	Not a notable association
Parent Enquiries	Attendance	Negative increase	Negative decrease	Not a notable association
	Retention	Negative decrease	Negative decrease	Not a notable association
	Student achievement levels	Positive increase	Negative decrease	Not a notable association. Good before, came down later.
	School Enrolment	Negative increase	Negative decrease	Not a notable association, but improved.
Discussions in the VCMs	Attendance	Positive increase	Negative decrease	Not a notable association
	Retention	Negative increase	Negative decrease	Not a notable association, but improved.
	Student achievement levels	Positive increase	Negative decrease	Not a notable association
	School Enrolment	Positive increase	Positive increase	Notable association

R^2 of first order correlation between 'SDMC participation' and 'achievement levels of students' was 9.3 per cent, whereas it is 15.2 per cent as per Partial Correlation (PC) during the post-project period, depicting a significant change of 63.4 per cent over first order Correlation. This implies that pro-active participation of the SDMCs in school development activities has significant correlation with achievement levels of students. Correlation between 'Retention levels' and 'SDMC participation' improved, indicating that SDMCs focused on improving both achievement and retention levels in schools. (Vide Table-15). SDMCs are potential enough to mobilise the community on the one hand, and improved school retention and achievement levels on the other. Discussions in the VCMs on school enrolment depicted positive trends, but they are not statistically significant.

4. Influence of Community Participation on Education

Relative influence of community participation on school development indicators is understood through the method of regression. The results are furnished in Table-17. Let us have one set of regression equations (one for 'Before' and the other for 'After') to understand average levels of variance in results between two project conditions, assuming a unit change in community participation.

- Percentage of attendance to enrolment- Before = 83.08 – 1.40 SDMC-0.704 PE + 4.33VCM
- Percentage of attendance to enrolment- After= 96.1 – 0.90 SDMC -2.01 PE + 0.014

VCM One unit variation in community participation resulted in a change of 85.30 in school development indicators during the pre-project period and the value for post-project period is 93.20. The net absolute difference is 7.9. Similar patterns for one unit change in community

TABLE 17

Comparative Growth through Regression Coefficients in Two Conditions: Before and After

School development indicators	Constant (intercept)		Community participation indicators					
			Participation of the SDMC members (SDMC)		Parent enquiries on child education (PE)		Discussions on school education in VCMs	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
%age of attendance to enrolment (A_Enrl)	83.08	96.1	-1.40	-0.906	-.704	-2.01	4.33	0.014
Enrolment (Enrlt)	196.23	73.08	-21.73	32.07	-69.62	-38.88	28.46	56.15
Retention (Rtn)	82.27	82.99	8.96	10.19	-10.01	-6.71	0.81	-1.41
Achievement levels of students (AL-stu)	54.54	30.04	-7.67	44.07	18.04	-0.604	1.14	-6.66

TABLE 18

Results with a Unit Change in Two Project Conditions and the Percentage of Difference

Educational indicators	Before	After	Difference	%of difference
Percentage of attendance to enrolment	85.30	93.20	7.9	9.26
Enrolment	133.34	122.42	-10.92	-8.18
Retention	82.03	85.06	3.03	3.69
Achievement levels of students	66.05	66.85	0.80	1.21

It can be noted from Table-18 that positive differential magnitudes in 'Attendance' and 'Achievement levels of students' indicate that community participation is positive enough on educational progress, whereas 'Enrolment' levels resulted in lesser proportion. Influence of each community participation indicator on school development can be understood in standard terms through standardised regression coefficients, assuming normality of relationship. Table-19 provides the outcome.

TABLE 19

Standardised Regression Coefficients (Assuming Normality) and R^2
Before and After

Educational progress	R^2		Community participation					
			Participation of SDMC members		Parent enquiries on child education		Discussions in the Gram Sabha	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
%age of attendance to enrolment	0.04	0.005	-.063	-.019	-.020	-.068	.188	.001
	4%	0.50%	(.612)	(.875)	(.870)	(.639)	(.124)	(.997)
Enrolment	0.039	0.053	-0.08	0.074	-0.166	-0.14	0.102	0.248
	3.90%	5.30%	(.518)	(.541)	(.183)	(.321)	(.400)	(.084)
Retention	0.046	0.031	.159	.117	-.115	-.121	.014	-.031
	4.60%	3.10%	(.200)	(.336)	(.353)	(.396)	(.908)	(.827)
Achievement levels of students	0.083	0.156	-.142	.394	.226	-.008	.021	-.108
	8.30%	15.60%	(.289)	(.002)	(.094)	(.955)	(.871)	(.458)

Note: Figures in brackets under column R^2 are presented in %age and the rest in brackets, under Community participation indicators are significant at 95% confidence level.

Active participation of the SDMCs exercised positive influence on enrolment, though it is not statistically significant. Student attendance in schools is influenced by active SDMC participation, which exercised positive influence on student achievement levels also (Vide Tables-19). SDMC participation and retention are not statistically significant but the SDMCs are potential enough to exert influence on retention. 'Parent enquiries on child education' and 'student achievement levels' could not significantly influence each other. 'Discussions in the village council meetings' is a significant factor, at least up to 90 per cent, in influencing school enrolment levels.

5. Conclusions

By and large, the community was mobilised for collective action on identified school issues. It was made aware of its roles to ensure quality education from schools. Improved relationships among teachers, the community, SDMC and the GP were discernable. Efforts of the SDMCs, Civic Amenities Committee (CAC) and the GP members with the other line departments were observed to develop school as an institution. School annual events were organised with enthusiasm by the village community. Village youth was equipped to evince interest on school development by setting up linkages with the SDMCs and the GP members. All eligible children attend schools either in the same village or in the neighborhood. Those who, hitherto involved in agricultural operations particularly during the months of November and December, are guided to attend the school for a full academic year. SDMC members were regular in attending cluster level network meetings. In these meetings they could share success stories to gain insights from the experiences of other SDMC members. Pro-active community participation was observed to provide physical facilities to schools, like drinking water, separate toilets for girls, kitchen and the playground.

Community participation in the process of education was influential enough to augment children's achievement, attendance and retention levels. Results reveal significant differences in 'attendance as percentage to enrolment' and 'Participation of the SDMC members in school development activities'. Growth in 'Retention' is positive, but not statistically significant. Decreased mean difference in school enrolment between two time periods is significant which came down to -8.18%. This is in consonance with the pattern, as observed in most of the government-run schools in the State.

Discussion in Village Council Meetings is one of the potential and positively determining factors to improve school enrolment. Its relationship with school enrolment depicted positive growth over the previous levels. Discussions in VCMs are also potential enough to influence school attendance. Its influence increased from 10 per cent in the pre-project period to 24 per cent. Achievement levels of students are influenced significantly due to pro-active participation of the SDMC members in school development processes, which grew up to 39.4 per cent. Student achievement is not largely uniform; variations are discernable across the regions. Participation of the community and the SDMC members has little positive influence on retention levels. Parents' enquiries on child learning came down from 22 per cent to -0.8 per cent, implying that parents are not so serious to follow up student learning levels in schools.

Attendance levels in about 95 per cent of sample schools were in higher brackets. About eight per cent differential growth in attendance, 3.69 per cent in retention levels and 1.21 per cent in student achievement levels, over baseline magnitudes indicate that designed communication processes enabled the community to work for school development.

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Annexure

Norms Set for Analysis

Having understood the problems of multi-collinearity, variable independence and heteroscedastic nature, tolerance levels were checked. Tolerance is expressed as percentage of variance in the respective predictor, which cannot be explained by the other predictors. When they are close to 0, there is a possibility for high multi-collinearity, contributing for inflated standard errors[7]. A variance inflation factor greater than two is usually considered problematic[8]. High tolerance to the tune of 70 to 95 per cent variance is explained by the selected predictors. As per high tolerance values, the selected variables are independent enough. Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is within permissible level of two. Assumption of linearity was to understand the average influence of community participation on school development. Given the relationship, the coefficient values in Table-1 indicate the strength of predictability in the model. Numerically, high and positive coefficient values exert greater influence on school development and the results can be better understood through standardised coefficients.

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[7] Weisbers. S, 1995, "Applied Linear Regression".

[8] Ibid

ANNEXURE: TABLE 1

**Multi-collinearity Statistics of Community Participation Indicators
in two time periods—Before and After**

Community Participation Indicators	Multi-collinearity Statistics	Time Periods	School Development Indicators			
			Percentage of attendance in enrolment	School Enrolment	Retention levels of students	Achievement levels of students
Participation of SDMC Members	Tolerance levels	Before	.955	.955	.955	.971
		After	.984	.984	.984	.983
	Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)	Before	1.047	1.047	1.047	1.029
		After	1.017	1.017	1.017	1.017
Parent enquiries on child education	Tolerance levels	Before	.955	.955	.955	.970
		After	.716	.716	.716	.737
	Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)	Before	1.047	1.047	1.047	1.031
		After	1.396	1.396	1.396	1.357
Discussions in the Gram Sabha	Tolerance levels	Before	.999	.999	.999	.999
		After	.708	.708	.708	.727
	Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)	Before	1.001	1.001	1.001	1.001
		After	1.413	1.413	1.413	1.375

Note : (i) Higher tolerance levels indicate proportion of variance not accounted by another variable in the equation
(ii) Larger VIF (reciprocal of variance) values (Above 2%) indicate Multi-collinearity

ANNEXURE: TABLE 2

Percentage of Retention in Schools: Before and After

Sl. No.	%age of retention in ranges: Before	%age of retention in ranges: After				Total
		0 to 25%	25 to 50%	51 to 75%	75.1 to 100%	
1.	0 to 25%	0	0	1	5	6
		0.0	0.0	1.4	7.0	8.5
2.	25.1 to 50%	0	0	1	0	1
		0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.4
3.	50.1 to 75%	1	0	4	11	16
		1.4	0.0	5.6	15.5	22.5
4.	75.1 to 100	2	1	1	44	48
		2.8	1.4	1.4	62.0	67.6
	Total	3	1	7	60	71
		4.2	1.4	9.9	84.5	100.0

FIGURE A.1

Enrollment levels in schools: Before & After
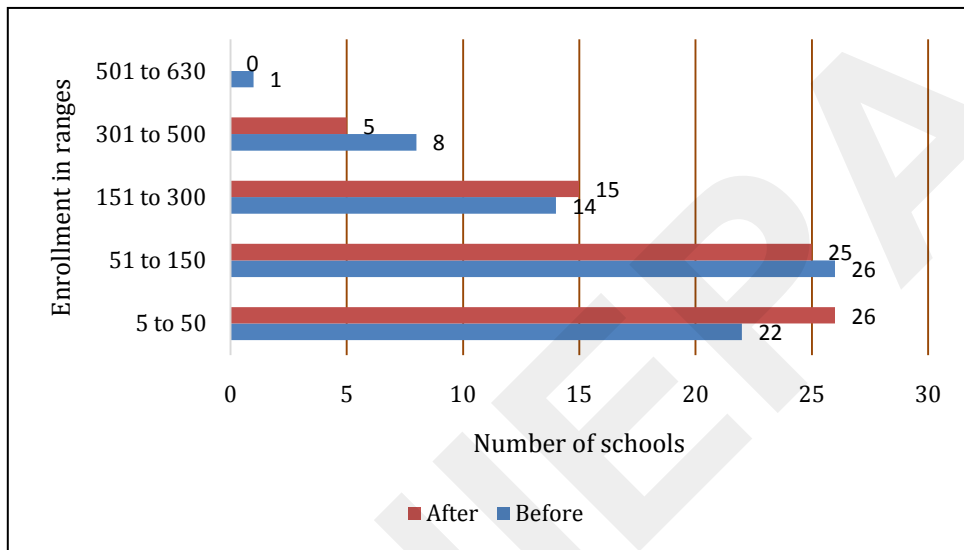
FIGURE A.2

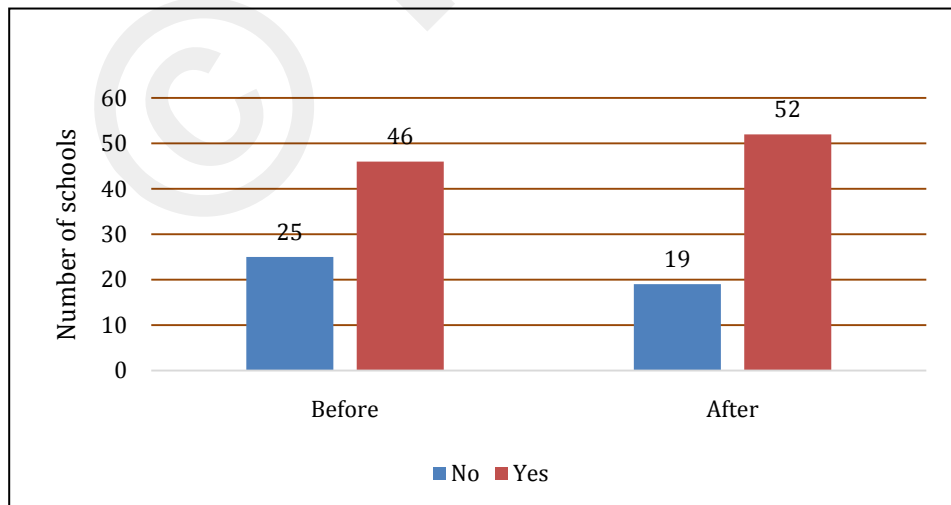**Discussions on education in Village Council Meetings (VCMs) or in the Gramsabhas: Before & After**

FIGURE A.3

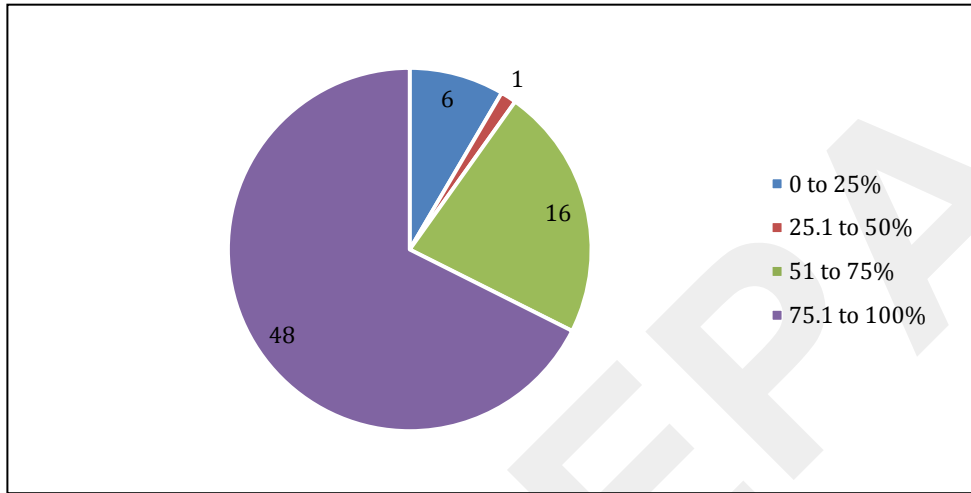**Percentage of retention in schools before experimentation**

FIGURE A.4

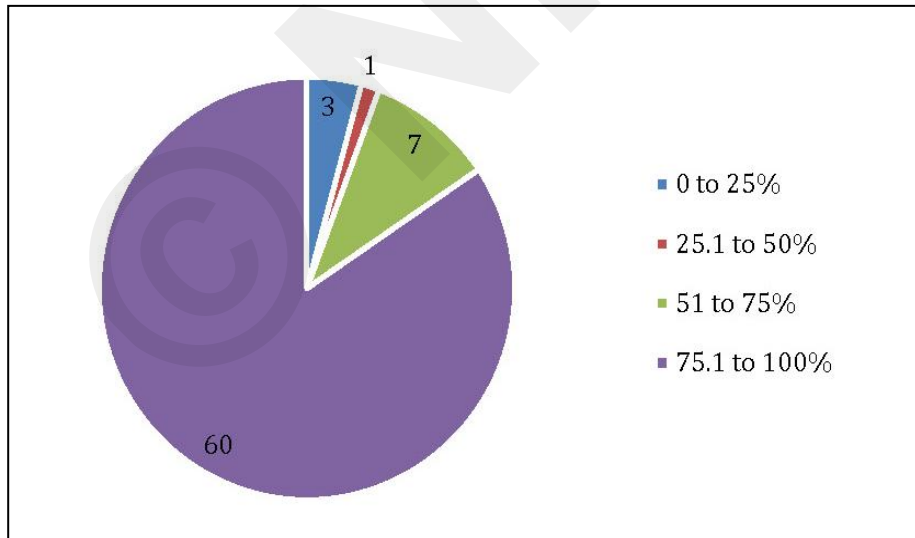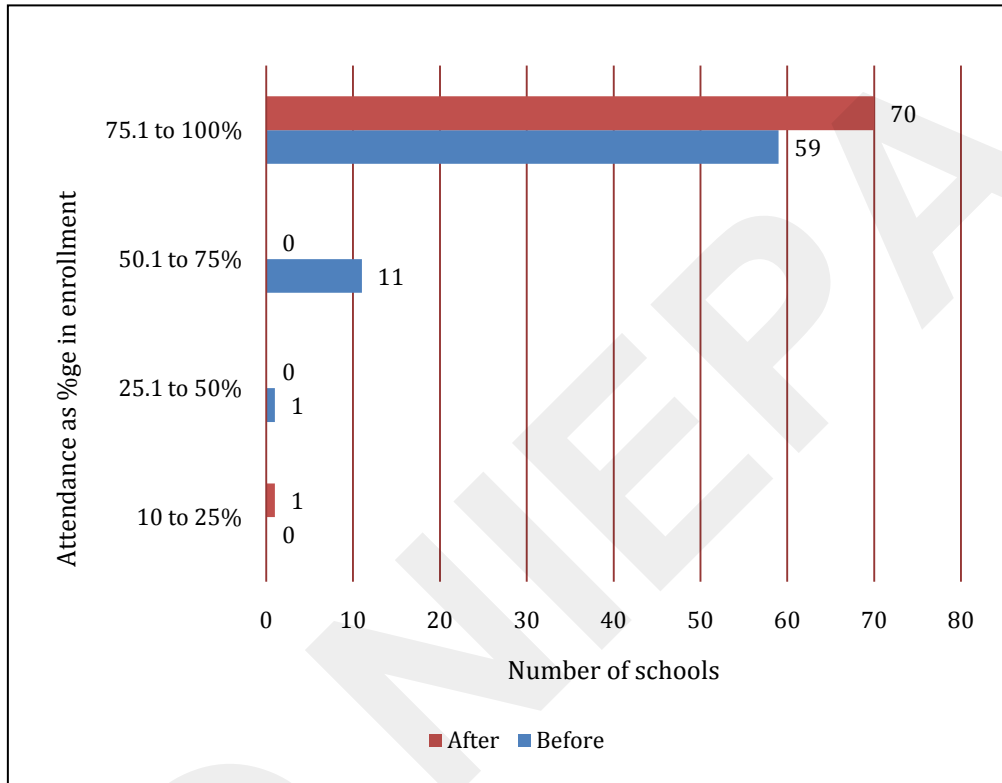**Percentage of retention in schools after experimentation**

FIGURE A.5

**Distribution of schools according to percentage of
attendance to enrollment: Before & After**

Role of Adult Education in Improvement of the Quality of Life of Neo-literates in Ajmer District of Rajasthan

Meenu Sharma[*]

Title	Role of Adult Education in Improvement of the Quality of Life of Neo-literates in Ajmer District of Rajasthan
Research Scholar	Meenu Sharma
Supervisor	Professor Rashmi Diwan
Department	Department of School and Non-formal Education, National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi-110016
Degree Awarded	Ph.D.
Year of Award of Degree	2015
Number of Pages	232
Availability of Thesis	Library, National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), New Delhi.

[*] National Council for Teacher Education, Hans Bhawan Wing II, 1, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi-110002. E-mail: meenusharma12feb@gmail.com

Introduction

Adult education has undergone tremendous changes in terms of policy, programme and practice during the last two decades. Research evidences on adult education reveal that adult education programme is directly related to people and their problems. Literacy plays an instrumental role to bring changes in one's life. It promotes self-reliance, confidence, knowledge and awareness among people so that they can solve their problems (UNESCO, 2001). Therefore, importance of research in adult education has been constantly stressed in educational policy documents and discourses from time to time. The United Nations Literacy Decade (UNLD, 2003–2012) has reached its mid-point, with initiatives and policy shifts which have provided a stronger basis for action on literacy. The rise in the global adult literacy rate (15+) from 76 to 83.6 per cent over the last two decades shows steady progress, with the rates in developing countries showing an even sharper rise from 68 to 79 per cent. The Literacy Initiative for Empowerment (LIFE) has given new impetus to efforts in countries with high literacy needs. However, progress overall is not enough to meet the 2015 Education for All goal of halving illiteracy rates.[1] Therefore, several policies and planning have extended various schemes in the country. In the 11th five-year plan (2007-2012), the Government of India put forward the idea of expanding the scope of adult education as Lifelong Education and Awareness Programme (LEAP). Subsequently, the 12th five-year plan (2012-2017), promoted Adult Literacy with *Saakshar Bharat* Mission as the main vehicle, with focus on districts having 50 per cent adult female literacy rate or below, on women, SC/ST and minorities covering all the Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBS). According to the Census 2011, the overall literacy rate has increased from 64.8 per cent in 2001 to 74.0 per cent in 2011 in India. Improvement in female literacy has been more rapid than male literacy and the gender gap has declined to 16.7 percentage points in 2011 from 21.6 percentage points in 2001. The mean years of schooling of the working age population (over 15 years) increased from 4.2 years in 2000 to 5.12 years in 2010.[2]

It emerges that India has witnessed several remarkable changes since the inception of the National Literacy Mission (NLM) in the sector of Adult Education to tackle the problem of illiteracy. The first nation-wide attempt at eradication of illiteracy was made through the National Adult Education Programme launched on October 2, 1978. The objectives of this programme were not merely to impart literacy in the conventional sense, but also provide functional awareness to promote efficiency among Neo-literates.[3] In 1988, the National Literacy Mission (NLM) was launched in the country. The National Education Policy-1986, as modified in 1992, recognised NLM as one of the instruments to eradicate illiteracy from the country. Hence, the Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) became the principal strategy of NLM for eradication of illiteracy. However, TLCs addressed only the literacy component. Post-literacy (PL), therefore, became imperative, to address the aspirations which remained unaddressed during TLC. Even after five or six years, TLC and PLC were inadequate when it came to

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[1] Richmond, M., Robinson, C., and Sachs-Israel, M., (Eds.), (2008): *The Global Literacy Challenge:* A Profile of Youth and Adult Literacy at the Mid-point of the United Nations Literacy Decade 2003-2012.

[2] Planning Commission (2011): "Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth: An Approach to the Twelfth Five Year Plan" (2012-17). GOI

[3] www.teindia.nic.in/mhrd/50yrsedu/y/3T/9U/3T9U0201.htm

making learners self-reliant. A separate Continuing Education (CE) phase was felt necessary and was introduced in 1996. Providing learning opportunities on a continuous basis and improving quality of life of Neo-literates became a major agenda of NLM under the Continuing Education Programme. Thus, this study has examined the role of adult education in the improvement of quality of life of Neo-literates.

Rationale of the Study

The present study of adult education and quality of life is important because the purpose of adult education is not confined to conferring knowledge and skills for getting employment only. It aims to increase the general ability and willingness of people, in their role as citizens, to become involved in and to influence the further development of society. In this context, literacy is considered the basic step towards adult education. However, in the face of persistent social and economic problems, applications of literacy skills acquired by the Neo-literates often remain a difficult proposition. Therefore, sustaining of literacy among Neo-literates is a challenge which hampers promotion of adult education in India. Hence, what is needed is an opportunity to consolidate their skills and utilise their newly acquired knowledge and skills to improve their quality of life. To achieve this goal, learning must become an inherent practice of Neo-literates and continuing education must become an essential part of their lives. With this as a goal, the present research has made an attempt to understand the role of adult education for the quality of life of Neo-literates residing in Ajmer district of Rajasthan. The following have been the objectives of the study:

- To study the benefits of Adult Education for individuals and the community as a whole in the context of Quality of Life.
- To examine the extent to which Adult Education has made a difference in a person's ability for self-directed learning and skill-upgradation leading to overall improvement in the Quality of Life of Neo-literates.
- To compare the role of Adult Education in two different areas, the urban and rural areas.
- To study the contribution of Adult Education among the marginalised groups, SC/ST and women in particular, in improving their Quality of Life.
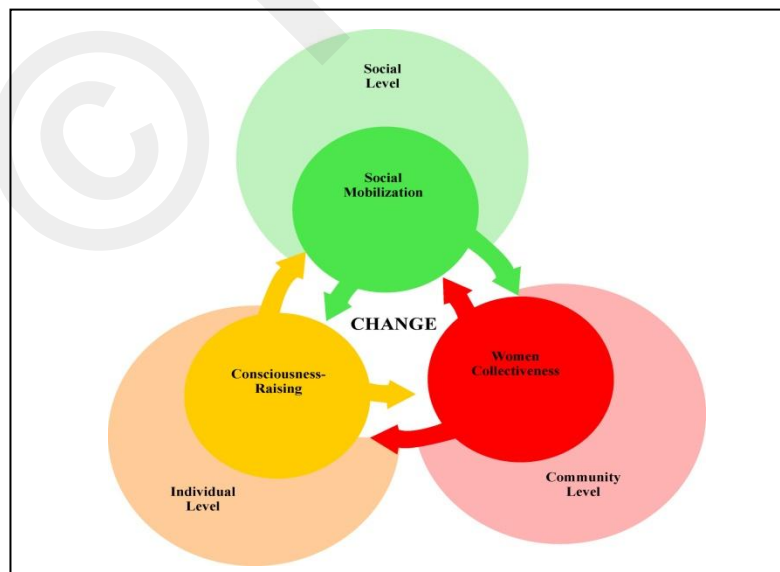
Review of Related Literature

The review of related literature is classified under the specific title of Women Empowerment, Sustainable Livelihood and Life Skills in chapter 2. These three dimensions were found to be prominent and distinguished in national and international literature. Therefore, they have been consciously selected. First set of studies related to *Empowerment* which emphasises that women get empowerment by being together through the literacy campaign (Ramachandran, V., 1996; & Pant, M., 2004). Second set of studies on *Sustainable livelihood* reveals that literacy is the essential pre-requisite and retention of literacy is the necessary condition to achieve sustainable livelihood (Alam, K. R., 2004; Bhola, H.S., 2006; and Islam, M and Manzur, K., 2007). Last set of studies on *Life skills* discloses that literacy is seen as a tool to develop skills for social and economic competence among learners and other beneficiaries (Karim, N.A., 1992; Roberson, D.N., 2004; and Nagpal, V., 2010).

The literature discussed comprehensively suggested that there is a direct relationship between adult education and the quality of life. These studies by and large emphasise the role of adult education for women empowerment, poverty reduction, and improvement in life skills. Examination of studies brings to the fore that each problem is seen as a distinct domain, rather than a composite whole. Nevertheless, no studies have looked at the interrelationships among the three dimensions and the consequences of each or in totality on the life of Neo-literates. In addition, the role of adult education has been studied primarily in adding up figures for the literate masses. The studies so far have also not constructed any theoretical outline to observe the impact of literacy programme in India. However, the identification of the pertinent dimensions through literature exploration has helped in constructing theoretical framework for the study.

Theoretical Framework

An attempt is made in chapter 3 to develop the theoretical framework from diverse sources. One of the foremost sources has been drawn from the humanistic perspective derived from Malcolm Knowles's "*Andragogy*" model of Adult Education, which seeks to understand the adult learning process. Based on the *feminist* perspective, it has drawn the fundamental essence to understand women's participation in the literacy programme. In the present study, consciousness-raising at the individual level, women collectiveness at the community level and social mobilisation at the social level are drawn as major essential outputs of adult education programme and other development interventions in Ajmer district.

FIGURE 1

Conceptual Framework drawn from Feminist Perspective in the Context of Adult Education

The last and one of the most significant aspects of this framework has been conceptualised by the *review of related literature*. It has helped to draw a varied construct to identify the significant variables to measure "Quality of Life". The pictorial representation of framework for the study is presented below:

FIGURE 2

Theoretical Framework Developed by Researcher to Conceptualise Quality of Life
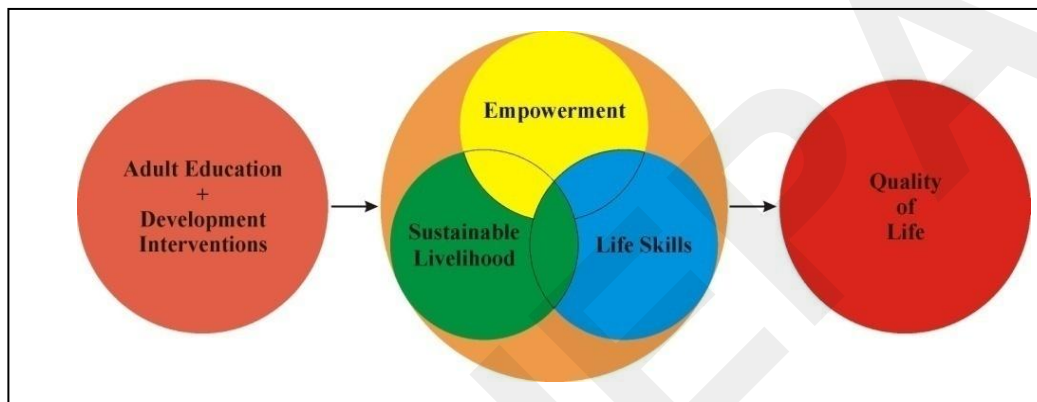
Hence, the concept of quality of life can be seen as comprising three dimensions, which are operationally defined as follows:

Operational Definition of Quality of Life

1) *Empowerment* is defined as the ability to make changes which primarily includes the decision-making power of a person.
2) *Sustainable livelihood* is defined as people's capacities to exercise choices, to access opportunities and resources, and use them for their livelihood.
3) *Life skills* are defined as the ability of self-directed learning, coping with the changes and adaptability.

Operational Definition of Other Terms

Adult Education: Adult Education is understood as a transmission process of general, technical or vocational knowledge, as well as skills, values and attitudes. It takes place out of the formal education system with a view to remedying early education inadequacies of mature people or equipping them with the knowledge and cultural elements required for their self-fulfilment and active participation in the social, economic and political life of their societies for improvement in their quality of life.[4]

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[4] Definition is derived by UNESCO from *International Encyclopaedia of Education,* 3rd edition*,* School of Education and Social Policy: USA, (2010), p. 2

Neo-literates: A Neo-literate is an adult or an adolescent who did not or could not make use of the available educational opportunities on time and who at a later stage acquired the skills of literacy through formal or non-formal approaches.[5]

Data and Methodology

In the light of research objectives, mixed methodology was applied using the method of *Survey Research* on urban and rural areas of Ajmer district of Rajasthan. The main focus of the study was confined to the Continuing Education (CE) phase and, therefore, has selected all the beneficiaries specifically in the age group of 15-35 and onwards of the Continuing Education Programme and Jan *Shiksha Sansthan* residing in the selected areas for four years (since 2005-2009). Mainly two groups were selected: CE group (Literate Group) and JSS group (Vocational Group). The rationale of selecting Rajasthan is based on its successful story of literacy achievement. The UNESCO award of *Confucius* was given to the State in 2006 for its 'Useful Learning through Literacy and Continuing Education Programme'. The State also achieved the distinction of being awarded the prestigious UNESCO Literacy Mission Award in the year 2000 and *Satyen Maitra* Award in 1997-98. In this study, *Multistage Cluster (Area) sampling* is taken as a sampling technique followed by different stages for the selection of sample:

- *Stage 1:* Selection of the highest number of beneficiaries of CE from the State of Rajasthan from 2005-2009.[6] District *Ajmer* was found to have the maximum number of beneficiaries and therefore, it was selected for the study.

- *Stage 2:* Selection of one block out of eight blocks of the district; data given by the administrators of ZSS. Block *Kishangarh* was selected for the present study[7].

- *Stage 3:* From the block, sub-villages- *Udaipur Kalan, Udaipur Khurd, Godiyana, Kachariya* and *Silora* from Silora *panchayat samiti* and from 40 municipal corporation wards, eight wards were selected. The sub-areas of these wards in urban Ganj-*Nagra, Kamalabaudi, Longia, Babugarh* and *Delhi gate* were selected. Both urban and rural areas were identified, based on the criteria defined by Census of India.

- *Stage 4:* Through *purposive* sampling method, *Neo-literates* from households from both areas were selected.

The total sample size was 1220. From urban Ganj areas, half of the whole population, i.e., 300 from CE group and 400 Neo-literates from JSS group, were there, whereas from rural Silora areas, two-third of the whole population, i.e., 240 from CE group and 280 Neo-literates from JSS group were selected for the study. The following tools were devised and the validity and reliability (which was found to be 0.65 by test-retest method for rating scale) of research tools was computed by the researcher and employed on Neo-literates:

- Questionnaires: Initial part of the questionnaire deals with general information. The later part includes literacy benefits for Neo-literates at individual and community level.

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[5] Accessed by http://www.nlm.nic.in on September 17, 2008.
[6] Source of data: Monitoring Performa of Continuing Education Programme, March 2009, ZSS, Ajmer, Rajasthan.
[7] Source of data: Primary Census Data-2001 accessed by Vikas Darpan popkishan lit.htm

- Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) of 20 statements were prepared to substantiate the gathering of qualitative information.
- Case Profiles were prepared on 25 Neo-literates who have shown marginal improvement in their quality of life.
- Three-point rating scale used on all Neo-literates (1220) to examine the degree of agreement of Neo-literates about how Adult Education has made an overall improvement in their quality of life.
- Interview Schedule administered on six *preraks* and five administrators including project officers.

Major Findings

This section highlights the summary of the major findings which is presented in Chapter 5 in the thesis. The first set of findings are based on the *first* and *second objectives* of the study. Findings based on quantitative and qualitative analysis is presented in the later part of this section.

Benefits Gained by Neo-literates at Individual and Community Level

The major benefits of literacy at personal level were good health, cleanliness, saving time and money and concentrating household affairs rated by Neo-literates. Therefore, at the *individual level,* literacy programme has brought awareness among them. At the *community level*, it was found that the Neo-literates developed the feeling of belongingness. Neo-literates also have learnt to live in cooperation through the formation of Self Help Groups (SHGs) in both areas.

Self-directed Learning among Neo-literates by Literacy Attainment

In urban areas, Neo-literates are updating knowledge and information for their future. They have learnt, up to now from the literacy and training programmes. On the other hand, in rural areas, a few of them from general category were keeping record of their daily wages, earning from farming and so on to direct their work in a more systematic manner. In addition, male Neo-literates were found to be more deeply involved in a variety of self-directed learning programmes such as agricultural production, milk or dairy production and bell-making.

Quantitative Analysis

This section (from chapter 5) presents descriptive analysis of findings based on the profile of Neo-literates such as categories of Neo-literates and their proficiency in literacy, gender, caste and religious background. Major findings are as follows:

- In urban areas, 88.7 per cent Neo-literates from 'TL-PL' and 86.0 per cent from 'CE' categories 'can read and write easily'. In rural areas, 63.1 per cent Neo-literates from 'TL-PL' and 59.7 per cent from 'CE' categories 'can read and write easily' from this group. In JSS group, more than half per cent (55.0%) from 'School drop-out' were unable to read in both areas. Similarly, 47 per cent from 'CE' Category 'can read a little bit'. In rural

areas, 54.1 per cent from 'School-drop-out' category 'can read a little bit' and 47.9 per cent of Neo-literates belonged to 'Any Other' category were ''unable to read' from this group. It is inferred that literacy attainment was the major priority of CE programme. On the other hand, providing vocational skills to Neo-literates was the major function of JSS programme. Therefore, in CE group, Neo-literates were more comfortable in reading and writing than those from the JSS group.

- Religion and caste were found to be important determinants to understand the cause of illiteracy. About 68.2 per cent of Hindu Neo-literates were in CE group and 92.6 per cent in JSS group belonged to SC community in urban areas. The maximum percentage of Muslims (88.3%) belongs to OBC community in both groups. Similarly, maximum percentage (78%) indicates that Muslims in majority are residing in urban Ganj. In rural areas, 67 per cent of Hindu Neo-literates in CE group and 68.2 per cent in JSS group were found to be from OBC community. There was no Muslim community in rural areas. Significant presence of Muslims from the OBC category in Ganj areas inferred that Muslim Neo-literates from lower castes were less encouraged to get education. It could be due to their poor economic condition and conservative mind-set.

- Findings based on gender reveal that the maximum percentage of female Neo-literates (78.0%) was in OBC caste in CE group. On the contrary, more than half (59.3%) female Neo-literates from OBC and nearly one-third (31.8%) from SC were in JSS group. Only 10 per cent were found in CE group from this caste in urban areas. On the other hand, in rural areas, maximum percentage of female Neo-literates (66.3%) is found from OBC caste in CE group. On the other hand, 68.6 per cent from the same caste and 20.1 per cent from the general category were found in JSS group. It could be inferred that there is an inequality of educational opportunities among the lower caste of female groups. Moreover, it could be inferred that women were not culturally given equal chances to go to school as men and were most likely to be withdrawn to be married.

- For the third objective, to see the difference between groups and areas, t-test has been calculated. It was found that there was a significant difference between CE and JSS in both urban Ganj and rural Silora areas, as well as within urban Ganj and within rural Silora on all the three components of quality of life as t-values obtained significant at 0.01 levels. It is inferred that CE group have attained more benefits of literacy than JSS. Similarly, mean value obtained was higher for rural Silora areas as compared to urban Ganj areas except for the component of life skills.

- In order to find out the interactive effect of variables on different groups within both the areas on quality of life, Analysis of Variance was calculated. Results indicated that there was a significant difference among both CE and JSS groups and both urban Ganj and rural Silora areas for empowerment (F =67.8, p< 0.01), Sustainable livelihood (F= 23.8, p< 0.01), Life skills (F=271.6, p< 0.01), and Quality of life (F=279.5, p< 0.01) for main effects. It is clear that there was a significant difference among both areas and both groups for Adult Education and its role for bringing quality of life.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative data was analysed using thematic, narrative and content analysis methods. Thematic analysis was carried out for the focused group discussions. Content analysis was done on the responses from the interviews with administrators, *preraks* and

other officials of Adult, CE and JSS programmes. Successful case beneficiaries were also documented in this section. Narratives were translated in English and have also been added to the thematic analysis and successful cases.

Thematic Analysis of Focused Group Discussion

The following themes emerged from the analysis of focused group discussions and were categorisized within three parameters of the quality of life. Analysis of each theme has been discussed with the support of research evidences under the section of qualitative analysis in chapter 5.

Empowerment

Women Neo-literates found a number of changes in their lives. These changes classified under the economical, cognitive and behavioural changes:

- *Economical Changes:* Income generating activities of literacy programme enhanced family income of Neo-literates. Many of them from Self Help Groups in urban Ganj areas were operating small micro business such as papad-making, tailoring and bag-making units. Similarly, in rural Silora, women were pursuing a number of income generating activities, e.g. painting, embroidery and decorative items-making. Such income generating activities have brought economic changes in their life.

- *Cognitive and Behavioural Changes:* Women Neo-literates expressed that there was a change in mindsets of their families. Due to literacy, stereotypical beliefs about gender have changed.

- *Role of SHG in Social and Economical Changes:* Formation of SHG of Neo-literates has empowered them at the economical and social level. These groups begin their agenda with savings and this strategy promotes self-sufficiency and independence amongst poorer women.

Sustainable Livelihood

Different programmes of literacy have benefited Neo-literates in sustaining their livelihood.

- *Poverty Reduction*: Vocational and technical trainings have helped Neo-literates in poverty reduction. They expressed their views favouring Income Generating Programme, as they have gained employment and became economically secured. In addition, many of the Neo-literates have started their own small business under the scheme called "*Laghu Kuteer Udhyog*" with the help of "Rajashthan Aajivika Mission". These trainings have brought sustainability of livelihood in their life.

- *Role of SHGs in Sustainable Livelihood*: Self-help groups have encouraged savings and credit activities and were seen as one of the effective methods of socio-economic development. They have empowered women by saving money through group formations. It has resulted in sustaining their livelihood.

Life Skills

Adult education programme along with other development interventions has given an opportunity to Neo-literates to build up their life skills to lead a better life.

- *Self Esteem and Self Image*: Due to literacy attainment, Neo-literates have become confident and independent. They possess a different identity at home, enhanced image in their society and community.
- *Self-Dependence*: Neo-literates have gained self-dependence. They are able to handle things independently and confidently. For example, women Neo-literates themselves can draw money from the bank.
- *Group Solidarity and Community Participation*: Group formation by different community members inculcated a sense of solidarity and also a 'we' feeling among Neo-literates. Women's groups have emerged as strong power groups.

Success Stories of Neo-literates

To attempt the *fourth objective* of the study, success stories of diverse groups were also documented. These success cases were selected specifically from disadvantaged groups from both urban and rural areas. These cases were also selected from different religions to examine the socio-cultural factors of being illiterate. This way of documentation substantiated the claims that there exist considerable educational gaps among diverse social groups. Additionally, cases from such groups helped to understand their defeat over illiteracy in their own socio-cultural context. It was found that the factors related to their poverty and socio-economic conditions are the deep-seated causes of educational backwardness of Hindu and Muslim groups in the spatial context in which they live. Low literacy among them may be an articulation of an overall depressed milieu-withholding their particular deprivation. Thus, Muslims in general and Muslim women in particular are disadvantageously placed vis-a-vis their Hindu counterparts, a situation widely prevalent in urban areas of the district.

Content Analysis

The last section of qualitative analysis in chapter 5 presents the content analysis of interviews of *Preraks* and other administrators. It was suggested by them that all Neo-literates should have the opportunity to fulfil their potential as workers, as individuals, as members of their family and local community. Enabling adults to develop the skills to get a sustainable job is the best anti-poverty strategy and this could be possible by literacy thrash out by the *Preraks*. Further, they feel that the responsibility and implementation of any new schemes need to be assigned to community based groups like *Panchayati Raj* Institutions (PRIs), NGOs or other developmental organisations as they are well aware of Neo-literate's family background, their needs, aspirations, etc.

Conclusion, Policy Implications and Recommendations

It could be concluded that literacy programme along with other development interventions have helped Neo-literates in gaining practical knowledge to deal with day-to-day living. They have become aware towards all valuable information such as banking schemes, laws regarding their rights and duties. Undoubtedly, literacy leads to empowerment because it leads to acquisition of essential information, knowledge and skills.

This study suggests that there is a need for policy formulation that could focus on partnership between government and non-government sectors for developmental schemes.

Similarly, all allied organisations such as *Saksharata Samitis* (ZSS), CE and JSS need to work as a network for bringing synergy in their efforts. Further, there is a need to document the positive cases to facilitate evolving of rights-based policy. There is also a need to enquire critically on various other aspects of adult education through context-specific studies. These may include learning needs; gender equity, grass-root planning and implementation, motivation based studies for identifying barriers in the participation of SC, ST and women and other significant issues that have not been covered in earlier researches.

At last, this thesis makes a contribution towards understanding the role of adult education for improvement of quality of life of Neo-literates. Viewing literacy in a 'Quality of Life' theoretical framework suggests a more specific focus on how it impacts and improves quality of life of the Neo-literates. The benefits of literacy have been examined empirically through observed outcomes in the present research. Literacy from such an angle draws the attention to figure out the role of literacy in *'doing* and *being'*, involving particular forms of learning that is relevant for particular context. This study also offers theoretical insights so that adult educationists can benefit in their future researches.

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CONTENTS

Book Reviews

The concept of internationalisation is not a new phenomenon. It emerged in developing countries for the pursuance of academic objectives and hence, strengthening of socio-cultural bondage between the countries concerned. But in recent decades, with the intrusion of neo-liberal market principles in the functioning of higher education system and with massification of higher education, the developed countries are in an advantageous position in terms of growth and development of international higher education (IHE). The developing countries have remained only as followers of the new policy orientation in IHE by the developed countries with the changing dimension of IHE. In case of India, while the foreign education institutions bill 2010 is still pending, the rising student and faculty mobility, partnerships, branch campuses, twinning and collaborating activities by different higher education institutions to get benefited in the neo-liberal market economy has raised issues of regulations and quality in the provision of higher education. Though India has not yet become compliant with the rules and regulations under all the modes under GATS agreement, yet the interests of many higher education institutions (HEIs) to undertake such kind of activities has necessitated a thorough study of such activities in the Indian context. This book by the author is a timely publication at this juncture of massification of higher education and internationalisation.

The book consists of ten chapters reflecting the evolving process of IHE influenced and modified by the socio-cultural environments in the context of Indian higher education in the changing world scenario. The author describes the transitions in the process of IHE as the pathways representing different generations of internationalisation. The author has used the terms such as cross boarder higher education (CBHE), transnational higher education (TNHE or TNE), boarderless higher education (BHE) and offshore higher education (OHE) interchangeably, as parts of internationalisation to signify the changing landscape of the IHE.

In the initial two chapters, the author has discussed in length and breadth the evolution of CBHE all over the world, along with India. The theoretical and practical demarcation between globalisation and internationalisation is drawn in the beginning of the chapter. It is viewed in the chapter that the IHE in the present context indicates the relationship between institutions and nations or relation between diversified cultures and relationship between global and local. The author has mentioned the various rationales for the emergence of IHE, particularly in developing countries like India. The framework of CBHE in the recent decades, as pointed by the author, relies on the 4Ps drawn from Jane Knight such as people, programmes, providers and projects.

Globally, international student mobility is the main driver of IHE. There has been a transition in the movement of international students from South-North to South-South in the

recent decades, with the emergence of better and low cost higher education providers like China, Singapore, Malaysia and India. These students are argued to be strivers who have low financial resources but high academic preparedness. The arguments for possible threats of 'Brain Drain' or the opportunities for 'Brain Gain' depends on the dimension of the argument, i.e., whether it is for an individual or an institution per se or whether it is a developed or developing country and their respective socio-economic status.

Similarly, it is basically the STEM subjects that gain higher popularity for study abroad programmes (SAP) chosen by the students of developing countries. The students who are going abroad are from the upper strata of population with higher aspiration and manage to arrange the tuition fees. Still, the living costs in the developed countries measured in foreign currency, particularly in dollars, hinder such aspirations. Besides, the employability post completion of the course cannot be ruled out, especially when the degrees are from any non-American or non-European countries. On the other hand, the complexity of the higher education system in the developing countries along with the social, cultural and political barriers may not be encouraging for the students coming from abroad to India though the number of international students is only 0.1 per cent of the total students. In chapter nine, the merits of IHE associated with SAP are discussed but the inherent difficulties associated with SAP depending on the socio-cultural and political environment of the provider country always acts as a hindrance for absorbing the benefits of SAP by the students from the sender country. With the similar note, the quality of education provided even in the so called low ranked universities of countries in the North part of the world is difficult to assess. Though study India programme (SIP) is promoted by different stake holders with the help of Indian government, there is a need for a particular framework to be developed and for pointing out the indicators regarding how to achieve them.

In the knowledge economy of this millennium with new innovative technology being experimented in higher education system across the globe, distance education is argued to improve access to higher education. However, the conventional distance education methods like print material and audio-video aids have helped in liberal education, but it has yet to reach the masses in many developing countries like India. In this context, the online education methods like Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) and Open Education Resources (OER) in the 21st century has got limited impact for several groups of learners who are not even exposed to conventional methods. In this regard, there is a long way to go but the beneficial impact of this new generation innovation may not be ignored as mentioned in the book in chapter four. Different providers of the technology like edX, Coursera and Udacity having different features in their operation are expensive enough for majority of students and HEIs, besides shortfalls in quality, delivery system, coverage of courses, human resources, etc.

The activities under mode 3 of GATS agreement such as twinning programmes, franchising and international branch campuses (IBC) or off shore campuses (OSC) among others are been practised by selective countries with selective institutions. It is rightly mentioned in the book that the issues of quality and accreditation, less concern about the needs and culture of partner country, non-recognition of credentials, etc., hinder the adoptability of this method. But the evidences of emerging private higher education providers with a business motive giving lesser emphasis to the partner country is a serious issue to address under this mode. Though true for other sectors of higher education, if it is medical education, then the problem related to the location of the branch campus and its

curriculum matters a lot to different sections of population in a country like India with less effective regulatory mechanisms. The most recent innovation in IHE is the establishment of education hubs especially for professional courses. But as mentioned in chapter seven, India does not have any strategic policy so far as education hubs are concerned and it needs some reforms related to the Foreign Education Providers Bill, making higher education as limited profit enterprise along with few other measures. But the inherent difficulties related to access and quality in the provision of higher education even in the so called elite HEIs like IITs or IIMs are impossible to ignore while considering carving out a plan for education hubs.

It has been pointed out in the book that there is a matter of incapability on the part of the national quality assurance mechanisms to deal with the CBHE, due to their lack of knowledge and experience. The author suggests some pathways to internationalisation in the last chapter of the book. But, how they can be achieved is not clear from the text. The brief gists of the articles given in the annexure are quite helpful to further broaden the vision in IHE.

The book, in fact, has touched upon the important aspects of IHE around the globe. It is filled with rich source of information related to different dimensions of IHE that would enrich the understanding of the readers. It encourages a further in-depth study of each and every chapter that can be very resourceful in the Indian context. It may further be subdivided into stream-wise analysis of the IHE in India and the related advantages and disadvantages therein. With limited publications in the area of internationalisation of higher education in the Indian context, this book would be a ready reference for the researchers, policy makers and other stakeholders who want to explore the evolution of internationalisation in Indian higher education sector and its implications and necessary measures to promote internationalisation of higher education to reap its benefits.

Centre for Policy Research in Higher Education   **Jinusha Panigrahi**
NUEPA, New Delhi-110016   jinusha@nuepa.org

KHADRIA, Binod (2012): *India Migration Report 2010-2011: The Americas*, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, pp. 143.

India Migration Report 2010-11: The Americas presents an overview of emigration from India to major destination countries of the Americas (North America, Middle America and South America) along with the comparative perspectives of other diaspora in America and return migration to India. The report covered detailed aspects such as historical, trends and patterns of migration in the context of Indian and other communities. It discusses cost, benefits and future action plan in the context of flows of Indian migration. The report provides a broader framework of relationship between economic growth and regional development in the perspective of international migration. Khadria, general editor of the report, argues that the security concern after 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 and, severe economic instability in 2008 recession are critical events that need to be considered while exploring recent trends in migration from/to India. In the 21st century, noticeable changes have been observed in India-US flows of labour, economic partnership and trade.

The overall report provides the insightful details of Indian migration realities in the context of the Americas. This report has been analysed on the basis of large scale data

collected from different sources and interpretation of the results primarily based on the extensive sources of data. The report comprises a preface and seven main chapters, along with nine (9) appendices. There are impressive number of figures, maps and tables included in the text, along with informative boxes which focused on various issues of migration ("Literacy Test: Keeping Brown out of the white West"; "A Personal Dive into Diversity"; "The H-1B Visa Programmes and Skilled Migration From India"; "American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin, AAPI"; "Indians Using Mexico as Transit country", "Failure of Arizona Bill" "US Needs Best and Brightest Migrants). All chapters in this report are based on the empirical facts and describe the contemporary Indian migration capabilities.

Chapter 1 documents the Indian migration to the Global North in the Americas, specifically in the United States (US). This chapter discusses the historical trend and pattern of flows of migration with the background characteristics of migrants. The United States (US) is also well known as the 'Nation of Immigrants' (Handlin 1973:3). Khadria pointed out that in the 19th century, mostly Indians had emigrated to the US as agricultural labourer class. After independence, Indian migration scenario has changed towards US. It had a predominance of 'Asian Indians'. They mostly comprised professional categories like doctors, engineers and IT workers, along with significant numbers of students. Massive scale data have been (stock trends, level, class of admission, students' migration) analysed with background characteristics of migrants.

Chapter 2 provides account of Indian immigrants in Canada. This chapter deals with history, stock and spatial patterns of Indian immigrants with their socio-demographic characteristics. The flow of labour of India to the two main countries of destination in the Americas, viz., the United States and Canada, are highly developed countries in the Global North. India holds one of the largest, most diverse and best educated ethnic minorities in Canada; as per the Census records of Canada, total of 6.5 million immigrants living in Canada in 2006. Among them, 4, 55,000 or more than seven per cent were of Indian origin. As per 2006, more than 60 per cent of them possess Canadian citizenship. Indians mainly live in ten provinces, namely Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Saskatchewan. A large number of Indian respondents know one or more other Indian languages as mother tongues (Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi and Tamil). Overall, 85 per cent of India-born immigrants had knowledge of English and 12 per cent knew both English and French. Occupation (based on the National Occupational Classification for Statistics 2006) referred to the kind of work done by persons aged 15 and over. Most of the Indian-born immigrants were found in sales and service occupation. Average income of Indian-born immigrants was around Canadian dollars (C$) 45,000 and the median was CS 36,000 for those who worked full time during 2005. As per the immigration data, India holds the major position of Rising Southern Economies in Canada in terms of flows of migration from India. India and China consistently dominated the immigration flows to Canada over those from Brazil, Russia, South Africa and Mexico from 1991 onwards.

Chapter 3 provides a wealth of material concerning both historical and contemporary flows of Indian emigration of highly skilled workers, students and teacher flows to the US. Majority of Indian emigration to US was in two most crucial sectors of the labour market: (i) Science and Engineering (S&E) personnel and (ii) school teachers. IIT Delhi Study (DST 1997) shows a very high rate of brain drain from the top institutions of science and technology in India, i.e., of engineers from IITs and of doctors from AIMS ranging between

21.6 per cent and 57.5 per cent. The number of Indian students has been the largest among international students in the US universities, taking all fields disciplines together (As per open door data). Within the S and E sector, Indian students formed the largest nationality in the US. They occupy the first rank among S and E students, followed by China, South Korea and Taiwan. India stood 2nd position in terms of sending doctoral students to the US after China. H-1B visa programme is not given enough attention considering its overall importance in the recruitment of Indian workers to the US. The share of all Asian countries, including India and China, was more than three-fourth of all the visas issued. The chapter discusses other important Indian immigrants groups, like the Indian school teachers. At present, Indian teachers are highly or largely migrating in search of better economic and professional opportunities in the US. In the US school teachers, nurses and the chefs, etc. are often classified as 'grey collar' jobs rather than the 'White Collar' jobs which are considered to be the forte of the highly skilled. In the present scenario, the US is facing shortage of school teachers, caused by various demographic and labour market factors. The demand of teachers are fulfilling mainly by the recruitment from the developing and other developed countries.

Chapter 4 gives the comparatively detailed account of the evolution of immigration laws in the US and Canada. It highlights the major migration legislation in these two countries that have affected the migration of people from different sending countries of the world in general and from India in particular. They include the Immigration Policy Act and various amendments which have been made, past and present, how they influence the "flows and stocks" of migration to these two countries. Table No: 4.1 and 4.2 which give the detailed account of the timeline, select provisions and implications for India, of each major legislation over the past 300 years in Canada and the US. In this chapter Khadria argues that how immigration policy can determine issues like how many immigrants required, from where, and in the possession of what kind of occupational and professional skills, at a certain point of time. For instance, Literacy Test in the US for controlling the 'poor quality of immigrants to the US' (Immigration Act of 1917). The Act prohibited the entry of 'Asiatic' (defined as persons from India, Indonesia, Afghanistan and Arabia) into the United States.

Chapter 5 gives the details of Indian migrants in the Global South in the Americas. This chapters discuss the Indian migrants in Caribbean, Central and South America. These regions have been receiving migration in plantation economy throughout the 19th and 20th centuries from Asia and Africa. Indian diaspora in the Caribbean is sometimes also known as part of the 'Plantation Diaspora'. Besides, unemployment, poverty, ostracism and social exclusion played a significant role in the emigration of Indians to plantations in the Caribbean countries. This Chapter also looks at India's engagement with the Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean after post-independence period. In the last decade of the 20th century, when the Government of India started making efforts to reconnect with the People of Indian Origin (PIO) scattered throughout the world and set up High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora to undertake a comprehensive review of the status of the people of Indian origin in terms of their aspirations, attitudes, requirements, strengths, weaknesses and expectations from India.

Chapter 6 entitled *Other Diaspora in the Americas: A Comparative Perspectives*, gives a brief account of the other diaspora (the African, the Chinese, the German, the British, the Jewish and the Japanese) in Global North and South Americas. According to Khadria the concept of diaspora is different from that of migration. According to Khadria (1999, 2008a)

while migration is a flow concept, diaspora signifies the stock which is function of the flow of migration over time. America has been well established with migration of people from varied ethnic backgrounds and its consolidation into varied diaspora over time, affected and got affected as well. Indian diaspora is much more important than the other diaspora. Indian diaspora has been the most successful diaspora in the US in every field like well educated, entrepreneurial, prosperous and fluent in English.

Chapter 7 is the final chapter that provides valuable information of return migration flows to India. It highlights the account of various factors/causes of return migration of Indians from the US. Moreover, different policies/programmes/schemes adopted from time to time, by the Government of India to engage with the Indian Diaspora and encourage return migration. This chapter has limited quantitative information of return migrants and mainly based on case studies or secondary sources of data. In India, Bengaluru city has become the major IT hub/destination Centre for Indian return migrants/American migrants from US. It is also known as the 'Silicon Valley' of India and major 'Corridor' for IT professionals from within and outside India. Implication of return migration has been noticed as 'reverse brain drain' in India.

Indian Migration Report 2010-11: the Americas provides comprehensive picture of various issues on migration. The report has been enriched using good source of data from different countries. All the information available in this report might be available elsewhere, but the Indian Migration Report is a wonderful collection of the extensive data and references which will help academicians/researchers and students who are working on the issues related to migration. The data and arguments presented by Khadria in the Indian Migration Report opens up several new avenues for further research on Indian immigration and emigration aspects from the perspectives of India and the Americas.

Centre for Study of Diaspora, Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, Gujarat

Naresh Kumar
naresh.kumar@cug.ac.in

LAURA E. Rumbley, ROBIN Matross Helms, PATTI McGrill Peterson and PHILIP G. Altbach (Eds) (2014): *Global Opportunities and Challenges for Higher Education Leaders,* Sense Publishers, pp. 251.

Given the need for higher education leaders to develop an international strategy for their institutions, the knowledge and perspective required to inform good decisions is very important. To address this need, The American Council on Education (ACE) and the Boston College Centre for International Higher Education (CIHE) in 2012 launched a publication and webinar series titled International Briefs for Higher Education leaders. The purpose of the series is to assist campus leaders in their efforts to make sense of a broad and complex set of issues inherent in the internationalisation of American higher education today. In an era of "information overload" and in the light of the realities of time constraints faced by busy institutional leaders, each brief publication is organised around one clearly defined topic. This book features the key themes of global engagement, China, India and the "southern cone" in Latin America. The editors have collected and classified the articles in a serious manner and organised the 51 articles into four parts of popular understanding, viz. Global

engagement—New Modalities; China-emerging opportunities and challenges for higher education cooperation; India-the next frontier and Argentina, Brazil, Chile "enhancing with the Southern Cone". Each part of the book starts with a well worked out introductory section.

The first part of the book entitled, "Global Engagement-New Modalities", has 13 sections/articles including the introductory part: the introductory section made a good attempt to define what is global engagement and by giving examples of collaborations and their commonly understood definitions including, degrees offered jointly by two institutions, double/dual degrees, branch campus, international study centres or teaching sites. The author also gives an idea about how globally engaged US institutions are in the recent years; the second section has made a valuable contribution in a presidential perspective on global engagement. The third section provides the scope and nature of global engagement of US institutions and has also noted that the foreign policy will drive broad institutional policy and the global engagement must be a central element of successful colleges and universities worldwide as mentioned in section four. The fifth section gives details on Global Engagement at US Community Colleges, their opportunities and fundamental challenges for sustaining their engagement; the sixth section made a good attempt on the strategic international partnerships which are effectively aligned with institutional strategic priorities and benefit faculty, students and the civic and commercial societies served. They have a critical place in the evolving role of research universities as global institutions of the 21st century. The seventh section discusses four important strategies for realising the vision of globally engaged liberal arts colleges, such as developing a robust partnership programme to meaningfully engage faculty, ensure a vibrant, deeply committed international community of students and define a global role for the institution. The author feels the kinds of global engagement described in the article will transform liberal arts colleges themselves. Moreover, what is learned about sustaining meaningful international dialogue and engagement can give liberal arts institutions a significant role to play in shaping the emerging global system of higher education and gathering new, collaboratively derived insights on critical issues. The eighth section is on Developing US partnerships: Perspectives from abroad; the author rightly mentioned that as international education has become much more sophisticated and competitive on a global basis, no longer can the US colleges and universities rely solely on such reputation factors when establishing partnerships. And the section provided some recommendations which can be considered while establishing successful partnerships with institutions abroad. The ninth section is on When Partnerships Fail: Lessons from the United Arab Emirates and Singapore, by Spencer Witte, the author discusses the foreseeable and unforeseeable issues that can contribute to souring of international relationships of all sizes and also recommended that steps can be taken before partnership is ended, either to scale back the relationship or address the shortcomings in its present form. The tenth section is on Institution-Industry partnerships abroad makes detailed note that in both research and education, many institutions and their partners are striving to make these relationships less transactional and more collaborative, with mutual benefits. It also mentions that in a rapidly globalising world, experiential learning partnerships must be global. The eleventh section on International Networks and Consortia has detailed discussion on the way an institution can expand its international focus through participation in multilateral partnerships, international networks and consortia, as these platforms may dramatically increase the institution's number of international partners and

opportunities for expanded international education, research and engagement. It discusses about the growing popularity of international consortia, types of consortia, characteristics of successful consortia and factors to consider in joining a consortium by an institution. The twelfth section on international joint and double degree programmes discusses in detail the definitions and scope of joint and double degrees (JDD) along with the administrative issues to be considered while developing JDD programmes, i.e., selection of partnering institution, degree requirement compatibility, developing sustainable programmes, programme delivery and evaluation process. In addition to administrative concerns addressed in the article, the author also addressed the collaborative engagements which are also subject to a host of regulatory legal and accreditation requirements and oversight, which administrators need to be aware of, before agreeing to any partnership. The thirteenth section discusses the global engagement and legal issues in which the author indicates that while dealing with the intricacies of laws and regulations may be a daunting prospect for many institutional leaders and administrators, a basic understanding of relevant legal issues and consideration is an important part of responsible global engagement. He also listed the issues and considerations, such as licenses and registrations, employment in a foreign location, export control laws, intellectual property issues, students studying abroad and foreign corrupt practices Act, which can serve as the beginning of a conversation among campus stakeholders. Some of the strategies which will help institutions gain a robust international presence, while protecting students, faculty, staff and institution itself from legal harm are to educate top leadership, to develop an international legal plan and to focus on communications.

Part 2 of the book on "China–Emerging opportunities and challenges for higher education cooperation" has 11 articles with a brief introduction about the part. Given the tremendous interest in higher education in China and the growing number of partnerships there with the US institutions, this part of the book brings more information about China's complex higher education system and the challenges and opportunities that China's internationalisation strategy presents. The first part discusses the historical background of internationalisation of its higher education system, opportunities for foreign universities in contemporary China for their engagement and the risk or the problems in this engagement are beautifully addressed in this article. The second part on Chinese Higher Education: Statistics and Trends, offers a brief summary on the analysis of higher education statistics and highlights key trends of increasing international students studying in Chinese institutions and the expanded initiatives of cross border higher education. The third part focuses on the complexities and some of the challenges of an expanding and developing Chinese academic system. The fourth section on China's elite sector and national projects discusses about the national initiatives to enhance leading universities' capacity and competitiveness and the history of such initiatives with the recognition of the "key universities" and how the development of a system of key universities has influenced and shaped higher education structure and reform in China. The fifth section touches a few major areas of reforms at Peking University along with the additional reforms at this university-in areas such as personnel policy and faculty development, student enrolment, job allocation and internationalisation. The sixth section on China's International strategy touches upon the interesting trend of China's international strategy to export Chinese knowledge. The seventh section is on US and Chinese Partnerships and their Dilemma, in which the author offers several questions that academic leaders should ask about the partnerships they have

and future partnerships that might arise. The author also addressed that the mismatch in the procedural timetables can cause real misunderstandings about the seriousness of the American commitment, therefore, he felt that university leadership must examine whether a China initiative is the best use of scarce resources. The eighth section on China and the Community College Connection, addresses the fact that for many community colleges the first useful step in crafting an inter-national strategy toward China is obtaining crucial institutional support from upper administration. Further, whether the initial academic and fiscal buying occurs through mission statements, strategic planning, faculty advocacy, or with personal connections- what is key is a consistent institutional commitment. The ninth article on planning a physical presence in China discusses in detail only permanent facilities and excludes language and study abroad programmes hosted by Chinese universities. The tenth article addresses the issue of becoming education agencies for admission of Chinese students to US institutions a booming business in China in which use of agents is a controversial practice that has been criticised by the US Department of State and the author also encourages US institutions to reach out to prospective international students from China and provide them with a less complicated, application experience. The eleventh article on US Universities serving Chinese students: A culture of accountability brings forth that Chinese students are currently the largest foreign population at American universities and they present unique challenges to faculty and administrators. It also discusses the critical understanding for addressing application fraud and also how to maintain a culture of accountability for serving the Chinese students well by the US universities.

Part 3 on India-The Next Frontier comprises 13 articles excluding an introductory section. The section has a brief introduction that mentions that this part of the book is devoted to an examination of higher education in India and the amazing array of opportunities it presents for engagement with colleges and universities in the United States. It was also addressed that the Indian government has signaled in a variety of ways, if not always by empowering legislation, that it welcomes partnerships and other forms of cooperation with the US higher education institutions. Understanding both the opportunities and the challenges will be important preparation for mutually beneficial and long-lasting partnerships. This issue seeks to provide well-informed perspectives from India and the United States that will support successful higher education relationships between the two countries in the years ahead.

The first article, India's Strategic Importance by Davis J. Skorton, discusses India's intrinsic importance, common interest, challenges for US universities and avenues for cooperation between the countries. The second article deals with creative solutions to India's higher education challenges and rightly mentions that change in higher education in India cannot be brought about through top-down policy, but only by engaging the system's stakeholders in the change process. The third article, India: The Dilemmas of Reform by Phillip G. Altbach, addresses how the system as a whole suffers and it takes a "glass half empty" approach in order to highlight the challenges facing India's higher education future by reflecting that the basic challenge is to improve the sea of mediocrity while supporting the pinnacles, which will require a lot of resources, new ideas and commitment to both access and excellence. The fourth article deals with NKC's findings and recommendations, as well as progress toward implementation and future prognosis in detail. The fifth article on Higher Education and the Indian Labour Market, mentions the demand supply mismatch and the need for bridging the gaps. There are already initiatives underway, as well as

opportunities for new entrepreneurial models and innovative solutions such as expanding and revamping the vocational education sector, cultivating relationships with education providers abroad, building teaching and training capacity. The sixth article reflects upon the key legal and policy issues that US institutions need to understand in order to successfully navigate partnerships and other ventures within India and with Indian counterparts. The seventh article on International Partnerships: An Indian Perspective, discusses in detail about international partnerships in Indian higher education, focusing on leveraging global resources, obstacles and opportunities in internationalisation, quality enhancement programmes, etc. The eighth article discusses in detail how the universities around the world are enthusiastic to develop partnership with India and for similar reasons as their US counterparts and also rightly pointed out that Patience and a commitment to relationship building for mutual benefit, over the long term, should also guide any serious approach to an "India partnership strategy". The ninth article discusses about Indian Bilateral higher education development initiatives, through two government funding programmes such as OSI and UKIERI, attempts to cultivate higher education collaboration and strengthen bilateral relations between India and the United States, as well as India and United Kingdom respectively. The tenth article, Addressing Global Challenges: the University of Nebraska, reflects and addresses in detail how the university of Nebraska is offering excellent opportunities for collaboration and advancement with India, the key elements for choosing India as the partner, mutual interest and mutual benefits, strategic engagement approaches and key issues that make collaboration with India less than easy. The eleventh article on India and US community colleges discusses the collaboration in the development as dynamic community college model for India have the potential to be far reaching global significance for US higher education and skill development in India. The twelfth article discusses that despite the popularity of the US as study destination for Indian students, however nowadays, most US institutions are facing a steep decline in new student enrolment which is linked to financial and economic challenges in India. The article also mentions recruitment strategies and some key ingredients to attract high quality Indian applicants to US institutions. The thirteenth article on US study abroad in India discusses that the demand for programming in India has risen to new heights and a variety of programmes are now available to students. It was also pointed out that in terms of undergraduate study abroad, the widespread institutional efforts to engage with India are usually manifested through one of the three programme models: direct enrolment; short-term/faculty-led programming; and programmes administered by university consortia and/or third–party providers. The main challenges for US students and advisors in India are related to cultural differences and physical challenges. Finally, establishing a presence in India can be difficult and full of obstacles, and US students do typically find their experiences in India academically, culturally and physically challenging. However, the author feels that the potential for higher education collaboration between the US and India is immense and there is still plenty of room for future growth.

Part 4 titled, "Argentina, Brazil, Chile: "Engaging with the Southern Cone", has altogether 11 articles excluding the introduction section. The section deals with the higher education systems in countries like Argentina, Chile and Brazil; which are developing rapidly and share a common interest in internationalisation and expanding their global reach. However, the top priorities and specific challenges facing higher education in the region vary by country. The articles explore the key issues country by country and turn a critical spotlight on what

all this means for US higher education interest in the region. The first article on "The southern cone of the Americas: Higher Education at a crossroad by Jorge Balan, addresses the issue of historical perspectives and recent developments of higher education collaborations between the US and the Southern Cone, the major concerns for enhancing quality higher education and how institutional engagement becomes a priority for institutions and governments throughout the region. The second article discusses in detail the main features, key issues and the areas which require particular attention for quality enhancement of Argentina's higher education and it also reflects that Argentina's government and institutions have prioritised internationalisation, resulting in increased student and faculty mobility, agreements with prestigious foreign universities that they offer new opportunities for both undergraduate and graduate students and creation of international research networks. In short, in order to continue improving both productivity and innovation, Argentina should continue to pursue a high quality higher education system that trains more scientists and professionals, both at undergraduate and graduate level. The third article on Argentina: Student and Scholar Mobility, points out that student and scholar mobility can play an important role by creating connections with the rest of the world and bringing fresh perspectives and new ideas to the process. The fourth article on Pursuing Partnerships with Argentina, addresses the growing interest in global engagement among Argentine institutions, at the same time, the challenging factors for them to establish partnerships and collaborations at the institutional level and also about the requirement for making the agreements governing academic collaborative activities to be creative and flexible to address Argentina's unique circumstances and particular challenges. The fifth article discusses in detail about the overview of Brazilian higher education system. The sixth article on Brazil: Student and Scholar Mobility, discusses the growing mobility trend of students between Brazil and other countries especially the United States with the launching of Brazil Scientific Mobility programme (BSMP), 2011 and the author also addresses the main issues relating to language, cost, scholar preparation and support and also suggests how to make greater mobility possible through institutional as well as government initiatives. The seventh article on Collaboration between Brazilian and US institutions, discusses how the two countries will begin to have the opportunities and meaningful relationship/to establish long-term partnership, while pointing out that the US universities interested in developing partnerships with Brazilian institutions should consider different approaches, depending on their interest and specific goals, such as to engage with the BSMP programme, to increase the number of partnerships with Brazilian universities outside the BSMO programme. The eighth article discusses the current structure, funding, enrolment and faculty conditions in Chile's higher education and also the challenges of the system. The ninth article gives a clear picture on international academic mobility in Chile. The tenth article discusses about US-Chilean University partnerships and why Chile is a model for the future. It also mention that in addition to a growing portfolio of traditional student and faculty exchange, Chile has a strong university system a notable ease of doing business, emerging financial resources and environment that encourages innovation. These advantages have fostered new models for collaboration that have far reaching impact well beyond Chile's borders. The eleventh article on Southern Cone Countries: Global engagement beyond the US, discusses how internationalisation influenced higher education in ABC countries and its nature of international cooperation with Europe, Africa, Oceanic and Asia.

It also addressed how the United States becoming only one option among many for internationalisation of higher education in ABC countries.

While attempting to review this book, it has been observed that the collections are good and has been done meticulously; a work which was, by no means, an easy task. Some of the articles are excellent and very technical and informative in nature and have been accommodated with the purpose of furthering the cause of international partnership in education with US to follow. The grouping has been done perfectly into four parts. Reviewing a compendium of this size and nature is always a hazardous task. Nevertheless, it has been an attempt for acknowledging the efforts of 54 brilliant academicians. On the whole, the present book will be immensely illuminating for both students and researchers and general readers interested in probing into the evolution of US international partnerships in higher education in China, India and Southern cone countries.

Department of Higher and Professional Education
NUEPA, New Delhi

Sangeeta Angom
drsanglin@gmail.com

This book, composed in a precise, tight and terse language, is a good text book for undergraduate students as well as a primer for all those who have not contemplated so far on the interdisciplinarity of culture and communication. The book draws the material, historical and contemporary, from the context of Indian society and culture to introduce the salience of intercultural communication. India is the oldest, living civilisation with a continuous recorded history and is one of the few places where despite differences, multiple cultures have coexisted and thrived for millennia. India has experienced differences, stereotyping and conflict arising out of the issues of caste, regional, religious and linguistic identities especially in contemporary times. However, scholars marvel at the processes at work in making these diverse cultures coexist and flourish. The authors feel that a formal study of the day-to-day interplay of cultures in different regions and of different groups in the country is almost negligible, and India cannot afford to go without it at a time when it is rapidly engaging in globalised world and its citizens need to pay attention to intercultural communication. "There are few, if any, enquiries into Indian rhetoric and argumentation, communication styles of men and women based on caste, religion and region, bargaining and negotiation styles, interpersonal communication between and among sexes and in different age groups across social positions, and intercultural communication between people of different regions, speakers of different languages and those with different caste, community and religious denominations". Whereas in the United States knowledge of intercultural communication skills is offered to children, students, and adults all over the country to enable them to become constructive partners as citizens of a multicultural country through communication departments and workshops so as to teach Americans how to work effectively with those who are from a variety of international backgrounds as well as national and regional subgroups by understanding their cultures, mores and worldviews

(*Preface xxviii*). The fact is that in India intercultural communication is inescapable in most of the studies and it is implicitly or explicitly present in many of them, but authors are correct to say that no conscious effort has been made to study it as a formal discipline with a view to utilise the knowledge and skills to deal effectively with conflicts and formal knowledge of intercultural communication can be instrumental in utilising the diversity of cultures for development of the society and averting various conflicts.

Having appreciated the significance of a formal study of intercultural communication for the modernising India, the authors brought out the book organised into ten chapters, each one subdivided into several headings and sub-headings. The chapters precede an enlightening *Preface* as well as Acknowledgement and entail *Index* and a note on *About the Authors*. The book is perfectly organised through a logical consistency of language and connectivity of chapters.

Chapter one entitled "Communication and Culture" introduces the concepts of 'communication' and 'culture' at various levels as well as the relationship between the two concepts; explains the concept and importance of 'intercultural communication' and lays down the hallmarks of Indian culture as the context for understanding of intercultural communication. In the rest of the chapters the authors have dealt with these aspects in detail in the context of culture in India. In Chapter two "The Beginnings of Intercultural Contact" the authors have made a synoptic view of the intercultural contact of India over a period of more than 5,000 years, beginning right from the Saraswati civilisation to the present-day, passing through the Persian influence, Mauryan and Gupta empires, Islamic contact, Maratha regime, colonial era and emergence of post-colonial pan-Indian culture. Supplementing to this, the third chapter deliberates on historical evolution of cultural orientation and values among Indians and paradoxity between the traditional and modern values. Extending the preceding discussion from the evolution and diversification of values to the formation of intercultural identity in India the fourth chapter on "Self, Perception and Intercultural Identity" makes a thorough discussion on various forms of cultural identity in India ranging from individual, gender, village, regional and national levels. It does take note of prejudices, stereotyping and racism as a lack of proper intercultural communication. The two chapters that follow deal with two forms of communication, non-verbal and verbal, theoretically as well as in the intercultural context of India. Chapter five titled "Nonverbal Communication: The World beyond Words" analyses concepts, forms and functions of nonverbal communication with reference to culture in general and the Indian cultural context in particular. The sixth chapter on "Language and intercultural Communication" brings out the role and power of language in intercultural communication and identity formation in the multicultural context of India. In Chapter seven on "Cosmologies and Worldviews" physical, metaphysical and religious cosmologies, ontologies of Hindus, Buddhists, Jains and Charvaks and different meanings of life or worldviews expressed through myths, symbols, labels, language and supra-historical concepts have been explained theoretically and substantively. Chapter 8 titled "Cultures within Culture" looks into variations within Indian culture-cultures of majority and minority, cultural hybridity, culture shock, culture of migrants and their impact, in historical as well as contemporary contexts, highlighting contradictions as well as emergence of a pan-Indian culture. Chapter nine on "Culture, Conflict and Communication" attempts to explain factors of conflict across cultures as well as its positive and negative impacts in the context of Indic traditions, Islam and Christianity in India. It also suggests strategies for dealing with intercultural conflict. Finally, Chapter 10 titled

"Competence in and Knowledge of Intercultural Communication" conceptualises intercultural competence and the ways of application of intercultural communication and concludes the discussion carried out on conflicts across cultures in India throughout the book.

Though the book has been prepared keeping in mind the needs of the undergraduate students in India, it appears to be very useful for post-graduate students of Mass Communication departments and Cultural Studies as well as research scholars for conceptual and theoretical understanding of the issues related to intercultural communication in general and their empirical appreciation in the Indian context in particular. The thought-provoking questions asked and the valuable references given at the end of every chapter are really instrumental in appreciating the sense of intercultural communication for all those who are being initiated to this new branch of interdisciplinary knowledge. Index entailing the chapters is a tool for quick search and use of the concepts, terms, issues, etc., in the book. *Preface* is an opening window to enter into the book for a proper understanding.

In the present-day India the book must be read by students across disciplines, development agents and social workers to derive a new perspective for understanding the modernisation of a dynamic India as well as coping up with the ever-increasing global contacts.

Department of Sociology, Assam University   **G. Ram**
Silchar-788011, Assam.   gramsoc@gmail.com