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OBITUARY

We regret to announce the sad demise of Professor V.N. Kothari on 10 December 2005. Professor Kothari took keen interest in our Journal even before he joined the International Editorial Board of our Journal and contributed a lot to its overall improvement. We shall miss him very much. May his soul rest in peace.

Editor

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Child Schooling in a Community in Transition A Case of Scheduled Tribe Community in Andhra Pradesh*

Motkuri Venkatanarayana**

Abstract

Education is the basic right of every child. It implies that every child must be in school and that no child should work. Nevertheless, millions of children are found out-of-school and as many of them are working. There are disparities associated with sub-population groups defined by spatial and socio-economic characteristics where children living in rural settings, who are female and who are belonging to socially backward (SC and ST) are relatively the most deprived sections of the society. In the supply-demand framework, it is the lack of demand along with socio-economic conditions of the household, and supply of schooling (inadequate access and inefficient service delivery) that lead to persistence of the phenomenon of educational deprivation of children. On this premise, the present paper explores the catalytic factors that facilitate the increasing demand for schooling in the context of an agrarian economy. It demonstrates that the agricultural development through infrastructure facilities like irrigation, commercialisation, and rural development activities along with infrastructure like roads and access to markets, could play important role in raising demand for child schooling even in a socially backward community. The special focus here is on ST (Lambada) community of Andhra Pradesh. It is observed that despite social backwardness, developmental mediation operates through perceptive changes even among the most backward social groups like STs, and translates into educational development.

This paper is part of my ongoing Doctoral (Ph. D) research. I gratefully acknowledge the helpful comments, suggestions and encouragement from my research supervisors Professor K.P. Kannan and Dr. P.K. Panda, as also Professor G N. Rao, Dr. U.S. Mishra and Dr. Vijay Mohan Pillai for the same reason. Also, I appreciate my friends Dr. Antonyto Paul, Mr. Rudra and Mr. Varinder for their support in my venture.

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Introduction

As the right to education is one of the fundamental rights, every child should have access to it. However, it is not hard to find millions of children being out of school in the world (see Watkins, 2000). It is also found that many of them are working (see Sinha, 2000; Burra, 1995). In the rights perspective, children who are not found in school - whether reportedly working or otherwise - are referred to as 'nowhere' children in literature and are considered educationally deprived children. The phenomenon of educational deprivation of children has far-reaching implications on quantity and quality of human capital, human development and human rights, especially in the modern and knowledge-based society.

The incidence of such educational deprivation is most common in developing countries. For instance, as per 1991 census of India, it is found that about 50 per cent of the children in the 5-14 age group are out of school (Chaudhari, 1997). NSSO (1999-2000) estimate puts the same incidence level at 28 percent, which is a matter of real concern. Also, the heterogeneity in the incidence of educational deprivation of children across sub-population groups across spatial and socio-economic characteristics (i.e. location, gender, caste and occupational groups) identifies groups with such deprivations being quite large. Having observed the consistent relative disadvantageous position of particular social groups, the state has initiated a protective policy against such discrimination to serve effectively the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of society (Shah and Patel, 1985). Among the deprived groups of children, those belonging to SC and ST are relatively more deprived than the other social groups (Thorat, 2002). It is said that their socio-economic backwardness and isolation from mainstream society are responsible for being most disadvantaged in terms of educational opportunity (Nambissan, 2000).

In a demand-supply framework, one may say that it is lack of demand for and supply of schooling which contribute to the phenomenon of educational deprivation. Thus increasing demand for and supply of schooling could reduce educational deprivation in children and thereby help achieve the norm of universalisation of elementary education. In the welfare state context, given the public good nature of education, supply of schooling remains a state's obligation. But the demand for schooling, in other words the decision to send the child to school rests with parents and hence the socio-economic conditions of the household influence such decision. There are catalytic factors, especially parents' perceptions and their livelihood conditions, which play an important role in raising the demand for schooling. In line of these arguments, the present paper makes an empirical attempt towards exploring possible factors determining child schooling. It demonstrates the mechanism by which agricultural development linked to economic infrastructure facilities (like irrigation, roads etc), commercialisation, rural development activities, could play important role in improving the child schooling.

The paper is organised in the following manner. Section II, as a prelude to the theme of the paper, provides the overall situation of educational deprivation in the state of

Andhra Pradesh. Section III presents an account of the socio-economic development of the ST community in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The fourth section presents a case study, which describes the success story of the achievement in education. Then the factors behind the great transformation in terms of education in the case study village are discussed in Section V followed by conclusion.

Data Source

The following analysis is based on both Census' and National Sample Survey Organisation's (NSSO) Employment and Unemployment survey data especially that of 50th Round (1993-94) Survey³ unit level record data, and the principal usual activity³ status of the children in the age group 5-14. Advantage of NSSO data is that it provides household characteristics⁴, which is not possible in Census data sources. Besides, the analysis of case study is based on primary survey conducted during October, 2003 in a village in Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh. The particular methodology of the case study is presented in the case study section (IV).

The Incidence of Educational Deprivation of Children in Andhra Pradesh

In the following analysis, the term educational deprivation is attributed to all out-of-school children. Andhra Pradesh is one of the Indian states that have high incidence levels of educational deprivation and are notorious for higher prevalence of child labour. In 1961, 6.7 million (72 per cent) children in the age group 5-14 years (of the total 9.2 million child population), in Andhra Pradesh were out of school. By 1991 the number had increased to 8.4 million, comprising 50 per cent of 16.5 million child population. There was a rapid growth (220 per cent) in numbers of children going to school from 1961 to 1991 and progress was also observed in terms of the proportion of children attending school. Nevertheless, the number of deprived children also showed a marginal increase over the period and as a result, the incidence level of educational deprivation of children in 1991 was at alarming level (50 per cent). As a matter of fact the level of the deprivation in the state exceeds the national average⁵. By location and gender, educational deprivation is more for rural and female children compared with the male and urban counterparts (Venkatanarayana, 2003b). Across social groups (by caste), children belonging to the ST community are the most disadvantaged in terms of education as there is a high level of incidence of educational deprivation of children in this community.

Child Deprivation in the Agrarian Economy

It is observed that the incidence of educational deprivation of children is more of a rural *phenomenon* and is associated with the conditions in the agrarian economy (Venkatanarayana, 2003b). This is evident from the rural share of total deprived children being 82 per cent as against the share of the child population being 73 per cent in Andhra

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Pradesh (1991 Census). The households whose principal livelihood is agriculture (either cultivation or labour) contributed the most to such deprivation. Around 70 per cent of the total population in Andhra Pradesh is comprised of agricultural households; and it has 77 per cent of the deprived children (NSSO, 1993-94). Again, within the agricultural households, agricultural labour households are major contributors (49 per cent of the total deprived children in the rural Andhra Pradesh). The highest incidence (50 per cent of the children belong to agricultural labour households) of deprivation is observed in these households.

TABLE 1
**Educational Deprivation of Children and Principal Source of Livelihood
Household: Rural Andhra Pradesh, NSSO 1993-94**

<i>Type of the Household (Principal Livelihood)</i>	<i>Relative Share</i>		
	<i>Child Population (%)</i>	<i>Deprived Children (%)</i>	<i>Incidence of Deprivation</i>
1 Agricultural Labour	39.5	49.0	50.0
2 Other Rural Labour	9.1	9.0	39.9
3 Self-Employed in Agriculture	31.0	28.1	36.5
4 Self-Employed in Non- Agriculture	15.1	12.5	33.3
5 Others	5.3	1.3	10.0
6 All	100	100	

Notes: (1) Data presented in percentages; (2) Data refers to children of the age group 5-14; (3) The relative share of deprived children indicates the share of each category of households' total (rural) child population and deprived children; (4) Incidence of deprivation is the ratio of deprived children to total child population in each category of the households.

Source: (a) Estimated as per NSSO (1993-94) 50th Round unit level record data;
(b) Venkatanarayana (2003a)

In addition, there is a systematic relationship between size-class of the operational (i.e. cultivated land) holding and the incidence of child deprivation⁶. The children of landless agricultural labourers are the prime victims with the highest incidence of deprivation, followed by marginal, small holding, semi-medium, medium holding households and the least is observed for the large holding households⁷. The difference between landless agricultural labourers and marginal cultivators in terms of child deprivation is insignificant. The landless agricultural labourers and marginal and small-holding households together account for around 52 per cent of the child population but their share in total deprived children is 66 per cent (Venkatanarayana, 2003a).

Socio-Economic Backwardness and Educational Deprivation of ST Community

Indigenous communities of India are traditionally referred to as *adivasis*, *vanbasis*, *tribes*, or *tribals* and are recognised as Scheduled Tribes (STs) under the Constitution of India. They (STs) constitute about 8 per cent of the Indian population. As a matter of fact, tribals are not a homogenous group, as there are 573 Scheduled Tribes living in different parts of the country and having different cultures and traditions. Majority of them live in scattered habitations located in interior, remote and inaccessible hilly and forest areas of the country⁸.

There is a considerable literature on socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Tribes (ST) in India in general and in regional settings of Andhra Pradesh in particular (for instance, see Vidyarthi and Pai, 1995; von-Haimendorf, 1985). It is well known that the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Tribes are poorer even when compared with SCs. The process of transformation of tribal society is not a linear one and there are different schemes in the literature⁹. However, broadly the typology starts from hunters and gatherers to pastorals and agriculture, shifting cultivation to settled agriculture and non-farm activities to crafts and commercial agriculture (see Vidyarthi and Pai, 1988). It is observed in the literature that transformation of tribal society is well understood in terms of settled agriculture, increasing communication and education thereby integration with mainstream society (see Vidyarthi and Pai, 1988).

Population Size and Spread

There are 33 scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh with a population of 41.99 lakh, comprising 6 per cent of the total population as per 1991 Census. Important among them are Gonds, Koyas, Konda Reddies, Savara and others. There has been a continuous increase in the size of the ST population over the period 1951-2001. In 1977, a community called Lambada/Sugali, mostly inhabited in plains, was identified as scheduled tribe (Subba Rao, 1989). When Lambadas of Andhra Pradesh were declared as ST, many of those belonging to the same community in neighbouring Maharashtra migrated to claim the ST status. As a result, there was an upsurge in the number and share of the ST population between 1971 and 1981. Majority of the ST population lives in rural areas, around 90 per cent (1991 census). Within the state, there is a wide variation in composition of ST population across districts ranging between the lowest (1.1 per cent) and the highest (13.2 percent) of ST population in Cuddapah and Khammam respectively. Most of the ST population is spread over in the Telangana districts, above 50 per cent of the total STs (see Appendix Table 2) are in this region.

Educational Deprivations of STs

It is claimed that education is a universal right and not a class privilege¹⁰. Indian Constitution, followed by different policy resolutions, envisaged universal access and enrolment of children in school-going age irrespective of class and caste. Nevertheless,

there is no equal access to educational opportunities across social groups. In the state as well as in India, the STs are the most backwards in terms of education. Literacy rate for STs in the state was one-third of the state average (see Table 2). By gender and caste dis-aggregation, it is the ST females who are the most backward. The literacy rate of ST females was one-fourth of the state average. However, the entire ST community is not a homogeneous one. There are variations within the STs with respect to their social and economic development as well as educational development. For instance, there is widespread variation in literacy rates across different tribes within the STs (see Appendix Table 2).

TABLE 2
Size of the Population and Literacy Rate of STs in Andhra Pradesh: Census

Year	Population (in lakhs)		Percent of STs	Literacy Rate (%)	
	All	ST		STs	All
1951	312.60	7.66	2.5	3.5	15.8
1961	359.83	13.24	3.7	4.4	21.2
1971	435.02	16.58	3.8	5.4	24.6
1981	535.49	31.76	5.9	7.8	30.4
1991	665.08	41.99	6.3	13.6	44.1
2001	757.27	-	6.5		61.1

Source: Census of India, 1951-2001.

As is the case of literacy, there is significant disparity across social groups in child schooling too (see Table 3). In Andhra Pradesh, it is obvious that the incidence of educational deprivation among children is higher for SCs and STs than for others. Between the SC and ST, the ST children are the most deprived (see Table 3). Even by enrolment figures provided by Education Department (usually suspicious of being inflated), poor enrolment and high drop-out rates are observed for ST children.

TABLE 3
Incidence of Educationally Deprived Children Across Social Groups: Andhra Pradesh, Census 1981-91

Sector	Year	Incidence of Deprivation (%)		
		SC	ST	Others
Total	1981	63.8	80.6	57.3
	1991	59.8	73.9	46.9
Rural	1981	68.1	82.2	63.8
	1991	64.4	76.0	53.0
Urban	1981	41.1	56.3	38.2
	1991	39.0	51.7	32.5

Notes: Children of 5-14 years age-group.

Sources: (1) Census of India, 1981 and 1991; (2) Venkatanarayana (2003b).

Other Deprivations of STs

The development indicators in Andhra Pradesh with respect to ST population shown in the Table 4 indicates that they are relatively at a disadvantage in every respect, and access to facilities in their settlements are well below the overall development of the state. Mortality rate is very high and healthcare facilities available are very low among the ST population. Below one-third of the ST population is covered under rural water supply. In 2001 mere 7 per cent of the households (rural) belonging to ST had drinking water facility in their premises. Despite the state's good irrigation infrastructure, its benefit to the ST population is meagre. More than half of the ST villages (predominantly ST Population) are without electrification. In 1991, electricity was available to only 10 percent of ST households in the rural area it has increased to 30 per cent by 2001. The status of dwelling rooms in 2001 for ST households shows that about 67 per cent of them are having one or no dwelling rooms. It is also observed that communication (transportation) facilities for ST settlements are very poor compared to the rest of the society. As regards schooling facilities, although the availability of schools in the state is at a satisfactory level in general, there is deficiency of schools in the ST settlements (Venkatanarayana. 2004). It is observed that the availability of (primary) schools in the habitation with below 500 population is well below the norm that a school must be within the walkable distance of the children i.e. within their habitation. Incidentally, these are the habitation mostly occupied by ST population.

TABLE 4
Development Indicators for ST Population and Their Settlements, 1991

<i>Indicators</i>	<i>State as a Whole</i>	<i>For ST Population</i>
Infant Mortality Rate; (per 1000)	73.0	120-212
Hospital Beds/ 1 Lakh Population	71.0	47.0
Rural Water Supply - % Population Covered	75.0	30.0
Irrigated Area (%)	37.9	13.1
Villages Electrified (%)	100.0	44.6
<u>All Weather Road Length (km per 100 sq. km.)</u>	46.8	1.7

Source: Census 1991, GOAP.

In Andhra Pradesh, around 30 per cent of the villages are predominantly (above 50 per cent of population) inhabited by ST population". Around 45 per cent of the ST population is living in these predominantly ST villages". Among these villages, around 80 per cent of the villages are having population below 500. However, these villages consist of only 20 per cent of the ST population and the rest of the population lives in relatively big villages. Around 50 per cent of the ST population live in villages whose population size is above 1000. It is understood that even in big villages, ST population live in a separate hamlet away from the main village". Being small and isolated from the

rest of the village, the ST hamlets/villages are unable to benefit from the provision of infrastructure facilities which are likely to be located in the main village¹⁴.

Source of Livelihood: Occupational Structure

Economic condition generally is a derivative of the occupational structure of the society. In case of¹⁵ STs, there is a predominance of agricultural related activities, as around 80 per cent of the population depend on either self-cultivation or agricultural labour (see Table 5). While significant share (about half of the agricultural households) of STs and other social groups of households have cultivation (self-employment in agriculture) as their principle source of livelihood, majority of SC households are agricultural labourer households. It seems STs are better placed compared to SCs in terms of self-cultivation. Within the cultivators, majority of households belongs to marginal and small cultivator households across all social groups, including STs. However, these groups being unaware of modern means of cultivation use primitive techniques of production. Besides, the inadequacy of basic infrastructure and limited access to market among these groups puts an under-value to the limited produce they have.

TABLE 5
Social Group-Wise Distribution of Households by Their Principal Source of Livelihood: Rural Andhra Pradesh

<i>Household Type (Occupation)</i>	<i>Social Groups</i>			
	<i>ST</i>	<i>SC</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>All</i>
Agricultural Labour	39.8	69.7	33.7	41.5
Other Labour	5.6	8.8	8.5	8.3
Self-Employed in Agriculture	38.5	10.7	31.1	27.7
Self-Employed in Non-Agriculture	10.1	5.5	17.6	14.5
Others	5.9	5.3	9.0	8.0
<i>All</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Notes: Data presented in percentages.

Source: Estimations based on NSSO (1993-94) 50th Round.

Associative Factors of Educational Deprivations

From the above discussion, one may infer that educational deprivation in general and that of children particularly within the ST community is a consequence of overall deprivation. This disadvantage stems primarily from the location factor (i.e. rural predominance) and to their isolation from the main stream and the consequent deprivation of access to basic facilities. *Secondly*, socio-economic and cultural factors outlined in terms of poverty and poor economic conditions, social customs, cultural ethos, lack of awareness and realization of the value of formal education, contribute to such deprivation. *Thirdly*, their dependence on primitive form of agriculture accrues the

least to make them compatible with the rest with similar livelihood. As the main occupation of Tribals is agriculture and is primitive in form, the productivity remains very low and demands more manpower, thus requiring children to contribute directly or indirectly to the family livelihood by participating in family occupation and household works. Children helping parents in their work is a social norm in many tribal communities. The involvement of children in livelihood activities - cattle grazing, collection of forest products etc. - makes it impossible for them to attend school.

The decision to send the child to school, in fact, depends upon the motivation governed largely by the parent's perceptions on value of education. Information on the value of education is a crucial factor at one stage to motivate the parents for their children's schooling. Dreze and Gazdar (1997) wrote that "The ability of parents to assess the personal and social value of education depends, among other things; on the information they have at their disposal" (p. 86). The information could be enhanced by increase in (social and economic) infrastructure facilities and access to market. Another means of adding to such valuation is through demonstration effect of role models i.e. reference group. Hence, "If their entire reference group is largely untouched by the experience of being educated, that information may be quite limited" (Dreze and Gazdar, 1997:86). Most of the tribes in India live in their own settlements, predominantly inhabited by the same community and isolated from mainstream society. For such isolated settlements and homogeneous community, the reference group as role models is absent. As a matter of fact, the infrastructure facilities to such tribal societies are abysmally low when compared to the rest of the society; as such their access to market is very poor. Moreover, most of their economies are subsistence ones in nature, the market involvement in their economic activities is not very significant.

In this context, one is reminded of the Education Commission's (1964-66, known as Kothari Commission) comment on education development of the Tribal people: "These groups have to be assisted in developing *settled way of living*...It needs *fundamental reorganisation in their economy and their life*" (p.242). For predominantly tribal settlements and isolated from mainstream society, it suggested, "It needs *development of communication and transformation of the present system of shifting cultivation into a developing agricultural economy* (p. 242) *{italics own emphasis}*. These must be the preconditions for the educational development of tribes. On this premise, the following case study demonstrates that meeting these preconditions may result in an increasing demand for schooling in this community (ST).

Child Schooling in a Community in Transition: A Case of Scheduled Tribe (Lambada/Sugali Community)

The macro-evidence on incidence of educational deprivation asserts that children belonging to ST communities in Andhra Pradesh are a disadvantaged lot. The phenomenon is associated with rural agrarian economy. As the majority of the households (around 80 per cent) in general depend upon agriculture, the dynamics in the

agrarian economy is ought to influence their socio-economic life and thereby their educational opportunities. The following case study demonstrates that when dynamics of development, especially in an agrarian economy, are manifested either by market or state, even the socially backward communities like STs, experience economic as well as educational progress. The focus is on the Lambada/Sugali Tribe, a Scheduled Tribe community.

Lambada/Sugali Community

The Lambadas are the single largest tribe among the Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh. Around 1.5 per cent of total population in Andhra Pradesh speaks Lambadi, which is the principal language of this community. Prior to their inclusion in notified ST category, the Backward Classes Commission of 1968 included them in the Backward Class Community. According to 1991 Census, the population size of the Lambadas was 16 lakhs comprising around 40 per cent of the ST population in the state. They are also known as Lambani, Banjari, Sugali or Sukali in different parts of the state. It is believed that the Lambadas as nomadic grain dealers had traversed the Deccan from one end to the other in 15th century. In fact these tribes are experts in cattle breeding and largely subsist on selling milk and milk products. Over the period, they had settled on land and became good cultivators. This transformation explains the transition of this group of people from pastoral nomads to settled peasantry. The joint family was the norm in the previous generations among the Lambadas but of late they too are found in nuclear families. Generally, they live in exclusive settlements of their own called 'Tandas' away from the main village and named after headman of the group, Naik (AP Tribal Welfare Department). Different from other communities within the STs, the Lambada community has been practising settled and stable cultivation (Janardhanarao 2003). In Andhra Pradesh, this community is largely concentrated (about 60 per cent of total Lambada community) in four districts viz., Warangal (18 per cent), Nalgonda (15 per cent), Khammam (13 per cent) and Mahabubnagar (12 per cent). Rest of the 19 districts comprise the 40 per cent of the Lambada/Sugali community (see Table A1 in Appendix). Around 95 per cent of the population belonging to this community live in rural areas (see Table A2 in Appendix).

Location of the Study Village

The study village is located in Khammam Urban Mandal" of Khammam district in Andhra Pradesh. Khammam district stands 11th in ranking out of the 23 districts (by 1991 census) in terms of child schooling (the proportion of children attending school to the child population) in Andhra Pradesh (Venkatanarayana, 2003). This is one of the emerging districts from Telangana region in terms of educational development. As regards ST community, the district is having 36 per cent of villages inhabited predominantly (75 per cent or above) by STs and 13 per cent of these villages have 100

per cent population belonging to this community (1991 Census). In all these villages, agriculture, (either self-cultivation or agricultural labour) is the primary means of livelihood (about 95 per cent of the population depend on it). The district holds 13 per cent of the total ST population in the state and 25 per cent of STs in its total population. Within the STs in the district, 13 per cent of the population belongs to the Lambada community. The Urban Mandal of the district holds about 3 per cent of ST population in the district. Most of them (the Lambada community) live in plain areas usually next to the main villages. The study village is located 20 km away from the district headquarters and 5 km away from a state highway connecting district headquarters and Yeallandu, a coal-mine town.

Schooling Level in the Village

The schooling level in terms of percentage of children in the age group 5-14 years attending schools is significantly high; around 80 per cent of the children in this age group are attending schools in the study village. It is pretty unusual when compared to the child schooling in the same community elsewhere. It is above the average figure for ST population as such and state average (73 per cent) for rural areas¹⁶. However, there is significant level of gender disparity. Although the schooling level for female children is high, there is huge gap between the male and female children attending school. As usual female children bear the brunt of this deprivation of not attending school and account for 75 per cent of deprived children in the study village¹⁷. Also, most of these (around 90 per cent) are in the older 10-14 age group, and 60 per cent of them have never gone to school, the rest being the (school) drop-outs.

Specifics of the Study Village

Specificity of this village, in order to understand educational deprivation in children, originates with its past being characterised by some children from this village working in neighbouring village as agricultural labourers and some were working in their own fields about ten years back. Hence, majority of the children was not attending schools. But the recent development reflects that now many children are attending schools and more importantly some parents send their children to a private school which is 15 kms away from the village, thus bearing additional cost (see Table 6). Moreover, there is attitudinal change towards girl's education. For instance, a parent of two girl children, aged 8 and 10 years, is found sending both of them to a private school without any hesitation. These striking contrasts with the recent past, makes a case to explore the facts behind this phenomenal transformation in this village.

Table 6
Children's Schooling Status in the Study Village: 2002

<i>Schooling Status</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>All</i>
Attending	90.4	70.6	80.6
Not Attending	9.6	29.4	19.4
<i>Among those Attending</i>			
Private	44.7	22.2	34.9
Public (Government)	55.3	77.8	65.1

Notes: (1) Figures refer to children of 5-14 year age group only; (2) Total number of children is 103 of which 52 and 51 are male and females respectively; (3) Those who are attending school comprise both private and public schools.

Source: Field Survey, October 2002.

Age group-wise literacy level indicates the enrolment and minimum educational achievement in the past. Due to non-availability of time series data on percentage of children (5-14 age) attending schools over the period, the age-wise literacy level is considered in validating the prevailing educational disadvantage of the past. Table 7 shows that the literacy level is decreasing with increasing age. It indicates that in the old generations few attended schools. It also indicates the phenomenal change in demand for school in the study village, which is of recent origin i.e. during the 1990s.

TABLE 7
Literacy Level in the Study Village: 2002

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>All</i>
7- 14 Years	83.7	69.4	76.1
15- 25 Years	54.8	23.7	40.0
26 - 45 Years	31.0	2.8	17.9
Above 45 Years	4.8	0.0	2.1
All	41.8	26.3	34.3

Source: Field Survey, October, 2002.

Methodology

In this study, the process of change in educational scene along with agricultural and infrastructure development is documented by using unstructured questionnaire, keeping in mind the study domain, the demand for child schooling and its relationship with agrarian economy. We collected quantitative data on socio-economic indicator of the households, especially household size, principal occupation, land owned, land cultivated, irrigation facility, crops grown, and source of credit, etc. On the other hand the qualitative data were obtained through informal interviews/discussions with parents of the school going children and grand parents on the desire/motivation behind sending their children to school. Discussions with old people in the village were held in order to

get an impression of the perceptible changes in socio-economic conditions across generations in view of the visible changes. A note of limitation that needs a mention here is with regard to misreporting of age arising out of illiteracy and such misreporting could also be more in ages of children 5-14.

Background of the Village and its Economy

As a part of my research work, I have done a survey of a ST settlement. It is not a village, it is a hamlet of a Panchayat consisting of 8 hamlets which are all predominantly (above 95%) inhabited by the ST community. Here we refer to this particular hamlet as a village for our convenience. As per the 2001 census, the study village has 71 households and a population of 342 persons (172 males and 170 females). Almost all households in the study village belong to ST except 2 who belong to migrant Muslim community.

Agriculture - either labour or self-cultivation - is the principal source of livelihood for all the households. In this village, 24 per cent of households reported that their primary source of livelihood is agricultural labour, 71 per cent of the households are reportedly self-cultivators¹ and the rest (5 %) of the households are dependant on non-agricultural employment. Most households have ownership of land in terms of cultivated land, even for those households whose principal source of livelihood is agricultural labour. More clearly, below 20 per cent of the households are landless (in terms of cultivated land) and the rest of them are having cultivated land. Moreover, more than 50 per cent of the households have cultivated land holding above 3 acres. Among the households that are having cultivated land, above 80 per cent are having irrigation facility and at least 50 per cent irrigated land. Over 50 per cent of them own irrigated land above 3 acres.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Households and Population Living in Those Households by Type, with Land Owned, Cultivated Land and Irrigated Land at Least One Acre and Commercial Crops Grown

<i>HH Type</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Households</i>	<i>Population</i>
	Agricultural Labourers	24.2	19.5
	Self-Cultivators	71.2	77.6
	Non-Agriculture	4.5	2.9
Land Owned		88.0	89.5
Land Cultivated		83.3	86.3
Land Irrigated		71.2	76.5
Commercial Crops		80.0	81.5

Notes: (1) Commercial crops are mostly chilly and cotton; (2) Source of irrigation is mostly bore-wells.

Source: Field Survey, 2002.

The source of the irrigation is mostly private one, in the form of groundwater and private investment. In fact in 1970s and 1980s, an NGO called **Aware India** assisted them in digging shallow wells¹⁹. They were capable of irrigating small areas of land, one or two acres. With this irrigation, they used to grow vegetables, which they could sell in local neighbourhood. This could only help them obtain a modest profit and bare subsistence. Due to groundwater depletion, the shallow wells became non-functional soon and got replaced by bore-wells as an alternative. At present many of them have bore-wells which are capable of irrigating more than two acres of land. Almost all the households with at least one acre land give priority to commercial crops (mostly chilly and cotton) cultivation, especially those with irrigation facility at hand.

Neighbourhood Effect and the Commercialisation Process

The impact of neighbourhood village is very much visible on this study village. The neighbourhood village was primarily a subsistence village based on agriculture. Some of the farmers were growing commercial crops, like chilly and tobacco for a long time. However, commercialisation process entered into village in the late 1980s and picked up during the 1990s. Cotton and chilly crops were grown in large scale. In fact, till 1990's in the absence of irrigation facility, only village tanks and shallow wells served as the irrigation alternative in paddy-growing areas, and tobacco and maize growing areas respectively. All the other crops were dry ones, depending upon the rainfall. At the beginning of the process, the yield rate and incomes out of the commercial crops became incentives to induce additional investment on land, and on inputs like fertilisers and pesticides and infrastructure like irrigation. As a result, groundwater exploitation rose with shallow wells and bore-wells. Of course many attempts failed. The advent of commercialisation and the resultant growing incomes and demand for pesticides and fertilisers elevated a few farmers as pesticides dealers in the village. Most of these dealerships were running on credit basis. The farmers were to repay at the time of the harvesting and were expected to sell-off their produce to these pesticide dealers especially cotton and chilly.

The commercialisation process that took place in the neighbourhood village became motivation for the study village people. The study village has links with the neighbourhood village in terms of patron-client relationships as some of them worked in this village as agricultural labourers, and they were connected to outer world through this village. The study village experienced a translatory impact from the neighbourhood village in terms of commercialisation process. The demonstration effect led the farmers to start growing commercial crops. Some who were working as agricultural labourers went back with the knowledge of commercial crop cultivation and they implemented the practice on their own land, regardless of holding size. This transformation was also in the interest of grain market agents and pesticide dealers as it expanded their market, and they also motivated these farmers to cultivate commercial crops. The required additional investment for the purpose was provided either by commission agents or by pesticide

dealers. At the outset, due to high fertility of land, improved yields and reasonable market prices for these commercial crops brought them good income. Consequently, private investment (in terms of irrigation and chemical fertilisers) in agriculture increased in this village too. The process resulted in extensive cultivation where more land was brought into cultivation by ploughing pasture land and land for grazing. Intensive cultivation with irrigation infrastructure and brought in the use of chemical fertilisers.

Not only the cultivation practices got transformed but also the socio-cultural order, especially dress code, work culture, entertainment habits etc. as a consequence of increasing affordability. In a way, the neighbourhood village served as a role model in terms of child schooling. The neighbourhood village had near universal child enrolment in schools and was served by two upper primary schools, one public and other a missionary one. In addition, a significant number of children are attending private schools in the district headquarter which is 15 km away, as the schools provide transport facility.

Infrastructure: Primary School

The study village has one primary school, which was started in the 1980s. Its functioning was very poor due to lack of proper facilities and teachers absenteeism. There was no pucca building, and villagers didn't find any teacher who was willing to stay in the village. All of teachers preferred to stay in district headquarter, about 20 km away from the village. Since there was no pucca road and transport facility, the village was least accessible. Access was possible only on foot; in dry season cycle could be used. Therefore, the absenteeism was very high, all of that a French leave. In case a female teacher was transferred to such an inaccessible place, there could be no teacher till she managed a transfer from this place and till then she would hardly be seen in the school. The irregular functioning of school made some of the parents decide against sending their children to school or to get the existing ones out of school. They could not send their young one's to nearby village for schooling due to long distance, 5 km away. Alternative mechanism was thought over and the so-called village committee appointed a teacher who in fact was not at all qualified and had just passed or failed 10th standard, so as to make the school run without interruption, with the actual teacher being on French leave. Another alternative which teachers themselves made was that they appointed a person having some qualification to manage children in their absence and salary was paid out of their pockets. It was literally a sub-contracting of the teaching. Since the Panchayat Raj system is functioning better than earlier, especially after 73rd amendment, the school functioning is also better. Now the village has pucca school building under different rural development programmes. Though the teachers are not staying in the village, with the improved transportation facility the teachers have become more regular compared with earlier days making smooth functioning of the school. There is no public health facility available in and around the village. Nevertheless the people approach

private hospitals in nearby town. Health consciousness is growing in the village. Majority of the women in the village used family planning.

Road, Transportation and Communication

The village is 20 km away from the district headquarters and 5 km away in the interior from Khammam-Yellandu state highway. It doesn't have any direct road link to outer world except through another village, which is 5 km away. This neighbourhood village is 15 km away from district headquarters, on the state highway. Recently, that is after 1995, the metallic link road was laid between these two villages. It was laid under rural development programmes. Prior to that there was no road at all, except a narrow path across fields. It was very difficult to reach that village even on foot, especially in rainy season. Having this road facility, the Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation is running a shuttle bus thrice a day and a private school bus comes daily to pick up school children in the morning and to drop them in the evening at home. Along with this Jeeps and Autos run now carrying passengers. Private vehicles, such as a tractor, five two wheelers and good number of bicycles are also found in the village. There is good number of radios found in the village and recently Television sets are also entering into the village. However, there is no post/telegraph office and no telephone connection in the village.

What is behind this Great Transformation?

The term 'transformation' here is to indicate phenomenal change observed in this community, particularly in this village and its surrounding villages, in terms of education and economy. The economy has improved from being a subsistence one to a commercial economy, thereby changing the social and cultural values also. This transformation facilitates them to get integrated in the so-called mainstream society. In terms of child schooling, the achievement of the study village in their community context is phenomenal.

In the past, almost all the children used to work, and very rarely children used to attend school. A 60 years old man and a middle aged (40 years) were saying "All our peer group in our childhood used to work, and we had no other vocations". Now it is completely changed, most of the school-age children are attending schools. The same men say "we don't want to let our children be like us, we want a change that is why we are sending our children to school". This is a noticeable change in their perceptions i.e. perceived value of child education, and child work, where it is complete turn around across generation. It is not that children are free from work because labour requirement is low. In fact there is no reduction in labour use in the village agrarian economy, rather it has intensified. In spite of that, children are spared for schooling. It is due to changing values of child work and child schooling and increasing affordability. An old man of 80 years said "We did not have any other avocations in our childhood as well as when we

became parents. All that avocations were land, cattle and forest, nothing else. Thus we used to give children training in our occupation at their early ages". There was an economic importance of child work in the absence of value of education. Also economic conditions were not allowing them to think of a better future. A middle-aged man said "Earlier we had a hand to mouth existence, and as such we could not spare anyone of the family, including children, from work." Another man of the same age hinted at the change "It was very difficult to get a square meal in our childhood. Now the conditions are relatively better though we are not getting remarkable surplus out of our lands, we don't have problems for at least a square meal".

Also, there is growing awareness among the people of this community on arrangements made in public policy for the community. A man of 40 years old says "It is relatively easy now for our community to get employment opportunity especially in public sector if we are educated." Moreover, the increasing interaction with the rest of the world has affected them in different ways especially with regard to child schooling. There was only one graduate hailing from the village. He said "Our interaction with the rest of the world is increasing day by day. We are seeing things changing in rest of the world so that we are feeling to be part of it". On the whole, in the child labour perspective, the need for household labour was more in the past, and as such children had to work on the one hand. In the child schooling perspective, on the other, there was lack of consciousness over the use value of education; even if it was there, the facility was absent. The change that has occurred now is the growing consciousness about the perceived value of education, and in view of the provided facility. Hence, in spite of the continuation of the labour requirement, the children are spared for schooling.

Overall, the spread of markets in the process of commercialisation²⁰ facilitated more access to market. Increased market transactions enhanced the information exchange through the interaction of people that could have raised the consciousness level of the value of education. Infrastructure facilities, like road and transportation has connected and thereby mainstreamed them to the outer world and has facilitated access to market. The process of mainstreaming them into so called civilised society and its demonstrative effect had a remarkable impact on them²¹. Due to commercialisation process, growing monetary transactions would have necessitated their having minimum literacy and numeracy skills. Growing incomes enable them to afford cost of education. State provided reservation system was conducive for their aspiration for better employment opportunities and thereby better living standards. The transformation is a product of both market-led and state-led development and their interaction²².

Conclusion

In the normative perspective, especially that of rights, education is the basic right of children. In the pragmatic perspective, elementary education is a crucial factor in educational development and thereby socio-economic development of the society. Therefore, every child should be in school and all of them must have the access to

education. Nevertheless, educational deprivation of children is a widespread phenomenon in developing countries, such as India. Also, the Indian situation illustrates significant levels of disparities in the levels of incidence associated with sub-population groups differing by their spatial and socio-economic characteristics (location, gender, caste, occupation and poverty). Across social groups, ST children are found to be the most disadvantaged in terms of education.

In a demand-supply framework, one may say that it is lack of demand which is conditioned by socio-economic conditions and supply of schooling (interpreted in terms of availability, access and the quality of schooling). These factors explain the phenomenon of educational deprivation. Thus, increasing demand for and supply of schooling could reduce educational deprivation in children and thereby help in achieving the norm of universalisation of elementary education. But the socio-economic conditions of the indigenous (tribal) population are at worst when compared with those of the rest of population and the access to basic facilities for this population is at a minimum level. Therefore, it is said that their generalised deprivation (in terms of access to basic facilities and low socio-economic status) is one of the causative factors for educational deprivation. The STs are socially marginalised and economically vulnerable in the socio-economic structure of the society. Hence, improving the socio-economic conditions and providing basic facilities like education and other economic infrastructure facilities, like road transportation, and irrigation are the way out for generating the demand for education in general and ST community in particular.

In this context, this paper has sought to find out the catalytic factors that enhance the demand for schooling. The special focus is on ST community in Andhra Pradesh. The study has demonstrated how the agricultural development through infrastructure facilities, like irrigation, commercialisation, rural development activities, and infrastructure like roads, could play an important role in improving child schooling. It illustrates a special case of inter-play of infrastructure development and its consequent economic influence resulting in changed aspirations, and increased demand for schooling²³

TABLE A1
Details of ST and Sugali Population: Andhra Pradesh, 1991

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Share of ST in Total Population	District Share in		Share of Sugali in Total ST	ST Literacy Rate	
			All STs	All Sugalis		Total	Female
1	Srikakulam	6.46	3.4	0.0	0.2	19.7	10.4
2	Vizianagaram	10.63	4.7	0.0	0.1	15.7	8.8
3	Visakhapatnam	23.32	11.7	0.0	0.1	16.6	7.8
4	East Godavari	4.86	4.3	0.0	0.2	19.7	10.4
5	West Godavari	2.78	2.0	0.4	7.8	24.1	19.0
6	Krishna	2.98	2.0	2.5	53.9	21.7	13.3
7	Guntur	4.94	3.7	3.6	40.0	20.9	11.5
8	Prakasham	3.53	2.2	0.8	14.7	21.2	11.9
9	Nellore	9.73	4.7	0.0	0.3	16.4	11.7
10	Chittoor	3.59	2.4	1.1	18.9	21.1	13.2
11	Cuddapah	2.37	1.1	0.9	32.1	22.9	12.3
12	Ananthapur	4.07	2.6	4.6	74.7	26.7	14.8
13	Kurnool	2.06	1.2	1.4	47.1	24.9	12.0
14	Mahaboobnagar	8.18	5.7	12.1	88.4	10.1	3.1
15	Ranga Reddy	6.5	2.2	5.5	100.0	17.3	7.9
16	Hyderabad	-	0.0	0.8	0.0	44.9	32.3
17	Medak	4.74	2.3	4.9	86.3	11.5	2.9
18	Nizamabad	7.17	3.0	6.7	94.3	12.2	3.6
19	Adilabad	21.49	8.8	4.7	22.2	17.7	7.6
20	Karimnagar	3.21	2.0	3.0	63.0	12.3	4.1
21	Warangal	16.27	9.5	18.1	79.1	13.4	4.9
22	Khammam	29.82	13.7	13.3	40.4	15.8	8.0
23	Nalgonda	10.6	6.8	15.6	95.2	14.5	4.2
	Total	-	100.0	100.0	41.5	17.2	8.7

Notes: (1) Share of ST population to total population is in Rural Areas; (2) Sugali is a Tribe which is included in ST community; (3) The district's share in column 4 & 5 are with respect to the state.

Source: Census 1991.

TABLE A2

**Tribe-Specific Literacy Rate, Share of Specific Tribe in Total ST Population and
Tribe-Specific Urbanisation: Andhra Pradesh (1991)**

5. No	Tribe	Literacy Rate %			Pop. Share in All ST	Tribe-specific Urbanisation
		Total	Male	Female		
1	Sugali, Lambada	15.2	24.1	5.7	39.1	5.9
2	Kotia	21.7	33.7	10.4	10.9	3.3
3	Yanadi	14.8	19.3	9.9	9.4	17.7
4	Yerukula	25.7	36.1	15.1	9.2	22.7
5	Gond, Naikpod	14.2	22.5	5.6	5.0	2.1
6	Konda Dora	15.0	22.1	7.6	4.3	2.0
7	Bagata	22.2	34.2	10.2	2.6	0.9
8	Savara	13.7	20.3	7.0	2.5	1.7
9	Jatapu	17.5	26.0	9.8	2.5	0.6
10	Konda Reddi	17.9	23.5	12.3	1.8	1.3
11	Kondh	5.2	8.1	2.2	1.6	0.6
12	Valmiki	39.9	52.9	26.5	1.3	3.6
13	Kammara	18.1	24.9	11.1	1.1	2.7
14	Koya	17.8	25.1	10.5	1.0	6.1
15	Kolam Mannervarlu	9.5	14.6	4.0	1.0	1.6
16	Chenchu	17.7	24.9	10.1	1.0	11.3
17	Konda Kapu	27.6	35.7	19.3	0.8	23.2
18	Gadaba	16.1	23.0	9.0	0.8	2.2
19	Mukhadora	9.9	15.3	4.4	0.7	0.5
20	Porja	8.7	14.4	3.0	0.6	1.4
21	Nayak	15.3	21.5	8.8	0.6	4.8
22	Mannedora	19.0	26.8	10.9	0.5	9.8
23	Pardhan	33.6	47.9	19.3	0.5	22.1
24	Un-classified	24.9	34.1	15.0	0.4	21.0
25	Goudu	17.8	25.5	9.9	0.3	3.0
26	Andh	26.6	37.2	15.1	0.2	11.9
27	Reddy Dora	22.6	30.2	14.6	0.2	17.0
28	Thoti	29.5	43.1	15.8	0.1	19.0
29	Mali	17.5	27.6	7.3	0.1	5.2
30	Kattunayakan	19.6	29.2	12.1	0.0	26.0
31	Kulia	29.2	40.7	15.5	0.0	15.3
32	Hill Reddi	26.6	34.4	18.2	0.0	13.0
33	Rona, Rena	40.7	51.5	27.1	0.0	48.8
34	Bhil	29.9	42.5	15.4	0.0	36.9
	Total	17.2	25.3	8.7	100	7.6

Source: Census 1991, GOAP

TABLE A3
Hamlet-Wise Details in Ryanka Thanda Panchayat: 2001

S. No	Hamlets	HHs	Pop	Literacy Rate		Work Participation Ratio		
				Persons	Female	Persons	Female	M/P
1	Ryanka Thanda	31.4	31.3	32.1	17.8	53.8	47.7	64.9
2	Bhadya Thanda	16.1	16.1	21.7	8.2	60.6	63.5	73.9
3	Jeetya Thanda	3.3	2.9	28.9	11.1	60.0	62.1	75.9
4	Sukini Thanda	3.8	4.7	43.4	35.3	56.4	59.0	66.9
5	Surya Thanda	9.1	9.3	38.4	21.2	57.6	62.4	69.4
6	Puthani Thanda	17.6	17.2	31.1	11.3	59.1	61.2	74.7
7	Vankdoth Thanda	6.0	6.2	24.6	18.8	59.8	61.3	74.9
8	Hariya Thanda	12.8	12.4	39.2	24.1	64.2	69.7	77.9
	Total	100	100	31.8	16.9	58.1	58.5	71.0

Notes: (1) Ryanka Thanda is a Panchayat consisting of 8 hamlets in Khammam Urban Mandal of Khammam District in Andhra Pradesh. The whole Panchayat is predominantly (above 95 per cent) inhabited by ST population; (2) HHs - Relative share of each Hamlet in the total households in the Panchayat; (3) Pop - Relative share of each Hamlet in the total population of the Panchayat; (4) Figures in Col. 5-9 represent Hamlet-specific percentages.

Source: Census 2001, Village Abstract.

Notes

- 1 The Census Socio-Cultural tables provide data on activity status which categorises children into four types: full time students, those working full time, those attending school and working, and those not working and not attending school, referred to as no-where children. These provide estimated number of children by their age for these four categories. Thus we used these estimations for the children in the age group 5-14 years. When we say educationally deprived children, it means those children who are out of school i.e. full time workers and no-where children. Those who are working and attending schools are considered as school going children. In fact their percentage is below 0.5 per cent in the total number of children. However, Census does not give any further information, especially household characteristics of the children.
- 2 NSSO (Employment and Unemployment) Survey records activity status of each person covered in the survey.
- 3 In fact NSSO Employment and Unemployment Survey records usual activity status (principal and subsidiary) of each member of the sample households. In addition, it records the current attendance status of the members those who below the age of 30 years.
- 4 Since the household is the basic decision making unit of child schooling, the location and the characteristics of the household is of paramount importance. Thus we used NSSO's 50th round survey unit record data to estimate the incidence of educationally deprived children according to their household characteristics.
- 5 During 1990s, the state made dramatic progress, as NSSO 1999-2000 estimation. It shows that the incidence of educational deprivation of children was around 23 per cent. Moreover, across

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Indian states, the state's achievement in reducing the incidence is remarkable and the state average stands now below the national average (Venkatanarayana, 2003b) in terms of educational deprivation.

- 6 Out of the total rural population, 43.3 per cent belong to households who owned no operational holding. In other words, they are landless in terms of cultivated land. Of these, 20.7 per cent are from landless agriculture labour households, 5.8 per cent from landless other rural households who are involved in manual work in non-farming activities and 16.8 per cent are from others landless households who may be involved in non-manual and non-farming activities. Out of the rest of the population who own some kind of operational holding, by size-class are as follows: marginal, small, semi-medium, medium, and large cultivator classes and their respectively percentages are 17, 14.1, 14, 7.4 and 4.1
- 7 Having land itself is not advantageous, especially in semi-arid regions like Rayalaseema and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, unless basic infrastructure facilities like irrigation are provided. It has its own implications on child schooling. Thus, within self-employed agriculture households, the children from the households without irrigation facility for cultivation are relatively in more disadvantageous position in terms of schooling than those from households with at least an acre of irrigated land. About 44 per cent of the children in the age group of 5–14 belong to households with no irrigation facility at all. The same households represent 56 per cent of the deprived children. It indicates the over-representation of households with no irrigation in terms of deprived children. All that it implies is that the phenomenon of educational deprivation is associated with agrarian conditions of the households.
- 8 Nearly 22 per cent of tribal habitations have population of less than one hundred and more than 40 per cent have population of 100 to less than 300 while others have less than 500 people.
- 9 See Vidyarthi and Pai (1988) which describe the different schemes of transformation process of tribal societies.
- 10 Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, University Education Commission Report. (Quoted from Karlekar, 1983).
- 11 Around eleven per cent of the villages are inhabited with 100 per cent ST population.
- 12 Around 20 per cent of ST population lives in villages where over 90 per cent of the population belongs to ST community.
- 13 As a matter of fact the term 'Village' used in Census refers to Revenue village, where Census villages are not always a single compact settlement and mostly contains one more hamlet along with the main village.
- 14 When ST hamlet is part of a big village with facilities like education and health, the access to them may be limited for the ST population on account of their caste identity.
- 15 Mandal is an administrative unit in the lower order, next to district in Andhra Pradesh.
- 16 It is 77 per cent for rural and urban: 73 per cent for rural areas, [figures based NSSO (1999–2000) 55th Round].
- 17 For instance a girl of 11 years old used to attend school and dropped-out at the 3rd class stage while her brother is continuing the school. It is because she is required to help in household chores. Her father is self-cultivator and owns 4 acres of land but unfortunately he is bedridden and cost of his treatment is beyond their affordability. It is a four-member family comprising, wife, husband and two children. Since the father is unable to cultivate the land, it is leased out

- and the income out of it is meagre. As a part of livelihood strategy, they are rearing goats which fetch them some earnings.
- 18 A few years back, many of the households in fact did not own any land as the settlement was covered by forest. Over the period, they cleared the forest and brought the forest land under cultivation. Of course, ownership rights were given later. When they were landless they used to either depend on forest production or working as agricultural labourers in nearby village which is on the main road about 5 km away. The village has main link with outer world through this village, though there is no proper road.
 - 19 This is reported by many of the respondents.
 - 20 As a matter of fact, commercialisation of agriculture is leaving differential impact on schooling of children belonging to different socio-economic strata. For those who are gaining maximum are cultivators. Their social and economic positions are elevated, so is their demand for schooling for their children. It is a positive effect. However, the very same process intensifies the demand for labour and thereby creates segmented labour markets. The demand for child labour is significant, especially for commercial crop cultivation like cotton (see, da Corta and Venkateswarlu, 2002). As there is demand for child labour, the employment opportunity for children increases which in turn results in substitution of schooling for work especially for poor households. In the absence of employment opportunity, these children may attend school. Hence, it is a negative impact. The process fails to raise real wage rates of casual labourers working in agriculture.
 - 21 Social interaction between communities leads to information exchange where backward communities benefit from the forward communities. Also, the demonstration effect of forward communities has an impact on the backward communities.
 - 22 Another fascinating observation was made in Anantapur district. The concerned village is exclusively ST (Lambada) community settlement. Though the village is part of lowest literacy level mandal, it has good number of people below the age of 40 who are literates and as many children in 5-14 years age group are attending schools. Many parents are willing to send their children to school. In a few cases, children themselves are not interested in going to school, and as such have become dropouts. In a very few cases parents dropped their children to engage them in work. Interestingly, girl's education is encouraged in the village and a few girls have graduated in Engineering. Interesting developments in the village in terms of education as well as economic, especially in agriculture took place since the habitation was adopted by RDT (Rural Development Trust), an NGO. The NGO put yeoman's service in a drought prone district, Anantapur. The NGO started its service in 1979 in this habitation. Their activities involved simultaneously agricultural development and educational development. They set up a school and rendered suggestions and advice on crop selection by the type of soil, cultivation techniques, usage of chemical fertilisers and pesticides, and facilitated credit in the form of crop loans. This is how the seeds of socio-economic change were sown. Now the village is reflecting a change. In this case, the NGO inculcated the value of education into the people. It took enough time to internalise and reap benefits out of it.
 - 23 There is a caveat in proceeding with this particular experience and to generalise. *Firstly*, it is a case study which is always susceptible to generalisations. *Secondly*, having observed the above phenomenal transformation in terms of education in this tribe/community specific to this region, one wonders whether it could be generalised to that particular tribe/community

across the geographical areas within the district, state or India. *Thirdly*, we have to discern what lessons does it reveal for the whole society in general and schedule tribes in particular, based on the particular tribe/community's experience.

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Women's Education, Dowry, Bargaining and Gains to Marriage*

T. Lakshmanasamy"

Abstract

Apart from the economic value of women's education, the non-pecuniary returns to investments in women's human capital are substantial. Women's education increases her bargaining power within the household and the human capital investments in children. The models of household behaviour usually use either the non-labour income of the women or the extra environmental opportunities outside the household as bargaining instruments of women in household allocation decisions. However, these models apply the bargaining framework for the post-marital household behaviour only, largely ignoring the premarital bargaining strengths of women. This paper uses investments in women, especially on education and dowry, as bargaining instruments to strengthen the women's gains to marriage in the marriage market. Women's human capital and dowry also act as an instrument for both matching and bargaining. Using primary sample, we find assortative marriage matching, but weak bargaining strengths of women and therefore her insignificant role in household decisions.

Introduction

Apart from its intrinsic value as a crucial development goal, education is also central to one's ability to respond to the opportunities that development presents. The human capital investment not only is a means for enhancing individual labour productivity and earnings, but also is a source of growth, accumulation, and income and earnings redistribution. The investment value of women's education is still higher, both from the individual as well as the society's points of view, as it has not only large monetary but also substantial non-monetary returns for both individual and society. There exists a substantial body of literature dealing with investments in human capital, especially on women's education and health, and the returns, both private and social. There have also been studies that examine the allocation of human capital investments between the sexes, especially among children, in families and in societies. Gender inequalities in education, wages, health and nutrition are widely documented both in developed and developing

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countries, but they are less often empirically analysed to understand the differential returns and more importantly the gender inequalities within the households. A wide spectrum of results do attempt to quantify the extent of these aspects, but the causes for these unequal outcomes have been less understood.

A basic question that every social science interested in social justice and equality tries to address is: does the increase in the economic status of women translate into progress in their well being as wives and in their overall well-being? In order to understand such deeper questions, one has to go beyond simple individual centered approach to the household level analysis. One has to understand what is the role of women and what happens to them as well as what they can cause within the household. In this respect the social and economic environment in which the families are raised is crucial. In the context of family, the significance of pre-household formation decisions with regard to marriage and marital choices determine women's position within the household and her subsequent roles and outcomes. As we get into the household behaviour, the household decision making process is generally more complex since it reflects the relative preferences and influences of each family member. In this context, the nature of a household is aptly described in the literature as a 'factory'. In the words of Becker, the 'father of economics of family': "A household is truly a 'small factory': it combines capital goods, raw materials, and labor to clean, feed, procreate, and otherwise produce useful commodities" (Becker, 1965). And, as the leading exponents on household models observe: "We too perceive the household as a factory, but like all factories, it consists of individuals who - motivated at times by altruism, at times by self-interest, and often by both - cajole, co-operate, threaten, argue, support, and, occasionally walk out on each other" (Alderman, Chiappori, Haddad, Hoddinott and Kanbur, 1995, p. 15). At this juncture, it is highly desirable to understand what goes on within the household, how decisions are taken and resources allocated, what are their implications as to women's position and her role, and why is it so important to understand women's position and power within the household in resource allocation decisions, as well as the importance of her pre-marital investments that are likely to influence her position in the marriage market and in the subsequent family.

In other words, an understanding of the influence of pre-marital investments in women and its impact on the subsequent household decisions is necessary to put in perspective the status of women in contemporary societies. Hence, an attempt is made in this paper to analyse the women's position within the family, using the models of household behaviour. This paper has two main objectives. First, it attempts to provide an overview of theoretical and empirical literature on the economics of family, particularly on the marriage matching and the household resource allocation decisions. Secondly, the paper attempts to empirically test the bargaining theory of household behaviour, and specifically, the productivity hypothesis of marriage market model and the influence of dowry and pre-marital investments in female education as bargaining instruments in the household decisions process in the Indian context, using a primary household survey data from Tamil Nadu.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents a brief account of the theories of marriage and intra-household resource allocation decisions. In Section 3, the empirical results are discussed. Finally, Section 4 summarizes the paper.

Economics of Family

In the literature on the economics of family, there exists two major separate strands of analyses on the role of women in the decision making process. There are theories on economics of marriage and household formation. This literature seeks to address the issues of marital choice and gains to marriage. The other literature, generally described as intra-household allocation models, seeks to address the issues of the distribution of power and the consequent outcomes within the household. Two leading economic models of intra-family allocation are: Becker's 'unitary' (altruistic as well as egoistic) or common preference approach, and the 'collective' or Nash-bargaining (divorce threat) models. As an alternative, the non-cooperative or separate spheres bargaining model argues that the th.^{at} point is not divorce but a non-cooperative standoff defined in terms of traditional gender roles and greater role of expectations and the non-cooperative standoff. Although such a solution is not optimal, the final equilibrium may be optimal, because of the presence of transaction costs. Carried to extremes, the traditional division of labour and responsibilities suggests a separate sphere equilibrium in the family. Each spouse makes decisions within his or her own sphere, optimizing subject to the constraint of individual resources. Joint consumption economies of scale are an important source of gains and even non-cooperative members enjoy the benefits of household public goods, such as children. This aspect distinguishes a non-cooperative from a pair of independently optimizing individuals.

The unitary model argues that household resources are pooled and shared according to some common household preferences. As long as the household head is sufficiently altruistic, efficient allocation implies that individual member's well-being is taken care of and each member has every incentive to maximize household income or utility. Hence, there is no possibility of conflicts or differential preferences in allocation decisions. Since household decision is common, the unitary model does not visualise any conflict of interests within the household. Even if there exists some sort of free-riding, Becker's Rotten Kid theorem, completely eliminates the scope of rivalry and bargaining. In contrast, Nash-bargained models see the possibility of the existence of conflicting individual preferences among family members, and each member trying to bargain more family resources for own utility maximisation using some threats. The strength of threat or bargain increases with the availability of individual specific resources. The common threat is the divorce threat.

Recent studies provide a more institutional approach to bargaining within the household that moves beyond bargaining models with simplistic fallback or threat points. Bargaining models often define individual's threat points in terms of his or her market earnings or individual assets. But bargaining is affected by legal and institutional aspects that determine how household resources are disposed and that defines enforceable claims

on other individual income flows such as child support. Changes in these, described as extra-environmental parameters by McElroy and Homey (1981), such as property rights in land, could easily have a much bigger impact on bargaining power than changes in the relative earnings of men and women. Recent literature in this area has shown that the political and legal institutions as well as the characteristics of the community - the extra-household environmental parameters - that affect the ability of a particular individual to generate income in the event of household dissolution (threat point), or factors that capture sex specific roles of members (to define non-cooperation) can affect allocation within the household could help explain the motive behind collective effects to defend or modify traditional rights. [See Alderman, et. al., (1995); Strauss and Thomas (1995); Haddad, Hoddinott and Alderman (1997); Browning and Lechne (2001); Vermeulen (2002); and Schultz (2002) for an overview of alternative approaches to the bargaining power within the household].

Economics of Marriage

In general, marriage is positively associated with a large number of outcomes, including improved cognitive, emotional and physical well-being for children, better mental and physical health for adults, and greater earnings and consumption for family members. In an economic model, potential spouses compare their expected valuations of economic, social and health outcomes associated with entering into a marriage with those of remaining single. Marriage occurs if the perceived value of marriage exceeds that of the alternative. The early altruistic model by Becker converts a woman's gains into a general increase in her family's income. From there on, how much the wife gains depends on how much her family's altruist (possibly herself) cares for her. Becker (1973) and its sequel (Becker, 1974) were the first to apply rational choice and market model to the analysis of marriage. While previous marriage analysts, mostly sociologists, had focused on the effect of marriage conditions on probabilities and mate characteristics, Becker pointed out that marriage market conditions also affect the individual well-being of each spouse, with possible implications for consumption patterns. Since then numerous studies have convincingly established the positive association between marriage and various measures of well-being. Many studies have also found that marriage is positively associated with market labour supply and earnings of not only females but men's earnings also. Thus, there are productivity gains to marriage through household division of labour and specialization (Becker, 1991). By investing either in home capital or market capital rather than in both, marital partners increase their productivity in their specialized areas, which in turn, increases gains from marriage. There are additional gains in marriage - the gains from association from marriage. Both the gains from specialization and gains from association are likely to increase with education (Tiefenthaler, 1997). Further, Becker's transferable utility model of the marriage market explains how the marriage market also adjusts to changes in the supplies of different types of men and women, different types of living arrangements, and different types of legal environment (Siow, 2003).

Formally, let the welfare W of the married couples depend upon what they bring to marriage:

$$W = f(A_m + A_f, E_m, E_f; Z) \quad (1)$$

where A represents physical wealth, E represents human capital, m and f stand for groom and bride, and Z represents a vector of factors that exogenously affect the gains from marriage. Assume that the utility from marriage increases with wealth and human capital. In case that the human capital is only valued for its income generating potential, the utility from marriage can be written as:

$$W = f(A_m + A_f + A_m E_m + M E_f; Z) \quad (2)$$

where X_m and X_f ($X_m > 0$, $X_f > 0$) are the lifetime return from human capital. Then all brides prefer grooms with high $A_m + X_m E_m$ and all grooms prefer brides with high $A_f + X_f E_f$, thus resulting in an assortative marriage market. However, with positive externalities from one spouse's human capital to the other's, grooms and brides are ranked according to multiple attributes, individual with particular traits may prefer to mate with similar traits, or prefer to mate with traits to compensate for their own.

Since the pre-marital investments, in large part parental considerations, and in third world countries the inheritance takes place at marriage, the choice facing the altruistic parents can be represented as:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Max}_{A_m, A_f, E_m, E_f} \quad & U(S - S_g A_m - I_g A_f - I_g s E_m - I_g s E_f; Z) + \\ & S_g \delta_g f(A_m + A_f + X_m E_m + X_f E_f; Z) + I_g \delta_g f(A_m + A_f + X_m E_m + X_f E_f; Z) \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

where g and b subscripts denote prospective grooms and brides respectively, $U(\cdot)$ is the utility of parents, S is parental wealth, s is the cost of human capital, and δ are the welfare weights for sons and daughters, and the variables A_m , A_f , E_m , E_f represent the assets and human capital of the people sons and daughters marry.

The early models on marriage and marital gains did not assimilate the then growing labour market analysis, especially the spousal labour supply. A major obstacle to the integration of labour research with marriage is the lack of integration between Becker's (1965) theory of allocation of time and Becker's (1973; 1974) theory of marriage. Labour research of Becker-Mincer household decision making model ignores that households can be formed or dissolved; marriage model of Becker is not formulated in terms of time use. The concept facilitating the integration of an analysis of labour supply with a marriage analysis is that of spousal labour. The concept of 'wife services' which includes housework activities and child related activities performed by wives for the benefit of husbands was generalized and made gender-neutral by Grossbard-Shechtman (1984),

with 'household labour' and later 'spousal labour' by Grossbard-Shechtman (1993) to emphasize the spousal benefit beyond housework, implying spousal workers typically get a material compensation, termed 'quasi-wage' for spousal labour. Many empirical works indicate that most married couples have access to each other's income, more so when the wife is not in the labour-force. The portability/generality of the human capital of spousal workers (and also potential spousal workers) opens the door to an analysis of markets for spousal labour and the analysis of gains to marriage in the labour market.

Empirical studies have shown that male earnings increase with women's education (Benham, 1974) and occupation (Neuman and Ziderman, 1992). However, the empirical relationships are confounded with problems of reverse causality and spurious correlation from omitted variables. Because of these, one is not sure, whether marriage makes people better off, better off people are more likely to marry, or some combinations of the two (Ribar, 2003). While there is a compelling evidence that married men have higher earnings than never-married men, the existence and mechanisms of marriage premium remains elusive. A number of hypotheses has been advanced to explore the nature of marriage premium - why married men earn higher wages. The dominant theory is the Becker's productivity hypothesis where married men have greater opportunity to specialize in the labour market when their wives specialize in home production. An alternative, the selection hypothesis, reverses the direction of causality, proposing that men with higher earnings capacity are valued more in the marriage market and are thus more likely to marry (Nakosteen and Zimmer, 1987; 1997). However, the empirical evidences are mixed. Some studies have shown that, taking selection effects into account, married men still have higher earnings. Thus, there is a potential wage gain from marriage as well as penalty associated with the wives labour market hours, conforming productivity hypothesis (Korenman and Neumark, 1991; Loh, 1996; Chun and Lee, 2001). Whether the same is true in the case of women is unknown as there are virtually no studies on the marriage premium for women. For women, the selection effect may be strong if the marriage market is assortative. As women have to move with their husbands, their labour market attachment may be less and hence their low specialization may not raise their productivity to yield marriage premium. Stutzer and Fry (2003) find some evidence in Germany for selection hypothesis as women gain from actual specialization. It is observed that couples with large relative wage differences and thus a high potential gain from specialization, benefit more from marriage. However, the study is more related with subjective well-being (happiness), than with income gains to marriage.

Another dimension of the marriage market, the quality of match between partners has additional implications for private and social welfare. An individual benefits not only from the increased production possibilities that a more educated spouse brings to a marriage, as assumed in the standard economic models of marriage (Becker, 1991), but also is rewarded by a positive consumption complementarities between the husband's and wife's schooling. Kremer (1997) observes a match correlation between .4 and .6. Further, the correlation between the schooling of husband and wife increases with economic development. Schultz (2001) reports for Taiwan, that there is a decline in gender wage

gap in average years of schooling completed from 4.2 years in 1976 to 0.23 years in 1995; consequently, the correlation of schooling of wives and their husbands which was 0.4 in 1976 had increased to nearly 0.6 by 1995. If the private returns to education are of comparable magnitude for men and women, but the social externalities associated with decreased child mortality, increased child health, increased child schooling enrollments and decreased fertility, are all more positively to women's schooling than men's, and these outcomes are valued by the society, it is efficient for society to invest more in the schooling of women than men (Schultz, 2002). But, whether these social externality benefits associated with women's schooling vary by the level of her schooling? Behrman, et. al. (1997), for India, found that mother's literacy and some primary schooling had a larger effect on child's school work and attainment than did her post-primary schooling, suggesting higher social returns for the most basic levels of female schooling. Thus, evidences indicate that assortative marriages have market premium through productivity gains to the spousal education. A deeper understanding of the marriage market may sharpen our insights.

Economics of Intra-Household Allocation

In sharp contrast to the neoclassical economics based theory of marriage, the recent game theory based bargaining models predict that women's gains in economic independence translate directly into increases in their threat points (based on their best possible utility outcomes outside the marriage) and hence into increases in their well-being as family members. Challenging the early unified models of family (Becker, 1991), which could not prescribe how intra-household distribution issues could be resolved, the recent developments in the bargaining models of household behaviour seem to have potentials to fruitfully address the possibility of conflicting interests of family members and the distribution issues within the household. A common approach in the collective models of household behaviour is to allow for the existence of independent preferences among the members of the family and identify the resources under the independent control of family members such as non-labour income, and use it as a bargaining instrument in the allocation decisions. When women control more non-earned income, indicators of child development improves by a greater amount than when men control these resources, holding constant the total budget consumption of the family. The empirical regularity strongly suggests that the pooling of family resources is less than perfect (Fortin and Lacroix, 1997). Further, the existence of legislative support increases a women's utility outside the household and hence it increases her bargaining strengths and threat point utility and thereby her share in the resource allocation. Thus, the existence of women specific resources within the household and options outside the household will have differential impact on household investment decisions, favouring those which will enhance the women's choices (Phipps and Burton, 1995).

The Pareto-only model (Chiappori, 1988; 1992; Browning, et. al., 1994; Browning and Chiappori, 1998; Wooley, 1998; Chen and Woolley, 2001; Lundberg and Pollak, 1993) assume that households will never settle for an allocation that leaves scope for one person

to be made better off without detriment to any other family member's welfare. Theoretically, the collective models, both cooperative and non-cooperative approaches, allow for differential treatments and outcomes among household members and resolve conflicts within the household. In general, the existing studies on intra-household allocation of resources use models in which allocation is determined in one of the four ways:

- (1) Parents allocate resources based on the differential labour market returns to the members of the family (Rosenzweig and Schultz, 1982).
- (2) Parents allocate resources according to their own utility, which depends on the well-being of the members of the family (altruist model) (Behrman, Pollak and Taubman, 1982; Behrman, 1988).
- (3) Households allocate resources based on the productivity of individual members of the family (Pitt, Rosenzweig and Hassen, 1990).
- (4) Resources are allocated according to the relative bargaining power of the members of the family (Haddad and Hoddinott, 1994; Thomas, 1990).

Formally, consider a household with two individuals, husband (h) and wife (w), both of whom derive utility from a consumption bundle of commodities including a vector of goods and leisure (\mathbf{x}), conditional on household characteristics (y). The utility of this unitary household can be expressed as:

$$U(\mathbf{x}, y) \quad (4)$$

which is maximised subject to a single household income or budget constraint:

$$\mathbf{p}\mathbf{x} = Y = y_j + y_h + y_w \quad (5)$$

where y_j is household joint income, y_h , and y_w are individual incomes. Since preferences are identical, utility maximisation under standard assumptions leads to a set of demand functions for \mathbf{x} that are functions of a vector of prices \mathbf{p} , total household income Y , and household characteristics, y :

$$\mathbf{x}_j = \mathbf{x}_j(\mathbf{p}, Y; y) \quad (6)$$

Thus, under income pooling approach of the unitary model, only total household income Y is relevant for demand and not its components, i.e. specific incomes of husband and wife.

But, in the collective models, the utility function is individual specific in which, under altruistic preferences, both member's consumptions appear:

$$U_j(\mathbf{X}_j, \mathbf{x}_k; y) \quad j=h, w \text{ and } k=h, w \quad (7)$$

Then, for all Pareto-efficient outcomes, there exists some weight **LI** for which the household's optimisation problem can be written as:

$$\text{Max } u_h U_h(\mathbf{x}_h, \mathbf{x}_w; y) + (1 - u_w) U_w(\mathbf{x}_h, \mathbf{x}_w; y) \quad (8)$$

subject to the budget constraint (2). The resulting demand equations are now functions of not only prices, incomes, and household characteristics, but also the weight, **LI**:

$$\mathbf{x}_i = \mathbf{x}_i(p, Y, u.; y) \quad (9)$$

The weight **LI** is the sharing rule, which is related to the relative bargaining strengths of the household members within the household. When **LI** is equal to zero, the model is a unitary and when **LI** equals one, it is a dictatorial model. Let p_h and p_w represent proxy measures (extra-environmental parameters) for bargaining power that influence **LI**, the demand functions can now be expressed as (suppressing the price variation):

$$\mathbf{x}_i = \mathbf{X}_i(Y; u[p_h, p_w], y) \quad (10)$$

The unitary model's income pooling hypothesis implies that the identity of the partners is irrelevant, the effect of the proxy measures should be zero:

$$\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial p_j = 0 \quad \text{with } j = h, w \quad (11)$$

This is a straightforward test of the unitary model. Under Pareto-efficient collective models, the sharing rule is affected by each member's bargaining power:

$$\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial p_j = (\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial u) (\partial u / \partial p_j) \quad \text{with } j = h \text{ or } w \quad (12)$$

Under Pareto-efficiency, the ratio of any two such effects is independent of i . That is,

$$\begin{aligned} [\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial p_h] / [\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial p_w] &= (\partial u / \partial p_h) / (\partial u / \partial p_w) \\ &= (\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial p_h) / (\partial \mathbf{x}_i / \partial p_w) \end{aligned} \quad (13)$$

This result that the ratio of husband-to-wife effects is identical across all pairs of goods i and j , provides a simple and powerful test of Pareto-efficiency.

The proxy measures that have been used in the literature, reflecting bargaining power but at the same time not endogenous, include: (1) share of income earned by women (Hoddinott and Haddad, 1995); (2) non-labour income (Schultz, 1990; Thomas, 1990); (3) current assets (Doss, 1999); inherited assets (Quisumbing, 1994); assets at marriage (Thomas, Contreras and Frankenberg, 2002); and the provision of resources to specific household members (Lundberg, Pollak and Wales, 1997; Rubalcava and Thomas, 2002);

pre-marital investments (Quisumbing and Maluccio, 2003; Iyigun and Walsh, 2004); and legislative provisions (Chiappori, Fortin and Lacroix, 2002).

The empirical side of relative bargaining strengths of spouses in the household behaviour concentrates on the behavioural impact of the variables that may influence the intra-household distribution of power. There are considerable evidence that resources are not allocated randomly within the households, and that the distribution of resources is unequal within the household in many developing countries (Schultz, 1995; 2002; Strauss and Thomas 1995; Behrman 1997; Haddad, Hoddinort and Alderman 1997; and Schultz 2001 for an overview). Such an unequal distribution of goods usually takes the form of bias against females, that too female children. In India, evidence based on mortality rates and human capital investments (health and education) indicates that there is considerable bias against girls in the intra-household allocation of resources (Bardhan, 1984; Behrman, 1988; Rosenzweig and Schultz, 1982; Sen 1984). Thomas (1990), Schultz (1990), Kooreman and Kapteyn (1990), and Browning, et.al. (1994) have provided evidence that the distribution of total intra-household income has significant impact on outcomes, thus rejecting the standard 'income pooling' prediction. Thomas, et. al., (2002) have shown that the distribution of wealth by gender at marriage has significant impact on child health (an intra-household allocation issue), in those areas in which wealth remains under the contributor's control. Relative incomes are not the only possible variable that may affect the intra-household decision process. It can also depend on a range of variables that change the household environment and, in particular, the members' respective bargaining positions. Factors that may affect the opportunities of spouses outside marriage can influence the intra-household balance of power and ultimately the final allocation of resources, even when the marriage does not actually dissolve (Haddad and Kanbur, 1992).

The variables that proxy situation in the marriage market are natural examples of the factors that change the household environment. Becker (1991, ch.3) emphasized that the marriage market, which depends crucially on sex-ratio, is an important determinant of intra-household utility distributions. Divorce laws and legislations that support females influence the partner's level of income and assigned property rights. The decision process may also be influenced by special features of the marriage contract, like whether agreements are binding or not (Ulph, 1988; Lundberg and Pollak, 1993; 1994; Woolley, 1998; Chen and Woolley, 2002). Along these lines, Chiappori, et.al., (2002) provide a structural model of household behaviour and analyze both theoretically and empirically the effects of 'distributional factors', the variables that can affect the intra-household decision process without influencing individual preferences or the joint consumption - sex-ratio and divorce laws, in a collective framework. The results reject the unitary model's prediction that distributional factors are irrelevant to intra-household decisions. They are also at odds with Nash bargaining models that assume that the fallback option is internal to the household. Quite to the contrary, the results support Becker's claim that the state of the marriage market is an important determinant of the intra-household decision process. The internal decision process is a two-step process: first non-labour

income is allocated among spouses according to a so-called sharing rule that depends on distributional factors and other variables. Next, spouses choose their labour supply subject to their individual budget constraint.

Thus, the burgeoning literature on intra-household resource allocation, both theoretical and empirical, ascertains the role and significance of bargaining strengths and strategies of women within the household. However, it frequently turns to the resource allocation patterns within the family, especially on the household labour supply decisions and on the outcomes on child investments, such as health and education. They do not generally address the issues of spousal gains to marriage. Moreover, the intra-household allocation decision literature deals with distributional issues and bargaining strategies once the household is formed and those of decisions prior to marriage, such as pre-marital investments in human capital of potential partners, are not incorporated in the formal analysis. In general, most of the bargaining household models assume marriage decision as exogenous and study the consumption or labour supply behaviour of married women.

There are also some attempts to incorporate the influence of women's education on household resource allocation decisions, as noted by Schultz (2002). "The conclusion of many empirical studies of development is that increased schooling of mothers is associated with larger improvements in child quality outcomes than is the increased schooling of fathers. This has been studied with birth outcomes (e.g. birth weights), child survival, good nutrition, earlier entry into school, increased school enrollment adjusted for age, and more years of schooling completed on reaching adulthood" (Schultz, 2002, p.212). However, the mechanism of the operation of women's education to influence these remains elusive. The empirical studies differ in how they measure women's control over resources, employing first labour market productivity and then wealth and non-labour income (Haddad and Hoddinot, 1994; Hoddinot and Haddad, 1995; Thomas, 1990; 1994). Empirical evidence from India and Bangladesh suggests that part of the correlation between women's schooling and their children's schooling is due to the marriage matching process, and consequently can be attributed to men's preferences rather than to women's differential productivity in schooling of their children (Behrman, et.al., 1997). Better educated women are able to increase schooling of their children. Men who want better educated children are thus motivated to marry better educated women with increased capacity to produce child human capital. An improved understanding of the joint determination of marriage market and this child/home human capital could affect the magnitude of the estimates of the productivity of female education on child human capital and plausibly reduce them in circumstances where women's schooling is privately valued by men mainly for its productive effects on childrearing. There is an ongoing search to model explicitly family composition, and marriage matching as well as marital status in the household allocation decisions (Behrman, Birdsall and Deolalikar, 1995; Behrman, et.al., 1997; Boulier and Rosenzweig, 1984; Schultz, 1994).

The collective models (as developed by Chiappori, 1988, 1992) suggest - and the empirical evidences support - the notion that relative spousal incomes influence

household allocations (Browning, et.al., 1994; Thomas, 1990). In both the collective models of Becker (1991) and Chiappori (1988; 1992) and the exogenous marital bargaining models of Manser and Brown (1980), McElroy and Homey (1981) and Sen (1983) the sharing rule or the bargaining power of the two sexes are determined exogenously and the couples have differential preferences over the choice set. But, while the collective approach to household behaviour takes spousal incomes as given, these incomes are determined at least in part by decisions individuals make prior to marriage. Thus, implicit in the collective framework is the idea that pre-marital investments influence wage earnings, and, hence, intra-marital sharing rules. Nonetheless, existing models neither examine the efficiency of pre-marital investments within the collective framework nor address how such pre-marital choices could influence intra-marital allocations. Just as the early literature on labour supply has not been integrated with the marriage analysis, the intra-household allocation models have lacked a way to be integrated with the marriage market analysis. Again, as the spousal labour did for the integration of the former, the pre-marital investment does for the integration of marriage analysis with intra-household allocation decisions. Earlier, treating spousal incomes as marital public goods, Bergstrom, Blume and Varian (1986) and Macleod and Malcomson (1993) have shown that the equilibrium levels of educational investments are below Pareto-efficient level. Later, Peters and Siow (2002) show how competition in large marriage markets with assortative spousal matching restores Pareto-efficiency. They argue that families make investment in education that is Pareto optimal, once matching is endogenized. In large marriage markets, assortative matching and bilateral efficiency, competitive marriage markets and assortative matching that occur within it guide families to indirectly and reciprocally compensate each other for investments that they have made in their own children. Thus, in Basu (2001) and Iyigun and Walsh (2002), bargaining power of the sexes is determined endogenously according to the actual relative earnings.

However, these papers do not address how pre-marital investments might influence bargaining in a collective household setting. Recently, Becker and Murphy (2000), Browning, Chiappori and Weiss (2003) and Iyigun and Walsh (2004) merge collective household model with marital sorting to explore the implications of spousal matching. In essence, individual's pre-marital investments help determine relative spousal incomes, which in turn influence intra-household allocations. For example, Iyigun and Walsh (2004) incorporate pre-marital investments and spousal matching into a collective household model where marital matching is assortative and an endogenous sharing rule forms the basis for intra-household allocations. The distribution of pre-marital endowments and the sex ratio in the marriage market help determine sharing rule. All sharing rules along the assortative marriage market lead to unconditionally efficient outcomes in which both pre-marital investments and intra-household allocations are efficient. Iyigun and Walsh (2004) show that the bargaining power is again endogenously determined with pre-marital investments and sex-ratio. Thus, incorporating pre-marital investments and marital matching into the collective models is a crucial step in

identifying the fundamental determinants of intra-marital sharing rules and their properties.

Moreover, in many developing countries, and in many poor households, women have neither sufficiently large independent sources of income nor adequate legislative or public support to strengthen their bargaining position. Even if such bargaining instruments exist, women in these households do not have any control over them, as they lack education and knowledge to effectively utilize the avenues open to them. In many situations, women are simply not to have any preference of their own and they are not allowed to participate in the household choices. However, there is plenty of anthropological and other evidence from India that parents spend a considerable amount of resources on the marriage of children, especially on female children, both on dowry and marriage related expenses (Bardhan, 1984; Rao, 1993). In fact, lavish expenses on wedding and festivals even under poverty specify a status identity and a strategy to cope with risk and poverty, as well as a mechanism for building networks, representing 'investments in social capital' (Rao, 2004). Browning and Subramaniam (1995) find that the cash dowry, without including in-kind dowry which is also substantial, and expenses, on average, amount to a yearly income for the households. Many argue that, in fact, dowry can be used as a transfer as well as a bargaining instrument in many cases (Zhang and Chan, 1999; Edlund, 2001; Botticini and Siow, 2002). Dowry enhances a women's position in the household and safeguards her interests and welfare. It improves the female's welfare through both income and bargaining effects. Moreover, parents desiring better match for their offsprings have to invest considerably on their children both in the human and physical capital from their childhood in order to attract prospective marriage alliances. In this regard, there is a substantial empirical literature suggesting that adding to a mother's schooling will have a larger beneficial effect on a child's health, schooling and adult productivity than would adding to a father's schooling by the same amount. This finding is consistent with recent studies grounded in the bargaining models of family resource allocation which report increments to the non-earned income of the mother, that empowers her, have a larger beneficial effect on the consumption and human capital of children than a similar increase in the non-earned income of the fathers. In order to explore the significance of pre-marital investments as an instrument of bargaining, this paper uses women's education and dowry as indicators of her bargaining strengths. This is accomplished by combining the marriage market analysis with the intra-household allocation methods in a collective framework. It is hypothesized that higher the women's education, higher the probability of assortative mating and thus more the gains to marriage.

The Data and Empirical Analysis

This paper uses a primary data collected for a larger study on marriage and female-age at marriage in Tamil Nadu. The data have been collected through a specially designed questionnaire during September 1996 to March 1997 from both married and unmarried women in both the rural and urban Tamil Nadu. A total of 1014 samples have been

collected; comprising 566 (55.8 percent) married and 448 (44.2 percent) unmarried women. Due weightage has been given to various socio-economic as well as cultural backgrounds while selecting the sample respondents. The data contain wealth of information about the personal as well as family characteristics of both the married and unmarried females and the personal and family background of the respective partners of married women. Information regarding marriage process, search process, choice of marital partner, marriage expenses including dowry, jewels and wealth transfers, effects of marriage on female employment and post marriage satisfaction and behavior of married women, have been obtained from married females. Beside this information from the unmarried women, the marriage related expectations and the likely choice of marital partners have also been obtained. Though unmarried female sample also furnished some important marriage related expectations, for the purpose of this paper, we have used only the married female sample.

Since the main aim of this study is to examine the influence of women's education on marital bargains and income gains to marriage, first we study the pattern of marriage. The results strongly reveal that the marriage market is characterized by assortative marriage (all tables below consider only valid cases for which the relevant information is available). The results also reveal that females are married either to similarly placed grooms or better than their own background man. Table 1 shows that more than 85 percent of females married men with similar earnings or higher earnings. This also indicates that there are net gains to positive assortative marriage. Further, Table 2 shows that education is also matched positively in the marriage market. Nearly 88 percent of females with primary education married either primary (18 percent) or secondary (75 percent) educated males; more than 52 percent secondary educated females married secondary educated males with another 42 percent marrying college educated males; more than 90 percent college educated females married degree holder males; nearly 80 percent of post graduate females married post graduate males, and 50 percent females with research qualification married research degree holder males.

TABLE 1

Marital Matching by Spousal Earnings (Rs. Per month)

<i>Female Earnings</i>	<i>Husband's Earnings</i>		
	<6000	6001 - 12000	> 12000
< 6000	99 (44.6)	110(49.5)	13 (05.9)
6001 - 12000	10(07.9)	60 (47.6)	56 (44.4)
> 12000	1 (02.0)	7(13.7)	43 (84.3)

Note: Percentage figures are in parentheses.

TABLE 2

Marital Matching by Spousal Education

<i>Education of Female</i>	<i>Education of Husband</i>				
	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>Research</i>
Primary	11 (11.5)	47 (74.6)	3 (04.8)	1 (01.6)	-
Secondary	2 (00.7)	144 (52.6)	87 (31.8)	31 (11.3)	1 (00.4)
UG	-	6 (04.4)	45 (33.1)	79 (58.1)	2(01.5)
PG	-	1 (01.5)	14(20.6)	44 (64.7)	9(13.2)
Research	-	-	2(33.3)	1 (16.7)	3 (50.0)

Note: Percentage figures are in parentheses.

TABLE 3

Marital Matching by Spousal Occupation

<i>Occupation of Female</i>	<i>Occupation of Husband</i>					
	<i>Doctor</i>	<i>Teacher</i>	<i>Engineer</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Clerical</i>
Doctor	8 (88.9)	-	1 (11.1)	-	-	-
Teacher	4 (05.4)	37 (50.0)	2 (02.7)	15 (20.3)	3 (04.1)	11 (14.8)
Engineer	3 (30.0)	1 (10.0)	3 (30.0)	1 (10.0)	1 (10.0)	1 (10.0)
Service	2 (02.4)	16(18.8)	4 (04.7)	43 (50.6)	1 (01.2)	1 (01.2)
Business	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	7(87.5)	-
Clerical	-	24 (24.2)	3 (3.0)	49 (49.5)	2 (2.0)	18(18.2)

Note: Percentage figures are in parentheses.

As Table 3 reveals, occupation is also matched positively. Nearly 89 per cent of females with medical education married doctor males; 50 per cent of female teachers married teachers; 60 per cent engineers female married either engineers or doctors; and 88 per cent of females with business background married businessmen. Only females in the service and clerical category married mixed background males. Again 50 per cent of females in service occupations married similar men; among the remaining females, more than 35 per cent married either teachers or clerical males. In the clerical category, 50 per cent of females married men with service oriented jobs, while only 18 per cent females married men with clerical jobs, and 24 per cent married teacher males.

As shown in Table 4 spousal matching by sector of work is strongly assortative. Nearly 83 per cent of females in the government sector jobs married males in government employment; more than 50 per cent of them married central government employed males.

Nearly 70 percent of females working in the private sector married private sector male workers; only 25 percent of private sector females married government sector workers; 47 percent of self-employed females married self-employed males; whereas 30 percent of them married private sector males, with another 24 percent marrying central government male employees. It is also interesting to note that matching of mates in the marriage market is also positively assortative even with socioeconomic background. Table 5 shows matching by parental income. Nearly 80 percent of females in the low and middle income categories married similar background family males, while in the high income category; more than 75 percent females married high income family members. Thus, the empirical evidences clearly support the income gain approach to the theory of marriage; there are gains from positive mating and largely likes marry likes.

TABLE 4

Marital Matching by Spousal Sector of Work

<i>Sector of Work of Female</i>	<i>Sector of Work of Husband</i>			
	<i>Central Government</i>	<i>State Government</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Self-Employed</i>
Central Government	8 (28.6)	15 (53.6)	5 (17.9)	-
State Government	13 (15.3)	46 (54.1)	23 (27.1)	3 (3.5)
Private	23 (15.3)	44(16.4)	186 (68.1)	16(5.9)
Self-Employed	-	4(23.5)	5 (29.4)	8(47.1)

Note: Percentage figures are in parentheses.

TABLE 5

Marital Matching by Parental Income (Rs. per annum)

<i>Parental Income of Female</i>	<i>Parental income of Husband</i>			
	<i>< 25,000</i>	<i>25000-50000</i>	<i>50001-75000</i>	<i>>75000</i>
<25000	79 (38.4)	84 (41.2)	32(15.7)	9 (04.4)
25001-50000	35 (17.2)	80 (39.4)	54 (26.6)	34(16.7)
50001-75000	5 (06.2)	30(37.0)	15 (18.5)	31 (38.8)
> 75000	3 (04.0)	7 (09.3)	18(24.0)	47 (62.7)

Note: Percentage figures are in parentheses.

The descriptive statistics presented in Table 6 show that the mean age at marriage of females is 21.11 years and the mean age difference between the spouses is 5.68 years, similar to the observations of many cross cultural studies. The mean values of the educational background show that the gap in educational attainment between the marital

partners is very minimum. However, husband's earnings are much higher than the wife's earnings. Similarly, the husband's parental annual income is higher than the female's parental annual income.

TABLE 6

Average Values of Marriage Related Variables

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>
AGEF	Age of female (yrs)	23.58	1.91
AGMF	Age at marriage of female (yrs)	21.11	1.79
AGEH	Age of husband (yrs)	29.27	2.26
AGMH	Age at marriage of male (yrs)	26.79	2.47
WAGEF	Earnings of females (Rs./month)	6873.08	4679.21
WAGEH	Earnings of husband (Rs./month)	10249.40	6032.39
EDUF	Education of female (yrs)	12.29	3.46
EDUH	Education of husband (yrs)	14.42	3.14
PINCF	Parental income of females (Rs.x100/p.a)	451.59	395.19
PINCH	Parental income of husband (Rs.x100/p.a)	588.06	480.42
EXPM	Marriage expenses (Rs.x1000)	64.16	70.41
DOW	Dowry for marriage (Rs.x1000)	18.69	27.96
DJV	Jewels for marriage (Rs.x1000)	63.30	53.72
DJQ	Dowry-Jewels (Souvenirs)	15.87	13.56
DMV	Property transferred (Rs. x 1000)	40.54	78.59
MGAIN	Income gain to females (Rs./month)	855.86	833.00
N	Sample size		566

With regard to marital transactions, dowry and jewels are substantial, besides sizable marriage-related expenses. Female's household spent about Rs. 64000 on marriage related expense? to marry their daughter. The dowry aspect is really a burden on the female's family: cash dowry has been about Rs. 19000 and jewelry amounts to Rs. 63000, along with Rs. 40000 in the form of property transfers. Thus, a family has to spend nearly Rs. 2 lakhs to marry their daughter. These results are in fact a sign of positive assortative mating in the marriage market. Thus, marriage involves high cost and the households are in fact willing to incur this for better marital matching. From the sample, it is observed that even the unmarried females prefer to marry similarly positioned males and nearly 93 per cent of sample respondents expressed that the marriage does not affect either their career or their earnings. Very few felt that the

dislocation caused by marriage may affect their employment. The gain in income to marriage for females is also significant. Though only few females reported that they gained, the gain is to the tune of Rs. 856 per month after marriage.

TABLE 7

Correlation Between Spousal Backgrounds

	<i>AGEF</i>	<i>AGEH</i>	<i>EDUF</i>	<i>EDUH</i>	<i>EARF</i>	<i>EARH</i>	<i>EDUFF</i>	<i>EDUFM</i>	<i>DOWRY</i>
<i>AGEF</i>	1.00	.750*	.527*	.451*	.466*	.206*	.366*	.457*	.140*
<i>AGEH</i>		1.00	.538*	.543*	.461*	.290*	.385*	.406*	.134*
<i>EDUF</i>			1.00	.782*	.682*	.357*	.620*	.645*	.174*
<i>EDUH</i>				1.00	.524*	.419*	.608*	.609*	.180*
<i>EARF</i>					1.00	.312*	.502*	.553*	.247*
<i>EARH</i>						1.00	.526*	.088*	.175*
<i>EDUFF</i>							1.00	.674*	.230*
<i>EDUFM</i>								1.00	.168*
<i>DOW</i>									1.00

	<i>JEWEL</i>	<i>PROPTY</i>	<i>EDUHF</i>	<i>EDUHM</i>	<i>INCFP</i>	<i>INCHP</i>	<i>EARHF</i>	<i>EARHM</i>
<i>AGEF</i>	.177*	.119*	.194*	.334*	.292*	.126*	.068*	.096*
<i>AGEH</i>	.280*	.148*	.190*	.346*	.275*	.203*	.066*	.093*
<i>EDUF</i>	.311*	.215*	.402*	.540*	.360*	.238*	.175*	.210*
<i>EDUH</i>	.388*	.205*	.381*	.477*	.343*	.326*	.217*	.128*
<i>EARF</i>	.659*	.240*	.304*	.450*	.374*	.222*	.202*	.266*
<i>EARH</i>	.321*	.290*	.153*	.239*	.495*	.657*	.327*	.123*
<i>EDUFF</i>	.317*	.224*	.407*	.513*	.384*	.301*	.178*	.152*
<i>EDUFM</i>	.266*	.247*	.400*	.563*	.425*	.270*	.211*	.217*
<i>DOW</i>	.298*	.237*	.149*	.170*	.328*	.327*	.178*	.161*
<i>JEWEL</i>	1.00	.451*	.214*	.306*	.590*	.673*	.423*	.178*
<i>PROPTY</i>		1.00	.005	.075	.332*	.433*	.374*	.158*
<i>EDUHF</i>			1.00	.516*	.196*	.202*	.425*	.170*
<i>EDUHM</i>				1.00	.290*	.233*	.198*	.377*
<i>INCFP</i>					1.00	.573*	.324*	.192*
<i>INCHP</i>						1.00	.398*	.203*
<i>EARHF</i>							1.00	.065
<i>EARHM</i>								1.00

•Correlation co-efficient statistically significant.

Table 7 presents the correlation between some of the important characteristics of marital partners, dowry and their family backgrounds. The correlation between the female education and earnings with male education and earnings are positive and statistically significant. Similarly, the correlation between the female's parental education and

earnings with male's education and earnings as well as with his parental education and earnings are also positive and statistically significant. There also exists significant relationship between dowry, jewels, and properties given for marriage with both the families background characteristics.

TABLE 8

Regression Results of Female and Male Earnings and Gains to Marriage

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Female Earnings</i>		<i>Male Earnings</i>		<i>Income Gain</i>
EDUF	0.164*	0.324**	0.045*	0.222***	-0.255
	(10.95)	(2.00)	(5.13)	(1.74)	(1.36)
EDUH	0.018	0.195	0.081*	0.163***	0.165
	(1.55)	(1.23)	(6.57)	(1.70)	(0.94)
EXPF	0.056**	0.085			-
	(2.00)	(0.95)			
EXPFSQ	-0.0002	-0.012			-
	(0.11)	(1.33)			
EXPH	-		0.041	0.389	-
			(1.30)	(1.58)	
EXPHSQ	-		-0.0002	-0.002	-
			(0.14)	(1.53)	
EDUF	-	-0.011	-	-0.008	-
EDUH*		(1.07)		(1.05)	
AGEF	-	-	-	-	-0.301
					(1.20)
AGEH	-	-	-	-	0.480***
					(1.83)
WAGEF	-	-	-	-	0.0006
					(0.21)
WAGEH	-	-	-	-	0.0002
					(0.77)
DOW	-	-0.005	-	0.022	-0.038***
		(0.88)		(0.48)	(1.72)
Constant	2.567*	2.700	3.544*	2.521	-0.893
	(11.07)	(1.28)	(15.26)	(1.46)	(0.20)
R-square	0.54	0.67	0.47	0.73	.031
F	92.30	7.57	68.47	10.25	3.44

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate absolute / values.

* Significant at 1 percent level.

** Significant at 5 percent level.

*** Significant at 10 percent level.

In the econometric analysis, first we estimate the wage equations of males and females to identify the effect of own education on earnings, dowry, and spousal education on each other's earnings. Then, we estimate the income gain to women equation to

identify the bargaining strengths of females. Table 8 presents the OLS results of the male and female earnings functions as well as the income gain equation. As expected, the effects of own education on earnings are positive and statistically significant in both male and female earnings equations. One year of education generates a return of approximately 16 percent per year for females and approximately 8 percent for males. Thus, the rate of return for female education is much higher than that of male education. However, the effects of spousal education are rather weak. While both effects are positive, only female education has some influence on male earnings. The female education coefficient is significant, male education coefficient is insignificant. The effect of female education is approximately 4 percent per year on male earnings, while the effect of male education on female earnings is only one percent. Thus, the effects of spousal education are less than the effects of own education on earnings. Further, the effect of the education interaction term is negative and statistically insignificant. This reveals that the productivity gains from spousal education are negative, perhaps due to the reason that females specialize more in the home production than in the market work. As the degree of specialization in the labour market decreases, the gain from spousal education also decreases. Dowry has a negative effect on women's earnings and positive effect on men's earnings, but statistically insignificant in both functions. This shows that dowry may be a bargaining instrument for females; but its effect is only marginal. A 10 percent increase in dowry reduces female earnings by only 5 percent.

The results of the productivity effects of spousal education are also reinforced by the results of income gain to marriage estimates. The effect of female education is negative while the effect of male education is positive, but both are statistically insignificant. The dowry variable has a negative effect on gains to marriage and is significant at 10 percent level. While own education decreases gains to marriage by 2 percent, dowry decreases the gain by 3 percent. However, assortative matching increases male earnings by 16 percent. These results indicate that while males tend to gain from assortative marriage, the gains to females are rather low. The effects of wage rates on income gain are, though positive, low and insignificant. Further, the negative coefficients of dowry and female education in income gain equation are also at odds with the collective approach to household behaviour. They indicate that women have little control over the resources and the allocation decisions within the household. Thus, it seems that in the Indian households women's bargaining strengths are weak and her role in household decisions is rather limited.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to bring together three strands of research, though not mutually exclusive, on the economics of household behaviour. The marriage market models emphasize productivity gains through assortative matching. The labour market models treat marriage as exogenous and emphasize the returns to human capital investments. The intrafamily decision making models, both unitary and collective models, discuss the patterns of household resource allocation decisions within the household, assuming the

existence of a family or household. The missing link for the endogenous model of all three strands is provided by the recognition of spousal labour and pre-marital investments. It has been argued in this paper that parental investments in female education enhances the marriage market prospects of females and hence leads to assortative marriages. With likes married to likes, the division of labour and specialization increases productivity of spouses and hence returns to education. With higher education and better earnings, along with dowry transfers, women have higher resources at their disposal and hence more bargaining power to a greater role in household allocation decisions. In fact, the collective models allow for household member's independent preferences and the household allocation decisions are collective rather than unitary. The collective models have also shown that existence of independent non-labour income or extra environmental factors, such as divorce laws increases women's bargaining strengths and threat point utility. Also the existence of some distributional factors, such as sex-ratio, influences household sharing rules. Empirically, many studies have analyzed all these aspects, and it seems that there appears to be a near consensus that marriage market is assortative, spousal labour and education are important in labour supply decisions, and household decisions are collective. Specifically, the unitary approach has largely been rejected by studies that use independent non-labour income as a bargaining strategy.

In this paper, women's education and dowry have been considered as bargaining instruments to test the productivity hypothesis of marriage and the collective approach to household decision making process. The results of this study show that, like other studies, the market gains of women's education are not limited to the effects of education on own earnings, as the wife's education also increases the husband's earnings. Investments in women's education generate positive labour market returns. Though the same is not the case with husband's education, the effect is still positive. Spousal education and assortative marriage provide for cross-productivity effects. Hence, investment in education of married couples not only increases their own wages, but also increases the wages of spouses. Beyond this productivity effect, women's education does not add to her bargaining strengths over household resources. Neither the presence of large dowry has any significant influence for her independent preferences and household decisions. Thus, pre-marital investments on women, in the form of education and dowry, are not likely to improve women's position within the family, though there are labour and marriage market gains. It seems that in the Indian family structure, women have little bargaining strengths and have limited say in household allocation decisions, even with sizable resources under their control. May be public policies that improve the distributional factors and legislative measures will have important consequences on the bargaining strengths of women and ultimately on the allocation of income and welfare within marriage or households.

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Accreditation Trends in Indian Higher Education

B. R. Manjunath*

Abstract

Need for Quality Assurance (QA) and accreditation of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in India is no longer in question. The general education sector in India, huge in size and heterogeneous in character, with over 9 million student population, has recognized this need. The National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) set up in 1994 as an autonomous institution under the University Grants Commission (UGC), the country's apex grant-giving body for HEIs, is entrusted with the role of sustaining and enhancing quality in Indian higher education. The main focus of the NAAC is on general education sector. The technical and professional higher learning institutions, where only a small percentage of students of the eligible age group (17-24) study, however, have separate accrediting agencies.

The NAAC has, so far, accredited over 2600 HEIs, including 122 universities/university-level institutions. However, the spread of the accredited institutions spans a wide range in geographical terms, indicating, among other things, the variation in response levels to need for quality assurance. This paper attempts to analyze this spread, the possible causes, and the feasible measures that need to be adopted at the local/state/regional levels to bring these low-response regions on par with others, in the interest of quality education throughout the country. The need for doing so is accentuated by the ongoing globalization that may otherwise cause a slow death of the laggard institutions.

Introduction

The modern system of Indian higher education, as it is known today, had its beginnings in Macaulay reforms, introduced in 1835 during British India. Indeed, whatever other motives the British had in introducing those reforms, in a very major way, the step led to English education taking roots in India and generating mass conscious among the

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educated of their rights, and the fact of denial of the same by the then colonial masters kindling a nationalistic sentiment that was to play a crucial role in the freedom movement in the years that followed, finally leading to independence of India. In those early years, education remained largely the preserve of a privileged few. In course of time, various attempts were made by the Government of India (GoI) to restructure and reform the system of higher education, initially with a view to widen access and enhance equity; concerns at quality were caused much later. The major among those attempts were the appointment of the Radhakrishnan Commission in 1948 and the Kothari Commission in 1966. The other intermittent attempts, made from time to time, did not leave much impact on the system as they mostly lacked enthusiastic follow up by the establishments of the day. The Radhakrishnan Commission observed, "The universities, as the makers of the future, cannot persist in the old patterns however valid they may have been in their own day. With the increasing complexity of society and its shifting patterns, universities have to change their objectives and methods, if they are to function effectively in our national life". The commission report also led to setting up of University Grants Commission in 1953. The other commission whose recommendations caused comprehensive changes that exist till date is the Kothari Commission. The important among its recommendations that were accepted are free compulsory education, introduction of the 10+2+3 system of education, vocationalization of school education, etc. (Mehta, 2004).

In the 1950s, when the system was still small, quality had not yet emerged as a worrying factor. Cost too was low. With the initiative of privatization entering higher education arena in a big way, particularly since 1980's, with mixed motives, the scene started changing. While the system expansion, no doubt, was happening making possible wider access, simultaneously, profit orientation was becoming more and more common leading to higher cost to achieve access, widened though. Though need not be so, quantity and quality, unless treated as strictly controlled variables, tend to be inversely related. This turned out to be the case with the rapidly growing higher education sector in India, raising quality concerns among all concerned. To address the issue of deterioration of quality, the National Policy on Education (NPE-1986) and the subsequent Plan of Action (PoA-1992) spelt out the strategic plans for the policies, and advocated the establishment of an independent national accreditation body. Pursuant to the directives, the NAAC was established in 1994 with its headquarters in Bangalore (NAAC... A Profile, 2003). The NAAC is a member of International Network of Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE).

Today, accreditation as a quality keeping mechanism has come to stay. The philosophy of accreditation is to protect and promote the larger public good in any sphere of human endeavor. With 'profit-motive' becoming the driving force in higher education, with private and foreign providers eyeing India as a productive destination, and the governmental spending on the sector declining in real terms, stringent implementation of accreditation norms is necessary to keep the scene reasonably free from dubious players.

The task of the NAAC was always destined to be formidable in that assessing institutions of higher learning, particularly in a vast country like India, apart from calling for high competence and integrity, involved huge amounts of money, time and effort from a dedicated academia. Carrying out such a mammoth task has been rendered just about manageable largely due to willing cooperation of the higher education community of the country.

The procedural intricacies and the need to find ways to refine assessment procedures and their flawless execution are topics of constant debate in the higher education circles of India. But the process has worked well enough to stir the higher education sector out of complacency and sensitizing it to the need for self-study and devising ways to sustain and enhance quality. International compatriots have acclaimed the process as well. The International Association of University Presidents (IAUP) has commended the NAAC as one of the 30 trustworthy accrediting agencies of the world.

In India, today, there are 29 states and 6 union territories. That the NAAC has been able to reach out to the academic heartland to enable implementation of quality measures in HEIs is corroborated by the fact that none of the states or union territories (UT) has remained outside the sphere of influence of NAAC activities, with the exception of just one state, Sikkim. All other states have varying percentages of their institutions accredited.

Initial Response to the NAAC

In the initial stages of introducing the concept of quality assurance into the education system, there was some resistance, as there was a general feeling that the affiliating university system could itself take care of the quality aspect through its various bodies and activities and that having a separate body exclusively to assess quality would mean, apart from duplicating functions already being performed by the universities, putting in place another body with an inspectorate approach. Overcoming teething troubles and firmly getting into the saddle took a few difficult years. A good deal of effort at all levels became necessary to help triumph over the residual hesitations and to bring the institutions to understand that the quality assessment process was neither redundant nor meant to be magisterial and the changeover of mindset from apprehension to acceptance to appreciation was guarded and gradual, as illustrated in Table 1.

The credit for the effort that caused the positive change in attitude towards quality assessment may be apportioned among the four major acts/actors: one, state governmental initiatives; two, the academic leaders across the country; three, the UGC, particularly in recent years by way of reimbursement of accreditation related expenditure to recognized colleges; and four, the unremitting pursuit of promotional activities by the NAAC to popularize the need for quality assurance in higher education.

TABLE 1
Growing Response to the NAAC

<i>Year</i>	<i>Universities/ Deemed Universities (DUs)</i>	<i>Colleges</i>
1998	-	08
1999	06	71
2000	16	44
2001	25	50
2002	35	83
2003	23	493
2004	08	1338
2005 (till 20.05.2005)	09	399
Total	122	2486

Source: MIS, NAAC

Note: The individual figures are only nearly exact. This is because, the accreditation results may be cleared by the Executive Committee (EC) of the NAAC, say, in February '05, but the accreditation visits to the institutions may have taken place any time after the date of the previous EC meeting, and may thus fall in November and December of '04 as well.

The Changing Accreditation Grading Systems

To begin with, the NAAC adopted a two-point grading system. The institutions assessed were declared either 'accredited' or 'not accredited', depending on whether or not they fulfilled a set of requirements. Soon, the approach was found to be one-dimensional and the need for a more detailed system was felt. The five-point grading system, known as 'star grading system', thus came into being from 1999, (Table 2).

TABLE 2
Star Grading System

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Institutional Score (Upper Limit Exclusive)</i>
A**	95-100
A*	90-95
A*****	>=75
A****	70-75
A***	65-70
A**	60-65
A*	55-60

This system prevailed till 2002. Again, the discussions and debates that were caused due to contrasting viewpoints in the academic community across the country, threw up the conclusive position that the 'star grading system' too was inadequate as all those with an overall institutional score of above 75% were rated alike, with a five-star grading, thus not leaving scope for bringing out the finer differences among them in grade terms. From

15.03.2002, a still more detailed nine-point letter grading system (Table 3) came to be adopted by the NAAC. The system is in use till date (the total number of HEIs accredited under various grading systems is given in Annexure 1).

TABLE 3
Letter Grading System

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Institutional Score (Upper limit exclusive)</i>
A ⁺⁺	95-100
A ⁺	90-95
A	85-90
B ⁺⁺	80-85
B ⁺	75-80
B	70-75
C ⁺⁺	65-70
c ⁺	60-65
c	55-60

The Accreditation Pace Gathers Momentum

One may view the evolution of accreditation of general higher education institutions in India in 3 phases (*Stella, 2004*). The Phase I, from 1994 to 1997, was characterized by certain reservations on the part of the HEIs. These were to take a while to give way to clarity on essentiality of quality assessment. The Phase II, from 1998 to 2001, may be considered the period that witnessed successful efforts on the part of the NAAC and the associated partners in the higher education sector that constructed a broad assault on the status-quoist mindsets. The Phase III, from 2002 onwards, is marked by a definite increase in the response level from the HEIs, more or less from all over the country. The institutions have increasingly been realizing the need to do a dispassionate self-study and submit to external peer review to arrive at a realistic appraisal of where their educational offerings stand on a quality scale. The NAAC process, comprising submission of a self-study report (SSR) by the institution as per the 7 criteria expounded in the NAAC manual and the external peer evaluation carried out by a peer team constituted by the Council in accordance with the well laid out procedures, began being growing by accepted. The quality assessment became a necessary academic ideal.

The Accreditation Scenario: Region-Wise

As the pace gathered momentum, a new demanding reality began emerging requiring institutions in large numbers having to be assessed and accredited in a unit time. Faced with the challenge of numbers, while having to make do with limited manpower, the NAAC had to innovate and that innovation came in the form of bringing in Member - Coordinators (MC) to coordinate the on-field visit, even as the academic staff of the NAAC continued to play the key role of internal coordinators, putting in place the pre-visit ground level preparations and monitoring the conduct of the visits.

Those with the experience of taking part in a few peer team visits and those who had undergone training in the Assessor Training Programs conducted by the NAAC from time to time came to be designated as MC (*Manjunath, 2005a*). Further, to facilitate orderly execution of assessment and accreditation activities, including the on-field visits, the NAAC adopted the following region-wise classification based on geographical contiguity of states (Table 4).

The geographical distribution of HEIs, region-wise, that are potential candidates for assessment and accreditation by the NAAC, can be seen in Table 5.

TABLE 4
Regional Classification

Eastern	Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Anadaman and Nicobar Islands.
North-Eastern	Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, and Tripura.
Northern	Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttaranchal, and Uttar Pradesh.
Southern	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Lakshadweep and Pondicherry
Western	Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Goa, Gujarat, and Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli

TABLE 5
Distribution of Recognized HEIs in India (2000 - 01)

<i>Region</i>	<i>Universities/University-Level Institutions</i>	<i>Colleges</i>
Eastern	39	1661
North-Eastern	13	449
Northern	74	1553
Southern	69	2534
Western	59	1729
Total	254*	7926**

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2000 - 01, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Gol.)

* This figure includes 86 Deemed Universities and 13 Institutes of National Importance; the number of conventional universities receiving the UGC grants, that are of immediate assessment priority for the NAAC is 155 in the university sector.

** This figure includes 5589 colleges, recognized u/s 2f/12(B) of the UGC Act, 1956 and it is these that are of immediate priority for the NAAC in the college sector. (With effect from April 01, 2004, for 12(B) recognized colleges, the UGC has waived accredited fee and extended support to meet accreditation related expenditure).

Accreditation Data

The total number of institutions accredited by the **NAAC** as of 20.05.05, region-wise, are given in Table 6. The state-wise and grade-wise accreditation particulars in the various grading systems that the **NAAC** has adopted so far are given in Annexure 2.

TABLE 6
The Accreditation Summary: Region-Wise

<i>Region</i>	<i>Universities/University-Level Institutions</i>			<i>Colleges</i>
	<i>Universities</i>	<i>Deemed Universities</i>	<i>Total</i>	
Eastern	14	01	15	142
North-Eastern	08	0	08	193
Northern	26	07	35	389
Southern	29	08	37	776
Western	21	06	27	986
Total	98	24	122	2486

TABLE 7
The Task That Remains (for First-Cycle of Accreditation)

(a) University Sector

<i>Region</i>	<i>Univ./University Level Institutions</i>	<i>Accredited</i>	<i>% Accredited</i>	<i>% Yet-to-be Accredited</i>	<i>Total</i>
Eastern	39	15	39%	61%	100%
North-Eastern	13	08	62%	38%	100%
Northern	74	35	47%	53%	100%
Southern	69	37	54%	46%	100%
Western	59	27	46%	54%	100%
Total	254	122		-	-

(b) College Sector

<i>Region</i>	<i>Colleges</i>	<i>Accredited</i>	<i>% Accredited</i>	<i>% Yet-to-be Accredited</i>	<i>Total</i>
Eastern	1661	142	09%	91%	100%
North-Eastern	449	193	43%	57%	100%
Northern	1553	389	25%	75%	100%
Southern	2534	776	31%	69%	100%
Western	1729	986	57%	43%	100%
Total	7926	2486		-	-

Analysis and Discussion

It can be seen from Table 7 that the broad trends in accreditation, both in university sector and college sector, are discernible. Whereas in the university sector, the percentage performance, from accreditation standpoint, varies in the order: North-Eastern region, Southern region, Northern region, Western region, and Eastern region; and in college sector the variation trend is: Western region, North-Eastern region, Southern region, Northern region and Eastern region. On closer observation, one may figure out the following:

- (i) With the exception of Western region, for each of the regions, the response from university sector is better compared to that from the college sector.
- (ii) With the exception of the Eastern region, in the other four regions, on an average, about 50% of the universities have submitted to accreditation process.
- (iii) The Eastern region lags behind in respect of both the sectors.

On examining the trends, some of the questions that arise are:

1. What are the factors responsible to bring about generally better response from university sector and what can be done to raise the response level in the college sector in all the regions?
2. What causes all higher education institutions in the Eastern region to hold back from coming forward for quality assessment on par with other regions?
3. In Southern and Western regions, in the college sector, though the percentages of accreditation response vary widely, however, in terms of figures, the numbers of colleges recurring accreditation are large enough [Table 7(b)] to attract attention to the factors and circumstances that may have made this impressive response possible. What are these factors and can these be replicated elsewhere?
4. In college sector, only Western region has crossed the halfway mark. What made this possible?

The success of a new idea depends, among other things, on whether there is a supportive environment available for implementing the idea. Such an environment existed from early stages for universities to implement quality assessment. The relatively ready response to quality assessment from the university sector became possible, due in large measure to the fact that the financial wherewithal to meet the accreditation-related expenditure came from the UGC. The UGC, at its meeting held on July 29, 1997, stated that "... *The payment of assessment and accreditation cost to NAAC, upto a maximum of Rs. 5 lakhs in case of large universities, may be accepted as admissible item for plan grant of the respective universities by the Commission. The grant for this purpose may be released to the concerned university*" (NAAC... *A Profile*, 2003). This, of course, need not in any way mean undermining the role the internal drive of the university leaders played in conducting a self-study and laying their academe open for peer review.

In case of college sector, first, one may take a look at the reasons for the lead of the Western region. In Western region, while Maharashtra has demonstrated how a systematic and intense effort coupled with an academic will on the part of educational

institutions, would accelerate preparations for quality assessment, the neighboring Goa (13) Gujarat (12), and Madhya Pradesh (42) still need to put in efforts to make a major mark on the accreditation map (Annexure 1). Of the states that comprise this region, Maharashtra has had 919 colleges accredited out of a total of about 1741 colleges in the state, and that within a short span of time. What made this possible? For an answer, one needs to look at Maharashtra example more closely.

Maharashtra Example

The state heads the list with maximum number of HEIs accredited. The major initiatives the state had launched to achieve this are: (i) a government resolution resulting in the formation of a Central Controlling Committee with the state Education Minister as Chairperson and the vice-chancellors of the universities in the state, and senior level higher education officials, a few eminent educationists and representatives of college principals as members; (ii) setting up of State Level Quality Assurance Coordinating Committee (SLQACC) and a Quality Assurance Cell (**QAC**) to coordinate activities of different committees dealing with assessment activities and the NAAC, the UGC and the state government; (iii) formation of sub-committees to facilitate conduct of awareness activities at state, district, and taluk levels throughout the state; (iv) a number of workshops to train principals on how to prepare SSR for submission to quality assessment process; and (v) reforms in the university sector that facilitated colleges in submitting to assessment process. (*Pradhan et al, 2004*).

Apart from these facilitating factors, the one important factor that made this level of response possible was that the Government of Maharashtra had taken a policy decision requiring all the colleges in the state to undergo quality assessment within a stipulated date. That worked. (It is true that 'compliance culture' and 'genuine quality culture' are two entirely different things, and, no doubt, it is the latter that needs to be aimed at. But, nevertheless, as a way to make a beginning, some *push* may not be undesirable, particularly when the overall context so demands. Examples from manufacturing and other sectors actually bear this out).

Though in India, it is largely the affiliating system that is operating, it is for the state governments to set policies that create a conducive environment for a planned and orderly growth of the higher education sector as a whole in the state. In university sector too, in case of Maharashtra, all the 9 state universities that receive development grants (*List of Recognized Universities, as on 28.11.2003, UGC*) from the UGC stand accredited. The sectoral lag is accounted for mainly by the fact that only 6 (all from Maharashtra) of the 22 deemed universities of the Western region have been accredited so far, and to a small extent, by the slower response from universities in Gujarat (4 of 7). The only university in Goa and all the 7 recognized universities in Madhya Pradesh have been accredited.

Though not quite comparable in number terms, the states of Karnataka (415), Tamil Nadu (178) and Kerala (113) too have done well. Pondicherry has 5 of its institutions accredited, including the only university in the territory. Among the southern region

states, Andhra Pradesh (66) needs to take urgent steps to catch up with the neighbours. In case of Southern region, apart from the state government initiatives that worked as the vital push factor to go in for quality assessment, the generally higher level of awareness on the benefits of such an exercise on the part of the institutions and other enabling factors like socio-economic context of institutions also significantly contributed to their coming forward in large numbers.

In Northern region, Haryana (149) leads, with Punjab (73) and Rajasthan (67) somewhat behind. The largest populated state of the Indian Union, Uttar Pradesh (34), needs concerted efforts of all interested sections to do well. The other states of Himachal Pradesh (13), Jammu and Kashmir (17), and the newly formed state of Uttaranchal (24) and the UT of Chandigarh (12) also need to plan for completing accreditation of their HEIs by 2007.

In the North-Eastern region, the state of Assam is in the lead with 3 of its universities and 178 colleges accredited so far. The other north-eastern states have just made a beginning and need a sustained effort to make up for the lag.

One may now turn to Eastern region, the region of utmost concern from accreditation standpoint. Among the five eastern states of Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal, the state of West Bengal stands out in that it has all its 7 conventional universities accredited, and that quite early. Even in the college sector, though only 75 are accredited so far, the response in the state has been gradually growing (*Sarkar et al, 2004*). A lot of effort is needed to bring the other states of the region, Bihar (19), Chattisgarh (19), Jharkhand (14) and Orissa (15) significantly into the accreditation fold. The two states, Chattisgarh and Jharkhand, both newly formed in the year 2000, may also have to grapple with their independent higher education systems, and may, to an extent, be held back by the factors incidental to their newly coming into being. There is hope that the recent promotional effort by the NAAC in these states would help generate an enhanced response. But then, without continuous effort from local stake-holding sections, sustaining the response may not be easy.

The geography has been a variable insofar as the *real* variables like urbanization, level of economic development, and closeness of HEIs to role model institutions, have played a major role in shaping differential response to accreditation. Indeed, a study of the regional educational disparities and the possible underlying causes reveals a range of factors. The successive budget allocations for education, educational environments, state policies, particularly on teacher recruitment, socio-economic and political factors and indeed the recent history of educational development of the states of the different regions are responsible for the widely varying response level to quality needs.

Financial aspects

Repeated stress in various policy documents on the need to raise investment in education to 6% of the national income is yet to materialize. While budgetary allocations for Plan expenditure for education have gone up substantially over the years, these have not kept pace with the growth in enrollments or rise in prices. As a result, the total expenditure per

student per year, by the center and the states, has declined in real terms. More than 90% of the expenditure is spent on teachers' salaries and administration'. ('Challenge of Education', Ministry of Education, August 1985, para 3.10, quoted in *HE in India (1781–2003)*, *Kuldip Kaur, 2003, p. 79*).

Statistics on financing of higher education in India are available mainly from the Five Year Plans. From First Five Year Plan to the Tenth, allocation for education has been increasing significantly (*Kaur K, 2003*). The First Plan outlay for education was Rs. 151 crore, which has increased to Rs. 42,850 crore in the Tenth. The corresponding figures for university and higher education sector are 15 crore and 4,176.50 crore for First Plan and Tenth Plan respectively. But expenditure on education did not increase in proportion to the expenditure on other items, and not in keeping with the need. The other chief public funding source of higher education in India is the UGC.

In many cases, higher education is being treated as if it is a non-essential sector (*Tilak, 2004a*). Private initiatives can, at best, only supplement not substitute public funding for higher education (*Tilak, 2004b*). Cutting down severely on public funding to higher education sector in the guise of austerity measures, without having regard to ground realities, would be tantamount to state abdicating one of its primary responsibilities of keeping social balance. Higher education has emerged as 'engine of development in the new world economy' (*Castells, 1994*). The state cannot disassociate itself from the paramount role it ought to be playing in providing support to education at all levels. There can be no getting away from taking note of quality concerns and acting upon them in a conscious and consistent manner to make Indian higher education globally competitive. The embargo on teacher recruitment long in place in many states, apart from blighting the prospect of institutional progress, has created a generally demotivating environment in academic institutions. Denial of timely payment of teachers salaries in several instances, hiring unqualified manpower for teaching jobs at meager salaries on ad hoc basis, the policy support to private providers who, in many instances, operate with unconcealed profit motive and the like, have compounded the scenario and made the talk of quality in such a debilitating milieu almost a losing proposition.

What Needs to Be Done

Coordinated efforts are necessary at various levels to raise the response from college sector to a higher level. Such efforts are all the more important in case of 'laggard' states, that is, those where number of accredited institutions falls below 50%.

At Regional Level

In each region, the 'lead state' in the accreditation arena may adopt a proactive approach and, in collaboration with 'laggard' states, evolve a mechanism to elicit the active participation of the vice-chancellors of universities of the region to deliberate on measures to achieve time-bound accreditation targets. Each university may prepare an

'Accreditation Status Report Card' on the lines given below to be able to clearly define accreditation goals.

Accreditation Status Report Card (ASRC)

Name of the University

Data as on : -- (the date of the last EC, NAAC)

Total Number of colleges under the university --*

Number of colleges accredited so far

Number of colleges yet to be accredited

•Only general degree colleges, education and physical education colleges may be considered.

Such a report card would facilitate, in a more focused way, planning of activities for building awareness on quality issues, with the support of the NAAC. The state governments and other funding bodies may consider reallocation of resources where due, keeping in view the universities that hold out immediate promise in terms of response to quality aspects.

At State Level

State initiatives have a way of inducing initiatives from other quarters. The governments of the states where the higher education sector has so far lagged behind on the accreditation front, need to do a serious rethink on what is at stake, and in association with the academic leaders and other stake-holding sections, need to work conceitedly to formulate time-bound action plans and initiate enabling measures to realize those plans in practice.

On the basis of the considerations, such as need to accelerate towards realizing full accreditation by 2007 (Tenth Five Year Plan period is till 31.03.2007), the following ideas may be noted while writing down a blue-print for attaining time-bound accreditation targets (*Manjunath, 2005b*):

1. A concrete action program to actualize the blue-print (the blue-print may specify split-up of university-wise targets for a state); and
2. A framework for bottom-up cooperation from the filed level participants.

The profile of the framework for cooperation may look as follows:

- A project of candidate institutions with inputs from interested stakeholders and support from state government;
- A supervisory mechanism to continuously monitor the progress in preparation of SSR, the basic input document for assessment and accreditation by the NAAC.

Organization

A small working group may formulate the action program and the organizational framework with representatives from appropriate bodies. The working group may periodically provide feedback to the NAAC and the stakeholders from the state.

Communication

A web site may be established by the Department of Hr. Education in the state to facilitate communication and inform all the participants about the on-going progress in the direction of defined goals. Contemporary realities in the general higher education sector call for urgent policy and fund support from governments not only to enable institutions to undergo accreditation but also to make accreditation exercise to have long-lasting positive implications. There is need for governments to appreciate the fact that all planning would turn futile unless backed by matching financial allocations.

At Local Level

The teacher associations, student groups, alumni associations, parent associations, and indeed all those conscious of the need to enhance quality of education at local level, may form action groups to provide inputs and put positive pressure on government and other relevant bodies to act swiftly to ensure submission of HEIs to quality assessment. The various actors at all levels may so function as to reinforce the positive influences and constitute a new set of circumstances that will promote a spontaneous submission to quality assessment process.

Conclusion

One of the objectives of assessment and accreditation has been delineation of the weak institutions so that the concerned authorities are enabled to frame appropriate policy responses. Many state governments are gradually beginning to appreciate the importance of quality assurance. The regional differences in response levels are narrowing down. Efforts are being made to reach out to the hitherto unreached segments of institutions to impress upon them the significance of assessment and accreditation. The situation holds promise that soon accreditation pace will gain further momentum.

Globalization has given rise to new realities in higher education. Of late, India is coming to be increasingly viewed as one of the most favoured higher education destinations with its reputation of marvelously managing the 'iron triangle' of seemingly incompatible vertices of access, cost and quality in higher education. From all indications, no matter what the pros and cons and no matter what the antagonists may say or do, more likely than not, the process of ongoing globalization is set to intensify. With foreign education providers likely to become progressively more significant in the Indian higher education scene, the quality assurance and accreditation would assume increasing significance. There is a need to use accreditation as a tool to both instill quality culture among the native institutions and, as importantly, to protect the interests of student population from becoming a prey to fake institutions.

The NAAC has been awakening to its international persona, particularly so in the recent past. As a member of both the INQAAHE and the Asia Pacific Quality Network (APQN), its active association with the activities of other international bodies in the field is on the increase. It is *quality* issues that will take centre-stage in higher education in this century and the NAAC, almost as a historical inevitability, will have its hands full in the coming years.

Annexure 1

State-Wise, Grade-Wise Accreditation Particulars

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Letter Grading System)																		Total	
			A++		A+		A		B++		B+		B		C++		C+		C		U	C
			U	C	U	c	U	c	U	c	U	C	U	c	U	c	U	c	U	C		
Eastern Region	1.	Bihar						01	~	04	—	02	01	03	01	01	—	02	—	06	02	19
	2.	Chattisgarh								05	02	04	—	02		01	—	04	—	02	02	18
	3.	Jharkhand								03	01	05	—	02				02	—	01	01	13
	4.	Orissa						03	01	03	02	04	--	04		01	--	—	~	--	03	15
	5.	West Bengal		—		02	—	07			13		19		19	—	09	—	03	—	02	—
Total																				08	139	
																				147		

(U: Universities; C: Colleges)

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Star Grading System)										Total			
			5 Star		4 Star		3 Star		2 Star		1 Star		U	C		
			U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C				
Eastern Region	1.	Bihar	—	—	—	—	—	~	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2.	Chattisgarh*	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	3.	Jharkhand		—	~	01							—	—	—	01
	4.	Orissa	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	5.	West Bengal	02	01	02	--	03	—	--	—	--	--	07	01	07	01
Total												07	02			
												09				

* The states of Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra have 1, 1,1,2,2 and 2 colleges accredited under the old grading system respectively.

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Letter Grading System)																		Total	
			A++		A+		A		B++		B+		B		C++		c+		c			
			U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	u	C	u	C	U	C
North Eastern Region	1.	Arunachal Pradesh											01								01	—
	2.	Assam	~					01	—	12	01	33	01	55	—	51		21	—	04	02	177
	3.	Manipur											01	01							01	01
	4.	Meghalaya						02	—	—	—	—	—	02								04
	5.	Mizoram										01	—	01	—	—	—	01		—	—	03
	6.	Nagaland							01			—	—	01	01	—	—	—	—	—	01	02
	7.	Sikkim																				
	8.	Tripura												03	—	01	01	—	—	—	01	04
Total																				06	191	
																				197		

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Star Grading System)										Total	
			5 Star		4 Star				2 Star		1 Star			
			U	C	U	c		c	U	C		c	U	C
North Eastern Region	1.	Arunachal Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2.	Assam	-	-	01	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	01	01
	3.	Manipur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4.	Meghalaya	-	01	01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	01
	5.	Mizoram	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6.	Nagaland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7.	Sikkim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8.	Tripura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total												02	02	
												04		

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Letter Grading System)																		Total		
			A++		A+		A		B++		B+		B		C++		C+		C				
			U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	
Northern Region	1.	Chandigarh	-	-	01	-	02	-	04	-	04											11	
	2.	Delhi	-	-	-	02																02	
	3.	Haryana	-	-	02	01	03	01	18	-	37	-	48	-	22	-	11	-	08	02		149	
	4.	Himachal Pradesh					01	01	05	-	03	-	02	-	02							01	13
	5.	Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	-	01	02	~	10		05	-	~	.	.	-	-					01	17
	6.	Punjab	-	-	09	-	13	01	23		16	-	07	-	02	-	01	-	01	01		72	
	7.	Rajasthan	-	-	01	01	02	03	03	07	01	14		14	-	08	-	14	-	06	07	67	
	8.	Uttanchal					01	01	02	~	09	-	05	-	04		03	.	.	~		01	24
	9.	Uttar Pradesh	-	-	01	~	05	04	05	03	11	02	10	-	01	-	01					09	34
Total																					24	387	
																					411		

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Star Grading System)										Total		
			5 Star		4 Star		3 Star		2 Star		1 Star				
			U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	Li	C	U	C	
Northern Region	1.	Chandigarh	01	-	--	01	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	01	01
	2.	Delhi	-	-	-	-	--	-	--	-	-	--	--	-	-
	3.	Haryana	-	-	01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	-
	4.	Himachal Pradesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5.	Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	01	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	01	-
	6.	Punjab	02	-	-	01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	02	01
	7.	Rajasthan	01	-	--	-	-	-	-	--	--	--	--	01	-
	8.	Uttranchal	01	-	02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	03	-
	9.	Uttar Pradesh	01	--	01	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	--	02	--
Total												11	02		
												13			

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Letter Grading System)																	Total		
			A++		A+		A		B++		B+		B		C++		C+		C			
			U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C
Southern Region	1.	Andhra Pradesh	01	-	01		02	14	01	19	01	14	-	08	-	01	-			06	56	
	2.	Karnataka	-	-	-	01	--	18	01	61	01	103	-	118	-	47	-	31	-	04	02	383
	3.	Kerala	-	-	-	-		08	01	24	01	27	-	08		02	-	01	-	-	02	70
	4.	Tamil Nadu	-	-	-	02	03	21	01	25	02	31	-	19	-	05	-	04		-	06	107
	5.	Lakshadweep																				
	6.	Pondicherry	-	-		-	-	01	-	01		01	-		-	01	-			-	-	04
Total																				16	620	
																				636		

Region	Sl. No.	State/UT	Grades (Star Grading System)										Total	
			5 Star		4 Star		3 Star		2 Star		1 Star			
			U	C	U	c	U	c	U	c	U	c	U	C
Southern Region	1.	Andhra Pradesh*	03	02	03	05	–	01	–	01	–	–	06	09
	3.	Karnataka*	03	08	02	12	01	09	–	02	–	–	06	31
	2.	Kerala*	–	09	–	14	02	18	–	–	–	–	02	41
	4.	Tamil Nadu*	03	25	03	22	–	16	–	06	–	–	06	69
	5.	Lakshadweep	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	6.	Pondicherry	–	–	01	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	01	–
Total												21	150	
												171		

Region	Sl. No	State/UT	Grades (Letter Grading system)																		Total		
			A+++		A+		A		B++		B+		B		C++		C+		C		U	C	
			U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C	U	C			
Western Region	1.	Goa	-	-	-	-	-	01	-	-	-	04	-	01								06	
	2.	Gujarat	-	-	--	01	-	-	01	03	--	04	-	02	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	01	10
	3.	Madhya Pradesh	-	-	~	02	--	04	01	06	01	12		10	01	05	-	01	-		03	40	
	4.	Maharashtra	01		01	09	01	55	01	135	03	195	01	215		145		91		55	08	900	
	5.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli																					
	6.	Daman & Diu																					
Total																					12	956	
																						968	

Region	No. of Institutions	State/UT	Grade (Star Grading) 2020										Total	
			5 Star		4 Star		3 Star		2 Star		1 Star		Total	%
			Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%		
Western Region	1	Goa	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
	2	Gujarat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1	Madhya Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1	Maharashtra*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1	Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
												1	100	

Accreditation of HEIs under Different Grading-System

Region	Letter Grading System		Star Grading System		Old Grading System		Total	
	U	C	U	C	U	c	U	C
Eastern	08	139	07	02	--	01	15	142
North Eastern	06	191	02	02	--	--	08	193
Northern	24	387	11	02	--	--	35	389
Southern	16	620	21	150	--	06	37	776
Western	12	956	15	28	--	02	27	986
Total	66	2293	56	184	--	09	122	2486
								2608

Notes

1. The terms 'assessment' and 'accreditation' respectively mean, 'the evaluative process' and 'the certification on the quality of education in the HEI in the nine-point grading system of the NAAC; the validity of accredited status is for five years.
2. University-level institutions include, apart from universities, the deemed-to-be universities. The DUs are institutions, not established as universities through legislations, but which are declared so by the central government as per provisions of Section 3 of the UGC Act [Report of the UGC Committee, 1990, pp. 281], Kothari Commission, 1966, first used the term 'Deemed Universities'.

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Governing Transformation

The Role of College Councils in Further Education and Training College Reform in South Africa*

John Adams**
Pinkie Mabunda***
Simon McGrath*

Abstract

Vocational education and training systems internationally have recently experienced major challenges driven by related forces of globalisation and marketisation. This has led to a stress on the importance of new governance systems. This paper looks at these issues in South Africa. It considers how the ideological rationale for governance reform interacts with national concerns, such as those for post-Apartheid redress. It examines how the technical process of implementation is reshaped by the complex reality on the ground. It addresses how the revolutionary changes being attempted inevitably lead to gaps between policy and practice as reforms simply cannot be implemented at the pace originally intended.

Introduction

Vocational education and training (VET) systems in almost every country across the globe have experienced major revisitings of policy since the early 1990s. This reflects a series of discourses and political-economic trends that go far beyond the sector. The growth in globalisation, as both economic phenomenon and ideological discourse, has led

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to increased concerns about the need to improve skills development in order to promote international competitiveness (Ashton and Green, 1996; Crouch, Finegold and Sako, 1999; Brown, Green and Lauder, 2001; Wolf, 2001; King and McGrath, 2002; Akoojee, Gewer and McGrath, 2005). At the same time, the growing spread of primacy of the market has also had a two-fold impact on VET systems. First, there have been increasing calls to acknowledge and even support the allegedly central role that private provision plays in skills formation (World Bank, 1991; Atchoarena and Esquieu, 2002; Akoojee, 2005). Second, there has been a push to make public VET providers more "business-like" (Graham et al., 1997; Bennell et al., 1999; Hyland and Merrill, 2001; King and McGrath, 2002; Johanson and Adams, 2004; Akoojee, Gewer and McGrath, 2005).

One manifestation of this conjunction of globalisation and marketisation discourses in the VET arena has been a stress on the importance of new governance systems as a way of ensuring that public providers are more market responsive and, therefore, better able to promote international competitiveness. This has led to a wave of reforms designed to reduce the power of the state over public provision and to transfer this power to institutional heads and independent councils or boards.

This paper looks at one national manifestation of this process, that of South Africa. It considers how the ideological rationale for governance reform interacts with other national concerns, such as those for post-Apartheid redress. It examines how the borrowings from international discourses and the rather technical attempts to implement them are reshaped by the reality on the ground of complex meanings ascribed to college change and the limitations to both desire and capacity to implement the reforms as intended. It addresses how the revolutionary changes being attempted in South Africa inevitably lead to gaps between policy and practice as reforms simply cannot be implemented at the pace originally intended.

These issues are examined through an analysis of data drawn from 17 colleges (out of 50), of which six formed the core of the study. For the core colleges, research visits led to the analysis of internal college documents such as strategic plans and council minutes. Where possible, council meetings were observed, and interviews and focus groups conducted with council members, CEOs and academic staff from various campuses. Additionally, officials in six (out of nine) provincial Education Departments were interviewed, as were national officials and a small number of knowledgeable other informants, particularly those with long-term familiarity with the evolution of the system.

South Africa's Development Context

The attempted transformation of South African further education and training (see the next section) cannot be understood outside the context of South Africa's history of distorted development under colonialism and Apartheid. As McGrath (2004) argues, this resulted in a system of skills development that was racially, sexually and spatially discriminatory and which, over time, supported a system of skewed industrial and economic development that resulted in a lack of international competitiveness and a serious undervaluation of intermediate skills in favour of a high skill-high capital enclave

and a pool of low skill-low wage labour. By the 1970s, access to skills became an important aspect of political debate, as first capital and then, more dramatically, labour agitated for reform in the training system as part of attempts to create a new political economy. From the Wiehahn Commission of 1979-1981, the state also began to see skills development as an area in which reforms were necessary both to appease economic and political opposition and to construct a reformed Apartheid where economic concessions could substitute for real political transformation.

Thus, by the time democracy came in 1994, skills development was clearly an important element of social and economic policy for the future, standing as it did at the hub of relationships between educational expansion, social mobility and economic participation.

A Brief History of South African V E T Before 1994

The South African college sector, like a number of counterparts internationally, arose from an essentially voluntary response to the skills needs brought about by industrialisation. By the 1920s, a series of technical colleges had come into existence that offered part-time theoretical programmes for workers in the industrial and commercial sectors. Access was shaped profoundly by factors of gender, class and race. This was a period in which the dominion government was seeking to respond both to a "poor white problem" amongst Afrikaners and to violent militancy by a largely British immigrant labour aristocracy. The key elements of this response were the enactment of increasingly explicit racialised legislation that made skilled labour the preserve of whites and the embarkation upon a massive programme of industrialisation by parastatal agencies under a broader strategy of import substitution. Thus, the expansion and formalisation of vocational education and training were inextricably linked with strategies for promoting white economic and political power (McGrath, 2004).

Under the Apartheid system from 1948, these trends continued and were intensified, whilst the originally English-dominated college sector became increasingly controlled by the Afrikaner-dominated political elite.

By the mid 1970s, there was compelling evidence that the politico-economic settlement under which college provision existed was in crisis. Import substitution appeared no longer capable of sustaining economic growth in the new context of the international economic downturn. Labour and student quiescence amongst Africans were shattered by the strikes of 1973 and the student protests of 1976. Moreover, the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and the related acceleration of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle meant that South African resources, including skilled white labour, were increasingly diverted to fighting a regional war (McGrath, 1996).

In the face of all this, limited reforms were attempted and education, skills and work were at the heart of the initial gestures towards liberalisation. Whilst most of the reform proposals came to nothing, the apprenticeship system was de-racialised and considerable investments took place in vocational education and training for black South Africans (McGrath, 1996).

By 1990 there were 129 technical colleges in South Africa (excluding the TBVC states'). Seventy of these were for white learners, 3 for Indians, 14 for coloureds and the remainder for Africans (Chisholm, 1992: 13). White learners made up two-thirds of the total enrolments of 76 435 in 1991; with Indians and coloureds making up 7% each and Africans the remaining 19% (Chisholm, 1992: 14).

The existing literature has paid little attention to the historically gendered patterns of enrolments. It appears that the gender balance of learners did improve as more students entered commercial courses over time. However, female students made up only 38% of the total full time equivalents by 1989 (Chisholm, 1992: 16). Moreover, female enrolments remained highly traditional in terms of the specific programmes on which young women were studying.

If the student body of the college sector was unrepresentative in terms of race and gender by the start of the 1990s, the situation was even more dramatic amongst staff. By 1991, 80% of staff was white and only 8% Africans. Only 32% of staff was female, with African women amounting to less than 1% of staff (Chisholm, 1992: 17). There were only four women from any population group in the whole system at deputy rector level or above in 1989, as opposed to 211 men (Chisholm, 1992: 19).

Inevitably, college governance was also unequal. Under the 1981 Technical Colleges Act, the councils of white colleges had responsibility for admissions policies, courses, syllabi and the language of instruction. However, the partly subsidized nature of these "state-aided" institutions meant that they had to be careful not to clash with the regulations of the Department of National Education. In reality, syllabi were centrally determined and slow to change. Councils were appointed by the Minister in consultation with the principal, who, in practice, had considerable control over selection (Chisholm, 1992).

Black colleges were "state" colleges without any real financial autonomy or legal ability to raise funds. Principals had far less power, being unable to appoint their own councils, authorize even fairly minor expenditures or make their own internal policies about teaching and learning (Chisholm, 1992).

Although colleges had their initial rationale in the provision of theory training to indentured apprentices, the college-apprenticeship link had largely been severed by 1994. The expansion of curricular offerings in non-apprenticeable areas from the 1950s led to a general shift towards non-indentured learners. Although the growth in African enrolments in the 1980s came at a time when Africans could be apprenticed, the opening up of apprenticeship coincided with a radical decline in apprentice numbers, linked to the ongoing economic crisis (Kraak, 2003). Thus the majority of African learners, and increasing numbers of learners from other population groups, did not have employment through which they could develop their practical knowledge. Although many colleges

Many educational statistics before 1994 were unavailable for the "independent" states of Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei. There were approximately 20 technical colleges in these areas in 1990.

did invest in workshops, this was not a substitute for real work experience and was, in any case, highly uneven in spread and quality.

With the decline of indentured learners on block release and the emergence of the full-time "private candidate" as the typical student, colleges increasingly became detached from local employers as part of a community of practice. Of course, for homeland colleges, there had typically been no real business partners from the outset, given the location of most homeland colleges far from areas of large-scale formal employment.

In the context of the economic decline experienced under late apartheid; the expansion of enrolments; and the increasing disengagement of industry from colleges, it is not surprising that research in the early 1990s was talking of a crisis of college graduate employment and low wages amongst many of those employed (Chisholm, 1992 and 1993).

By 1990, there was little sign of diversification away from the official technical college syllabus as prescribed by the NATED 190 and 191 reports. Some colleges, particularly some of the larger urban colleges located in commercial rather than industrial areas, mirrored their British counterparts in offering recreational courses such as cooking, flower arranging and interior design to a largely white, female clientele. However, there was little sign of programmes aimed at flexible responses to the needs of industry or at community development in the more disadvantaged communities.

VET Transformed: 1997-2001

As part of the broader transformation of South African education and training policy after 1994, the Department of Education produced a White Paper and Act for what was now termed "further education and training" (Republic of South Africa, 1998a and b).²

These envisaged a transformed FET system (McGrath, 1998 and 2000) and proposed a new approach to governance. The *FET Act* makes it clear that colleges are primarily under the jurisdiction of the relevant provincial Member of Executive Council (MEC) for Education. At the college level, the Act stipulated the establishment of three key structures for governance: college council, academic board and student representative council.

College Councils

According to section 9.4 of the Act, the council of a public FET college must consist of:

- the principal;
- the vice-principal or vice-principals;

² As with the British equivalent of FE, there is sometimes confusion between the application of the term to programmes for a particular level of education and training and its use to mean the vocational college system more specifically. In this case, FET was used (mostly) in its narrow sense of referring to the colleges.

- up to five nominees from outside the college, appointed by the MEC;
- members of the academic board, elected by the academic board;
- educators, elected by their colleagues;
- students, elected by the student representative council;
- non-educator staff, elected by such staff; and
- any additional persons agreed by the council and the MEC.

This composition of college council marked a significant shift from the legislation pertaining to historically white colleges under the 1981 Technical Colleges Act. The previous Act made provision for representation by one member in respect of each body or organization recognized by the Minister as a body or organization interested in such technical college, who shall represent such a body or organization on the council. (RSA, 1981: s 6.2.b).

However, this clearly was a very vague notion of representation, which in practice favoured the identification of the powerful as the relevant stakeholders (Chisholm, 1992). In contrast, the new Act clearly stipulated several previously excluded stakeholder groupings: non-educator staff, students and educators.

The council, with the concurrence of the academic board, and in line with applicable provincial and national policies, was charged with the following tasks:

- Development of a strategic plan for the college, which must include plans to address historical, racial and gender imbalances;
- Determination of the institution's language policy;
- Ensuring that the institution is accredited to deliver learning programmes aligned to the new National Qualifications Framework;
- Development of a policy for student support; and
- Overseeing the appointment of staff beyond those provided for in the provincial staff establishment.

As with the composition of council, this set of tasks was far clearer than the role of council under the 1981 Act. Councils were also given leave by the 1998 Act to establish committees as necessary. The 1998 Act made it clear that the responsibility for the actions of these committees lay squarely with the council. The Act did not stipulate any required committees, although this has been addressed by subsequent departmental guidelines regarding appropriate governance.

Academic Boards

According to section 11.3 of the Act, the academic board should comprise:

- the principal;
- the vice-principal or vice-principals;
- members of the educator staff;
- members of the council;
- members of the student representative council; and

- such additional persons as may be determined by the council.

The academic board is accountable to council for the following areas:

- The academic functions of the public further education and training institution and the promotion of the participation of women and the disabled in the learning programmes;
- The establishment of internal academic monitoring and quality assurance procedures;
- Ensuring that the requirements of accreditation to provide learning against standards and qualifications registered on the National Qualifications Framework are met; and
- Determining the learning programmes provided by the college.

Student Representative Councils (SRC)

The SRC received much less attention in the Act than the other two structures, it being stated simply that

The establishment, composition, manner of election, term of office, functions and privileges of the student representative council of a public further education and training institution must be determined by the council after consultation with the students and educators of that institution, subject to provincial policy. (RSA, 1998b: s 15)

Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the very mention of an SRC represented an important step by government in attempting to ensure that a more democratic practice of college governance should emerge.

The New Institutional Landscape

The Act and White Paper were followed by the *New Institutional Landscape for Public Further Education and Training Colleges* in 2001 (Department of Education, 2001). It envisaged merging the existing 150+ institutions into a series of 50 large grounded in nine attributes:

- large, multi-site institutions;
- increased autonomy;
- a mixture of specialization and multi-purpose institutions;
- a new quality assurance framework;
- an increased focus on open and distance learning;
- a greater focus on access for learners with special needs;
- better articulation and collaboration with higher education;
- a commitment to improved student support services; and
- a stress on partnerships with government and the private sector. (DoE, 2001: 16–20)

It was also set out how the 50 colleges would operate. The report addressed how the mixed legacy of managerial autonomy between historically white and black institutions would be redressed and how capacity development would take place in this regard. It noted that learner demographics were already essentially representative at the aggregate level (in racial if not gender terms), but highlighted the importance of addressing the lack of representivity amongst staff. It criticized the weaknesses of the current curricular system and stressed the need to develop a more varied set of offerings, supported by an appropriate funding mechanism. It envisaged a progressive development of autonomy and outcomes-based funding and outlined a path towards these goals.

As part of the *New Institutional Landscape* process the DoE had already come up with plans for which institutions should be brought together in mergers. With the *New Institutional Landscape* published, the focus turned to operationalising the mergers. It is to the story of how this unfolded between 2001 and 2004, specifically in the area of the new college councils that this paper will now turn.

The Transformation of College Councils and Governance

Putting Together the Old Colleges

Before the *FET Act*, all colleges had had councils. However, whilst state-aided college councils had real powers, this was not true of state colleges. Moreover, councils in homelands typically also had serious problems of legitimacy. Some state-aided colleges had already begun to establish committee structures but often apparently identical functions meant different things across the sector. There were also non-technical colleges that were incorporated into the mergers, most notably skills centres (where training was purely practical) and surplus colleges of education (which had no interest in intermediate skills development at all). This clearly complicated the merger process for the affected new colleges.

In the interim period between the announcement of the merger plan and the formal establishment of the new, merged colleges, interim councils were made up of previous council members nominated by the merger partners. However, some colleges saw significant dropout, largely of whites who felt that they were losing their privileged position in the system. It was decided that it would be inappropriate to appoint any of the previous college principals as interim CEOs as they were typically rivals for the job post-merger. This meant that the chairs of the interim councils or provincially-appointed administrators formally led the institutions through the mergers.

Inevitably, tensions were common in the interim period. These tensions were largely of two kinds. First, there were tensions between college and campus identities. Whilst some colleges reported very little tension, in others it was intense and, in a small number, it still continues. Problems arose where council members did not represent the interests of the merged institution but sought to get best deal for their campus. Equally, some former rectors tried to use their council members in the jockeying for position for new CEO posts.

Second, there were tensions between historically white and historically black institutional partners in the new mergers. There were huge disparities in resourcing of institutions and their councils and this was and remains a huge challenge for the sector. Some historically white campuses resisted merger or tried to ensure that they did not lose resources or power, although others embraced the change more enthusiastically. Some historically black campuses sometimes saw mergers as takeovers and resented this. Nonetheless, black council members were particularly likely to be strongly in favour of the principle of mergers, seeing it as an essential part of a plan for de-racialised VET provision.

By 2005, it was apparent that most actors did embrace the newly merged colleges and that few appeared to still contest the merger process. However, there was one college within our sample where a rearguard action against the merger was still being fought through the local press and other routes. There was a widespread perception that white racism was at the heart of the issue here. In some other colleges, although the merger was widely accepted, there remained tensions under the surface regarding the resource allocations to the various campuses, some of which retained strong and separate identities.

Constituting the New Councils

The government's commitment to representivity within councils is widely acknowledged as having produced a far more diverse and demographically-relevant corps of council members, although the representation of women is still an area of particular weakness.

This weakness may partly reflect the challenge that many colleges reported regarding the appointment of suitable representatives. In some cases, particular constituencies struggled to find willing and qualified candidates. This remains reflected in the uneven participation of many of those who were pressed to become council members.

The stakeholder-driven model of representivity unsurprisingly has led to two main problems. First, some nominees lack the relevant skills (including language skills) or confidence to participate fully. Second, there is confusion in some minds as to whether the nominees of specific groups are primarily supposed to represent and defend the interests of those groups or whether their primary responsibility is to the college. Policy makes clear the latter is the case, but the whole selection process has given many, the opposite perception.

Unfortunately, in some cases, the new councils were not properly constituted. There were cases of irregularities in nomination or complaints about the undue influence of CEOs or influential members of council. In some cases, the composition of the council was not in keeping with the legislation. Provinces have responded to such issues unevenly. Some irregularities have been ignored whilst others have led to reappointment of councils.

The Performance of the New Councils

We will consider the performance of councils and governance under three headings. First, we will look at the extent to which new structures in line with legislation have been put in place. Second, we will examine councilor capacity. Third, we will address levels of understanding of the role of councils.

The State of Governance Structures

In all colleges, there is a functioning council with regular meetings, typically scheduled quarterly. Some councils appear to be working very effectively with a strong committee structure that means that the amount of business is manageable. However, the meetings of others are reported to be poorly attended with limited contributions and serious backlogs of business.

The Act did not provide much detail on the appropriate committee structure for college councils and practice in this regard is hugely variable across the institutions visited. Some colleges already had some tradition in this area from their state-aided components, whilst others have essentially started from scratch in the past two years. Some colleges appear to have no committees established; whilst others have as many as eight. It is common to have an Executive Committee of council and audit, finance, human resources, estates and buildings, bursaries and learner affairs are some of the other areas where committees exist. Some of these are apparently functioning well and meeting regularly. However, there are complaints that some committees exist only on paper.

Whilst the use of committees can be expected typically to improve efficiency, there are dangers in the delegation of business to them in the current South African context. We found evidence of fears that the use of committees served to undermine representivity, with a perception that the real decisions get made by an elite within councils. Concerns were also raised that full councils may not get well-enough informed to have effective oversight of such committees. Several informants asked whether the use of committees might concentrate excessive power within a few hands, leading to the danger of serious governance failings.

Academic Boards are generally lagging behind councils in their development. Indeed, several appeared to have not yet been constituted and others existed in name only. On the other hand, we did find one example of an important role being assigned to an Academic Board. In this case, the Board had been given the task of aligning the college's programmes to the relevant Provincial Growth and Development Plan. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it appears that in several colleges academic boards are the site where tensions between different campuses now get played out.

The situation of Student Representative Councils is even worse and they are generally weak. This is unsurprising given that most learners are relatively short term and instrumentally focused in their learning and there is little scope for continuity. Nonetheless, SRCs typically are under-resourced and are struggling to bring together the

various campuses with little support from either councils or management. Indeed, both seem largely disinterested in strengthening SRCs, albeit with some exceptions.

The Capacity of Council Members and Councils

Training for council members has taken place across all 50 colleges under the auspices of the National Business Initiative's Colleges Collaboration Fund (CCF) and, in its seven programme colleges, through the Danish-funded Support to Education and Skills Development Programme. To put it crudely, the former was relatively shallow but widely spread whilst the latter has been deeper but in fewer colleges. Whatever the merits of the two programmes, they are clearly only a start. Not everyone attended and there was a particular perception that staff council members were not part of the CCF process in the colleges we visited. There is an urgent and pressing need for more training and, perhaps more crucially, for mentoring.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the process, there clearly has been progress in building council capacity. Nonetheless, there are widespread concerns that capacity remains weak. Business nominees tend to be dismissive of community nominees and the other groups appear to agree that student nominees have a particular capacity problem. Moreover, it is seen as harder for rural colleges to attract sufficient council members of sufficient quality.

Age is another dimension of the capacity of councils. There is a stated concern in the provinces and some colleges to get a mix of ages of council members. Younger council members are perceived as more dynamic and as being valuable long-term contacts. Older council members are seen as bringing experience, but there is frequent concern that older council members are both out of touch with the dynamics of the real South Africa and have too much time on their hands, leading to a tendency to interfere in college management.

There are widespread concerns that council members are not well enough informed. They are seen as rarely knowing much about the details of FET. They are seen as largely ignorant of the relevant legislation (except where they have received training). They are seen as often having little understanding of the broader thrust of development and Human Resources Development strategy. In a number of colleges, it appeared that council members were highly dependent on the college for information. Moreover, it was argued frequently that many of them either do not have or do not find the time to read documents in detail. There were complaints that many have not attended training when offered and that many have not been on strategic planning workshops where these took place.

Attendance levels for full council meetings are reported to be very uneven, leading in some cases to problems of meetings being inquorate. There are some criticisms of a reluctance of councils to act against non-attendees. Again, this is clearly a very sensitive issue in the present climate, particularly under the ideology of stakeholderism. Conversely, many colleges pay travel and attendance allowances for council meetings. This has led to complaints from some that there are too many meetings in certain colleges as people are chasing the money rather than focusing on the needs of the college.

There were relatively numerous complaints about the self-interest of some council members. Some had argued for high fees for attendance. Others were seen as following their own business interests in their participation. There were even some suggestions that this might have shaded over into impropriety, although we have no evidence for the validity of such claims.

There were complaints from some managers and staff that there was too much interference from council members in the operational management of the colleges. Clearly, this could reflect their own desire to be left alone to run the college. However, there does seem to be something in this complaint. It was noted by several informants (not just from college staff) that chairs and even council members had offices at colleges and there was widespread concern about micromanagement. As noted above, this was seen as a particular problem of retired council members who were seen as having too much time on their hands.

The Level of Understanding of Council's Role in Governance

There was a general sense across our interviews that councils should, and in practice largely do, receive reports from management and council committees, give both groups mandates for future activities and ratify plans presented by management. However, this is very uneven in terms of sophistication of understanding and in terms of practice. In saying this, it has to be remembered that some councils only became active in early 2004, six years after the Act.

In spite of the fact that corporate governance in South Africa has been the subject of two high profile commissions that are supposed to be part of the basis for governance in colleges as well as in business, there was only one spontaneous mention in our interviews of the two King Commissions on Governance. Neither was there a clear sense in any case that the King principles were implicitly or explicitly driving the college's governance model. For instance, we came across no indication whatsoever that the King insistence on the centrality to governance of environmental stewardship was influencing college thinking. There was little sense of a council leadership role in active oversight of management practices in colleges. There was equally little evidence that councils were driving institutional values and visions.

As in Britain, strategic planning has become an important part of the operational approach of the reformed South African college sector, with all colleges being required to submit a Strategic Plan to the national Department. In some colleges it was argued that councils had been involved in a meaningful way in the development of the first round of Strategic Plans. This largely involved them being in a workshop where they had input to discussions about values and vision. In one case it was claimed that the Strategic Plan was the "Chair's baby". However, in most cases there was a perception that Strategic Plans were dominated by CEOs and consultants and that, councils largely played only the role of rubber stamp.

It appears that the first strategic planning process may have occurred too early in the evolution of councils and/or was not effectively used as a developmental process. The

first set of Strategic Plans were so weak that it could be argued that many councils failed in their responsibilities under the Act.

Some respondents noted the positive role that some council members were playing in inculcating a common college identity. However, others saw this as an area of weakness with little council involvement outside of meetings.

Some council members we interviewed argued that it was the job of management rather than of councils to respond to national mandates, but this seems unsatisfactory. We argue that as part of the job of council is to oversee vision, they need to have a view on the national mandate.

Locating Governance within the Broader F E T Transformation Process

Governance reforms should be seen as a means to the broader end of FET transformation and, ultimately, as contributory to South Africa's larger social, economic and political goals. Governance is only a very small part of the overall process of college transformation that is being attempted in South Africa. FET reform in South Africa cannot simply be seen as a technical process but, rather, is driven by a strong sense from the state of historical imperatives and is located within a clear national development strategy (see Akoojee and McGrath 2005 for more analysis of this issue).

FET reform in South Africa demands that the new institutions and system be transformed in terms of addressing the socio-political agenda of post-Apartheid redress, equity and unification of the previously racially fragmented approach. This imperative stands alongside the more internationally comparable imperative of using FET as a more effective tool for supporting international economic competitiveness through improved skills development in more efficient and effective provider institutions. The need to develop the new system provides a third set of imperatives.

As Harber and Davies (1997) argue with respect to schooling, there is a need to develop context-specific models of educational effectiveness for Africa that are likely to be radically different from those in use in advanced economies, such as Britain. Our study of the South African college sector highlights the implicit use of three different notions of effectiveness with respect to issues of governance.

First, there is a rather technical approach, encouraged by the business-driven, management consultancy model of council training that has predominated in South Africa thus far. This sees governance in an apparently value-neutral way that stresses the importance of capacity, structures and procedures. In this approach, an effective governance system is a technically efficient one. Where there is a bigger vision, it is about colleges becoming more responsive to business through better partnerships, promoted by improved business representation on councils.

Second, there is a language that focuses very much on the democratic rights and responsibilities of all stakeholders to be involved in running the institution, in explicit contrast to the authoritarian tradition under Apartheid. This democratic impulse is twinned with a focus on colleges as a tool of social re-engineering, and on themes of equity, redress and de-racialisation.

A college's identity, purpose and those it serves are not as straightforward as may be thought. These issues are tied up in part with the broader issue of creating a new South Africa, which is yet unfinished even after more than a decade. Part of the challenge here is managing the past and present dynamics of poverty and inequality as they play out in colleges. Race is one aspect of this, with tensions often lurking beneath the surface. However, there is a major problem in equalizing resources between campuses and in ensuring that staff and students experience roughly comparable learning and working experiences across college sites. As with the merged universities, this issue is proving very difficult to resolve. Whether colleges will start to experience some of the more violent protests that have gripped higher education as a result of this issue remains to be seen.

Welding together disparate and often far-flung campuses with very different histories and cultures is also a major issue. One of the most often expressed frustrations related to the merger process is the loss of local identity. At the local level, merger is widely perceived as being a process of centralization as colleges establish central offices. Staff at campus level perceive the new structures as meaning that very little decision-making now takes place at their level. They believe that this has significantly reduced their ability to participate in decision-making processes. Moreover, they widely bemoan the way that they are often kept ill-informed about the decisions that are made at the central level. Similar concerns are also raised by learners. This powerful perception at the campus level reinforces the point that the apparently beneficial decentralization of the college system is not as simple and straightforward as it might first appear. Learners and staff generally perceive the process as one in which they have lost rather than gained influence over the institutions in which they work.

Addressing each of these challenges in the context of the huge uncertainties facing the sector is equally serious. In this view, a college is effective in so far as it is contributing to a larger national project. However, there are inevitable contradictions within the national project that will inevitably be played out at the institutional level.

Finally, the effectiveness of governance can be considered in terms of how the whole governance system is performing in delivering on system and national goals. In this view, it is the successful interaction of the college, provincial and national elements of the governance system that matter.

Colleges, and the FET system as a whole, are struggling in all of these areas. However, the argument we want to make here is that part of the problem is the failure to be explicit about the importance and interaction of these three dimensions. Governance policy appears to have avoided seriously addressing the complexity and tensions inherent in developing a new approach for South Africa. Subsequently, implementation of reforms has seen these tensions played out.

Governance reform has been largely driven by the business-driven College Collaboration Fund and its training of council members. As noted above, this has privileged the technical domain. The DoE has often appeared uncomfortable with such an approach, but has been unable to either articulate its own position effectively or assume

real leadership of the governance reforms. However, the broader South African context makes it impossible for the technical approach to succeed without sufficient progress on the socio-economic side, whilst both also require an effective systemic logic. Thus, South Africa appears to be caught in a governance reform that can make progress in terms of outputs but which is currently incapable of working effectively towards the intended impacts.

Moreover, a tension exists between the way the management and governance structures have been trained to value autonomy and competition and the way in which the state still holds a view of its own responsibility to lead and regulate the system for the public good. This tension is made more complex by the state's relative weakness as both leader and regulator, as discussed below. This tension manifests itself at the level of delivery in an impoverished view of relevance, demand and social responsibility.

Let us try to unpack the role of the state. The state has four principal roles in the regulation of the FET system:

1. Funding
2. Qualifications
3. Qualification
4. Oversight

Notwithstanding the commitment of the newly-returned ANC Government in May 2004 to fund major capital investment in the college sector, there remains little progress regarding how funding should be organized in the long-term. Funding of FET is actually a provincial competence and the national Department has little influence over provincial departments, which continue to largely under-value the college sector. Funding is only slowly moving away from the old input-driven approach and provides little in the way of information or incentives that can help colleges in managing the multiple goals of the sector as regards programmes and clientele.

The FET Act makes it clear that college councils are responsible for promoting programmes aligned to the National Qualifications Framework in their institutions. However, this has been an area of considerable national failure. There has been little progress in developing NQF-aligned replacements for the old NATED awards and policy inconsistencies and complexities continue to act as barriers to offering industry-accredited awards.

There is good reason for colleges to blame the state for weaknesses in this area. It should also be noted that there has also been a big difference in what has been achieved in provinces where the provincial department has encouraged learnerships and where it has not been dynamic. However, provincial and national departments also have some justification in arguing that colleges have largely been reactive and that councils have done little about these issues. Indeed, the extent of the general passivity here can largely be judged in reference to what the most dynamic colleges have done.

Little progress also has been made in the area of quality management across the college sector. A new agency for quality assurance in schools and colleges, Umalusi,

was launched in 2003. However, the delineation of authority between it, the South African Qualifications Authority, DoE and the 25 Sector Education and Training Authorities is still rather unclear. Moreover, Umalusi's capacity has not yet reached a point where it can be a strong agency for quality assurance.

There is a considerable body of opinion that argues that the legislation on governance is not sufficiently detailed or has not been followed by sufficiently explicit policy directives. It is argued that strong councils are able to work intelligently with what they have got but that weak ones cannot.

Giving greater power to colleges and building their capacity cannot easily be achieved in the context of a weak central agency. The merger process was driven by the national Department of Education through the establishment of a dedicated task team that drew extensively on external people and resources. However, since its disbandment once mergers existed on paper, the national level has lacked effective capacity to drive the process forward. The result has been widespread frustration with the national Department at college level.

There has been a concomitant failure to grow provincial capacity in a context where colleges are a shared responsibility of these two levels of government. Provincial capacity is very uneven but generally weak. Very few officials have any background in the sector and many provinces give no effective lead to their colleges. However, at the other end of the spectrum, one province has a series of regular meetings between the relevant Director and Chief Director and Chairs and CEOs. The province in question has also established a College Council Forum.

There is frustration generally with staffing, an area where the main power still lies with provincial departments. Councils are struggling with the issue of making appointments themselves, which remains problematic. Such processes were slow to develop and most colleges still lack the funds to adequately complement their provincial staffings. Council-appointed staff is generally on worse pay and conditions than those employed by the provinces. Indeed, in some colleges, this situation worsened considerably during 2005 as colleges sought a partial answer to their financial problems in a further reduction in conditions of service for such staff. For instance, in one college at least, council-appointed academic staff has been moved onto contracts lasting for just one semester or trimester (depending on the duration of the courses that they teach). Unsurprisingly, the morale of these staff is at crisis level in a number of colleges. Equally unsurprisingly, good candidates are very difficult to find. Staffing changes (for good or ill) have been used as a major tool in reforms in countries, such as England and the Netherlands, but there is little scope for similar developments in South Africa given the limited focus on new contracts and the funding thereof.

Governance can only take place in relationship with management. However, one of the biggest frustrations across the colleges visited is that the senior management teams remain unfinished, with large numbers of staff in acting positions due to the slowness of provincial departments as employers in allocating funds and making appointments.

Councils feel, reasonably, that they cannot effectively govern when management is not properly constituted.

There are strong concerns about the paucity of communications from national and provincial levels. It appears that many council members are dependent on college management for information and this clearly can cause problems.

There are also problems caused by delays in policy areas or a decline in the importance apparently given to aspects of the Act by the national Department. Curriculum reform has already been noted as an example of the first type; language policy is a case of the latter kind. The latter is an area that is officially a responsibility of councils but there appears to be no national or provincial leadership in this regard and colleges and councils seem generally happy to leave it well alone.

The National and International Significance of This Study

In reviewing the progress of South Africa's FET reforms, the enormity of the challenge should not be forgotten. The transformation intended is one of the most dramatic ever attempted in vocational education and training internationally. Institutions are being expected to merge and be responsive; to react to new funding and to participate in radical curricular change. They are being encouraged to take on more powers whilst still being beholden to a state with a very clear and powerful agenda. All of this is taking place against the backdrop of the transition to a multi-cultural democracy and from apartheid and its multiple violence. It is being attempted where the state of unemployment is far beyond OECD trends and where there is little money or capacity compared to the size of the challenges.

This study points to the progress that has been made in the ongoing attempts to transform college governance in South Africa. There has been progress but it is far too early to claim that the reform process has succeeded or that such success is inevitable.

It is very clear that the governance capacity of colleges is very weak and likely to get weaker in the short term as new council members are appointed without even the modest training levels of the first cohort. To make governance work as intended would require a far larger investment of time, effort and money than has been allocated thus far. Moreover, it is far from self-evident that the necessary investment would be an efficient or effective use of resources.

Greater investment in an expanded programme of governance capacity development that continues the focus on the technical elements of the governance role will not equip council members to address the core challenges of governance, which are inevitably about exerting judgement where there are conflicting positions and priorities. However, even if a broader vision of capacity development were to be adopted and implemented, governance reforms in themselves are unlikely to be sufficient to transform the sector and outcomes for learners.

First, improvements in governance may only realise their full potential in combination with improvements in management and the role of the state. It is unclear that South Africa can afford to make meaningful progress across all three areas

simultaneously. It is equally uncertain that the correct response to this problem would be to focus on governance improvements first. Indeed, might it not be argued that governance is actually the least important of these elements?

Second, even if South Africa could succeed in "getting it right" on governance, management and the role of the state, this would not be enough to ensure college effectiveness. Rather, this would continue to be highly conditioned by the state of the economy, including decisions about technology choice and the nature of social welfare and inclusion.

These concerns broadly apply to most other developing country contexts and, in some cases, may be even starker. Thus, whilst governance reform may well be valuable in making vocational education and training more effective, it is clear that the benefits of governance reform are both contested and complex. Moreover, the South African case shows that any such reform attempt needs to be seen as a long term project and not as a quick fix.

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RESEARCH NOTES

Indian Education Service in Retrospect and Prospect An Imperative Need for Its Creation

S. Kumar*

Introduction

Educational administration, it hardly needs emphasis, is the process and agency of integrating personnel efforts, appropriate material and ideas in such a way as to promote effectively the development of human quality. The new concept of administration envisages possession of broad general professional competence coupled with highly developed skills in the areas of human relationship and administrative process. Administration, therefore, must take place in interpersonal setting. This presupposes that the services, superior or subordinate, play a very important role in any type of educational administration.

The study of educational services in retrospect, especially the All-India Services, may sound *mauvais gout* in the context of the present polity. But the question of reconstruction of the Indian Education Service is still alive and efforts have been made at the Centre and in various forums during the post-independence era, to revive this service in one form or the other.

Historical Background

The foundations of the existing paradigm of educational administration in India were laid in the year 1854 with the introduction of the Wood's Despatch. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Despatch, the Departments of Education were established in the then Presidencies of India. These departments were headed by the officers designated as Directors of Public Instruction. In the beginning the heads of these departments belonged to the civil or military services. But after some time, there grew a need to deploy persons specialized in education.

As a result of the recommendations of the Wood's Despatch, a system of graded services was implemented. This system, however, fell victim to the criticism of a few

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Governors of the Provinces. The graded services also did not find favour with the Education Commission, 1882 (also known as the Hunter Commission). It is interesting to note that in 1887, there were only 92 European and Indian members in old graded services. The issue relating to educational services was discussed at length by the Public Service Commission, 1886-87. The Report of the Commission contained recommendations pertaining to educational services in Para 99 and Sections 58 to 64 of Chapter X. The major recommendations were:

- i) Abolition of graded lists of superior branch;
- ii) Recruitment in England only to the posts of Principals, Professors and a small number of Inspectors; and
- iii) Separation of inspection from teaching.

After having considered the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, the Government of India, through Resolution of 23rd July, 1896, gave effect to the recommendations of the Commission. It was decided:

In accordance with the principles which have been adopted for the Judicial and Executive Services and some other departments, the Educational Department will in future be divided into (A) the Superior Service and (B) the Subordinate Service, the former will consist of two branches, one including all posts to be filled by persons appointed in England, which will be called 'The Indian Educational Service' and the other including all posts to be filled by recruitment in India which will be known as the 'Provincial Educational Service' of Madras, Bombay, Bengal...

This was, in short, the genesis of the introduction of the Indian Educational Service and the Provincial Educational Services. Indian Educational Service, like other All-India Services, was intended to provide manpower at the higher levels for the technical departments (education considered as one of them), both at the Centre and in the Provinces. It was arranged that the members of the Indian Educational Service would be appointed by the Secretary of State for India in England and those of the Provincial Educational Services by the Local Governments. It was, however, laid down that in exceptional cases the natives of India could be considered for selection to the Indian Educational Service by the Secretary of State for India in England.

Interestingly, on the one hand education was anticipated to become a transferred subject to the charge of the Provinces in pursuance of decentralisation of powers, on the other hand the Centre was becoming dominant in its role in the field of education not only by creating Indian Educational Service but also by reviewing the progress of education through Commissions and Committees from time to time. "The keen interest", observes Misra, "shown by the Central Government in education during the period 1901-1921 was unparalleled in the annals of the educational history of British India." The initiation of the Indian Educational Service during the nineteenth century, it may be mentioned, resulted in domination of direction of education by the alien officers and inspection, mostly, by the natives of India.

It was Lord Curzon (1898-1905) who endeavoured to give the impulse and movement of a new life, charged with centralization, to Indian education. He was successful to a great extent to attach political significance to education in the name of quality. The need to strengthen the Department of Education at the Central level and increased stringency in inspection, subjected the whole system of education to searching criticism, especially in the wake of the Resolution of 1904. So much so that Lord Curzon could not tolerate to change the designation of the Director General of Education to that of Adviser to the Government of India, just to make the Director General of Education authority-oriented. Some time later, however, this post was abolished and was replaced by the post of the Joint Secretary in 1910. The Government of India, nonetheless, tried to justify the creation of a post of an educational expert who could work as a liaison between the Centre and the Provinces and to increase the pace of educational development in India without making this post of an authoritarian nature. The Government of India, in their Despatch Number 18 dated January 1, 1915, described the position as follows:

From every point of view it seems to us that the time has now come when it is desirable for our Department of Education to be in more constant touch than at present it is with the administration of Local Government without, it must be added, in any way interfering with the diversion or interrupting the steady process of decentralization.

It is evident that the role of the Centre had come down from 'authority' to 'partnership'. The process was working as a good indication for the future role of the Centre in post-independent India. The post, designated as the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, was created. All this was sufficient to lay the foundation of enabling the Centre to play a role of Big Brother in partnership in education with the Provinces.

Liquidation of the Indian Educational Service

The introduction of Diarchy in India made the question of Indianisation of educational services very important because education was a transferred subject under the charge of the Indian ministers. Besides, issues like over-all control and supervision of the Centre, undemocratic administration, wrong priorities and haphazard actions were also brought in sharp focus.

The question of Indianisation of the services figured in the deliberations of several Commissions and Committees. Islington Commission, 1915, was one of them. But its recommendations became obsolete because the facts on which it was based, had materially changed on 20th August, 1917 when the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions." Moreover, the War had, in India as elsewhere, produced a sharp rise in prices, resulting in high cost of living. This factor had

also not been taken into consideration by the Commission. On the other hand, the Montford Report and the Feetham Committee were of the opinion that there could not be duplication of services at least for the moment. It was pointed out by the Feetham Committee, "To require ministers to inaugurate new services for their own departments would be to saddle them with difficulties that would doom the experiment with failure." The Feetham Committee also wanted to provide full support and protection to the existing services. The role of Governors was also emphasised by the Committee in safeguarding the interests of the members of the All-India Services which were mostly European. The Government of India wanted no changes in the setup of the services with the political changes, though it was stressed that, "The services will be required to show the same diligence and fidelity to Ministers as to the official part of the Local Government...they will be amenable to the Ministers' orders and discipline just as they will be in a reserved department to the orders and discipline of the Governor in Council." Lord Chelmsford, while discussing the question of Constitutional Reforms in 1918, considered Indianisation of the Public Services as one of the major factors to utilize the preliminary period for training the Indian politicians.

During the early twenties, after introduction of the Diarchy, the need for rapid Indianisation was pleaded by many legislators, on the following grounds:

- i) Declaration of the British Government of August 17, 1917;
- ii) Viability of economy of Indian Services;
- iii) Strength of the Indian Services to the Government of India;
- IV) Earning the faith of the people; and
- v) Saving the drain of ripe experience.

Subsequently, all the opinions relating to the security of services etc., were taken care of by making the provisions in Section 96(B) of Part I of Sch. II of the Government of India Act 1919. But the Constitutional provisions could not put an end to the issue regarding the services. The political parties of India were considering the Reforms as too illiberal while the members of the Indian Educational Service were feeling anxious and discontented due to attacks upon them in press and at platforms and their steadily deteriorating financial condition. These developments influenced the mind-set of the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India who wanted to find some solution. The McDonnell Committee was appointed to go into the question of services. This Committee presented its report on 21st June, 1922. But the recommendations proved to be 'palliatives' and suggested a fresh look over the question of the public services. The local Governments were also consulted through the popularly known - 'O'Donnell Circular', which contained arguments for and against reduction or complete cessation of the European recruitments. In fact, members of the Indian Educational Service vis-a-vis the Indian Ministers became one of the liveliest issues before and after the Diarchy. William Meston, commenting on Indian educational scene in 1920, remarked, "With provincialisation there has come also the sense of greater freedom in connection with educational administration." Against this, it was pointed out that, "the Government under Diarchy had only the alien view-point" and an official of the

Education Department desired to see "Mr. Parulekar and his pamphlet drowned in the Arabian Sea".

Obviously, the position of the Indian Educational Service under the Reforms was quite anomalous. The members of the Indian Educational Service were usually charged with lack of sympathy for the public aspirations and want of adaptability to the changed circumstances. One of the legislators, Bhulabhai J. Desai, criticized the arrangements during the debate on the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in these words, "You put the Indians into this unfortunate and difficult position, that they are between the devil and the deep sea, between the extraordinary powers... of the Governor on the one hand and the great services ... who are going to have backdoor influence against those whom they are going to serve..." Rajender Prasad, President, Indian National Congress, also said, "We shall indeed be masters in our own house without having the power to order servants about, to whom we shall be bound to pay their unbearably high salaries, guarantee their pensions... and what not". It may also be mentioned that any Resolution, to do away with the All-India Services, coming from the Provincial Legislative Assembly served as fruitless moves and usually met with a strong rebuff at the Centre.

It is evident, therefore, that there was a regular strife between safeguarding the services on the one hand and responsibility of the Ministers for formulation and execution of policy on the other hand. Both the contending parties were, perhaps, right in their own places. But one thing, in principle, can hardly be denied that whosoever bears the responsibility should also have full charge of those subordinate to him.

Under the circumstances, the Lee Commission was constituted to finalise the issue of complete or incomplete Indianisation of Public Services. Favouring early and rapid Indianisation of Public Services, Mr. Petrie, in his Minute to the Lee Commission Report, stated the urgency of Indianisation in these words:

"On every ground it seems better that the experiment should be brought to an issue within a reasonably short period of time while the old and tried British element in the services is still present in sufficient strength to provide a real safeguard. Further delays and further continuance of existing conditions will not only cause a further depletion of their ranks, but will make the supervising British remnant so unpopular as to rob it largely of its usefulness in averting any dangers, any risks that may be ahead".

The Lee Commission, despite referring to the normal relations between the Indian Ministers and the members of the Indian Educational Service, sounded the death-knell of the Indian Educational Service. The Lee Commission recommended as follows:

"Indian Educational Service... as at present constituted should in future be recruited and appointed by Local Government only but it is a logical consequence of what we have said above that local Governments should have power to make rules regulating the Public Services which will take the place of the present All-India Services operating in the transferred field. We accordingly recommend that the Secretary of State should make the necessary delegation of powers under Section 96(2) of the Act..."

Thus the problem relating to the Indianisation of services fizzled out and the Indian Educational Service was liquidated from India. The emergence of the Provincial Educational Services gained prominence after the cessation of the Indian Educational Service in 1924. The Provincial Legislative Assemblies wanted to leave no time to introduce educational reforms through the Provincial Educational Services. But it was as late as 1927, three years after the recommendations made by the Lee Commission, that the Central Government could make rules in regard to the method for constituting the new provincial superior services. And quite some time after 1929, the Provincial Educational Services could be constituted due to certain amendments that became necessary. The euphoria of the Indian Ministers to get rid of the Indian Educational Service could not stay for long due to the intentions of the Central Government, sometimes mentioning the Provincial Assembly as 'an inexperienced council' and sometimes referring to the resolution relating to the Public Services as an 'absurd resolution' of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Ultimately, the Provincial Educational Services could take material shape only between 1930 and 1936. There were only four male and one female members belonging to the Indian Educational Service throughout India when India got freedom.

The above discussion makes it manifest that a need was felt for the creation of the Indian Educational Service to provide high technical manpower to the technical departments, like education after having established that the members of civil or military services, who managed the education departments before, could hardly deliver the goods. But this creation of the Indian Educational Service was flawed by the fact that it was recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State for India in England. The Indian Educational Service, however, proved significant with the growing partnership between the Centre and the Provinces for rendering advice, guidance and counseling to the Local Governments. This feature was particularly important during the period of transition. This necessitated a liaison between the Centre and the Provinces, particularly at that point of time. It is also seen that the Centre was keen to strengthen the Department of Education at the Centre for the purpose of rendering guidance and advice to the Provinces. It was also the considered opinion at the Centre that the pace of development in education in India could be hastened only with the specialized personnel of high competency with the Government of India. It is also on record that many members of the Legislative Council spoke about the normal and congenial relations between the Indian Ministers and the members of the Indian Educational Service. It was supported by the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 1924 and other official agencies. Hastening of the liquidation of the Indian Educational Service was, however, caused more by education becoming a transferred subject and the Constitutional provision relating to the security and control of the members of the Indian Educational Service by the Secretary of State for India in England. It was quite an anomalous situation and the Lee Commission logically concluded that the Indian Educational Service should be a dead service to be replaced by the Provincial Educational Services. It was the demand of the time.

Imperative Need for the Creation of the Indian Education Service

Now we are in free India. The factor of alien rule and alien service is conspicuous by its absence which has become a thing of the past. The educational organization, it hardly needs any mention, has expanded in an unprecedented manner in terms of the number of educational institutions, teachers and scholars. It is rather becoming unmanageable by the existing machinery at the state level to the extent that one of the states, once, considered privatising education completely in order to shirk its Constitutional obligations in the field of education. The increase in drop-out rate, vacancies of teachers remaining unfilled, faulty system of recruitment of teachers, absenteeism among teachers, haphazard opening and upgrading of schools, are some of the facts that have posed a grave challenge to educational administration of the day.

Several efforts have been made during the post-Independence period to create the Indian Education Service. The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) constituted a committee in 1946, to consider the question of recruitment of education officers. The Committee realized that "...the failure in many areas to replace the Indian Education Service of equal caliber has exercised a very adverse effect on educational development in recent years". The Committee was of the opinion that unless the existing statutory position relating to the educational services is not changed, the Indian Education Service could not be operated. It, however, recommended for the creation of All-India Service in Education in the larger interest of education. After that, on the suggestion of the Reorganisation of States Commission, a resolution was put up to constitute the Indian Education Service in 1961.

Many conferences and commissions raised the issue of creation of the Indian Education Service from time to time. It was in August 1956 that T. T. Kashnamachan, the then Union Minister of Commerce, suggested a modified scheme to select every year ten people from those selected for IAS to form the nucleus. The issue was again discussed in 1957 and it was suggested to establish a Central Education Pool consisting of educationists of proven merit. The question was again raised in the Lok Sabha in 1959, but the discussion was closed by the Minister of Home Affairs saying, "In view of the general attitude of the states, it does not seem necessary to pursue the matter further." The cabinet of Ministers again brought an amendment in the All-India Services with an aim to establish Indian Education Service in November, 1965. The proposal was sent to all the states for comments. In this regard, a Bill was also brought before the Lok Sabha, but it lapsed. Highlighting the need for the creation of the Indian Education Service, the Educational Commission, 1964-66, states, "As regards the general strengthening of the administration, the constitution of the Indian Educational Service... is a step of considerable importance". Further, the Commission, differentiating between the IAS and IES, says:

At the very outset, it should be noted that the character of the IES will have to be very different from the IAS or other Central Services. First, in education, administration is a service agency to teaching and research and not their master.

Secondly, one cannot be a good educational administrator unless one is also a good teacher. Thirdly, there should always be a possibility for an educational administrator to come back to teaching or research and for a teacher to go over to the administrative side on a tenure assignment.

These remarks of the Education Commission are quite vital and relevant for an imperative need for the creation of the Indian Education Service. Many other efforts were made to go ahead with the idea of the Indian Education Service. A Taskforce was constituted by a Sub-Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education after the National Policy on Education, 1986. The Taskforce submitted its recommendations in January 1989. But the CABE could not discuss its recommendations in detail. After consideration it was decided by the Government of India to take further action in the matter after the position relating to the provisions of the Constitution as a consequence of the Panchayati Raj system becomes clear in some foreseeable future. The National Policy on Education, 1986 has stated in no uncertain terms, that "A proper management structure in education will entail the establishment of the Indian Education Service as an All-India Service. It will bring a national perspective to this vital sector."

Subsequent to the National Policy on Education, 1986, it has been specifically stated in the Programme of Action (1992) (Draft) that "The establishment of an Indian Education Service will be an essential step towards promoting a national perspective on management of education". From time to time, demand for creation of Indian Education Service has been recommended by various commissions/committees as also by various organisations. Some of these are:

- i) National Integration Conference, 1961
- ii) National Education Commission, 1964-66
- iii) Rajya Sabha, 1965
- IV) Conference of the Chief Ministers, 1965
- v) Conference of the Education Ministers on Madras, 1966
- vi) National Teachers Commission-I, 1986
- vii) Seventh Lok Sabha Evaluation Committee, 1983-84
- viii) Sarkana Commission, 1983-87
- ix) National Policy on Education, 1986

Presently, the State Departments of Education are headed either by the members of the Indian Administrative Service or by the members of the Provincial Education Service. In most of the cases, the members of the IAS do not want to stay in the education departments as such. Their average stay in the department, by a rough estimate, does not go beyond six months. It results in lack of belongingness, continuity and accountability in the field of education. Mukhopadhyay, referring to the frequent transfers of the members of the Indian Administrative Service in the education department says, "The major limitation of posting career bureaucrats in educational administration is poor accountability due to transfers and hence system performance." Under the circumstances, he suggests, "The proposal for instituting a separate cadre for education needs to be reopened and given serious consideration." As regards the members of the Provincial

Education Service, less said the better. These officers mostly come to head the department at the state or district level at the fag end of their career. Most of them have already developed their likes and dislikes for the system, personnel and the educational machinery. They are seldomly imaginative and resourceful. They neither have sufficient time nor any flair for educational innovations, especially in the area of educational administration. It means that the present educational services can hardly do justice to educational administration.

Education department was considered as a technical department during the British rule. Besides, the civil and military officers could not play a positive role in education. It was due to these factors that the Indian Educational Service emerged on the scene. Now the educational organization and education departments are becoming very complex and are largely influenced by the technological advances. The civil services failed during the British regime, and are no longer rewarding for the vast organization of education today, especially in the context of what has been stated by the Education Commission 1964-66.

It is generally felt, especially by the people in higher echelon of authority, that it is any body's cake to work as an educational administrator at any level. So, there is no provision for any pre-service induction programme or for the in-service training programmes for the educational administrators at any level. On the other hand all other services have a planned programme for the new incumbents as well as in-service training programmes at regular intervals for those who function in one capacity or the other in administration. This system of pre-service and in-service training is operating effectively in the case of the members of the Indian Administrative Service also. Educational administration is a subject which requires special skill, apt handling and humanistic temper. As such, persons who have innovative approach and imaginative vision, should occupy responsible positions in the field of educational administration at all levels. It is a common knowledge that the executives in the corporate sector are regularly provided in-service programmes from time to time not only to update their knowledge and skill but also to energize them for higher tasks. There is no such provision for educational administrators, at least in the states. The programmes provided by the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) can hardly meet the demands of the states unless its efforts are augmented by complementary organizations in the states.

Today, according to one study, the disparity in the provision of educational facilities in relation to the population and the served area prevails not only between one state and another; it also exists between one district and the other. It is worth considering, therefore, that at least the heads of the district and the state education departments should be headed by persons with specialized and specific qualifications.

Education department should be considered as a technical department which requires the imagination, resourcefulness, scientific temper and energy of a technocrat. The Metro Railway in the capital of India has witnessed unprecedented success, perhaps, due to a technocrat being at the helm of its affairs. Education deals with the all round development of the personality of the students and educational administration works as a support service to the people who are engaged in a very sensitive matter pertaining to the

cognitive and affective abilities of the child. If better teachers are required for the children, still better and efficient educational administrators are needed for whole of the edifice of the educational organization. Hopefully, the members of the Indian Education Service can fill up the gap. Imaginative, resourceful, perfectly trained and zealous persons should be drawn to the Indian Education Service in various important positions.

Today, competition in every field of activity, including education, poses an organizational challenge. The people have begun comparing the State Boards of Education with the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). The International Baccalaureate (IB) and such other global educational organizations are stepping in to further compete with the State and Central Boards of Education. Technological advances and resource allocations are not the only elements which are necessary to run an organization. Today the ability and competency of the members of the services are equally essential to "organize human beings in such way as to generate opportunity and results rather than impasses, stagnation, bureaucracy and wasteful friction." The need is to enable people come together, to keep together and to work together.

Educational administration, as mentioned earlier, has to function as a service agency for teaching, research and extension services. Therefore, one can be a good educational administrator if one is a good teacher. Much can be gained if educational administration and teaching draw inspiration, support and enrichment from each other through periodic exchange of roles. It has been recommended by the Education Commission 1964-66 also. This will also facilitate in combating the competition that is in offing in intensity.

It is evident from the above that the technical nature of the educational organization and the quality of education were the main causes for the creation of the Indian Educational Service during the British rule. The possibility of controlling 'sedition' in public through educational institutions was another reason for controlling education through the Indian Educational Service under the Secretary of State for India in England. The historical background relating to the creation of the Indian Educational Service and its liquidation has been discussed to understand the problem fully and to scotch the misunderstanding that it was liquidated due to its being unnecessary and out of time. There are, however, many significant factors that favour the creation of the Indian Education Service. There are many All-India Services which operate in the state subjects. The new Constitutional amendments, especially Amendments 73, 74 and 93, along with other existing provisions in the Constitution, make it obligatory for the Government of India to play an important role in the sector of education, including school education, at all levels. It may be mentioned here that the matter relating to the creation of the Indian Education Service was deferred by the Government of India in 1989 simply because it wanted to know the clear position relating to the Panchayati Raj system in the Constitution. That position is now clear and the Constitutional Amendments 73 and 74 have assigned larger role to the Panchayats in social sector, including education. This means reconsidering the issue of the creation of the Indian Education Service afresh under the new set of circumstances.

The State governments never have had any objection in accepting the Central schemes for the betterment of education even at the risk of contributing a paltry part of financial obligations. *Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan* is such a gigantic effort. It is hoped that the State governments will feel the pulse of the time and sound their need for having the Indian Educational Service through special resolutions and through a national body, like Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE).

Conclusion

The Education Commission, 1964-66, advocated the cause of educational administration as a 'matter of faith and vision, bold and courageous leadership and proper handling of human relationships.' It means that co-operative rather than manipulative and bureaucratic approach has to be employed in eliciting the contribution of personnel to realize the organizational goals. It also means that there is a need to de-bureaucratize the educational administration. It is all the more necessary because of the absence of effective decentralization, mismatching of the priorities and pursued objective-oriented programmes, weak personnel management system and ineffective intra-departmental and inter-departmental coordinating mechanism, all adversely affecting the performance of the education system. It is also essential to shift from a budget-based system to that of performance at delivery point system at all levels of educational administration and planning. Planning to have persons with a vision, skill and resourcefulness, in the form of IES, appears to be the call of the day. It is the time to pay heed to what the Education Commission, 1964-66, has suggested about the formation of the Indian Educational Service.

The unprecedented expansion of the educational organization, complex technicalities of educational administration, technological impact and lack of belongingness, continuity, accountability and sustainability, necessitate the creation of the Indian Education Service. If the educational administration is not strengthened through appropriate services, it is feared that the existing pattern of educational administration with the present services, without ensuring any continuity and accountability worth the grain, may further degenerate the organization beyond redemption. It may be pointed out that the time has come when the whole machinery of educational administration needs a holistic view before overhauling it in various manifestations, including the creation of Indian Education Service. Patch work needs to be avoided as much as possible. It is hoped that due efforts will be made in the direction of creating the Indian Education Service as an imperative need by the Centre and the States. The National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, a nodal agency in the field, should lead the country in this vital task in the larger interest of education.

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Can Self-Financing be a Viable Source of Resource in Traditional Universities?

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Abstract

With the financial crunch being faced by the institutions of higher education and the rapidly increasing market demand, the need to generate funds is felt by all the universities. Self-financing of education is one among the measures adopted to augment the university finances. Under this measure, traditional courses are offered under the self-financing system in which the student pays either fully or partially towards the cost of the course. University of Mysore, which is one of the traditional universities, introduced the Self-Financing Scheme (SFC) with the academic year 1998-99. The present study makes an attempt to look into the admissions under this scheme over a period of four years. Perceptions of the students who opted for this scheme and their parents were collected to understand the viability of this scheme. The study reveals that there is a growing demand for admissions under this scheme as it also contributes to strengthen the resources of the university. However, the viability of self-financing scheme depends on how the resources generated are spent.

Introduction

Early 90s witnessed a paradigm shift from planned, public sector dominant and nationalised trend to private sector dominant, privatized, market led economy. The financial crunch has reduced allocations to various sectors in real terms. State Universities are the worst sufferers as matching grants from the State also got reduced in proportion to the grants received from the UGC. Consequently, expenditure on research programmes, laboratory equipment, library facilities and scholarships has come down. Only 3.5% of GNP was spent on education at all levels in 1996-97. The share of higher education as a percentage of GNP was 1% in 1980-81; it came down to 0.4% in 1996-97. The Department of Economic Affairs, Government of India, published a paper on Government subsidies in India (May, 1997), which classified education other than elementary and agricultural education as "non-merit" good because the benefits of higher education accrued mainly to the recipient but not to the society in general. One of the

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methods adopted by the Universities to get out of this crunch is to start a few job oriented self financing courses and charge reasonably higher fees from the students.

Education Policy

Education was brought under concurrent list of the Constitution of India during 1976. Though, it being on the concurrent list, state governments have the freedom to formulate policies with respect to their state. At the national level, University Grants Commission plays an important role in coordinating and financing higher education. Ever since the National Policy on Education (NPE) was formulated, a number of reforms were introduced mainly with the objective of improving the quality of education and accessibility. In the resolution of NPE (1968), importance was given to quality improvement, a planned and more equitable expansion of educational facilities and the need to focus on the education of girls. Later, in 1986, another National Policy on Education was announced, which was further updated in 1992. The NPE (1986) provided a comprehensive policy framework for the development of education up to the end of the century and a plan of action (POA, 1992), assigning specific responsibilities for organizing, implementing and financing its proposals.

With the dwindling allocations to education, especially to university and higher education, the institutions are forced to take up innovative and marketable courses which can be started under self-financing.

Government of India appointed two committees in order to suggest measures for the mobilization of additional resources for higher education, especially for institutions of technical education and central universities. Their suggestions are (Tilak, 1999)

1. Institutions should raise fee levels in such a way that at least 20% of the annual recurring cost per student is recovered from the student.
2. Faculty may be encouraged to participate in consultancy activities.
3. Institutions should raise resources from other internal and external sources such as sale of outputs, diversification of activities etc.
4. Loan programmes may be revitalized.

Emerging Trends

In view of these recommendations and the necessity to augment their resources, many institutions have started adopting some of these recommendations and have revised the fee structure upwardly. While some universities have increased fees like tuition fees, examination fees, registration fees, etc.; several other universities have established resource mobilization units in the universities and initiated efforts to generate additional resources through consultancy, sale of publications, and such other services and activities (Tilak and Rani; 2000).

The emerging trends in the policy, planning and financing of higher education in India have been summarized as under:

Emerging Trends in Policy, Planning and Financing of Higher Education in India

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Conventional System</i>	<i>Emerging System</i>
Approach	Welfare	Market Approach
Management	Public	Mixed and private
Financing	State Assisted	Self-financing
Recognition	Govt. Recognition	Institutions requiring no Government recognition
Considerations	Philanthropy, Charity, Education	Commercial, Profit
Fees	No fees/Low fees	High fees
Student Loans	No loans	Loans from commercial banks
Discipline of Study	Scholarly/academic	Commercially viable/profitable courses and training

Source: Tilak, 1999.

Sources of Finances

The sources of finances of the universities in India include:

1. Government grants
2. Fee income from students
3. Internal sources, like internal income generated within the university
4. Income from other schemes and private sources

Government grants include grants from the central and state governments and the University Grants Commission (UGC). While Central Universities depend on UGC exclusively for their finances, the state universities depend on state government. A recent study by Tilak and Rani (2000) reveals that dependence on government grants varied between 27.7 per cent (Pune University) and 97.6 per cent (Kalyani University) during the period 1990-91 to 1993-94. In 15 universities, the dependence on government grants declined during 1994-95 to 1999-2000. Still government grants are the important source for majority of the universities. On an average, they account for 70 per cent of the recurring income. While fee constituted 19.56 per cent, internal sources contributed 7.60 per cent during the 1994-95 to 1999-2000 period. With the introduction of innovative methods and increase in fees, the share of fee has increased from 16.90 per cent during 1990-91 to 1993-94 to the present figure of 19.56 per cent. But the share of internal sources remained constant during the same period.

Alternative Measures for Financing of Higher Education

Besides increasing the fee structure, introduction of self-financing schemes, and rationalising the expenditure, the following management methods are being adopted by

various universities. A review of the experience of various measures adopted in other countries (Collins and Sanyal, 1995; Dachi, 2000; Panchamukhi, 1996) suggests the following options.

Self-financing

Self-financing of the course either fully or partially is one of the ways of augmenting the dwindling finances of universities. Self-financing of higher education finds support on different grounds. One argument stems from the research view that private rate of return on education investment is higher than the public rate of investment at all levels of education and the social cost is higher than the private cost due to subsidy.

The other argument is that private finance makes the student and / or the families much more conscious to choose the course of study wisely and work hard to complete the course of study in minimum time required (Eicher and Chevallier, 1993; cited from Dachi, 2000). By paying for services, students will be keen to ensure that they obtain value for their investment. It makes them more conscious of cost and benefit of a particular course and increases their willingness to pay for courses with market demand. According to World Bank, by turning students into education consumers, universities will become more responsive to market signals and sensitive to the needs of students, private industry and commerce (World Bank, 1993; cited from Dachi, 2000). However, the new courses under self-financing cannot be started unless there is adequate infrastructure. The rush to start new courses may end up in reduction in quality. However, another negative aspect of this is that it may ignore the merit. Poor meritorious students may not be able to get access. If both the courses are offered in the same department, it may lead to friction among the students. Hence, it is necessary to ensure the facilities and an estimation of costs involved before offering self-financing courses.

Education Loans

Loan scheme is advocated as a way of sharing the cost of higher education among the students and their families and the taxpayers (Dachi, 2000). The loan schemes are supposed to bridge the gap between eligibility to attend and ability to pay by enabling poor families to defer the current costs of higher education and pay in future when they have secure jobs. Tanzania introduced loan scheme as an instrument to reduce the public expenditure on education and encourage private spending. The experience of loan schemes in Tanzania and other countries showed that there is a high rate of default in both developed and developing countries. This is due to economic reforms wherein retrenchment and lay-offs are the order of the day, and the existence of an under developed private sector. The cost of administration of loans was high. The fear to accept the debt burden and the uncertain job opportunities prevented the lower income groups from opting for loans. However, Woodhall (1989; cited from Dachi, 2000) argues that the international experience provides no hard evidence to support that the poor and marginalised are out of the loan schemes.

Mergers

The other option is mergers as tried in Australia, UK, China, etc. Long term experience from merger of teacher training colleges in Australia showed that a merger of institutions in the same field of work gives much more benefit of economies of scale in production of teaching material, and use of new technology. According to Collins and Sanyal (1995), mergers are used to improve control and management as well as the supply and quality of education in various disciplines. In the case of Australia, the objective was to reduce the number through mergers and the work of administration be transferred to the University's central administration. But, in the case of England and the Netherlands, the main aim was to rationalise the supply of higher education in various disciplines. In the case of the Netherlands, the number of locations offering the same degree was much reduced, exchange of specialists between departments took place to establish the centres of excellence, and a regional cooperation procedure was implemented to share facilities between departments in different universities. Mergers can take place even between the departments eg. sharing of teaching and research staff and services - sharing of lectures and library purchases and facilities by the University of Oxford and (the former) Oxford Polytechnic. Mergers in China improved the quality of education facilities, the unit cost in constant prices started to fall. The student teaching staff ratio improved considerably.

Cost Efficient Measures

Application of analytical techniques helps in analysing the institutional problems to frame better plans and decisions. Stanford University has used long-run financial equilibrium (LRFE) in 70s itself (Ghosh, 2000). It is based on a simple concept according to which, the levels of income and expenditure should be projected in balance at the beginning and thereafter controlling the growth rate of both to make sure that the balance projected at the beginning of the year is maintained.

In place of provider-driven education, customer-driven education needs to be achieved and to achieve this, the provider of education has to undertake market research, design suitable programmes and attract best possible customer clients.

Cost of conducting examinations has increased considerably. The annual rate of growth of expenditure has risen at a higher rate than the receipts (Panchamucki, 1996).

As suggested by NPE (1986) and Ramaswamy Committee (1990), the responsibility of a University to conduct examination has to be vested in a separate body while the University should be allowed to concentrate on areas of knowledge creation, development and dissemination.

The available resources can be put to multiple use for earning extra money. For example the computer centre can be used not only for training but also for taking up assignments/ projects like software development etc. which generate finance.

Introduction of Full and Partial Self-Financing Scheme

University of Mysore, which is one of the oldest Universities in India, also started implementing various measures to augment its resources. Three postgraduate campuses

in Mysore, Mandya, and Hassan, are operating under the University of Mysore. Manasagangothri Campus in Mysore is the largest one where 59 postgraduate courses, 15 PG diploma courses, 7 certificate courses, and 5 diploma courses are offered. While all the departments in all the centers have Ph.D. programme, M. Phil. programme is offered in five subjects. As part of expansion programme, Centre for Information Science and Technology (CIST) was started in 2000-01 with an objective of offering job oriented courses in various branches of Information Technology. At present CIST is offering a number of courses suitable to all sections of the society and the courses are hundred percent self-financed. Within a span of three years, CIST has made a very good progress in capturing a good share of the computer education market. Due to a very competitive fee structure and institutional affiliation, CIST has become one of the important information centers in the university campus.

University of Mysore has introduced the full and partial self-financing schemes (SFS) from the academic year 1998-1999. Under this, some courses like M. Tech. Computer Sciences, are fully financed by the student. However, partial self finance scheme introduced in all the departments under which a percentage of the total seats are offered, are referred to as Scheme B. Different amounts are fixed for different courses depending on the cost of running the course and different social groups in order to provide opportunity to all sections. It was estimated (Heggade, 2002) that the range of fee recovery under SFS for General Merit and OBC groups was 30 to 90 percent of the unit costs. While it was high in the case of Food Science and Nutrition (90.7%), and L.L.M (80.6%) courses, it was low in the case of courses like Zoology (36.8%) and Mathematics (39%). SFS fee in the case of courses, like Computer Science, MSW, MBA are fixed at higher than the unit cost.

University has entered into MoU with other institutions like CMC, ECIL etc. in order to offer marketable technical courses, which can be self-financed.

Self-finance scheme has received good response and by 2000-01, this scheme became popular. More response is observed for courses like economics, physics, political science, management science, computer science and biotechnology. However, it is observed that the courses which are generally believed to be job oriented could not receive much response but some courses which are not expected to be job oriented have attracted some students.

Objectives of the Study

The present study makes an attempt to analyze the pattern of admissions under the self-finance scheme introduced by the University of Mysore and understand the factors influencing /motivating the students to opt for partially self- financing Scheme B or fully self-financing scheme. While secondary data were collected from university records, primary data were collected from 150 students selected randomly from various departments through a questionnaire. Sample students were selected randomly from the list of students obtained from the administrative office. Apart from this, data were collected from parents also in order to understand their opinion.

Growth of Admissions under Self-Financing Scheme

Though the response to self-financing scheme was slow initially, it picked up in due course and the admissions under this scheme have increased during the past three years. Admissions to not-very-commercially-job-oriented courses also showed an increasing trend. The following Table 1 gives a view of the response to the introduction of self-financing scheme.

TABLE 1
Growth of Admissions under Self-Financing Scheme

Co ^ i T —	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003
E. Science	—	—	—	1
Ah & A	—	—	—	2
Biochemistry	8	9	9	9
Biotechnology	9	9	10	10
Botany	5	12	11	7
Chemistry	31	23	20	25
Commerce	—	—	16	26
Economics	6	27	27	26
Education	2	7	2	2
English	6	9	9	10
Environmental Science	5	9	2	—
Food Science	8	8	8	11
History	4	10	7	12
Journalism	—	8	8	10
Kannada	—	11	10	11
Law	5	9	13	6
Linguistic	—	2	—	1
M C A	9	10	25	14
M Lib.	1	—	9	4
Mathematics	4	12	18	23
MBA	17	19	68	67
MSW	11	12	10	13
MURP	—	—	4	—
Physics	13	21	22	27
Political Science	6	22	19	12
Psychology	3	12	11	13
Sericulture	2	—	7	3
Sociology	2	5	9	8
Zoology	4	14	11	9
Grand Total	161	280	366	362

Ah & A: Ancient History and Archeology; MURP: Masters in Urban Regional Planning
Source: Admission records of the University.

Academic Performance

Academic performance of the students in qualifying examination was analyzed to test the hypothesis that self-financing scheme encourages inefficiency and gives an opportunity for less efficient students also to enter into various P G courses.

TABLE 2
Percentage of Marks Obtained in Qualifying Examination

<i>% of marks</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Above 80%	12	8.0
80-60%	59	39.33
60-50%	57	38.00
50-40%	22	14.66
Total	150	99.99

Source: Primary data from survey.

The analysis (Table 2) shows that, majority of the students opted for this scheme belong to between 80%-60% category. However, an equal percentage of students are in the 60%-50% category also. Only 22% of the students belong to 50%-40% category. Eight percent of the students are in the category of above eighty percent. This shows that under this self-financing scheme meritorious students also are joining the courses.

Reasons for Opting for the Seat under Self-Financing

In an attempt to understand what factors influence students to opt for the payment seat, students were asked to express their opinion. The responses indicate that majority of the students (67%) are opting because they are interested in that particular subject Table 3.

TABLE 3
Reasons for Taking Payment Seat

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Personal interest	100	66.66
More employment opportunity	36	24.00
Not willing to go out of Mysore	3	2.00
Parents suggested	11	7.33
Total	150	100.00

Source: Primary data from survey.

Only 23% of the students have joined because the course is job-oriented.

TABLE 4
Department-Wise Reasons for Opting for Payment Seat

Reasons	Interested	Opportunities		Suggestion	Total
		Opportunities	Mysore		
Bio Science	5				5
Biochemistry	13	1	1		15
Biotech	6	1		1	8
Botany	9	2		1	12
Chemistry	9	1			10
Commerce	4		1	1	6
Economics	3	2			5
Electronics	2	6			8
English	3	1			4
Journalism	2				2
Kannada	9		1	3	13
M.B.A.	12	7			19
M.C.A		6			6
Mathematics	9				9
MSW	4	5		5	14
Physics	3	1			4
Political Science	5	3			8
Sociology	2				2
Grand Total	100	36	3	11	150

Source: Primary data from survey.

Department-wise preferences indicate the expected trend (see Table 4). But one important observation is that very few have opted for this scheme to be only in Mysore. While majority of the job-oriented courses are preferred due to their market potential, the other courses are preferred mainly because the students are interested in studying that course.

Support to Self-Financing Scheme from Parents

Though parents have agreed to finance their child's education, 57% of the parents are against the schemes. According to these 57% of the parents, it is not justified, promotes inefficiency and is not equitable because it is accessible only to those who can afford to pay the amount (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Reasons to Support/Object the Scheme

<i>Reasons for Support / Object to the Programme</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Yes, because it is justified	10	6.67
Yes, because it gives an opportunity for many	35	23.33
Yes, because it improves the responsibility of the students	20	13.33
No, because it is not justified	25	16.67
No, because it is accessible to only those who can't afford	40	26.67
No, because it promotes inefficiency	20	13.33
Total	150	100.00

Source: Primary data from survey.

However, the other 43% of the parents support this on the grounds that it is fully justified, gives an opportunity to many students, and improves the responsibility on the students.

Opinion About Fee Charged

Fee structure prescribed under the self-financing scheme varies across different subjects and social groups. During 2001 - 2002 season, Rs, 60, 000 was charged for admission to M.B.A degree which is the highest fee under Arts Faculty. In the case of Science Faculty, highest fee was charged under computer science. The annual fee for M.S, M.C.A and M. Tech. in Computer Science was fixed at Rs. 80,000. It was estimated that the level of SFS fees for General Merit cover 30 to 80 per cent of the unit costs of the PG programmes. While the fee recovery is more than 70 per cent in the case of Computer Science and Food Science etc, it is around 30 to 35 per cent in the case of Chemistry, Zoology, and Economics etc. (Heggade, 2001).

Though many of the students supported the scheme they felt that the amount collected is high. Over 68% of the students expressed that the fee was high. However 19% of the students felt that the fee was justified and majority of the students were from science faculties. Any amount between Rs. 8,000 and 15,000 was suggested to be reasonable by majority (70%) of the students.

A disaggregated department-wise opinion of the parents indicated that more than 80 per cent of the parents of MCA students felt that the fee was justified. Similarly, in the case of MBA and Biotechnology also, 47 and 27 per cent of the parents felt that the fee was justified. Among social sciences, commerce and MSW received positive opinion. In the case of Kannada, 61 per cent did not express any opinion. But in the case of subjects like Economics, English, Journalism, Political Science, Sociology etc, all the sample parents felt that the fee was high (Table 6).

TABLE 6
Department-Wise Justification for Fee

<i>Department</i>	<i>Justified</i>	<i>Fee is High</i>	<i>No Reply</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bioscience		3(2.94)	2(10.00)	5
Biochemistry	4(14.28)	8(7.84)	3(15.00)	15
Biotechnology	5(17.86)	3(2.94)		8
Botany		8(7.84)	4(20.00)	12
Chemistry		7(6.86)	3(15.00)	10
Commerce	3(10.71)	3(2.94)		6
Economics		5(4.92)		5
Electronics		8(7.84)		8
English		4(3.92)		4
Journalism		2(1.96)		2
Kannada		5(4.90)	8(40.00)	13
M B A	(32.14)	10(9.80)		19
M C A	5(17.14)	1(0.98)		6
Mathematics		9(8.82)		9
MS W	2(7.14)	12(11.76)		14
Physics		4(3.92)		4
Political Science		8(7.84)		8
Sociology		2(1.96)		2
Total	28 (100)	102(100)	20(100)	150

Source: Primary data from survey.

Contribution of Self-Financing Scheme to Internal Resources

Tuition, affiliation and other fees are important internal resources of the University. Rent from University buildings is another important source. Since the introduction of the SFS, it became another important source. The amount realized under the SFS was around Rs. 154.75 lakhs in 2000- 01. It increased to Rs. 200.00 lakhs by the academic year 2002-03. As per the budget estimates, it was Rs.225.00 lakhs during the academic year 2003-04. Its share in the internal resources increased from around 16 to 20 per cent (Table 7).

TABLE 7
Share of Income from SFS in Total Internal Resources

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Internal Resources</i> <i>Rs.</i>	<i>Income from SelfFinancing</i> <i>Scheme</i> <i>Rs.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
2000-01	98274000	15475000	15.75
2001-02	104834335	17582194	16.77
2002-03	95800000	20000000	20.88
2003-04*	115500000	22500000	19.48

Source: University Annual Reports.

* Budget estimates.

The money collected under the self finance scheme is shared between the Administration and various Departments to strengthen the infrastructure.

Table 8 gives an account of money transferred to various departments during the year 2001-02.

TABLE 8
Contribution to Various Departments (in Rs.)

<i>Department</i>	<i>2001-02</i>
Applied Botany	42,620
Biotechnology	4,22,528
Botany	3,15,435
Chemistry	4,79,967
Commerce	2,66,767
Economics	4,23,814
Education	39,975
Environmental Science	1,66,185
Food & Nutrition	1,92,837
Geography	1,89,513
History	1,12,671
Journalism	1,40,000
Kannada	1,44,910
Law	1,70,247
Library	2,25,000
M B A	11,47,251
M C A	7,22,366
M S W	1,81,416
Mathematics	2,23,939
Microbiology	3,21,654
Physics	4,45,245
Political Science	2,58,797
Psychology	1,37,624
Sericulture	1,75,642
Sociology	82,601
Zoology	2,81,940
Mandya Centre	1,04,174
Hassan Centre	4,71,163

Source: University Annual Reports.

Many of the Departments have utilized the money to improve the library facilities, establishment of computer laboratory facilities, purchase of modern teaching aids like Overhead Projector, LCD Projector, better infrastructure in the classrooms, laboratories

etc. This scheme has helped in improving the facilities in these Departments. Some Departments, like Computer Science, are able to support some of their non-teaching staff from the money received under the Self-Financing Scheme.

Summary, Conclusions and Suggestions

Under the current regime of economic reforms, the winds of liberalization, privatization, and globalization are blowing in to all sectors. Education sector, especially higher education, is witnessing rapid changes. At present, institutions of higher education are faced with twin challenges:

1. The first challenge is to mobilize funds to finance the courses.
2. To prepare students according to the global demand because under globalised economy, demand are coming from different parts of the world.

Allocations to higher education have come down considerably in recent times. Universities and other institutions are adopting several methods to face the financial crunch. Private participation in the form of self-financing of courses is one among such methods. University of Mysore is one of the institutions which have introduced partial self financing scheme in the University. Under this scheme, the fee recovered covers nearly 30 to 70 percent of the cost of some courses. From the second year of the introduction of this scheme, it started attracting many students. The following points have emerged from the study:

1. The SFS has been received very well and has gained popularity proving that even in conventional subjects like History, Political Science, Kannada, English etc. people are interested in taking the course under SFS.
2. The study revealed that majority of the students who joined under SFS are from nearby districts of the state.
3. The study also dispelled the hypothesis that SFS leads to lowering of standards. In fact, majority of the students are in the above 60% category. However, in the case of Social Sciences students with lower percentage of marks also entered.
4. The success of SFS is due to the interest of the students. Majority of the students who opted for it have opted because they are interested in that particular course. This is the reason why there are admissions under courses like Kannada, History, and Archaeology etc. The science subjects, being market driven, students joined these courses because they are job-oriented.
5. The study also revealed that SFS has become popular in surrounding rural areas. Uneducated parents from rural areas also have opted for this scheme. Out of 150 parents, 22 fathers and 39 mothers are uneducated.
6. According to a majority of the parents, they opted for the course because the child had insisted.
7. Though the parents have opted for this, majority is of the opinion that it is not justified. According to them, offering some seats under SFS is not justified. It amounts to purchase of seat and gives an impression that it is accessible only to

those who can afford to pay for it. The institutions of higher education are becoming commercial and it should not happen. It is the duty of the state to provide higher education at affordable fee structure.

8. Majority of the parents feel that the fee is very high. Though SFS fee covers only 30 to 70% of the cost of the course, people feel it to be high because they are used to pay heavily subsidized fee.
9. SFS has become a major source of internal resources. It helps in creating infrastructure in all the Departments in the form of creation of departmental library, laboratory facilities, computer lab, modern teaching equipment like OHP, LCD, etc.
10. Majority of the students are satisfied with the existing facilities. But to some science students felt that, they do not get sufficient space in the laboratory to conduct experiments individually.

The study clearly shows that self-financing is one of the important sources of finance even in traditional universities. The growing number of admissions under Self-Financing Scheme shows that it is gaining popularity. Since the current generation of students are assertive and demand what they want, they are able to convince parents to opt for SFS. However, the viability of the scheme depends on the utilization of the realized funds. Following are some of the suggestions to make this a viable source.

- The Self-Financing Scheme can be made much more attractive by improving the existing infrastructure and creating more facilities.
- Inter-Departmental linkages should be promoted in order to share the created facilities.
- As suggested by an earlier study (Heggade, 2002) the University has to take a rational decision in the case of extensions at Hassan and Mandya. The infrastructure facilities in these centers are very poor. Centralized facilities need to be created.
- In terms of utilization of funds generated under Self Financing Scheme, a perspective plan needs to be prepared by taking stock of the existing infrastructure and an estimation of growing requirements. If needed, financial experts should be consulted. If there is any surplus, it needs to be invested wisely to generate extra income to sustain the University.
- Some more job-oriented courses should be introduced. Each Department can have one PG Diploma course, which can be offered under Self-Financing Scheme mode. However, sufficient incentives should be provided to the teaching faculty who are involved in extra hours of teaching. Some of these diploma courses can be offered under distance education mode as is being done in many other universities. This helps in generating income without much expenditure or extra infrastructure. Contact programme classes can be conducted during vacation when the administrative staff is relatively free from their regular duties.

- Being one of the oldest Universities of good repute, University of Mysore can successfully continue to offer Self Financing Scheme courses. The faculty should be sufficiently motivated with incentives to create such multi-disciplinary courses, which have greater relevance to the changing demands of the society. If these aspects are taken care of, SFS can be sustained with greater success in future.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Students Loan Schemes for Higher Education in East Asia

Asha Gupta*

1. Yue Ping CHUNG: *The Student Loans Scheme in Hong Kong*, pp.64 (ISBN: 92-803-1232-4)
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5. Adrian ZIDERMAN: *Student Loans in Thailand: Are They Effective, Equitable, Sustainable?* pp. 151 (ISBN: 92-803-1231-6)

Introduction

At the dawn of the 21st century, higher education stands poised between the collapsing past and uncertain future, when the established landmarks disappear and new ones are yet to arrive. With the end of the cold war, we are left with a world that is more fluid, fragmented and multipolar than ever before. The processes of globalization, privatization, destatization, economic liberalization, breathtaking innovations in information technology and communication have compressed the 'economic' and 'learning space'.

Today, we live in a world that is multi-dimensional, polycentric and contingent. Globalization has paved the way for a society that is no longer tied to the apparent strings of a nation state. Here the 'national' and 'multi-national', 'state' and 'market', 'public' and 'private' co-exist. Moreover, with the emergence of knowledge-driven economies, we find paradigm shifts from 'terminal to lifelong education', 'information-based learning to knowledge in application', 'rote learning to analytical understanding', 'and learning just in case it might be useful to just in time learning'.

As we move towards the unknown realm of globality and that too, at an unprecedented speed, we find shifts towards 'diversification' in lieu of 'homogeneity'; 'decentralization' and 'distance steering' in lieu of 'centralization'; 'marketization and competition' in lieu of 'protection and complete dependence on the state'; 'new corporatism' in lieu of 'strong sense of community'. In the era of knowledge-based and technology driven economies, we find a surge in the demand

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for higher education and technical skills, resulting into the 'massification of higher education'

Earlier, governments were able to support higher education as only a tiny percentage was involved (about 5% in the case of UK at one stage). It was also considered prestigious to invest into human capital. The stress used to be on resource inputs as symbols of progress and commitment to the neglect of outputs. Today the number has reached to more than 50% in advanced economies. Moreover, the costs of higher education have also escalated due to hyper mobility, costly technology involved, rise in tuition fee and living expenses.

Therefore, it is neither feasible nor desirable for the governments to bear the entire costs involved in providing higher education to the vast majority of the eligible youth in the age group of 17-23 from tax monies or public subsidies. Moreover, we find the new trend towards lifelong learning in order to keep oneself abreast with the latest knowledge and technological skills. In the modern economy, the quality and quantity of the human resource matters a lot and provides a competitive edge to those countries that are rich in human resource but knowledge happens to be one such ingredient that gets obsolete very soon and needs constant upgrading.

No wonder, we find more than 100 million students enrolled in higher education all the world over and this number is likely to be doubled by the year 2025 (Glakas, 2003). There is also a trend for a continuing education on a lifelong basis through distance, online or e learning. Higher education remains a pinnacle of socio-economic development worldwide. According to World Bank (1994 p. 3),

Higher education is of paramount importance for economic and social development. Institutions of higher education have the main responsibility for equipping individuals with advanced knowledge and skills required for positions of responsibility in government, business and the professions. These institutions produce new knowledge through research, serve as conduits for the transfer, adaptation and dissemination of knowledge generated elsewhere in the world, and support government and business with advice and consultancy services ... The development of higher education is correlated with economic development: enrollment ratios in higher education average 51 percent in countries that belong to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), compared with 21 percent in middle income countries and 6 percent in low income countries. Estimated social rates of return of 10 percent or more in many developing countries also indicate that investments in higher education contributed to increase in labour productivity and to higher long term economic growth, which are essential for poverty alleviation.

No wonder, higher education has become a US \$3 trillion business in itself. We find a large number of stakeholders entering the business of higher education and it is being treated as a service, commodity or private good. Higher education and technical skills contribute to economic growth and economic development leads to higher level of consumption of higher education.

Herein lies the crux of the problem .The demand for higher education is rising worldwide, whereas the public support for higher education is declining. Earlier the governments could support higher education as it was in its interest to conscript

citizen. It was also prestigious to invest into human capital. The governments could do so as only a tiny number of people were involved. It is no longer possible for the governments worldwide to support higher education to mass level. Moreover, knowledge is an ingredient that needs constant polishing and upgrading, especially in technology-driven economies. The costs have naturally to be shared between the governments and end-users. Students loan is one such device. According to Ziderman (2001), the main objectives of students' loan schemes worldwide are:

- The facilitation and expansion of higher education
- Cost sharing and cost recovery
- Easing the financial burden of the students and their families
- Stopping inegalitarian consumption of higher education
- Improving equity and access to higher education
- Saving scarce nation resources for education at compulsory level
- Increasing investments into human capital
- Inculcating a sense of responsibility amongst the recipients of higher education
- Enhancing the utility and relevance of higher education by putting pressures in the form of 'value for money' and 'value for time'.
- It can help in capacity building at the individual, societal and national level.

The East Asian experiences

Each country may have its own rationale and *modus operandi* as far as student's loan schemes are concerned. Whereas student's loans have become quite popular in advanced economies and western societies, they are not yet popular in the developing countries in general, and Asian societies, in particular. In Asia the strong family traditions still prevail and middle class families are found willing to invest into professional and quality education of their wards even if it implies tremendous sacrifices and cost sharing at the household front.

In some countries where the banking sector is not so well developed or well spread over the different parts of the country, it may prove very difficult to administer the students loan schemes, requiring a very long gestation period or the administrative costs may be too high or the rate of defaults unmanageable. In some other countries, the repayment rates may be quite low due to unemployment, underemployment, lack of information about the defaulters, absence of specialized units dealing with student's loan, etc.

The UNESCO has done a tremendous job by publishing a book series on student's loan schemes in Asia-Pacific, namely, People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Thailand and the Philippines. To Sheldon Shaeffer, Director, UNESCO, Bangkok, the object of this series is to 'support and publish action-oriented, state-of art research grounded in longstanding practical experiences of the countries' in the Asia pacific region and UNESCO. It aims at providing 'educational practitioners and the private sector with a comparative information and knowledge base to support policy dialogue and decision making in education sector management and reform'.

128 Students Loan Schemes for Higher Education in East Asia

There is so much focus on Asia because there is a dramatic surge in the demand for higher education in Asia-Pacific region. It constitutes the three most populous countries of the world-India, China and Indonesia. We find a rise of 260 percent in higher education in the eight most populous countries of Asia but a sharp decline in public financing both at the national level and World Bank lending at the international level. The drift towards cost sharing is but natural under the prevailing circumstances.

Students' Loan Scheme in Thailand

In the first volume of the UNESCO Series on student loans schemes in Asia, Adrian Ziderman had raised a very pertinent question: are students loans in Thailand effective, equitable and sustainable? He also focused on the role of educational institutions in loan distributions in Thailand. The development of students loans scheme in Thailand has to be viewed in the context of the Asian crisis that hit the Thai economy in mid-1997. The effects of this crisis were harsh on the Thai educational system. It reduced the capacity of the Thai families to bear the brunt of the tuition fee and other educational costs. Though the government spending on education and subsidies on private higher education has grown by 25 per cent over the years, it has not kept pace with the rise in demand for higher education and technical skills. In 1996, the Thai government launched a student's loan scheme with an objective of easing the financial burden on students and their families; meeting specific personpower needs; and increasing equity and access to the poor and the needy (Ziderman, 2003 p. 27).

The purpose of the student loans scheme in Thailand is to introduce the concept of student payments for the educational services received in the wake of provider client relationship emerging between the institutions and the students worldwide. Since fee hikes are not politically and socially acceptable and commercial banks are not interested in lending for educational courses, the governments have no other choice but to provide adequate backing for student loans in order to facilitate higher education expansion and meet the social objectives. Explaining the objective of Thai Loan Scheme, the Student Loans Fund Act of March 1998 observed:

There is a need to develop human resources in order to achieve economic growth and to increase the competitive capacity of the country. Given these needs, educational development needs to be accelerated. Existing problems of educational inequality within society can be solved by enlarging the educational opportunities of students from low-income families. This will play a major part in improving the general living standards. To achieve these goals, it is necessary to establish the Student Loans Scheme.

Though the declared objective of the SLS in Thailand has been to enhance the educational opportunities for the poor, it has also served as a mean towards easing the financial burden of the non-poor. Though the short-term objective of the Thai SLS seems to be social, the long-term objectives are very much economic - enhancing the country's human capital, competitiveness and development. The target of the Thai SLS is to enhance cost recovery through higher tuition fees and lower public expenditures on education. It has indirectly helped in raising the tuition fee at public

universities and it has also helped in the growth of private higher education institutions indirectly. The average amount of loan given to students at private higher education institutions is more than the amount provided for students at public institutions. In Thailand, about 38 percent of the students at private universities received loans at subsidized rates. The Thai SLS has certainly played an important role in the expansion of the number of students seeking higher education and vocational skills.

The Thai SLS scheme covers not only tertiary but also upper secondary schooling. The only other country that has such a scheme is Sweden, though loan amount constitutes a very small proportion of students' aid package. The dropout rates are high in Thailand at the stage of non-compulsory schooling because the students have to work to earn a living for themselves. Subsidized loans aim at capturing the dropout rate by targeting the poor and needy students at upper secondary school level. In Thailand, the loan repayment conditions are very liberal and spread over a period of 15 years with two years grace. The rate of interest is very nominal, just 1 percent in most cases. But nobody would deny that the students' loan scheme in Thailand was introduced in a hurry and without full planning. It has resulted into certain dilemmas at the implementation stage. Even today, there is no proper monitoring. It has failed in achieving the target of reaching out the poor and the really needy students,

The main institutions operating the SLS in Thailand are the Students Loans Scheme Committee (SLSC), the Krung Thai Bank, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ministry of University Affairs (MUA). The SLSC divides the annual students loan budget between the MOE and MUA. The actual allocation of loans to the students is done by the educational institutions themselves. During the start up period, loan fund managers carried out their duties on part time basis in combination with their other regular duties. The process of appointing full time officials to run the SLS has been very slow. The budgetary allocation has also suffered due to ineffective financial planning as a whole. As the budget allocations are not based on students need, the loan officers have little incentives in forwarding budgetary planning. Most of the loan officers are found unaware of the basis used for loan allocations (Ziderman, 2003 pp. 41-42).

In 1966, the annual budgetary allocation to the MOE was set at 60 percent, rising to 66 percent in 1998. Though the MOE receives two-third of the budget for new loans based upon the recommendations from the National Education Commission to the Ministry of Finance in 1996, it accounts for more than 80 percent of the total number of borrowers. It is because the MOE provides a large number of small loans for shorter duration of study at the secondary level as well. Unlike the hierarchical loan scheme by the MOE, the MUA allocates its loans budget directly to the universities depending upon the institutions' share of loan recipients in the previous year and its share of total new enrolments in the current year. The eligibility for a loan is defined by the SLSC in terms of household income. However, the use of different income ceilings by the SLSC has resulted in inequitable distribution of loan funds among the students enrolled in the institutions under the MOE and MUA.

In Thailand, the loan application process has been too lengthy and time consuming. It has been a constant source of criticism. The loan applications are

received, screened and processed at the individual education institution. The institution selects the applications within the limits set by the concerned ministry (MOE or MUA). It decides the loan size, its composition, terms and conditions. Usually, the loan officers work part-time in conjunction with their other administrative responsibilities. No budgetary allocations are made for the staff costs and the seasonal pressures on them can be very high at times. Since we find a highly decentralized loan scheme in Thailand, the distribution policies vary from institution to institution. There are reports of abuse of the SLS by the private institutions, which have a vested interest in spreading loans widely in order to enhance enrolments. The issues of 'horizontal equity' and 'fair treatment' are badly neglected (Ziderman, 2003 p. 49).

In Thailand, we find reports of excess repayment in the case of small sized loans for one or two years. These repayments are likely to diminish with the increase in the size of loans extended up to 6 years. The initial default rate was reported to be about 31 percent of the 69.48 million *baht* due in 2001. Since the loan scheme came into operation only in 1996, there is little evidence available on its functioning, monitoring and default rate. We find more instances of delayed repayment rather than repayment default *per se*. In Thailand, the interest rate on students loan is extremely low (just 1 percent) and the time zone is quite lengthy (17 years plus 2 year grace period). It has made the loan scheme very attractive to the students and their families even though it does not make a sound financial sense as far as the banks are concerned. Since the repayments are not linked to inflation, the value of the sums repaid annually reflects lower value in terms of purchasing power parity.

Ziderman and Albrecht have suggested some recommendations to recover the hidden costs from highly subsidized student loans scheme in Thailand. To them, it is necessary to take administrative costs into account to establish the net recovery ratio. Under the present scheme, no attention is paid to the administrative costs beyond the initial stage of processing the loans. One has to calculate subsequent maintenance and collection costs also. Though the amounts involved are very low, especially at the upper secondary level, the number of annual borrowers is very large in Thailand. The Thai SLS is not self-financing in its present arrangement and, therefore, not viable. In order to improve its viability, a series of reforms are called for, implying 'higher interest rates', 'a shorter repayment horizon' and 'an annual repayment correction for inflation'. Ziderman (2003, p.83) has posed some pertinent questions in this regard: (i) 'Does the SLS reach the target group? Which groups are not reached? Are some ineligible students in receipt of loans?' (ii) 'Does the loan indeed lead to continuation of study, thus preventing dropout? What would happen in the absence of a loan?' (iii) 'Are loan recipients treated equitably/Do all potential recipients have equal chances of receiving a loan?'

In most loan schemes, not adequate attention is given to such pertinent issues. Usually some *ad hoc* criteria are used to define the eligibility conditions. To Ziderman, in 1999, in Thailand only one-third of the poor students were in receipt of the loans, the two-third comprising the needy students were deprived of this facility for one reason or another. Most students and their families either lack the information or find it too cumbersome to enter into loan obligations. Though most students admitted in a survey conducted by the UNESCO Bangkok that they would have to

drop out in the absence of the SLS, some students pinned their hopes on financial support from extended family members and/or part time jobs. It was also found that though the poor students needed long-term loans more, they had less faith in its efficacy. It is the result of lower expectations from higher education in terms of employment and earnings.

To Ziderman, one needs to distinguish between 'inequality' and 'inequity' in the loan distribution schemes in Thailand. Whereas inequalities in student loan schemes are to be expected as normal, inequities in student loan schemes need to be checked. Inequalities occur if students with different needs receive different amounts of loan. For instance, students studying away from home may need more support to cover living expenses as well. Inequities arise when students having the same socio-economic status receive differential treatment due to 'inequities of treatment between similar institutions in different education ministries; inequities amongst institutions within the same ministry; and inequities in treatment of students enrolled at the same educational institution'. To Ziderman (2003 p. 96), inequities can also arise due to the method of loan budget allocation to institutions and its distribution.

The Thai SLS has been quite successful in developing a nationwide loan scheme within a short time frame and reaching to more than one and a half million student-borrowers. However, its major weakness has been the lack of proper planning, monitoring and evaluation. Instead of current top-down allocation of loan budgets to various institutions, a bottom-up system of loan disbursement is called for to do away with the problem of horizontal inequities. Apart from means testing, it would be desirable to supplement the eligibility criteria with societal objectives by encouraging students to enter those fields where a shortage is anticipated. For this, one can recommend the establishment of a Central Loans Bureau. The current system of repayment and recovery also needs to be tightened.

Under the new Education Act of 1988, emphasis was also laid on educational vouchers. Educational vouchers are supposed to be more demand driven than the current student loans scheme. The current SLS is more supply-driven rather than demand-driven and tends to maintain the *status quo*. The handling of the SLS also requires professional and technical expertise, on the one hand, and proper planning, coordination and financial sustainability, on the other. Students loan can go a long way in making a shift in paradigm from supply-side financing by the government to demand-side financing through cost sharing by the students and their families.

Students Loan Scheme in Philippines

The Philippine experiences with student loans differ from the Thai experiences in many ways. Though the student loans in Philippines have a long history, they have not operated on a very large scale and hence they have only a marginal impact on financing higher education. There is no clear-cut plan of students loan having a broad coverage at the national level. The performance of student loans scheme has been quite dismal and it provides an interesting example of 'what should not be done' rather than 'what should be done'. To Igor Kitaev and others, the editors of UNESCO Series on *Student Loans in Philippines: Lessons from the Past* (2003), the object of the case study is to examine the operation of student loans scheme in higher education

in Philippines in order to learn some practical lessons for a comparative policy analysis.

Philippines case study was designed to fill the knowledge gap about varying loan experiences in Asia in general, and Asia Pacific in particular. The Philippines represents the middle-income countries with fast growing population. It provides the example of a country that lacks corporate governance and transparency. It also provides an apt example where tax evasion and corruption are widespread. We find 'grey' and 'black' economies with higher level of private consumption than what is revealed through the official records. Higher education also falls in the category of widely consumed good. It is not only widely consumed as shown from the large remittances sent back home from overseas Filipino workers but also from the level of public funding and private participation in higher education.

Although the share of private higher education accounts for 75 percent of the enrolment and 80 percent of the institutions, the state universities and colleges absorb the largest chunk of total government expenditure on higher education in Philippines. We find vast disparities between the public and private higher education institutions in terms of unit cost per student, tuition fee charged and government subsidies provided. Scholarships and other types of student support cover only a very small percentage of the students enrolled in higher education institutions. The household covers 80 percent of the costs of tertiary education. The Philippines has the oldest scheme of student loans. This scheme is known as 'study now, pay later plan (SNPLP)'. The SNPLP is 'top down, government run, mortgage-type scheme largely designed for public higher education institutions' (Kitaev, 2003 p. 18).

The private institutions that dominate private higher education system in Philippines were neither involved nor were they interested to participate in the SNPLP. The private banks, companies, NGOs, Church and foreign donors were also not associated with the SNPLP because of 'limited funding and small scale application'. The government rather forced the GFIs (Government Financing Institutions) to provide the initial capital and run the scheme without any inbuilt incentives. The GFIs stopped funding student loans by 1989 and the CHED (Commission on Higher Education) took over the charge. It mobilized additional funds from GATSPE (Government Assistance to Teachers and Students in Private Education) and PAF (Poverty Alleviation Funds). The scheme became highly bureaucratized. Since the Office of Student Service under the CHED had neither the sufficient staff nor the requisite expertise, the repayment of loan rate dropped from 40 percent in early 1970s to mere 2 percent in 1990s.

In due course, three new SLSs emerged to overcome some of the drawbacks of the earlier SNPLP - (1) The Bicol Region or institutional one based upon the 'centers of excellence' with the motive of supporting agricultural education through micro projects. The Bicol Region happens to be one of the most deprived regions of the country. It has been suffering due to poverty, natural disasters, unemployment and devaluation of the *peso*. In 1999, Raul S. Roco, the then Secretary of Education and Culture allocated 20 million pesos for a student loan programme for this region. The purpose of this scheme was to enhance access to higher education to deserving but poor students from the Bicol Region. This scheme, unlike the old scheme, involved the higher education institution concern in administering the loan scheme.

There were many reasons for the poor performance of the SNPLP in the Philippines. The SNPLP functioned in a 'contradictory', 'compulsive' and 'chaotic manner'. From the onset, the SNPLP functioned in a 'top-down' and 'bureaucratic manner'. The number of slots was limited whereas the number of students seeking loans was high. There were many loopholes in the SNPLP legislation, which led to 'frivolous interpretation', 'utter confusion' or 'exploitation' by the vested interests. The new scheme tried to avoid the mistakes and drawbacks of the earlier SNPLP. The new scheme, Region V, focused more on the regional dimension. The COE (Center of Excellence) scheme focused more on the needs of the elitist universities in terms of expansion and development and the AGRITECH (Philippines-Australia Agricultural Technology Education Project) adopted a micro-credit design under Australian supervision (Kitaev, 2003 p.83).

However, even the new loan schemes could not be free from the malice of too much reliance on government funding, highly bureaucratized. It still lacks a nationwide scheme primarily due to the lack of will power on the part of leadership and obstructions created by the vested interests. It also lacks accountability and transparency on the part of the banking sector. The major hurdle comes not from funding but lack of allocation of the proper organizational role to the state, universities and the market. Besides financial, legal, organizational and managerial problems, there have been problems due to the people's attitude towards the loan schemes in the Philippines. Most Filipinos took the students' loans as the 'hidden substitute' for scholarships/fellowships (Kitaev, 2003 p.62).

Students Loan Scheme in Korea

Anna Kim and Young Lee have made an intensive study of *Student Loan Schemes in the Republic of Korea* under UNESCO Project on Student Loans Scheme in Asia. In the Republic of Korea, the quality of human resource stands out as the crucial factor behind its socio-economic and cultural development over the last few decades. The student population in the Republic of Korea comprises one-fourth of the total population and the expansion at the tertiary level has been quite remarkable. In the Republic of Korea, education enjoys special status by the 'meritocratic modern society' and higher education and technical skills are seen as the chief source of social mobility. The Republic of Korea provides efficient options as well as a high level of equity as far as higher education is concerned. Private sector has played a key role in the expansion of tertiary education in the Republic of Korea.

There has been a dramatic rise in the number of students seeking higher education and vocational skills in the Republic of Korea. The government provides half of the finance for the public colleges and universities and it provides only 5 percent of finance for private institutions. There is a positive link between private financing and economic growth in the Republic of Korea. The people here are willing to pay for the education of their wards. The household covers more than 60 percent of the total costs on education, whereas the household in the 16 OECD countries covers on an average about 13 percent of the expenditure. Private financing has helped in keeping the unit cost per student under manageable limits.

According to a survey (*The Joong-Ang Daily*, 2001), the people of the Republic of Korea spend 27.7 percent of their financial budget on private tutoring and 17.7

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percent on public education amounting to 45.4 percent, the largest share as far as the household expenses on education are concerned. The educational costs are based on the principle of user fees. The educational expenses of the high-income groups are three times that of the low-income group. Most of the students were supported through scholarships covering tuition fees and living expenses under the traditional set up. The criteria used to be academic ability rather than the financial status of the students and their families. The loan scheme covered few students in the Republic of Korea in the higher education sector because it depended mostly on private expenditure.

The student loans scheme in the Republic of Korea came into operation in early 1960s. The main object was to financially support the poor students enrolled in tertiary institutions including technical and vocational colleges. Due to the foreign currency crisis in 1997, the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development enlarged its target population. Before that students were provided support from the Korea Teachers' Pension (KTP), Korea Labour Welfare Corporation (KLWC) and Korea Research Fund (KRF). These loans targeted academically bright students from the industrial, agricultural and teaching workforce. The Government Employees Pension Corporation (GEPC) targets government employees and their children (Kim and Lee, 2003 pp. 33-34).

The amount of students loan has been increased substantially over the years and so has the number of recipients. The students have to satisfy two conditions before they are considered for the loans - (a) they must be studying at a university or a college and (b) they must have obtained a grade within the upper 50 percent of the students enrolled at that particular institution. The period of repayment starts following graduation. The students can repay on monthly, three-monthly, half yearly or yearly basis. They can also make lump sum payments. All the six loan programmes are administered through public institutions. Even where private sector is involved, the government acts as a guarantor. The loans are provided at national level and no discrimination can be made on the basis of the 'location' or 'type of educational institution' (Kim and Lee, 2003 p. 42).

Kim and Lee find that up to 86 per cent of the student loans fall either under the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development or the Government Employees Pension Corporation. The major purpose of the MOE&HRD loans is to encourage the students from weaker section to study continuously. Once the government notifies the amount of loan and the number of recipients on the basis of the recommendations from higher education institutions, the responsibility for the management of the loans is placed on commercial banks. The GEPC targets government employees and their children. It works like social insurance. Whereas an annual interest rate is charged at 10.5 percent on the MOE&HRD loans, out of which the government subsidizes 4.7 percent and the students and their families bear 5.75 percent interest rate since 2000, there is no interest charged on the GEPC loans.

The students enrolled in an unauthorized university, vocational institute or training college do not qualify for the GEPC loans. The students exempted from tuition fees or students receiving scholarships are entitled only for partial loans from the GEPC. Double loans are not allowed. Children of those students sent abroad at state expense are also not entitled for the GEPC loans. Both the MOE&HRD and the

GEPC loan schemes have played a vital role in the Republic of Korea in enhancing the number of students seeking higher education. Both the schemes use commercial banks for loan administration. Both the schemes usually cover registration and tuition fees except living expenses. The screening process for the GEPC loans is comparatively stricter but the MOE&HRD loan schemes allow longer terms for repayment.

The MOE&HRD loan programmes cover about 46 percent and the GEPC covers 40 percent of the student loans. In the Republic of Korea, about 30 percent of the students receive loans for tertiary education, whereas in the United States, about 45 percent of the students support their higher education through loans. In the Republic of Korea, the interest rate varies from 0 to 5.75 percent. No interest is charged on the loans provided by the Korea Research Foundation. Only 1 percent interest rate is charged on the loans provided by the Ministry of Labour. The highest interest rate is charged by the MOE&HRD. The repayment period also varies from usual 4 years to 8 years. The government interest-subsidy rate amounts to hidden grant rate if calculated at the ratio of present value of loan minus repayment to the present value of loan' (Kim and Lee, 2003 p. 60).

The government interest-subsidy rate is found to be larger for programmes with lower interest rates or longer repayment periods. In most cases, the repayment burden on the students is bearable. The default and evasion rates are negligible in the Republic of Korea primarily because the total amount of student loans is relatively small and it is easy to track the recipients. To minimize the risks to low-income students, the governments usually resort to subsidization of loans worldwide. The government can reduce the risks further by linking payments to income, imposing payment ceilings or providing exemptions if the income falls. Though there are complaints of high default rates and administrative cost involved in collecting small loans over a long period of time from highly mobile clientage, the Korean experience points to the contrary. The Republic of Korea spends only one-seventh to one-ninth of its GDP and government budget on student loan programmes in comparison to the ones in the USA (Albrecht and Ziderman, 1991).

Student Loan Schemes in Hong Kong

There is a long history of student loans in Hong Kong. It has a highly centralized agency, the Student Finance Assistance Agency (SFAA) to supervise grants and loans to the students in Hong Kong. Its chief objective is to ensure that no student in Hong Kong should be deprived the opportunity of studying at a university in Hong Kong or abroad for want of funds. Its policy object is to provide higher education to 60 percent of the cohort by the year 2010 (Chung, 2003 p. 61). About 6-8 percent of the Hong Kong youth seek higher education abroad every year. The Hong Kong economy is growing fast and its universities are not able to provide the needed workforce in the wake of shift from manufacturing to service economy. Many students leave Hong Kong every year to seek higher education at the USA, Canada, United Kingdom and Australia.

Yue Ping Chung makes an indepth study "The Student Loans Scheme in Hong Kong" under the UNESCO Series. Hong Kong has a unique system of providing grants and loans on the basis of Students Price Index. It provides support to the

students seeking tertiary education to cover the tuition fees and living costs on the basis of realistic needs of the students. The assistance has to be adequate to match the changing lifestyles in the wake of globalization and technical innovations. The students seeking professional higher education need to be provided for not just physical needs but also higher living standards. Efforts are also made to strike a balance between equity and efficiency, on the one hand and accessibility and sustainability, on the other. We find a more professional and systematic approach towards student loan schemes prevailing in Hong Kong than most other Asian countries.

Compared to most other Asian countries, Hong Kong spends more public money on tertiary education. With the success of universal primary education and massification of the secondary education, the pressures on post-secondary education have mounted both in physical and fiscal terms and the government is unable to keep its commitment towards higher education. Moreover, its priority has changed to quality education at the lower education. Accompanying the growth in the tertiary education, many grants and loan schemes have evolved in Hong Kong (Bray, 1992). Prior to 1969, financial assistance to the students was made in the forms of scholarships, bursaries and maintenance grants. In 1969, the Local Student Finance Scheme (LSFS) was introduced. The Joint Universities Committee administered it. There was also the Student Financial Assistance Scheme that worked on the axiom:

No student who is offered a place in a university should be unable to accept that place because of the lack of financial means.

Earlier means testing was used as a 'gate-keeping mechanism' as far as financial assistance was concerned. Students seeking grants and loans were required to declare the 'disposable income' and the assets owned by their families. Assistance was offered to the needy students in the form of grants and interest free loans. The grants were intended to cover the academic costs and the loans were to cover the living expenses. Since 1973, a supplementary loan scheme also came into operation as a back up to the 'predetermined envelope fund.' In 1980s a new finance scheme came into operation. It fixed the maximum level of student assistance on the basis of Student Price Index (SPI), annual family income and 'a cut off point established on the basis of student needs' (Chung 2003, p. 29).

In 1982-83, more strict measures were adopted for authentication purposes. The applicants and their families could be called for interviews, if necessary. A concessional rate of interest was charged to defray the operational costs. Earlier it was 2.5 percent. Later on it was raised to 4 percent under the Elevated Loan Scheme (ELS) to cover administrative costs as well. In early 1990s, The Hong Kong government decided to recover 18 percent of the costs of university education through tuition fees. It resulted in the rise in the number of students seeking loans from 8,000 in 1989 to 28,000 in 1994. In 1998, the Non-means-tested Loan Scheme (NLS) was also introduced to supplement the regular LSFS. The LSFS (Local Student Finance Scheme) provides mean tested grants and loans to local students. The NLS and interest accrued are paid in 40 equal quarterly installments within 10 years upon the completion of the study programme (*Guidance Notes*. SFAA, Hong Kong, 2001).

The LSFS targets students from low income families. Since the Hong Kong economy has been doing well, most students are able to find jobs on graduation and

repay their loans. Recently students were also encouraged to study overseas in certain fields, such as, information technology, financial services or creative media. All the efforts are made to ensure equity and efficiency in loan disbursement. Since the student loans usually have no collateral, they are more risk prone. It is advisable to involve commercial banks and loan agencies to ensure both adequacy and repayment. There is also scope for private participation. All the stakeholders have their own calculus that need not match. What is desirable from students' perspectives might not be feasible or sustainable from the government's perspective. Nevertheless, the student loan scheme has been quite equitable and efficient in the peninsula of Hong Kong.

The Student Loan Scheme in Mainland China

Hong Shen and Wenli Li have reviewed the student loan schemes in Mainland China (UNESCO Bangkok, 2003). Since 1992, market-oriented economic reforms have replaced the old planned model in China. Under the planned economy, higher education was totally free but the students had very little choice. The enrolment rate in higher education was only 11.5 percent by 2001. It was the outcome of rapid economic growth during the 1980s and 1990s. Many Chinese joined higher education in order to improve their monetary and social position. Though higher education has expanded since 1999, we find vast disparities in enrolment between the rural and urban China.

In order to deal with the financial constraints due to substantial rise in demand for higher education, the Chinese government has launched a two-way attack - (a) enlarge the financial resources by exploring non-state channels and (b) better utilization of existing resources. The government is also trying to resort to certain cost-sharing and cost-recovery measures as well. In April 2002, the government came out with a scheme of awarding state grants to the 'academically deserving needy students'. It also waived tuition fee in some cases and offered scholarships in other cases. In July 1986, the Student Loan Scheme was introduced in 85 higher education institutions out of the existing 1,954 at that time.

In 1987, the SLS was extended to the whole of China. It covered 30-35 percent of the institutions though the ratios were very low. In September 1993, the loan size was raised in conjunction with the price index and consumption level. The institutions themselves managed the SLS. Usually the amounts were very low (Yuan 25 per month in some cases) and the students were supposed to repay their loans even before graduation that was quite troublesome. In 1999, the General-Commercial Student Loans Scheme (GCSLS) was submitted by the three ministries - People's Bank of China (PBC), Ministry of Education (MOE) and Ministry of Finance (MOF). It came into operation in 2000. It applied to all the students over 18 years of age studying either at the public or private higher education institution.

The students in Mainland China can borrow from the local banks at the market interest rates. Under the GCSLS, a student can borrow from Yuan 2,000 to 20,000. In May 1999, the Chinese government decided to subsidize the commercial interest rate up to 50 percent in order to improve equity of opportunity. It also exempted the banks from business taxes on student loans. In June 2001, the Chinese government came out with subsidized student loans scheme (GSSLS). Whereas the GCSLS targets all

students enrolled in higher education institutions, the GSSLS targets only the poor students. The GCSLS relies both on the state banks as well as commercial banks, the GSSLS relies only on state banks. Whereas the GCSLS charges commercial interest rates, the GSSLS subsidizes interest rate up to 50 percent. The GCSLS provides larger loan than the GSSLS. The GCSLS loans are not means-tested or need-based, but they require guarantees by the parents, the GSSLS guarantee requirement consists of the students credit only (Shen and Li, 2003, pp. 37-38).

The general objectives of student loans scheme in China are to ease out financial burden on the students attending colleges as well as on the government through cost sharing measures. The GSSLS is intended to help the needy students complete their higher education. Financial features of the loan 'give full play to the limited capital'. Since, in China, a nationwide credit system has yet to be established, the GSSLS serves a special goal. It has proved useful in establishing an individual credit system, on the one hand, and cultivating the awareness of 'independence' and 'self-support' among the Chinese students, on the other. The loan schemes also encourage better consumption of higher education in China (Shen and Li, 2003, p. 45).

Before the introduction of GSSLS, the gross enrolment in higher education was 9.8 percent in 1999. It rose to 11.5 percent in 2000. The loans have to be repaid after a very short period of 4 to 6 years. Therefore, the repayment burden is relatively high in China. Due to the underdevelopment of credit system, the default rates are also as high as 10 percent in the case of GSSLS in China. Since neither the government departments nor the banks and educational institutions recruit additional staff to deal with the workload pertaining to students loan, the staff have no incentives to work efficiently. There is no data available on the administrative costs involved. According to a survey, the banks lose about 47 percent of the amounts lent under GSSLS and they disburse 21 percent of the amount as 'hidden grants' (Shen and Li, 2003, p. 78).

Most student loans schemes in China are open to all students regardless of their need or ability to pay. Without targeting the students, the loan schemes are likely to become unsustainable. The GSSLS targets the poor students to gain access to higher education but it is difficult to obtain reliable data on family income or administer means testing in China. Half of the needy student in China does not apply for the loans. They either lack the information or find the loans inadequate. Some them do not want others to know about the financial status of their families. Others have aversion to loans. Most have doubts about their ability to repay the loans. There are some reports of loans being given to those who were not eligible. There are reports of loan amounts being misused. Most of the students (82.6 %) make academic progress and some (9.8 %) even shine as the best students (Shen and Li, 2003, p. 84).

There are three sources of 'horizontal inequities' in China - inequities at the provincial level, inequities at the institutional level and inequities at the individual level. All the provinces in China are not equally developed - socially, economically, culturally or politically. There are wide disparities in educational opportunities. Students from developed areas have an edge over the students from lesser-developed areas. It applies to student loan as well. The students coming from poor families have lesser opportunities of attending 4-year professional courses than the students coming from the affluent sections of society. Wide inequities prevail even at the individual level as students come from diverse socio-cultural and regional backgrounds.

There is an urgency to establish a nationwide system of individual credits to make the student loan schemes in China. Some serious thought should be given to ease out the complicated loan procedures and heavy repayment pressures. Higher education institutions need to provide adequate guidance to the students about various loan schemes and devices should be formulated to ease out the need for parental guarantee. There is also a need to prolong the repayment period of students loan and to perfect the administration of the loans by the state and banking sector. The procedures in use for verifying and canceling the unpaid debts need to be reformed and students made more responsible. China needs favourable policies regarding 'exoneration from repayment of loans and interests thereupon' (Shen and Li, 2003, p. 108).

Some General Observations

The student loan schemes in Thailand, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Hong Kong and Peoples Republic of China aims at the expansion of higher education to all students without compromising on accessibility or equity. In most of these countries, higher education is publicly funded and student loan schemes are of recent origin. The object is to inculcate the sense of responsibility amongst the students and ease out the burden on the government through cost sharing measures. We find a shift in paradigm from supply side to demand side investment and treatment of higher education as a private or quasi good rather than public good in the post-Keynesian phase even in the advanced economies. It has direct bearing on the emerging economies.

With the internationalization and globalization, on the one hand, and the use of latest technology and innovations in communication, on the other, have escalated the costs of higher education to such an extent that even the students from upper-middle class have to rely on student loans to be able to pursue their chosen courses of studies at their chosen institutions of higher learning. Most of the countries have come out recently with allsorts of loan schemes to the rescue of the students who also happen to be the biggest consumers of higher education and technical skills these days. The purpose of these loans is to provide flexibility to the prospective students to be able to pursue the courses of their choice at various public or private higher education institutions in their respective countries or abroad. The loan schemes can be seen as an indirect way of promoting privatization and globalization of higher education by the national governments worldwide.

Various countries have devised their own ways and means of operating the loan schemes. In Australia, for instance, the loan recovery is handled through income tax administration. In Namibia, it is handled through the social security system while in India, it is handled through the public sector banks. The United Kingdom has a social fund earmarked for the students coming from the lowest income groups. The Netherlands provides credit to the people through municipal banks, which lend out government money, Norway combines loans with grants and in the New Zealand, the Westpac Trust Bank provides loan for 'repayment of student loan!' (Gupta, 2003). According to the most recent figures from the US Department of Education, approximately 64 percent of the American students graduate with a debt ranging from \$10,000 to \$100,000 (Rajghatta, 2002). The US government plays an important role by guaranteeing bank loans and lending directly to the students (Shireman, 2004).

In India, the students' loan scheme has not yet picked up. Only a small number of students have availed loans so far despite the fact that they cover not only the tuition fees but also the living expenses in India or abroad. The loan scheme is structured in such a way that the repayment starts only after the completion of the course and placement into a job. Moreover, it allows a tax deduction up to Rs.40,000 per annum for a period of 8 years from the year one starts repayment. According to one study, if the tax rebate is calculated, the interest rate on student's loan works out to be just 0.34 percent. Though more than 60 countries have student loans programmes, it actually reaches a very small number of the youth who need them.

It is not yet clear how this loan scheme can help in making higher education accessible to one and all in a country like India, which has 54 percent of the population below the age of 25 (Perkinson, 2002). Nor is it clear how can the students belonging to rural background, lower middle class, socially handicapped or minorities reap the benefits from the loan scheme. How can those coming from government schools with poor educational standards compete with those coming from affluent families with access to quality education at the reputed private schools? How can one resort to means testing when the vast majorities do not pay any income tax and the true knowledge about family income is not known!

Tilak, an authority on higher education financing in India, in his presentation at the World Congress held at Paris in 1998, shed certain myths about the student loan schemes in developing countries: '(a) demand for higher education will not get adversely affected; (b) the poor will have enough access to loans and thereby to higher education; (c) loan amounts can be fully recovered in reasonable period; and (d) well developed credit markets exist in developing countries'. He also pointed out how unrealistic it is to assume that the governments can do away with budgetary allocations and retreat from their responsibility towards higher education, make student loan schemes self-financing eventually by mobilizing huge funds through student loan repayments (Tilak, 1992, 1999).

According to Tilak (1997), the experiences of many countries with regard to recovery of student loans have been very bad. In some cases, we find negative results due to huge administrative costs involved. It also affects the academic performance and all round development of the students due to constant mental pressures over a long period of time. He argues that the different socio-economic and cultural traits prevailing in the developing countries might prove too obstructive to yield the similar results as expected by the advanced economies or western societies in terms of equity and accessibility, individual responsibility, government savings, improvement in the quality diversity of education and rise in income.

Moreover, with the rapidly changing world economy due to globalization and technical innovations, it is not possible to predict the future trends and equip oneself for the job markets. Rather, one would be required to re-equip oneself constantly with latest knowledge and technical skills. Actually we would need some indigenous solutions to meet the demands of students coming from less advantaged sections of society. They need earning while learning. Perhaps some funds could be generated to provide stipends to such students to motivate them.

Instead of loans, such students need vocational skills along with basic education. Moreover, the chances of recovery of loan from such students are poor, as the job

prospects in a country like India do not depend primarily on individual merit but also on push, pull and political patronage. Ever, the World Bank Document (1994) on Higher Education shows a poor rate of recovery on students' loan:

Experience to date with existing loan schemes in about 50 industrial and developing countries has been disappointing. Because of heavily subsidized interest rates, higher default rates, and high administrative costs, the financial performance of loan schemes has been unsatisfactory. But the experience of Columbia and the Canadian province of Quebec, for example, show that it is possible to design and administer financially sustainable programs.

The question of recovery of cost on higher education has to be linked with funding, student fees and student aid (Hauptman, 1998). Of late, there is pressure on advanced, transitional and developing economies to resort to the principle of cost recovery in higher education sector, giving vent to the philosophy 'let the buyer pay' (Altbach, 1997). It is reflected in worldwide trends in the funding of higher education. Students have to pay up to 30 percent of costs incurred on higher education in those countries where there was no tuition fee or the students had to pay very little. In countries like Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Philippines, students are made to pay the full cost of their education in private colleges and universities. Students have to pay tuition fee even in public colleges and universities in these countries.

Contrary to the popular perception, the majorities of the students in the US attend public universities and colleges and pay up to 30 percent of the actual cost on instruction through tuition fee. Those who attend the private colleges and universities have to bear the substantial portion of the costs incurred. To Altbach, only 20 percent of the students in the USA attended private institutions in 1997. Whereas in the USA, approximately 50 percent of the population in the relevant age group sought post-secondary education, only 20 percent of the youth were enrolled for higher education in most of the European countries during the 1990s. In the wake of shift from elitism to massification, the number is likely to match the American standards in coming decades. One should not forget that half of the undergraduate students in the US receive some sort of financial aid from federal or state governments (Huang, 2002).

With the massification of higher education, the issue of cost recovery is bound to come to surface in the wake of retreat of the welfare state, tax revolts by the middle class in advanced economies, rise of Thatcherism and Reaganomics and the dominance of the geo-economics over geo-politics. No wonder the expenditure incurred by the government on higher education has come under public scrutiny of those who consider higher education only a private good. With decline in governmental support, the universities and colleges are forced to raise funds from a variety of private sources, making them all the more accountable in the process.

The trend towards cost recovery through fee hike and user charges reflects the 'private benefits' the students receive in terms of higher chances of employability and income. On the other hand, it also helps in generating additional resources for higher education. But it is not free from problems of its own kind. This procedure encourages institutions raise funds privately and the institutions build these funds into their expenditure base. This is likely to encourage them to increase their costs instead of moderating them. The burden shifts unduly to the students and their families. For instance, with the introduction of exorbitant tuition fees in China since 1997, the costs

of going to a college amounts to twice the annual income of an urban resident and five times that of a rural resident (Huang, 2000). Such higher education reforms can lead to 'higher costs' per student and 'less access'.

In a country like India, where vast socio-economic disparities prevail, the limited access to higher education in view of rising costs and unaffordable students loan can enhance them further. The trend towards cost sharing and cost recovery can prove counter productive in terms of socio-political costs. Privatization is not only an economic device but also a political strategy (Gupta, 1996). The 'cost sharing' and 'cost recovery' have to be strategic rather than reactive. There is no point in being incremental in terms of financing higher education and reinforcing the already existing structure. What is needed is a strategic planning on quality, accountability, equity and accessibility. Whereas the funding authorities are more concerned with quality and accountability, those providing student aid are more concerned with equity and accessibility. Some sort of coordination is required between the two.

The trick is to find 'a balance between providing subsidies to needy students and making loan programmes financially sustainable' (Salmi, 2001). Loans may help in dealing with the escalation in tuition fees but they also put the students and their families in a trap. It may become difficult to repay the loans if the students are unable to get into high paying jobs. If the government provides high subsidies on student loan, they become financially unsustainable in the long run and result into misuse, overuse or inequalitarian use by the middle class or upper middle class. A collection of debts has also been a problem in developing countries with poorly functioning and non-existing tax and credit system (Bollag, 2001).

In some cases, it would be cheaper to substitute loans with outright grants and scholarships. In those countries, where black-market economies prevail and the vast majorities do not pay any income tax, the student loan scheme might not work except on a very small scale (Johnstone, 1993). But one thing is certain. No country should introduce cost-sharing devices without a proper mechanism of students' aid and students' loan programme.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Council for Social Development (2006): *India Social Development Report*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, ISBN: 13:978-0-19-567836-9 (Hardbound), Pages: 224.

Why do we need a social development report? The answer is simple and straightforward. The World Bank for many years had been publishing the World Development Report when in 1990 the UNDP decided that there was also a need for a Human Development Report. Development, progress, welfare and wellbeing are different indicators of the processes which one wanted to stimulate. Only looking at the GNP of a country, for various reasons, was then considered as a narrow and one-sided way of looking at the transformation in developing countries.

The Human Development Report then added two important aspects to assess the changes: educational levels, and health. Though it was a significant departure, yet there was something more to include. Muchkund Dubey, the President of the Council for Social Development, also explains this point in his Foreword to the book:

'What Human Development Reports do not capture, and a social development report must, is analysis of social processes, social attitudes and institutions. ... A social development report should unravel the processes of social change and diagnose the accompanying social tension.'

It is generally accepted that globalisation, which actually means liberalisation and the withdrawal of the state, has exposed more people to vulnerability. The market is said to offer possibilities, and it does, but many may fall by the roadside. Even more important for the social cohesion and solidarity in a society is that it subduces people to market forces. In sociological terms, this process is sometimes referred to as atomisation of society. Then the state starts shrinking its responsibility as the provider of public goods. When the access to education, health, housing and employment is transferred to the market forces, the not so successful, that is the majority of the poor, stand to suffer. They lack cash, the connection and/or the motivation to 'purchase' the services. During many decades in the post-independence India, the expression 'commanding heights' referred to the role of the state. Some authors emphasize that the institutional vacuum under the neo-liberal regime has not been replaced sufficiently by the private sector. The importance of this book is that it details the various sectors in which social development may have received a setback (or may have progressed) during the present regime of liberalisation.

The attempt to do so has been commendable. Its strength, however, is also its weakness. India is in the fortuitous position that it has a well-established data collection system. The data are not always infallible, but they are the best instrument we have to judge overall development across states, caste and gender. It, hence, is possible to bring

together the trends in educational achievements and how such trends impact almost any variable which one may imagine. But that at the same time is a weakness since it may lead to an over-concentration on statistics and thereby underplay the analytical exercise which should be the craft of the academics.

Some of the contributions suffer from such a focus on quantifying and description rather than on an analysis and the isolation of causal mechanisms. They tend to provide good statistics but would have done better if the central concern of the book, namely the inequity in social development and its consequences for the economic and political order, had been given more weightage. But overall, the different chapters are rich in content and sound in criticism. Many authors, although not all of them, do not forget to stress that India has made enormous progress but in the same vein stress that its failures are also shocking. Both approaches are the two sides of the same coin.

Most of the contributors are knowledgeable scholars - Hanumantha Rao, R. Radhakrishna, Jandhyala Tilak, Sukhadeo Thorat, Saraswati Raju, Amitabh Kundu, Kuldeep Mathur and C.S. Venkata Ratman. They have been working on their respective fields for many decades, that is poverty and employment, health, education, water policies, women, children, marginalised castes, communal divisions, urbanisation, decentralisation and social security, are the fields that have been adequately covered in substantial. Because of different curiosities, to some readers particular chapters will be more interesting than others. Children in particular have been dealt with in three separate chapters as also in the chapter on education. That is a welcome development, for children constitute one-third of the Indian population. At one stage, complaining that statistics, for example, on child labour are probably inadequate, the authors even suggest that India should conduct a special census every five years on different aspects of the life of children.

Of specific importance over the last decade has been the communal disarray, which came after 4 decades of a unique secular society building in the country. The chapter on Communal Relations and Social Integration gives ample evidence of the marginalised position of the Muslim community. Muslims, rather than having been pampered by the 'pseudo secular state', in fact have remained at the backward fringes of society. Muslims, SCs and STs lag in most of the output indicators, such as literacy, poverty, work participation, child mortality rates, fertility rates, etc. Abusaleh Shariff and Azra Razzack provide a balanced explanation as to why that backwardness remains. Not all the blame, they argue, can be put at the doorsteps of the government policies and majority communities. There is also a 'need for introspection' and for looking faults within the Muslim community. For example, many male Muslim leaders and politicians have misused the propaganda about Muslim backwardness for their own political and social reasons. Social development in that sense is part and parcel of social dynamics which are driven by exogenous forces as well as by forces internal to the groups and communities. Social development is not only a question of infrastructural facilities and management techniques but also relates to internal dynamics. Some of the chapters have dealt with the

internal dynamics. More chapters could have done so, rather than focussing on the institutional embedding of social development.

What constitutes social development and what additional issues should have been dealt with? One could think of the social impact of the ecological environment (and access to space generally), of the physical safety (which includes domestic violence, traffic horror and criminality, including political violence) and civil society (the organisational and participatory aspects of social, cultural and political involvement).

More important, however, would be the search for a mix between quantitative data (of which there are many) and qualitative data. The *Social Development Report* has given ample description and analysis of the position of the poor and the marginalised in the wake of neo-liberal development governance. It would be a welcome addition and enrichment if the people below were also given voice through qualitative research. As it stands, the *Social Development Report* is a resourceful and perceptive contribution to the existing literature and shall be very useful in the debate on the future course of development.

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Prakash Srivastava, G. N. (2004): *Perspectives of Teacher Education*. Concept Publishing Co.; ISBN- 81-8069-087-3, (Hard Bound); pp174; Price 350/-

Villegas-Reimers, Eleonore (2003): *Teacher Professional Development: An International Review of Literature*. International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO; ISBN- 92-803-1228-6, (Paperback); pp.198; Price not given

Both books deal with teacher preparation and therefore should interest those that are currently working in the field. The UNESCO publication gives a global view of the professional preparation of teachers/teacher training, while the other deals only with a single aspect of teacher training viz.' practice' teaching or internship as it is called in the Regional Institutes of Education (NCERT).

The Indian teacher training programs both conceptually as well as practically are of highly questionable credentials. I seldom come across a publication or a teacher educator who is very knowledgeable about the real worth of India's teacher-training programs. The Indian publications as well as Indian teacher educators seem to be barely conscious of the fact that teachers' colleges in the country do not qualify to rank among professional colleges or their products merit being called professionals. Their location in the universities alongside other departments seems to have given them a false sense about reality. Parity between departments of education and other university departments has not

been acceptable in the entire academic world. They continue to survive on borrowed content and their so-called 'practice teaching' is a virtual mockery of actual requirements. No one cares to define whether this is a 'skill' area or 'information' domain. Perhaps they do not even know why this distinction is imperative. This is one so-called 'professional' area, which hasn't produced thus far in its 150-year history a single intellectual that can be ranked among any academic from any other discipline within or without the country. Still they strut around like swollen frogs in the rainy season as though they owned the world. If not by anything else they are distinguishable by their arrogance, which apparently knows no bounds. And the union government-created body named National Council of Teacher Education, ever since it came into existence, has functioned merely to oversee the distribution of largesse and favours, conferring fig leaf academic legitimacy to the educational mafia that continues to rule the roost.

In his 19-page 'Introduction' and 70 pages of 'Review' of related literature, Dr. Srivastava comes to offer in about 60 pages a Prospective 'model' of teacher training. In his own words, "Any future changes should help students develop theory-based practical teaching skills by studying the theory and practice teaching together just as they would in learning any other subject with a practical component, going from one activity to the other when appropriate; the same applies to their ethnographic studies." (page 11). I am quite sure he knows the meaning of his own sentence and there are scholars around who might like attempting to writing doctoral theses on the theme suggested. I see a bright future for the D.Litt. scholar the way he has gone round acknowledging his debt to his inspirers and role models.

Villegas-Reimers, in the next book under review, has provided an international perspective of literature on Teacher Professional Development. The opening lines of the book touch upon the area, which is of universal concern. Down the ages scholars have attempted to define the essential traits of a teacher but people have continued to debate and wonder whether a good teacher can really be 'produced'. This is how the ancient Indian seers looked at the attributes of a teacher some 1500 BC back. Let me hope we shall discover a better definition than this:

"A teacher should have the ability to build up the students under his charge. He must never be proud of his knowledge. He should be as glorious as fire and possess qualities of leadership. He must be specialist of his branch of knowledge. Just as a cow collects milk in her udders after grazing grass, a teacher should collect knowledge through reflection and selfstudy. He should make teaching an enjoyable experience even as food items are made tasty and palatable before they are served. He should be popular among his students and be their benefactor. Sitting in the midst of his students he must look distinguished because of his knowledge". RIGVEDA 1/69/2

Since then there hasn't been any dearth of scholars defining a 'good' teacher but no one has bothered to tell us how to prepare one. All that we find are mere attempts to suggest 'models'. And in this area plagiarists abound. The acme of the tribe among the great Buchanan's offers themselves as role models within the country. This is how an

incident took place in one of our university classrooms. Once a university student stood up to complement the teacher for his recent publication, "Look Sir, the Americans are great plagiarists. They have copied verbatim from your book." Perhaps we Indians are the most original of writers. While the Europeans theorize, Americans innovate but none comes up with a model that can be so successfully replicated.

Presented in six chapters, the UNESCO publication addresses squarely the problem of professional development of teachers. In the opening chapter the author defines the area and gives background information. He acknowledges the double role of teachers in educational reforms - being the subjects and objects of change. "This new emphasis has been welcomed by teachers as it represents a much-needed appreciation of teachers' work, and also promotes the concept of teaching as a profession."

The introduction records the support of the idea that "good teaching methods have a significant positive impact on how and what students learn. Learning how to teach, and working to become an excellent teacher, is a long-term process that requires not only the development of very practical and complex skills under the guidance and supervision of experts, but also the acquisition of specific knowledge and the promotion of certain ethical values and attitudes." In other words, the professional development of teachers is a life-long' process, which begins with the initial training and continues till retirement. (p.8) On page 22, the author notes the data "showed that student's achievement was not significantly related to whether or not teachers had a teacher certification in that country." The book also records: (a) when school-wide programs were compared with teacher-specific programs, the former had the least effect on student's learning; and (b) the total contact time with teachers was not important predictor of the effect on students' achievement." Finally, a variable that must be considered when assessing the impact of professional development on teacher practices, and thus students' achievement, is whether teachers are teaching a subject for which they were prepared to teach. "The data show that most 'out-of-field' teachers are more commonly found among first-time teachers, in low-income schools, small schools, and lower-achieving classes."

The most interesting informative parts of the book are those that deal with the variety of pre-service programs. The author also examines the background of the teacher candidates (p.50-52). Here is an interesting observation, "One of the reasons for the poor academic preparation of candidates entering the field is that there are not enough qualified teachers in the profession to satisfy demand. In order to attract more teachers into the field, the quality of the programs has decreased, and the criteria for selecting candidates of teacher education are almost non-existent."

The present book records (p.51) that in the USA, 30% of all teachers, and 50% of teachers in urban communities, resign within the first five years of teaching." As a result, in many countries, teacher education has tended to become remedial. Interestingly, in the USA, a national study involving 14000 teachers revealed that "alternatively certified teachers had lower levels of educational accomplishment."

These then are some of the figures and facts that furnish the background on which a hopeful scenario has been constructed.

The most important and impressive part of the book constitutes the chapters that talk of "Beyond traditional pre-service and in-service training: models and cases of teachers' professional development." Here the models are grouped in two sections. The first describes models that require and imply certain organizational or inter-institutional partnerships in order to be effective. The second group describes those that can be implemented on a smaller scale. Many of the models in the second group stand identified as techniques rather than models of professional development.

I found Hernandez's list of principles that should guide the education of teacher-educators. I recount these for the benefit of those who shall not have access to this book easily. These are:

- a) As the work of teacher-educators has a strong influence on the work of teachers, they should model and illustrate a variety of teaching methods, techniques, and processes; therefore, they need to be educated in pedagogy.
- b) Processes to prepare teacher-educator must be based on practical issues related to the day-to-day work in the classroom.
- c) The work of the teacher-educators must include not only teaching, but also research directly related to their area of expertise.
- d) Teacher-educators must know and understand the institutions where they work and where their student will work.
- e) Teacher-educators must know the national education system in depth, and must understand the context in which it is implemented.
- f) Teacher-educators must know how to work in teams and collaborate in their work.
- g) Teacher-educators must enjoy teaching. This disposition will generate a positive attitude in their students towards teaching.

I do hope most of teacher educators will find this list worthy of following meticulously. On the whole, an excellent research work and book ready to be prescribed as a compulsory textbook.

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MANZON, Maria (2004): *Building Alliances: Schools, Parents and Communities in Hong Kong and Singapore*. Hong Kong; Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, CERC Monograph Series No. 3. ISBN: 962-8093-36-3 (Paperback); Pages: 121, Price not mentioned.

Law recognizes both, the rights of the parents to educate their children as well as their responsibility to ensure education of their children. While most developed countries focus

on parental involvement in children's education, less developed countries have focused more on community involvement in local schools. Today, there is increasing evidence that parental or community involvement has a direct and positive impact on improving children's schooling, irrespective of the income or educational levels. However, the actual parental or community participation in government schools in India takes various forms. At one level, there is a complete apathy and indifference towards these key stakeholders, because of lack of relevant skills, incentives and appropriate attitudes among the educational administrators and teachers. Then there is the prevailing mindset that illiterate parents and socially disadvantaged communities are disinterested or can contribute little to the education of their wards. At another level, the government schools have made significant use of their "resources", by either asking them to contribute their labour for constructing school infrastructure or by entrusting them with tasks such as ensuring school attendance, or monitoring schools. Even in several developed countries, parental involvement in governance of schools has not been free of reservations and hurdles, although it has been strongly advocated as a strategy by their governments or even the international community.

The book under review, a monograph written by Maria Manzon based on her Master's dissertation, gives a crisp account of two such initiatives that have sought to build the school, parent and community participation in Singapore and Hong Kong. Using several key informative interviews with policy implementers, local academics and foreign academics, the author provides a readable account of partnership initiatives that exist in these countries.

As a student of comparative education, the author is sensitive to the fact that context matters and that policy transfers or "importation" of foreign ideas or models, must be examined in the light of local interpretation, adaptation or adoption. With the purpose of examining this "global-local dialectic", the author has selected the twin city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong, that are similar in terms of their high literacy, high per capita incomes, high Human Development Index rankings as well as their high investment in education, and their comprehensive educational reforms that have allowed them to look at involvement of all stakeholders in the schooling process. Both these small countries have also heavily borrowed educational innovations from the West.

The author has studied initiatives of the respective governments regarding the Committee on Home-School Co-operation (CHSC) in Hong Kong, and the Community and Parents in Support of Schools (COMPASS) in Singapore. These have been explored in the light of their content and channels of parent-school-community partnership, their respective contexts and rationale, the challenges faced by the two governments while steering them and how these initiatives have used the available research (although primarily Western) on models of such partnerships.

In the second chapter which discusses the conceptual framework, Manzon provides a snapshot of global models and practices of parental participation from developed countries and suggests that given the short political and educational histories of these two

countries and a corresponding "small local base of policy precedents", policy makers are relatively open to borrowing global practices.

Yet, as the author argues, in the case of Hong Kong and Singapore, such partnerships have been 'evolved from within' due to historical, social and political factors and have not been simply a copying of a popular model from elsewhere. While in Hong Kong, it was triggered by the need to decentralize control of schools and instill a sense of accountability towards the parents in the post colonial political setting; in Singapore, the main purpose was to 'improve the learning environment' of all students. Parents in both the countries had earlier performed only a supportive role from outside. The author argues that given the history of separation between parents and schools, teething troubles were inevitable, but were effectively addressed because of the persistence of policy actors. To an extent the changes have now become internalized.

The author suggests that policy transfers have to take place along with appropriate localization of solutions in the domestic context. Interestingly, Singapore adapted available foreign (mainly American) knowledge and expertise while developing the COMPASS model while in Hong Kong, the CHSC only partially utilized available domestic or foreign research on partnership models and did not subscribe to any one model. In Hong Kong, it was primarily the home and school co-operation since the community groups were in any case involved by being aided to run schools. In Singapore, it was the parents-schools-communities partnership since education provision is mainly centralized with the Ministry.

Despite these differences, the author suggests that the two case studies offer adequate scope for mutual comparisons and room for learning from mutual experiences. This monograph would be a useful reading for not only those interested in understanding models of school-parent-community partnerships, but also those who are interested in comparative education studies.

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Clive Dimmock and Allan Walker (2005): *Educational Leadership: Culture and Diversity*, ISBN 0 7619 7170 X; (Paperback); Sage Publications Ltd., London, UK; pp. 218; Price £21.99.

Educational leadership in the cultural context plays a very significant role in societies. Education being a part of the society, the leadership in the present global era has to be in a position to withstand the complex cultural diversities. The cultural domain studies have mostly been addressed by the social anthropologists, who are good at analyzing the

intricate cultural matrix of the society, thus provide ample opportunity to the management specialists to understand the importance of cultural diversity influencing the educational leadership. The authors of the book under review have tried to build their discussions running into twelve chapters in the direction of culture which in fact plays a dominant role in the social setting of an organization and the need for the leaders to understand holistically the societal context of education in handling multicultural diversities.

The authors have rightly captured the emerging role of leadership vis-a-vis cultural diversities and the influence of globalization and internationalization. The two sets of forces are acting in contradistinction and there are no tensions. The illustration of the school-based management and decentralization which can be very successful in Anglo-American context may not be so in the Asian settings. The argument is that the disharmony which is ought to exist in the societal culture due to changes taking place around, it is necessary for the policy makers to incorporate the societal culture into the education policy framework to make it more contextual. While discussing various concepts of cross-cultural leadership in a school organization, the authors have drawn on some established writings on the subject.

The concept of organizational culture, very much an essential component in the field of educational leadership, and its importance in understanding many of the intricate as well as integrated issues, such as school life, people, organization, communities and societies which share differences and similarities in terms of their cultures, has universal application which influences the leadership. In this context, the various levels wherein culture exists, both vertically and horizontally in a system have been captured with a suitable framework. Ten problematic conceptual issues related to study of cultures including its difficulties were also touched. The authors have discussed at length various definitions of culture and the related difficulties and complexities of culture before embarking upon cross-cultural studies, it is very difficult to understand any institution without understanding its culture, as these are inseparable entities. The understanding of common-cultures and specific-cultures also enables to comprehend the existing differences. Therefore, at times the lessons gained from researches on a particular type of cultural setting do not necessarily fit into others as universal prescribed solution for educational leadership. International experiences have been cited in terms of cross-cultural researches and the interpretations should be avoided from cultural ambiguities, without proper treatment of the problem.

The need for leadership in the context of organization, particularly with reference to the schools has been deliberated upon. The quantum of review of literature on organizational culture with reference to school organization is delved. In this context the role of leader was enunciated as effective when it could transform the school through a process of "reculturing" schoolboy initiating process of learning in the organization. An alternative model of organizational culture, based on six dimensions, has been outlined; this provides a base for comparative studies of school leadership and organizational culture.

The context of leadership is also affected in diverse socio-cultural processes. The school leadership is also subject to changes and reforms taking place around. The home-parent-school relationship, which is culturally different, has to be managed. The parenting differs in different regions of the world and so their expectations vary. The process of socialization thus has influence in the school; the authors provide illustrations of influence of socialization in the American and Asian families. They have touched upon the process of socialization in the context of schools, where the peer group, teachers and their teaching, play a great role. A cross-cultural comparison of the processes provides a significant understanding of the intricacies involved in the roles of leaders. It is not that by providing best schools, desired objectives can be achieved but, where the parental and school values align and students receive full pastoral support, students' achievement and behaviour improves. Therefore, the specific cultural context indents for a specific type of leader. Therefore, the school leadership experiences pulls between forces of convergence and divergence.

While discussing the issue of strategic leadership roles in a diversified cultural context, the authors have pointed out the constraints in achieving school improvement strategies which can be sustained and meaningful. The multicultural nature of schools in many societies is the challenge school-leaders face. The centralized planning process many a times overrules the multicultural context of a school; this affects the achievement of set goals of the school. Before embarking upon any strategic plan, it is essential to understand such cultural contexts. New strategies to manage a school organization are required which can cover such aspects as timetabling, student grouping and teacher development etc. The authors have tried to put forward six themes of strategic leadership which encompass the concerns for multi-ethnicity and cultural sensitive leadership, redesigning curriculum which focuses multi-cultural needs with a capacity to transact content of learning and its processes, ability of the leader to enhance collaboration of ethnic groups as well as encouraging and enabling the school organization to adopt activities respecting each others culture. For suitable strategies in managing the human resources and rewarding them aptly for developing necessary skills and attributes for successful promotion of multi-cultural education, the strategic leadership has to be viewed in the context of developing holistic designs.

The authors also provide a cross-cultural perspective to understand the role of a leader in respective contexts. The leadership, like in teaching, learning, parenting and child rearing, are strongly influenced by societal culture. Nurturing of learning also forms a part of the instructional leadership. The authors have also cautioned over the narrow ethnocentric understandings while interpreting such cultural diversities. The managing of staff in a school has regional variations, which has been illustrated in the context of Hong Kong, Singapore and Australia, who have significant variations in schooling processes and relationships among staff. In this circumambience, the teacher appraisal which is a critical issue has to be dealt again in the milieu of culture. The aim should be to meet different needs in different ways while taking full account of culture. As developing culturally sensitive approaches to teacher appraisal is complex, the societal culture can

play an important role in teacher appraisal, as an appraisal system of a particular region of the world may not be acceptable in another region. The appraisals of teachers also should take into cognizance the individual versus group and personal versus team functioning. These contexts are highly important for appraisals.

If one takes into account a variety of cultural issues in managing a school organization, it is obvious that the leaders, particularly of schools of today, are facing a very delicate situation and moreover the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic issues put the leaders in dilemma. The sources of dilemmas comprise a combination of structural, professional, cultural and relational aspects. Cultural values, mainly related to harmony, seniority and relationships, are also possible causes. While assessing the teachers, these aspects which are very vital components of school culture can't be overlooked.

Moreover, the dilemmas are further fueled by the diverse nature of societies having multi-ethnic characters. The migrations due to a variety of reasons, such as economic development, multinational corporations, and even due to poverty in the societies and other emergent situations, have given rise to mixed groups in the societies and schools. This is becoming a challenge for school leaders to tackle such issues by putting aside the ethnocentric biases. Educational opportunity with inbuilt mechanism of harmony, tolerance and appreciation of multi-cultural values and ethos, can be engineered and transformed by the schools. Thus the major onus is placed on the schools to carry out these responsibilities. Training with such components for the leaders has been receiving lots of attention in the recent past.

The authors have vary lucidly put forward their view points with a variety of illustrations derived from USA, UK, various countries in Asia and Europe, which aptly support their view points of handling multi-ethnic societies. Although, it has been pointed out that it is a very difficult proposition to develop a general model or framework in some of the disciplines, however, cross-cultural comparisons can cover a wider rather than narrower perspective. A holistic approach needs to be adopted covering most of the aspects, for instance school leadership, organizational structures, management, curriculum, teaching, and learning with contextualized accounts. In addition, the need of the hour is that the leaders should be well-equipped and acquainted beforehand with the societal and ethnic cultures in order to manage diverse and multi-ethnic schools; as such schools are likely to increase over time. The authors conclude with a parable to the educational leaders of the present and future to obtain analytical understanding of the context of culture in order to enhance their performances, while fitting suitably into the needs of diverse school cultures.

Pankajam, G. (2005): *Know Your Child*. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company; ISBN: 8180692124; (Hardbound), pp. 265, Price: Rs 450.

The book purports to be a useful volume for those who want to know children, understand pattern of their development and how and why children behave the way they do. It is slated as an interesting and useful document for those of us who bear a concern for 'welfare' of children. In other words, the book should form an interesting reading for all, as all of us are curious about children and are concerned in one way or the other, as parents, teachers, researchers and administrators. The catchy title, 'Know Your Child' further raises hopes of a reader. Thus, one would look for information on what children are like, what fascinates them, what makes them happy, how do they learn best, and what best can we do to promote child's development to realize his or her potential for full growth and development. To this end, the purpose of this volume remains partially achieved.

The book is actually an assortment of information on varied subjects pertaining to children and falls short of a continuous, captivating reading. Spread over nineteen chapters, the book touches on physical, social, emotional, language, and cognitive aspects of child development. In addition, a chapter each is devoted to subjects like how to study children, evaluation of children, prenatal development, habit formation in children, behaviour problems of children, children with special needs, health and nutrition of pre-schoolers, common ailments and their prevention, common childhood illnesses, first-aid for minor injuries, and home stimulation.

Chapter one on 'how to study the child' presents a brief description of different approaches used to study children and techniques of collecting information about children. It reads like useful information for students who have to pass an examination. What the reader misses is the authors' own reflection on these issues and practical tips that one would expect from her, based on her long experience of teaching, research and working with children. It is galling to find errors on pages 3, 4 and 5 where Gessel is referred to as 'General' and 'Gasell', and 'faulty' is written as 'family'. The second chapter on evaluation is a theoretical treatise on types of evaluation and merits/demerits of objective-type vs. essay type examination. The third chapter describes the growth processes during prenatal period, highlighting the adverse influences that can harm the child in the womb. Brief description of the birth process is also contained in this chapter.

From fourth to tenth chapters, the book describes the child's development in physical motor, cognitive and socio-emotional domains. Separate chapters on physical and motor development appear to be unnecessary and repetitive. A combined picture in this domain would have been more useful. The author uses Hurlock's terminology of infancy, babyhood and early childhood in the chapter on physical development and a different way of classification in the subsequent chapters, resulting in contradiction, and confusion about the period of infancy. Notwithstanding the overlap and repetition, these chapters describe the stages of motor development rather well giving the reader a clear idea of

how children grow. Tips and suggestive activities to facilitate child's development are informative for both parents and teachers and all others involved in taking care of children.

How habits form among children and what can parents do to inculcate right eating and sleeping habits among children is detailed in chapter eleven, giving advise to parents and teachers on ways to discipline their children. What are the underlying causes for nail biting, enuresis, lying and stealing among children and what do these symptoms depict - are aspects that most parents would want to know. All this along with some suggestions on how these problems should be handled forms the content of the next chapter.

Any child who deviates from an average or normal child in mental, physical or social characteristics to an extent that he or she requires a modification of school practices or special educational service in order to develop his or her maximum capacity is called an exceptional child. Therefore, gifted children, as well as those children who are mentally, physically/socially or emotionally challenged, are referred to as exceptional children. The author provides useful information on the characteristics of gifted children, mentally backward children and slow learners, physically challenged children, those with visual / auditory problems, and socially and emotionally challenged children. The useful addition to this chapter could have been made if information would have been given to parents about where can they go if they have a child in any of these categories and what kind of help is available in the country.

Chapters fourteen to eighteen deal with health and nutritional needs of pre-schoolers, common ailments during early years, common deficiency diseases and their prevention/treatment. The last chapter suddenly brings up importance of home stimulation and what in child's physical and social/family environment can serve as source of stimulation for children up to five years.

Overall, the book is well intended and deals with an important subject of a common interest and is indeed a good idea to put together useful information about young children cutting across their physical, emotional and health needs in one place. However, the book could have been enriched with the addition of practical examples derived from the authors' experience of working with children and also giving more information to parents as to where can they seek help, if needed. The reader would wish that a little more care had been exercised to avoid typographical errors and incomplete/ telegraphic sentences, which are found throughout the book. Better organization and clubbing of information in places to create continuity within the volume and additional information for a layman would have made it an interesting and enriched reading. Knowing your child also entails viewing the world from a child's perspective and empathizing with them. Some insights on these lines, derived from author's direct experience with children would have been a welcome addition too. Nonetheless, the book certainly is a good resource material for all those who are dealing with children.

Mikie Loughridge and Loren R. Tarantino (2005): *Leading Effective Secondary School Reform - Your Guide to Strategies that Work*. A Sage Publications Company, Thousand Oaks; California, ISBN 1-4129-0605-9; Pp. xx + 147; Price: \$27.95 (Paperback).

A comprehensive book that deals with strategies to bring out the process of reforms in a school, it also provides case-study formats, application, activities, agenda, and tips for successful planning and implementation around improving the achievement of the students. The variables which are influenced by a leader's beliefs, skills and experiences are: Vision, Shared Decision Making, Assessment and Accountability. The book is presented in three parts comprising nine chapters. The first eight chapters highlight a critical attribute each for leading effective secondary school reform while the ninth chapter sums up the subject by 'putting the pieces together'.

The first chapter on 'School Culture' of Part I, 'Vision', very effectively puts forth the point that school cultures are unique and irrespective of their commonalities, no two schools are exactly alike. Culture refers to 'the way we do things around here' (p.3). The culture of a school organization is made up of the values and beliefs that drive the behaviour of individuals within the organization. The authors very aptly state that the physical representation of the culture of an organization may be found in the artifacts that represent the way things are done. These may include bell schedules, assembly topics, discipline handbook and teacher evaluation document. The key components that contribute to a school's culture are: Heroes and Heroines; Communication Network; Rites and Rituals; Lore and Myths; Rules, Rewards and Sanctions; and Physical Environment. The Communication Network stated in the book is akin to the communication network stated by Chanakya in his book 'Arthshastra'. Identifying the key members of the communication network and analyzing the various cultural elements, such as stories, reward, sanction system, and existing rites and rituals, will provide a starting point in initiating and facilitating behaviour changes that will ultimately result in changes in beliefs and values of stakeholders.

In the next chapter 'The Change Process', the authors enumerate the change process candidly but analytically. The change process and its effect have to be experienced from the time 'go'. The moment change takes place, change has to be analysed. Fullan and Hargreaves (1991) and the Concerns-Based Adoption Model (CBAM) developed by Gene Hall and Susan Loueks-Horsely in the 1970s have written on the impact of change within an organization. To be effective, the key is to apply this information in the planning, implementation, and assessment of any innovation that is initiated by a school during the reform efforts that characterize schools today. The 'application activities' included in the book provide opportunities for Principals to do a SWOT analysis of their organization and reflect upon it to strategize. Changing the culture of the school to reflect a vision of ongoing student improvement is a complex, time consuming and personal process for every stakeholder. The last chapter of Part I 'The Single School Plan', tries to

process for every stakeholder. The last chapter of Part I 'The Single School Plan', tries to integrate all school related professional, developmental and school safety effective strategies in a very concise manner. The six components of a single school plan are: (a) Exposed student outcomes, (b) Goals of short range objectives for each goal, (c) Specific tasks and intervention strategies to address the objectives, (d) Assessment indicators, (e) Communication mechanisms, and (f) Procedures for reflection, analysis and modification of single school plan.

The first chapter of Part II entitled 'Shared Decision Making', deals with a critical attribute in 'Professional Development', and recommends that a systematic comprehensive 'need to know' professional development programme is essential to successfully change the culture of a school. Thomas Guskey (2000) has defined it as 'those processes and activities designed to enhance the professional knowledge, skills and attitudes of educators so that they might in turn, improve the learning of students' (p.60). Ten elements required in professional development programme are student data, goals of the school, sanctioned time made available, support of teacher leaders, content and pedagogy, future application collaboration, adult learning, communication, and accountability.

The six characteristics are then described in the next chapter 'Professional Learning Communities'. These are very interestingly grouped by Richard DuFour and Robert Eaker's Book, 'Professional Learning Communities at Work' (1998) as: Shared Mission, Vision and Values, Collective Inquiry, Collaborative Teams, Action Orientation and Experimentation, Continuous Improvement and Results Orientation. This aspect is quite like guidelines in educational sector as the guidelines on quality in ISO 9001: 2000. It is a complex, interconnected, adaptive system that values a strong vision, efficiency and increased productivity as well as acknowledges the importance of quality management. Research shows that Parent Involvement (p.87) and a systematic parent-outreach program, to bring parents into a partnership in the child's education, leads to enhanced student achievement. This is highlighted in the last chapter of this part. The term 'parent involvement' refers to the willingness of the parent to demonstrate commitment to and participation in the education of his/her child in relation to the school.

Part III: 'Assessment and Accountability' contains chapters on 'Action Research, Productive Classroom Observations' and 'Putting the Pieces Together'. The first chapter defines Action Research as the process through which practitioners study their own practice to solve their personal practical problems (Corey, 1953, p. 104). It provides opportunities for stakeholders to examine incremental results of instructional intervention based on teaching strategies.

The chapter on 'Productive Classroom Observations' suggests its many purposes: The formal teacher performance evaluation; Instructional accountability; and Professional growth support. The case studies provide useful insights for practitioners into two different approaches for organizing and implementing class observations. The first case reveals a purposeful, organized plan to incorporate classroom observations into the professional development plan. The second case study identifies how classroom

observations are commonly used to fulfil contract obligations. The concluding chapter 'Putting the Pieces Together' ends with a beautiful belief of the author that every student can learn and grow through a definite reform process that requires dedication, commitment and stamina. The related websites are very useful for school administrators.

Work in a school today demands multi-level functioning and high levels of involvement of all concerned. The school is a platform for each of its members to evolve and grow. The message 'Walk the Talk' seems very important in leading effective secondary school reforms. The educational sector should practice good governance and accountability in schools. The book is intended to 'Ignite Young Minds and Ignite Many Minds' to develop strategies and solutions for their own environment.

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MEHROTRA, Santosh, P.R. Panchhmukhi, Ranjana Srivastava, and Ravi Srivastava: *Universalizing Elementary Education in India: Uncaging the Tiger' Economy*. Oxford University Press (2005), pp. 421, Price Rs.695/-. ISBN - 13:9.78-0-19-567099-8, ISBN-10: 0-19-567099-X.

Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) has been assigned the utmost priority in India as enshrined, in the country's Constitution. UEE has thus been a national commitment. It has also been strongly recommended by various committees, commissions and National Policy of Education, 1968 & 1986. This book "*Universalising Elementary Education in India, Uncaging the "Tiger' Economy"* attempts to relate educational development with the overall economic development in India, described as 'emerging market economy'. Despite economic development and growth of income during 1980 and 1990s, educational development in the country has remained a matter of serious concern. With a large number of illiterates, India is currently lagging behind many other Asian countries that have experienced higher growth rate and higher educational attainment much earlier. It is argued that, India can be seen as a mere 'caged tiger' with low human capital and for uncaging this tiger it is required to pay adequate attention on human development for which the first step is UEE.

The book, organised in four broad themes having nine chapters, is an outcome of the UNICEF research conducted in eight states. The main objective of research appears to be an indepth analysis of status of elementary education. Estimation of financial requirement for achieving UEE and present status of financial investment by government, private sector and household on schooling of children are discussed. The book concludes with some recommendations for reforming educational situation in these states.

The book starts with analytical study of elementary schooling in the whole country and attempts to link it with development of human capital, human capabilities and economic growth. The first chapter is divided into two sections. First it examines some educational indicators to compare India's educational situation with other countries and regions and then authors discuss about the objectives of the study and its methodology, sample size etc. While comparing the educational situation of India and Africa in the first section, authors have raised the question that how India can compete with other emerging market economies when its educational and nutritional levels are comparable with low performer African countries. After analysing the data, authors are of opinion that drastic action needs to be taken to invest on human capital and employment generation to promote socio-economic development.

The second chapter reviews the status of elementary education, which has though witnessed considerable increase in the number of institutions, students and teachers but still a huge gap remains as the data suggest. Much of this progress has been the outcome of externally funded programmes initiated in 1980s and 90s. The progress has been exceptionally slow in Assam, Bihar and West Bengal although some of the districts of these states were covered under externally funded programmes like BEP and DPEP. The chapter also discusses about the supply constraints, administrative and managerial constraints, and demand related constraints. The study also indicates that all the eight states are experiencing some or other constraints to a large extent making it extremely difficult to achieve UEE.

The third chapter analyses the pattern and trends in public expenditure on elementary education and examines the adequacy of public spending across the states. The revenue expenditure on education, particularly for elementary level, has shown rapid increase consistently since 1951 but a spectacular increase took place during 1975-76 and 2000-01. The spending on education increased in both nominal and real terms along with significant increase in plan expenditure. Expenditure as a percentage of GDP has increased reaching 0.41% of GDP in 1999-2000. At the same time, eventually, the real spending on elementary education also has increased at an impressive rate. Although there has been rapid increase in overall central spending on elementary education during 90s, state's total expenditure on education has shown a declining trend. Moreover, educationally backward states reportedly faced more resource constraints with low per student and per capita spending on education and hence, these states need to pay more attention for improving budgetary policy in coming years.

Chapter four discusses the scope for reforming the public spending on education at the state level and how additional resources can be generated for elementary education. The chapter has focused on high expenditure on teacher salaries, provision of more public subsidies to secondary education which is basically serving the non-poor and covers only four years; resource mobilization from additional source due to fiscal deficits prevailing at the state level and so on. Drawing references from experiences of other countries, authors suggest for well designed earmarking of fund for elementary education, generated from new taxes.

The fifth chapter examines the private sector's role in elementary education in industrialized countries and developing countries to provide some guidelines for private education in India. The chapter starts with the discussion on "why should the state finance elementary education and some of the reasons like principal-agent problem, equalising effect of elementary education on income distribution, education being a merit good and positive externalities associated with it and so on. After discussing different countries' experiences the authors suggest that state financing of elementary education is desirable to achieve the goals of UEE. At the same time, quality of both public and private kind of schools should be improved. There should be much better regulation of private sector. Finally, it has been suggested that public resource is required more for elementary education while demand for secondary and higher education can be met through private sector.

Chapter six, using NSSO data, assesses the provisions that have been made for elementary education by public and private sector and subsequently attempts to analyse the implications of private sector growth. It is evident that expansion of private sector is closely associated with the quality of functioning of government schools. The states with more dysfunctional government schools have experienced higher growth of private sector. The findings also suggest that there have been gender and caste biases in availing private schools, and that regulation is needed urgently for private sector particularly when these schools are converted as aided schools that impacts on equity and efficiency aspects. Private schools reportedly also have better facilities and English medium and attract more parents to enroll their children. Finally, it has been argued that, effectiveness of government schools is urgently required to be ensured to achieve UEE and government needs to play a proactive role in reforming public education system.

Chapter seven and its ten sections are an analytical presentation of household expenditure on elementary education in eight states and its relationship with development of elementary education. First, per child and per annum household expenditure on elementary education in rural areas is about 50% of that in urban areas and it is higher in the case of upper primary schooling. High expenditure has impact on enrolment and retention of children in schools. Secondly, there is a strong linkage between household expenditure and socio-economic factors i.e. household income, educational level of parents, occupation, etc. Thirdly, direct expenditure is higher than indirect cost at almost all stages of elementary education. Fourthly, incentive is also a determining factor for household spending on elementary education. Finally, in all the states, opportunity costs are found larger than household expenditures at the elementary level and this may affect household decisions in regard to children's education, which again affect girls and boys differently.

Chapter eight analyses the financial requirement for achieving UEE. Drawing references from other studies and the UNICEF study, it has been argued that the 'capital costs for UEE are quite high' (p. 348) and requirement of additional resources are considerably higher in educationally poor states. The additional resource may be mobilized by introducing new taxes, the authors suggest.

Chapter nine is the concluding chapter. Based on the analysis and arguments given in earlier chapters, the authors suggest for undertaking the following measures for reforming elementary education particularly to improve quality:

- Generating additional resources and reforming the public spending pattern,
- Improving teacher accountability and effectiveness,
- Improving cost effectiveness of non-salary inputs like incentives,
- Regulating private sector without providing subsidy, and finally
- Development of authentic database for planning and monitoring of elementary education.

The contributions in this book have covered various important aspects of elementary education in India and provided valuable insights into the different problems persisting in India. Though India has a long way to go to achieve UEE as well as economic growth comparable to some other Asian countries, it will not be impossible if adequate investment is made and utilized to take right kind of initiatives. Although authors have rightly argued that, UEE should be the priority and major share of allocation of public resource should be made for elementary education, but the suggestion for depending on private sector for secondary and higher education may not be applicable for India, particularly in recent years. In the poverty ridden parts of our country, the adolescents and youth from poor communities are still deprived of quality secondary and higher education, leading to their "capability deprivation" and access to elementary education alone will not help them to avail the job opportunities. Proliferation of private secondary schools and higher education institutions may jeopardize their interests, making educational provision more iniquitous. Moreover, amongst others, preparation of well-qualified teachers is one of the responsibilities that this sector has. Will it be possible if poor but eligible students in remote areas do not get further educational opportunities after completing elementary education? Can private institutions respond to their educational needs? Privatization of post elementary education, thus, needs rethinking and reconsideration, although regulation mechanism needs to be put in place, as suggested by the authors.

The study is of immense value as it has discussed about financial requirement and how it can be mobilized at length. This is particularly important for the states experiencing financial constraints and low utilization of available resources. However, some discussions on fund utilizations under DPEP and SSA could also be included to assess the recent situation.

This book is a timely and valuable addition in the growing body of literature focusing on elementary education in India. The book is recommended to academics, educational planners and administrators and also individuals, who are concerned about achieving UEE and dealing with the complexities of educational management as well.

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HARTUNG Jan-Peter and Reifeld Helmut (2006): *Islamic Education, Diversity, and National Identity*. Dini Madaris in India Post 9/11, New Delhi, Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd, ISBN 0-7619-3433-2 (Paperback), Pages 331, Price Rs.380/-

The book is the result of a follow up action consequent upon a conference first held in Germany to probe the controversies linking terrorism and Islam since the infamous incident commonly referred to as 9/11. The articles included in this book have been taken from a subsequent conference on the same theme, organized in Rajasthan in India between November 30 and December 2, 2003.

After the incident of 9/11, an impression was given that perhaps Muslim organizations and Muslim educational institutions (madrasa) were producing terrorists, more so the "Wahabiiya" ideology among Muslims, which is allegedly being taught in madaris, such as in Deoband and Nadwa, and in those madaris which are in any way associated with these institutions. Those who held this opinion proposed certain measures to curb such activities, including, among others, (1) preventing proliferation of madrasas; (2) effective control of secular governments over madrasa education (considering "lack of a central religious authority" as an important factor in loss of control in teaching syllabi); (3) introduction of modern education such as English, social science, etc., along with religious education; (4) control over funds of madrasas (which they claimed were being funded by terrorist organizations) by closely watching alleged illegal transfer of money; and (5) encouragement of Sufi traditions, which some critics consider to be more tolerant than others.

The other view (the common Muslim view) was that linking terrorism with Islam is because of some "ulterior motives", a 'Salebi jung (Crusades) in disguise'. They say that this is a deliberate attempt to defame Islam and has no basis whatsoever. The Muslims are being oppressed and persecuted world over, and being unable to defend themselves in open combat, some misguided individuals and organizations, being pushed to the wall, have resorted to expressing themselves by sporadic violence. Such incidents are not uncommon elsewhere in the history of the world, even in the so-called 'civilized world'. They feel that the purpose of introducing the so called 'secular subjects' in madrasa education is only to dilute the Islamic education. They also claim that allegations of illegal transfer of money are baseless, and the attempts to tighten government control are only to throttle Islamic education. They further say that the "whole of Islam is reformist" and stands for the betterment of humanity in general; it teaches equality, grants equity and respect to women. *Aim* (the learned) and *Sufi* (the purist) do not belong to two divergent ideologies. Both teach tolerance and respect for humanity. Both, *Urn* (knowledge) and purity (Sufism) have to be imbibed in an individual for making him a better human being. They emphatically say that Islam renounces terrorism in all forms, covert or overt. It encourages education 'from cradle to the grave', advocates obtaining it 'even if it is at such a far-off place as China', and emphasizes that 'acquisition of

knowledge is *Farz* (duty) on all Muslim men and Muslim women'. They quote from the famous Quoran that if one kills an individual without any fault on his part, it is like killing the whole humanity; and if one saves an individual, it is like saving the whole humanity. How can a religion with such a clear guidance inculcate terrorism? They put the blame squarely on the 'enemies' of Islam for such false propaganda.

The book seeks to solve, among others, the following specific questions: (1) "Is there a link between madaris and violence, anti-national activities or even terrorism?" (2) "How transparent are these alternative educational networks in terms of funding, spread and patronage?" (3) "What are the political implications of their educational system?" (4) "Whether there is any relationship between "Wahabiiyya" ideology and terrorism?" (5) "Whether Deoband and Nadwa have any role to play in inculcating terrorist tendencies?"

For a scientific and rational investigation of these intriguing questions, a well-planned study was required. (1) First of all, an in-depth analysis of history of Islam and Islamic educational institutions (madrasa) was essential to refute or accept the allegation that a certain ideology, namely Wahabiiyya, favoured terrorism. (2) Secondly, it had to be proved from Islamic literature (Quoran and Hadith) and individual examples that Sufis and Ulema belong to two different streams, one teaching tolerance and the other intolerance as alleged by their opponents. (3) Thirdly, a detailed study of curriculum of Islamic educational institutions in the past and the present was essential to establish any deviation in their teaching to account for the recent allegations. This information was essential before one could conclude that lack of a central religious authority is the cause of unjustified teaching, if any. (4) A study of ideology and behaviour of teachers who have graduated from Deoband and Nadwa and still having links with them, but working at remote places, was required to cross-check the information provided by their parent institutions and that extracted from these teachers. Likewise, an interaction with the students was essential to read their mind and attitude. (5) A clear and unflinching proof was required before concluding that a certain religious ideology or sect or institution had any role to play in promoting terrorism. (6) A specific enquiry into the transparency of funding spread, and patronage of Muslim educational institutions by terrorist organizations was needed to examine this important aspect.

Three articles in the book, namely Chapter 3 by Syed Zaheer Husain Jafri, Chapter 9 by Patricia Jeffery et al, and Chapter 7 by Arshad Alam, have satisfactorily dealt with some of the aspects. Jafri has analysed in depth the historical development of madrasa education and its impact on social life. He has effectively argued by relevant and specific examples the relationship between madrasa and khankah and derived many logical conclusions. Patricia Jeffery et al have carried out a case study of Islamic educational institutions at the periphery of Bijnor in Uttar Pradesh having educational links with Deoband. They have confined themselves to answering the questions proposed in the preface of the book, and have brought out interesting facts and conclusions, and their impartial and relevant approach is very obvious. Arshad Alam in his article entitled "Understanding Deoband Locally" has tried to examine if there is any relationship between Deoband and madrasas in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The overall picture emerging from the above studies seem to be an antithesis of the assumed link between terrorism and madrasa education, of the assumed differences in the approach of Ulema and Sufis to non-Muslims, of the widely held concept of suppression of female education or anti-national approach by madrasas. They have found that some madaris are recognized by the UP Board of Education to teach Hindi, English, and mathematics, a fact that counters the popular notion that the madaris are averse to teaching modern subjects. Several technical, financial and organizational deficiencies in madrasa establishments and madrasa education have been observed, which the investigators have attributed to be due to bias, lack of financial and legal support, and to other social and local factors. Jafri has cited evidences to show how such bias and programmed dismantling of a flourishing and beneficial educational and *khankah* activity was carried out by erstwhile British colonial rule in India. Arshad Alam has shown that there is no relationship between Deoband and madrasas in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The other articles have deviated from the theme of the book, and have contributed little to the basic enquiry for which emphasis has been laid down in the title and in the preface of the book. Jan-Peter Hartung has tried to give an overall picture of the controversy around terrorism and Islam, but has mainly highlighted the views of the people implicating Islam with terrorism, while other views have been mentioned only as passing reference. Syed Najmul Raza Rizvi in his write-up on Shia Madaris of Awadh has given the course content of the syllabus taught in them and has not analyzed these in the light of the theme of the book. Yoginder Sikand has quoted the views of several persons, both in favour and against the madrasas. However, he has failed to draw any definite conclusion that would be of help in understanding the genesis of the problem or in providing solutions to them. Syed Abul Hashim Rizvi, in his article, has given the steps taken by the Centre for Promotion of Science at the Aligarh Muslim University in bringing about a change in the attitude of teachers (Ulema) of Islamic educational institutions towards science and modern education during the last 20 years or so. However, he has not given any scientific evaluation of the effect that the Centre might have had on the attitude of the teachers of Islamic educational institutions towards study of science. The article does not focus on the events of 9/11 and the controversies following it.

Though the book has mentioned at several places that 'other factors' are to a certain extent responsible for the false and biased propaganda against madrasas, however these factors have not been elaborated upon nor have they been critically examined in this study. It is difficult to comprehend that when 'for many centuries, Muslim religious educational institutions (dini madaris) have held an important position among educational institutions in the Indian subcontinent', and when (as per the discussions in the book) there has been no reform in their syllabi, how can the same teaching promote the alleged deviant behaviour? An elaboration on this aspect would have definitely enhanced the importance of the book and significance of the 'continuing dialogue with Islam' for the benefit of humanity in general.

The book has failed in providing clear answers to any of the questions proposed in the book relating to alleged "link between madaris and violence, antinational activities or terrorism", lack of transparency "of educational network in terms funding, spread and patronage", and the "political implications of their educational system", etc. In the preface of the book the Helmut Reifeld hopes "to contribute to the promotion of a worldwide process of dialogue with Islam - rather than ending it with a final statement". However, leaving the issues unsolved would only add to more confusion, distrust, suspicion, and widen the gap, rather than doing otherwise, and would defeat the very purpose of the study.

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BARR, Nicholas (Eds), (2005): *Labour Markets and Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe: The Accession and Beyond*. The World Bank, Washington; ISBN 0-8213-6119-8 (Paperback); xiii + 267. Price not mentioned.

Liberal markets and social policy are usually relegated as non-priority areas in most of the macro-economic analysis. Therefore, it is not unexpected that we find sporadic works on this issue. During mid nineties, at the height of the macro-economic discussions, Ralph Harbison and Nicholas Barr first edited a volume on 'Hopes, Tears and Transformation'. That could be considered as a milestone and among the initial contributions analysing the emerging unemployment, rising poverty and the consequent uncertainties in the labour markets. It covered portions of the large canvass of social policy in the period of pre-transition to post-transition. Most important was the year in which the book came to the stand. The book highlighted the emerging problems and the analysis appreciated by many.

Following this, on May 1, 2004, eight former communist countries (The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic and Slovenia) joined the European Union and the inherited constraints in the social domain by these countries, were quite significant. They had high and persistent growth rates but in terms of levels of living these were significantly behind the Western Europe. The labour market problems were quite intense. Though the transition was smooth in the sense of economic transformation, it was difficult from the point of view of adjusting the levels of living with the new peers. Social safety nets, health infrastructure, old age care, education and training were the main transitional blues. The book under review here covers issues incorporating these aspects and aims to show the linkages between different

components of social policy and growth. Interestingly it keeps in view the historical continuum as well as new process of reforms.

The book is primarily addressed to academics and students of post communist transition, specifically in the context of wider Europe. Nicolas Barr has taken up this task challengingly and does not let the readers feel the absence of Harbison's initial drive. A team of inter-disciplinary researchers have contributed to the book and that is the strong point of the book. Nowhere in the book we find any one discipline predominating and hegemonising the issues and their solutions. It begins from the three indelible standpoints left behind by the earlier work of the author. First, it attempts to review the labour markets in these countries, analyzing the changes in the labour market in the process of transition to make them more effective. The role of the state in the areas of education, training, unemployment and poverty comes under the microscopic analysis and finally provides an in-depth analysis of the process of reforms. The central argument pursued through the book is to analyze the public policy and social policy in EU as the major component.

The book opens with an authoritative overview by Nicholas Barr tracing the path from transition to accession of the communist countries to the European Union. Barr keeps pace with the earlier volume and provides an effective link between the two. He sets the stage for policy discussions and takes them up in the individual chapters. That makes reading quite interesting. He hurriedly prefers to call the transition as the 'demise of communism', hinting a win by the new system, over an ideology, probably a tall claim, which one must look at skeptically. That is certainly challengeable. After joining the EU, the population of these new countries probably enjoyed different kind of individual freedom, but the rise in living standards for most people has not so far materialized, and poverty, unemployment, and rising death rates continue to haunt them. Giving a very clear picture of the historical view of the process of accession, he discusses briefly the EU conditionalities.

Dena Ringold in the chapter on the course of transition sets the stage for policy discussions in subsequent parts. She gets into the economic and institutional backdrop of the transition and its human impact among these countries. In the process, she maps the path of economic reforms in the accession countries from collapse to recovery. This chapter leaves important choices for the reforms of social assistance, social insurance, health, and education. It further argues that unfolding trends in family formation and decreased employment stability exert pressure on EU policies to include a more complex mix of public and private assistance arrangements. One can take this as implicit rejection of the hypothesis that growth takes care of distribution (security), and further growth is not an end at all. Very stylistically Dena writes, "While the output shock led to a burst of transient poverty in the early transition period, a group of long-term chronically poor now share many characteristics of the poor in the older member states (p.55)". That implicitly states the fact that poverty continues to haunt the accession process but with an attempt to pacify that the transient poor are similar in 'some' characteristics with the poor of the older states.

One of the difficult terrains in this context is the earlier labour policy under central planning and its consistency with the new system. This is competently analysed by Mansoor Rashid, Jan Rutkowski, and David Fretwell in their contribution on labour markets. They examine the impact of the transition on the labour market in terms of outcomes pertaining to employment and wages and finally describe the main policy choices that led to these changes. The discussion provides need to offer a menu of services that recognize different types of unemployment: Frictional Unemployment (general employment services), Structural Unemployment (different types of retraining), and a lack of demand for labour (micro-enterprise support, local economic development planning). Active Labour Market Programs (ALMP) are analyzed and it is emphasized that ALMPs do not create jobs, but they help in creating human capital to facilitate the mobility of labour. Another important contribution to the book by Sandor Sipos and Dena Ringold takes further the argument that social safety nets in the new member states, have moved from social integration and inclusion in an egalitarian and totalitarian society under a planned economy, towards social integration and inclusion in a democratic pluralist society with a market economy. Old age pensions became an important part of the safety nets, in the context of top loaded demographic distribution. Nicholas Barr and Michal Rutkowski explore various options for reforming pension systems, starting with problems specific to the accession countries, then extending to the generic problems that are prevalent in the wider Europe, and beyond. But they shun touching the aspects of disability pensions and the finance of long-term care, both for reasons of space and as they believe that these are not the primary features for EU accession. Pensions raise highly controversial issues, particularly relating to the best way to organize them. The authors have attempted a policy framework in the context of these new countries and suggest a policy with five elements, covering: (i) Age for pension, (ii) Relationship between pensionable age and life expectancy, (iii) Actuarially computed pension structure, (iv) Various options and (v) Public understanding.

Healthcare is unquestionably an important aspect in the context of these countries, as that sector needed immediate attention. The standards of healthcare in these countries as against the earlier member countries were quite appalling. Alexander S. Preker and Olusoji O.Adeyi analysed these aspects. They summarise the transition from centrally planned healthcare to more client-oriented service delivery systems. Education and training challenges facing the accession countries as a result both of the transition and of the broader changes affecting all countries have been analyzed by Michael Mertaugh and Eric Hanushek. They focus largely on changes in formal education at the primary and secondary levels, as it is at these levels that the equity efficiency trade-offs are most acute and that incomplete decentralization policies are hampering reforms. It also describes what reforms are needed in both Education and Training areas as a result of the transition.

This book deals with an area that is quite sensitive and interesting as the experience of the new countries joining European Union is unique in itself. The task of analyzing the issues was difficult as well as perceptive. One cannot call it as the treatise on the exit of communism like Andris Berzins, but it thoroughly explains the process of transition from

the centralised system to a market economy. There are pluses and minuses and the editors have brought out all these aspects carefully and totally dispassionately without any prejudices marring their analyses. It is a true continuum of the arguments in the earlier book and gives sufficient evidence to buttress the hypothesis that the erstwhile communist system is assimilating fast in the market economy of the European Union, more easily than what was perceived. The focus on social sector in the book makes it an interesting reading for policy makers, ideologists as well as those who were skeptical about the process of this transition. The volume makes available a very good reading on the transition and beyond.

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Akpovire ODUARAN and Harbans S. BHOLA (eds.): *Widening Access to Education as Social Justice: Essays in Honor of Mictale Omolewa*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Springer, 2006, pp. 472 plus indexes (Paperback), Price: € 26.70, ISBN: 1 4020-4323-6

Widening of access to education has been considered an important development strategy in most countries of the world. Some have recognised the developmental role of education; some have recognised it as an instrument of providing equality, some as a measure to reduce poverty, some as a basic need. While many have recognised the instrumental role of education, it is only of late that the constitutive role of education has been recognised, as the human development specialists have highlighted. Amartya Sen went further and argued that education is a human capability and even a freedom that has to be provided to all. Long ago, the United Nations have declared education as a human right in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). Today, widening access to education does not mean increasing the access to education to some, or to some targeted groups, but it is taken as providing universal access. The book under review provides a refreshing reading on providing education as social justice. Oduaran and Bhola give us in the book twenty scholarly essays on this aspect written by about 40 scholars of eminence.

Part I, containing six essays, provides a rich conceptual discussion on access to education as social justice. The five essays in Part II look at access to education from different perspectives - poverty, health (HIV/AIDS), ICT etc. Two essays in this section also review UNESCO's policies and actions. Nine country studies are presented in Part III. The country case studies include a few developing countries, viz., China, Pakistan and Botswana, and four developed countries - USA, Australia, New Zealand and Sweden. Part IV contains half a dozen special and illustrative cases, such as girls'

education and open university education in Nigeria and access to university education in South Africa. The last two essays that constitute the concluding part, focus respectively on policy thrusts and research areas on widening access to education in the era of globalisation.

The interesting premise of the book is access to education is to be seen not as an instrument of ensuring social justice, but as social justice in itself. But many contributors have not consistently maintained this view. Secondly, a book of this size, obviously cannot provide perspectives on education from various disciplines, but the issue of access to education as social justice, needs to be discussed from disciplines such as philosophy, political science, sociology, law etc. This is missing, as almost all contributors are from the disciplines of education, teaching in the departments of education in various universities (except Brian Burtch in the Department of Criminology). Thirdly, the several contributions are of uneven quality and style. This cannot be helped in an edited volume of this kind. Yet the several essays in the book provide a very interesting scholarly reading on the subject.

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