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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS

Journal of Educational Planning and Administration
Volume XXXVII, No. 1, January 2023, pp. 5-12

Universities in India: The Elusive Quest for Excellence[#]

Deepak Nayyar[*]

I consider it a privilege to be in your midst this afternoon. And I would like to thank NIEPA for inviting me as the Chief Guest at this convocation, which is always a special occasion in educational institutions, particularly for graduating students as it is a watershed in their lives. In my view, convocations are too ritual an occasion for a scholarly lecture and too solemn an occasion for levity. The ideal convocation address, then, is something that engages young listeners, which is neither too dense nor too long. I can only hope that I succeed in this quest.

I thought about the theme for this address, as there were so many possibilities. On reflection, I decided on higher education, which is an important dimension of both the *raison d'etre* and the mission of NIEPA. It might be the obvious choice but it is also an appropriate choice. Yet, it would be helpful to situate the subject in its wider context, if only to set the stage before the play begins. In doing so, I would like to explore two propositions. First, why does education matter for economic and social development in India? Second, how does the earlier stage, school education, and the alternative choice, vocational education, influence or shape higher education. I will consider these questions, albeit briefly, in turn.

Education is both constitutive of, and instrumental in, the development of countries at the earlier stages of their development. It is constitutive because literacy and learning impart a sense of dignity to people thereby improving their wellbeing. That is what meaningful development is about. It is instrumental because it mobilises our most abundant resource – people – in the pursuit of development. Without education, this potential remains unrealised. The high proportion of young people in our population, in principle, means that our work force and savings rates will continue to increase for some time to come, which can drive economic growth, provided we can harness this demographic dividend through education that creates capabilities among people.

[#] Edited Version of the NIEPA's Convocation Lecture, delivered by Prof. Deepak Nayyar on October 21, 2022 (Friday) at PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry, PHD House, 4/2 Siri Institutional Area, New Delhi

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Population growth in India has slowed down as compared with the past. Even so, projections suggest that our population size will stabilize only in 2045. Consequently, an increasing population will be the reality in India for the next quarter century. In principle, the resulting surplus of labour, when absorbed in employment, is a source of economic growth on the supply side, as it produces output, and on the demand side, as wages constitute incomes. This interaction between the supply and demand can reinforce the process of growth creating a virtuous circle of cumulative causation. Therefore, our growing population can be an important source of growth until 2045, but only if we are able to provide education for all, so that the growth process can absorb surplus labour through employment creation.

Economic history reveals that land, natural resources, population growth, capital accumulation, and technical progress have been the sources of economic growth at successive stages of development. It would seem that knowledge will be an important source of economic growth in the twenty-first century. The experience of countries that are latecomers to development shows that surplus labour created by population growth is the obvious and simplest path to growth, for which education is critical. Of course, education matters just as much at later stages of development, particularly higher education, when technology and knowledge become the drivers, not only because human capital formation increases productivity but also because it creates both technology and knowledge.

In my recent book, *Resurgent Asia*, I have analysed the remarkable economic and social transformation of Asia over the past fifty years. An important conclusion that I draw from this study is that the public provision of education and healthcare was a critical, if not the most important, common factor among countries that were the success stories. India's performance in terms of economic growth was respectable, but it fared distinctly worse than the East Asian countries that led the process, not only in industrialisation, but also in terms of the wellbeing of people because economic growth did not create sufficient employment, while absolute poverty, though much reduced, persisted on a large scale. This was attributable, in significant part, to our failures in education.

Independent India is 75. Even now, however, the spread and quality of school education in India leaves much to be desired. Enrolment rates in primary education are said to be 100 per cent. Alas, statistics provide illusory comfort. The number of dropouts is large. The practice of automatic promotions until Class VIII is juxtaposed with two realities. For one, a large proportion of students are first generation learners whose families do not have any social or cultural capital to support their educational pursuits at home. For another, the quality of teaching in most government primary schools is poor because of many underlying factors that are common across states: grossly inadequate infrastructural facilities, and unacceptably high student-teacher ratios, juxtaposed with an abysmally low proportion of regularly appointed permanent teachers, who are often assigned government duties, while most positions are filled with poorly compensated contractual teachers. It is no surprise that learning outcomes at primary schools in India, with the exception of a few states, and elite schools, are among the worst in the world. The consequence is almost inevitable. A significant proportion of children do not make the transition from elementary education to secondary education. Obviously, poor learning outcomes are the basic underlying factor. Boys dropout to enter the world of work as child labour, while girls discontinue because social barriers keep them at home. Therefore, among those who complete their secondary

education, respectable enrolment rates in tertiary education are deceptive. The issue, then, is not so much about who goes to college as it is about which college they go to.

In most countries, depending upon their abilities and interests, school-leavers choose between vocational education and higher education. Alas, in India, the opportunities for vocational education are too sparse and their quality is at best mediocre. What is more, there is little connect with potential employers. But such skill development can become relevant only if their training makes young students employable in the manufacturing (or services) sector and can grow only if there is a relationship with firms that are part of a placement process from such institutions. In any case, young students from middle-class families shun this option because their social aspirations are different. And, ironically enough, for those who might wish to enter the vocational education stream, the admissions process becomes a barrier-to-entry, and for those who do manage to get admission, employment opportunities are scarce. Vocational education in India seems to be caught in this vicious circle. The national skill development mission is a beginning but it has miles to go.

These realities at the earlier stage – school education – and in the alternative stream – vocational education – do have the implications and consequences for higher education. First, school education does not provide the essential foundations for higher education insofar as learning outcomes are poor. Second, given the near absence of an alternative such as vocational education, every school-leaver aspires for a place in the higher education system in the hope that it will open the door to employment opportunities. But that does not happen. In fact, this quest for a college degree, described by some as the diploma disease, which churns out unemployable young people, simply adds to the already high levels of unemployment among the educated.

The spread of education in society provides the foundations of success in countries that are latecomers to development. Primary education creates the base. Equal opportunities in school education are critical. Higher education, then, imparts the cutting edge. In every sphere, India is now a laggard in Asia.

There is a quiet crisis in higher education in India that runs deep. The educational opportunities for school-leavers are simply not enough and what exists is not good enough. The pockets of excellence are outcomes of the enormous reservoir of talent and Darwinian selection processes. Institutions and individuals possibly excel despite the system, which is just not conducive to learning and does little for those with average abilities or without social opportunities.

The challenges confronting higher education in India are clear. It needs a massive expansion to educate much larger numbers, but without diluting academic standards. Indeed, it is just as important to raise the average quality. And inclusion, by providing access for people, is an imperative. It is also essential to create some institutions that are exemplars of excellence at par with the best in the world.

Such excellence is missing. Indeed, in terms of world university rankings, which have become the fashion in recent years, our performance is most disappointing. For those who set high standards, it borders on the dismal. Of course, it must be said that these rankings have all the limitations of composite index numbers, since it is difficult to measure qualitative attributes while weights assigned to different components shape results. Even so, it is obvious that our universities have miles to go before reaching world standards. Islands of excellence – IITs, IIMs or IISc – are no consolation because it is universities and colleges

providing educational opportunities for people at large that are the life-blood of higher education.

Alas, the comparative advantage that India had, at least in a few of its universities, has been slowly, yet surely, squandered over time. And, sadly, even the little that remains is being progressively undermined by the growing intrusion of politics in universities. Such processes are almost irreversible, because there are long term consequences of these short-term interventions. Physicists would describe it as hysteresis. The situation is much worse than it was three decades ago. Universities have deteriorated rapidly in India, while universities elsewhere in the developing world, particularly in Asia, have made significant progress. There is a clear and present danger that, unless we introduce correctives, the situation might worsen further to transform us from leaders into laggards.

There is intense competition among students for admissions to public universities with standards and reputations. The fortunate few, who do well enough in the Class XII examinations, take up these limited places, while most, the less fortunate, make do with institutions in the private sector where, but for a few exceptions, fees are always high but quality is mostly poor. There are the privileged few whose parents are rich enough to send them abroad.

The number of students from India going abroad for higher education increased from roughly 50,000 in 2000 to 200,000 in 2010 and 600,000 in 2019, which was the last year before the Coronavirus pandemic that shut down universities across the world. This upward trend, sources suggest, has resumed in 2022 as universities abroad have reopened. It is estimated that, in 2019, of the students going abroad to study, around 40 per cent went to the United States, 25 per cent went to the United Kingdom, while another 25 per cent went to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. If we assume that their average expenditure on fees and maintenance is US$ 25,000 per student per annum, Indian students overseas spend approximately US$ 15 billion – the equivalent of Rs. 1200 billion (Rs. 120,000 crore) at current exchange rates – every year! However, annual expenses on fees and maintenance in rich countries are likely to be much higher, so that costs would be proportionately higher. These sums, if made available for higher education in India, could help transform at least some universities.

Our higher education is caught in a pincer movement. For one, there is a belief that markets can solve the problem through private players, which is leading to education as business, shutting the door on large numbers who cannot finance themselves, without regulation that would ensure quality. For another, governments that believe in the magic of markets are virtual control freaks with respect to public universities. This is motivated by the desire to exercise political influence in higher education for patronage, ideology, rents, or vested interests.

Micro-management by governments – both centre and states – accentuates problems. Every government and every political party are culpable in the growing politicisation of universities. This strangles autonomy and stifles creativity without creating any accountability. The quality of education is collateral damage.

Such political intrusion in universities is not new. It began almost five decades ago, has gathered momentum in the past three decades, and has now reached a stage that could be the edge of the precipice for public universities in India.

Starting in the late 1960s, state governments began to interfere in universities. For one, it was about dispensing patronage and exercising power in appointments of vice chancellors,

faculty and non-teaching staff. For another, it was about extending political influence of ruling parties. Unions of students, teachers and employees became instruments in political battles. Campuses were slowly turned into spheres of influence for political parties, as elections were won or lost.

It was not long before similar reasons began to influence the attitudes of central governments towards universities. Similar actions were a natural outcome. The turning point, perhaps, was 1977, the end of the era of majority governments and one-party rule. It gathered momentum after 1989. There were short-lived coalition governments. And there were regime changes after almost every general election. The competitive politics unleashed by changes in governments soon spilt over into universities not only as spheres of influence but also as arenas for political contests. The discomfiture with independent or critical voices, even if few, grew rapidly. Central universities were no longer immune.

Alas, the political process, parties and governments alike meddle in universities. The irony of double standards is striking. The same political parties when in government invoke public interest and when in opposition wax eloquent about autonomy and freedom for universities. The decline of public universities in India has been an inevitable consequence of this process. Every government laments the absence of world-class universities, without realising that it is attributable in part to their interventions and the growing intrusion of political processes. The downward trajectory has gathered pace. It takes years, even decades, to build institutions. But it takes much less time to damage institutions. We are simply mortgaging the future of public universities in India.

It needs to be stressed that the blame for the present state of our universities cannot be laid at the door of politics and governments alone. Universities as communities, and as institutions, are just as much to blame. The quality of leadership at universities has declined rapidly, in part because of partisan appointments by governments of vice chancellors who are simply not good enough as academics or administrators, and in part because most of the vice chancellors simply do not have the courage and the integrity to stand up to governments but have an eye on the next job they might get. The professoriate is mostly either complicit, as part of the political process in teachers' unions, or just silent, preferring to look the other way engaged in their narrow academic pursuits. Those who stand up are too few. The students are either caught up in the same party-political unions or opt out to concentrate on their academic tasks. For university communities, it is imperative to recognise that such compromises are self-destructive as acts of commission. So is opting out, as an act of omission. Indeed, if universities want autonomy, it will not be conferred on them by benevolent governments. They have to claim their autonomy.

The UGC is the problem which cannot be a solution. It performs the functions of licensing, regulation and disbursement. These three functions are not performed by one institution anywhere in the world. But such power enables the UGC to exercise enormous control over universities. Its interventions at political behest compound difficulties. Its belief that one-size-must-fit-all drives its fetish for standardization, whether curricula, appointments, promotions, salaries, evaluation, administration or institutional architecture. The outcome is that every university must move at the speed of the slowest, if not drop to the quality of the lowest. Economists describe this as the convoy problem. Such levelling crowds-out or pre-empts excellence, because it stifles diversity, pluralism and differentiation in higher education, all of which are necessary to develop academic excellence.

The problems with our higher education system are widely recognized. Several committees have submitted reports. There are blueprints galore, which gather dust on government shelves. The quest for excellence in higher education is long on words but short on substance. There is a consciousness about the problem. But stated intentions cannot suffice. It requires far deeper institutional change to eliminate the systemic flaws that have curbed, almost stifled, excellence.

It is absolutely essential that regulatory structures provide complete autonomy – administrative, financial and academic – to universities. Liberation from the shackles of UGC is a necessary condition. The existing parliamentary or legislative acts that created our universities also have many constraints and fetters. The solution might lie in an altogether new enabling legislation for what could be described as national universities, say twenty, of which ten are drawn from the existing pool while ten are created anew. These could, in a finite period of time, nurture academic excellence to attain world standards.

This poses a dilemma that should be made explicit. It is obviously tempting to select ten public universities from those that exist and support them in the pursuit of excellence since it takes at least one decade, probably longer, for a new university to surface and emerge as an institution. But universities that have been there for some time do carry deadwood, baggage and inertia. Their existing acts, statutes and ordinances could also be a drag. On balance, an enabling legislation common to such universities – old and new – which provides institutional autonomy and eliminates structural rigidities, would be preferable. And it might be worth thinking about ten new national universities with a mandate for excellence. The idea would be to create role models for others to emulate.

National universities must not be large. Their optimum size should be in the range 10,000 students. They should span a wide range of disciplines across languages, humanities, social sciences, physical sciences, life sciences, and earth sciences, while recognizing that knowledge often develops at the intersection of disciplines. They should have state-of-the art infrastructure, laboratories and libraries. Faculty members should teach both undergraduate and postgraduate students. The teaching should be in English because translations limit access to readings. There should be a special emphasis on attracting international students, as this would be a litmus test for the recognition of their standards and quality. These universities could also mentor other institutions.

Structures of governance must be innovative. It must be ensured that supporting governments, as well as promoting corporate entities or philanthropic individuals, are at arms-length in terms of decision-making, for these would be public universities. The best model would be a Board of Governors, to which governments or promoters could nominate at most one-third the total number. The other members, two-thirds or more should be independent, of whom one-half should be distinguished academics while one-half should be drawn from industry, civil society or professions. The chairman should be an eminent academic with administrative experience. Members of the board should have a term of six years, with one-third retiring every two years. The vice chancellor, to be appointed by the board with a six-year tenure, would be an ex-officio member. Except for nominees of governments or promoters, the board of governors should decide on replacements for its retiring members.

Financial autonomy is just as important. The government should consider extraordinary grants-in-aid for such national universities. These universities should have the freedom to set their own student-fee-levels. Endowments are a means of assuring autonomy in finances

over time. Thus, the government could consider providing a one-time-start-up endowment of Rs. 100 billion to each of these universities, with freedom to mobilise more resources for their endowments from industry, philanthropists, or alumni networks. They should also be allowed to invest funds in financial instruments of their choice by employing portfolio managers if required. Income tax laws could be amended to encourage contributions to, and accumulation of, such endowments.

Academic decisions about faculty, curriculum, admissions, examinations and evaluation, should be the prerogative of the university as an institution subject only to due process. These universities should have complete freedom in appointments of faculty members and their salaries. Differences in emoluments, both within and between universities, are necessary to attract and to retain talent. These universities and their departments should have complete freedom in deciding upon curriculum. Admissions of undergraduate and postgraduate students could be based on performance in a national entrance test combined with results in Class XII and the first-degree-course respectively. But 'needs-blind admissions' must be the norm so that once-admitted financial support is assured. These universities should have complete freedom in choosing their examination and assessment methods. Students should evaluate the courses taught to them and this feedback should be institutionalised. Both teaching and research should be subject to periodic peer reviews.

Academic freedom is primary because universities are places for raising doubts and asking questions about everything. Exploring ideas, debating issues, and thinking independently are essential in the quest for excellence. After all, knowledge develops only if we question existing knowledge. This means that students must have the freedom to ask questions just as faculty must have the freedom to question received wisdom in their respective disciplines. Indeed, universities as institutions must have the freedom to raise questions, express opinions, or articulate criticisms, in the wider context of economic, social and political spheres. Circumscribing this space, in any way, can only stifle learning, which, in turn, can hurt economic and social progress. Hence, the autonomy of this space is sacrosanct. It would enable such universities to be the conscience-keepers of economy, polity and society.

This autonomy must have a corresponding accountability. But it is essential for governments to recognise that the provision of resources to universities does not endow them with a right to exercise control. The resources are public money for public universities, which are accountable to students and society through institutional mechanisms that exist or can be created. For this purpose, it is imperative that structures of governance in universities are appropriate for, and conducive to, accountability. Good governance is necessary but not sufficient. There must also be checks and balances in the public domain. Rankings of universities perform an important role in this context. Such rankings, despite their limitations, provide students, their parents and society at large, such an institutional mechanism for accountability.

We must remember that universities are much like organisms that evolve, mature and grow over time. Such institutions cannot be transplanted, say, by inviting foreign universities to set up branches or affiliates, and experience from elsewhere suggests double standards because overseas campuses never match the quality of the parent. Successive governments have pinned their hopes on foreign universities as a quick-fix, indeed even a strategy, only to have their expectations belied. Similarly, successive governments have been enthusiastic about creating clones of national institutions that are success stories. But it must be

recognised that academic excellence cannot be replicated by multiplying the number of IITs, IIMs, the IISc, so that there is one in every state. This approach is based on an opportunistic reasoning and a poor understanding of why or how these pioneering institutions succeeded. Reality, as it has unfolded, reveals that names are neither magic wands nor short cuts. These cloned new entities rarely follow in the footsteps of the pioneers. The inevitable outcome is a dilution of the brand equity of existing institutions that have attained academic excellence.

Institutions in higher education evolve much like organisms. Their trajectory is shaped by the context, which can range from the conjuncture in time, through the quality of leadership, to the political context and the social milieu. Thus, as an approach, it would be far better to reform regulatory structures, provide autonomy to universities, and ensure accountability through systems rather than interventions or controls, to create an environment that encourages freedom of thought and is conducive to learning. The quest for uniformity is the worst enemy of thinking, creativity, understanding, and knowledge, which can thrive only in open societies. One-size-fits-all is a flawed presumption. Indeed, diversity and differentiation are an integral part of the quest for excellence in higher education.

All this, I recognise, is easier said than done. Yet, we must remember that it has been done elsewhere. It needs political will, changed mindsets, and a belief that a better world is possible.

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Measuring Undergraduate Student Perceptions of Quality in Higher Education: A Study in Karnataka, India

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Abstract

Privatisation of higher education, resulting in an increased competition, has paved the way for debates and discussions upon the quality of educational services provided. The major stakeholders in this system are students, who have different demands of quality depending upon their particular demographics. The 5Qs perception model of Zineldin (2007) argues that the quality of higher education and student satisfaction is a cumulative construct, summing up various facets and variables of the educational institution. Based on this model, an empirical study using the probabilistic stratified random sampling method, was carried out with 1500 male and female students belonging to three different faculties, namely social sciences, commerce and basic sciences from three different type of colleges, namely government-run, private aided (funded partially by the government), and private unaided in the Indian state of Karnataka. Using the Principal Component Factoring to isolate important factors of variability, a Tobit model was applied in order to analyse the data. The regression reveals that the student's demographics such as age, religion, gender, and nature of college governance, among other variables, made a significant impact on their perceptions of quality of the higher education they pursue. Students from private aided colleges appear to enjoy better quality of educational services as they have the benefits of both government and private colleges by having good quality teachers and better infrastructure as provided by private colleges. The policy implication in this era of privatisation of higher education appears to be that investments in colleges of this nature should be expanded and encouraged in order to foster better quality in the Indian education system.

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Statement of the Research Problem

Quality in higher education is an endemic issue being debated across all stakeholders of higher education and is a feature of the imperfectly competitive higher education markets today. The endorsement of a market approach to higher education, epitomised by Milton Friedman (1962) has resulted in a change in perception of it from being a public good to being treated as a private good. Increasing demands by students for quality as their out-of-pocket expenses began increasing due to shrinking government funds to education resulting in increasing tuition fees (Balderston: 1983, Reiko: 2001) and post-WTO (GATS), the increasing competition among providers has put pressure on quality. Massification (Mount and Belanger: 2004), increasing aspiration and participation levels in higher education (Weathers, 1983), changing demographic profile of students (Lancrin: 2008), and changing perceptions about goals of higher education has led to large scale enrollments and the provision of innovative programs and modes of delivery. Today public scrutiny of institutions of higher education and increased interventions by government agencies to monitor quality has resulted in issues of accountability (Mount and Belanger: 2004). The interplay of these factors has raised concerns about quality in higher education. Treating education as a private good has resulted in using 'marketing' concepts by the providers of higher education and the student is treated as a consumer of higher education programs. The economic need of many higher education institutions to enrol more students, arising from competition, has resulted in an increased effort to maintain standards, accountability, and credibility to build their institution image. They began to replicate the business models measuring service quality (Milakovich: 1995) and today higher education is being driven by business and corporate values (Kezar: 2005). As competition is intensifying among private, public, and online education providers, the business methods of measuring customer satisfaction is proving valuable to higher education institutions as well (Shank, Walker and Hayes: 1995). Initiatives were made towards quality management in higher education to ensure basic standards (Melia: 1994). The 1990s was an era of intensifying interest in the quality in higher education (Wood, Topsall, and Souta, 2005). The problem is that quality is defined predominantly by the institutions rather than by the students. Institutions' attempts to improve quality are aimed at building their 'image' rather than meeting the student needs. Students' experience within an institution of higher learning entails the formation of several perceptions relating to quality. Measuring them continues to be a challenging and daunting task.

The higher education sector in India is the third largest system in the world and is weighed down by a shortage of well-trained faculty and poor infrastructure, and it is often charged of outdated and irrelevant curricula and low levels of research. Indian universities are far below international standards with no Indian university featuring in any of the rankings of the top 200 institutions globally (Anand: 2012). Thus one of the key challenges before the education system in India is to find a path to reinvigorate the institutions so that they could improve standards and reach international benchmarks of excellence. The Government of India has recognised the need to improve the quality of education by focussing on 'quality improvement' in the Sixth Five-Year Plan 1980-85, Tenth Plan 2002-2007 and reaffirming its position in the Twelfth Plan 2012-2017. This will build on the momentum generated during the Eleventh Plan and continue the focus on the 'Three E's' — expansion, equity and excellence (GoI Plan Documents). The University Grants Commission (UGC) also set up National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) in 1994 to assess and accredit

the institutions of higher learning for quality. Given this background of Indian higher education, it is imperative that an assessment of the service quality is carried out to make improvements in the quality of education provided. Studies measuring students' perceptions about quality in higher education indicating the demand side of quality in the Indian education scenario are lacking and thus, this study becomes relevant.

A Brief Review of Literature

Quality can be viewed as exceptional, as perfection (or consistency), as fitness for purpose, as value for money and/or as transformative (Harvey and Knight: 1996). Student feedback about the quality of their total educational experience is an area of growing activity in higher education institutions around the world (Harvey: 2001). Positive perceptions of teaching on student satisfaction (Krahn and Bowlby: 1997), students' opinion in the education provided to them (Koni *et al*: 2013), whether students' needs and expectations are satisfied (Tan and Kek: 2004), quality of the lecturer and the student support systems in the provision of quality education (Hill: 1995), instructor teaching style (Dana, Brown and Dodd: 2001), quality and promptness of feedback from instructor, clarity of expectations from instructor (Fredericksen *et al*: 2000), teacher quality, and its effect on quality of teaching (Rice: 2004), students' satisfaction from the physical environment and services provided (Uka: 2014), and research emphasis (Porter and Umbach: 2001) all indicate that there are different dimensions to the area of study. Gender differences is also observed to affect course satisfaction as male students were more satisfied than female students with various aspects of the the courses they pursue (Cohen and Brawer:1996). Above all, students have a consumerist ethos towards higher education, wanting 'value-for-money' (Camille and Mawer: 2013).

Measuring quality of higher education has been akin to measuring service quality, and for the purpose the SERVQUAL instrument (Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry, 1985, 1988, 1994) has been widely accepted. It contains 22 items for measuring service quality across five dimensions namely tangibility, reliability, responsiveness, security and empathy. It measures the difference between consumers' expectations and perceptions of quality-of-service delivery. In general, consumers are dissatisfied only if the experienced quality is worse than expected (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry, 1988). Hill (1995) was among the first to use SERVQUAL to measure the quality of university services, and recognised the difficulty of measuring expectations for students. Hill claims that many students do not even know what expectations they have, or which expectations they had about the services provided. Çerri (2012), and Vaz and Mansori (2013), studied the impact of five factors of service quality on students' satisfaction. However, there are conceptual and operational difficulties of using the 'expectations minus perceptions' approach and studies have focused on this aspect (Francis: 1995). Ideally data should be collected on expectations from students before starting the course and later track the same students to know their current perceptions and then measure the gap between expectation and current perceptions. Also, the set of studies using SERVQUAL has not investigated the link between technical and functional quality dimensions to the level of student satisfaction in higher education. None of the identified studies have empirically examined how the atmosphere, interaction and infrastructure might impact the overall student quality perception and satisfaction.

This increasing demand for good quality higher education by students and society is akin to the pressures that the business sector has been facing for decades in their production

process. Once the issue of quality in higher education was accepted as an idea worth pursuing, Universities around the world started to look to industry and the private sector economy for models to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of their operations (Galloway: 1998). As a result, quality management techniques from the industry began to be adopted in many of the universities around the world (Lee: 2008). The International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) was established in 1991.Some universities in Europe and the UK began to introduce the European Framework for Quality Management and generic quality system standards such as ISO 9000, in order to improve their service quality performance (Chua: 2004). Performance indicators were adopted by some countries in order to generate methods of assessing education quality (Johnes: 1996). The latest model of quality management imported from the industry is Total Quality Management (TQM), (Goldman: 2005; Kanji and Tambi: 1999 and Koch: 2003). It is a combination of quality and management tools aimed at increasing business and reducing losses due to wasteful practices. However, TQM is not viewed as a practical tool for assessing quality in higher education as managing quality in the education context is different from that in the manufacturing sector and hence elusive (Green: 1994). Another tool known as Total Relationship Management (TRM), on the other hand, focusses on the totality and integration of different internal and external functions, qualities and relationships in an organisation. At a university, TRM can be seen as a multidisciplinary approach focusing on the interaction and integration between university staff and student categories (Zineldin, 2000). Dicker et.al (2017) in their study on 340 students across four-year groups established the fact that there was broad unanimity in the recognition of the importance of both teaching and learning and relationships with academic staff in defining quality. Allam (2018) studied 91 randomly selected students from the business and engineering colleges under the Prince Sattam bin Abdulaziz University and found that total institutional factors emerged as one of the most prominent predictors of the outcome and assessment of quality in higher education.

Zineldin (2007) used the perception model and stated that measurement of students' perceptions about the quality of service offered by a university can reflect the level of overall student satisfaction within the institution. He focused his proposal on the measurement of perceptions in five quality dimensions namely: object quality, process quality, infrastructure quality, interaction and communication quality, and atmosphere quality (5Qs model). Later Zineldin and Vasicheva (2012) in their study argued that the quality of higher education and student satisfaction is a cumulative construct, summing various facets and variables of the educational institution, such as technical, functional, infrastructure, interaction and atmosphere. This 5 Qs model is presented below.

The 5 Qs Model

The 5Qs model focusses on perceptions. Zineldin (2007) proposed a framework to measure satisfaction in higher education institutions which comprises five quality dimensions.

Q1. *Quality of the object:* (education or research itself): It measures quality in the academic programme and course content, relevant and up to date contents. It measures the education itself, the main reasons why students are studying at a university.

Q2. *Quality of the Process:* It finds out how to deliver the object (lectures, seminars, individuality, flexibility, creativity, field work, exam forms, etc.). It measures how well educational activities are being carried out.
Q3. *Quality of Infrastructure:* It measures the basic resources which are needed to perform the educational services: technical and human resources, technology, knowhow, relationships, internal activities and how these activities are managed, cooperated and coordinated.
Q4. *Quality of Interaction and Communication:* It is about the relations between students and the university or vice versa, between staff and students, among staff, etc. It measures the ability for the institution to manage and meet the students' needs as well as the accessibility to permanent, current and timely information.
Q5. *Quality of the Atmosphere:* It is about the trust, security, high projection and positioning that reflect the institution as a whole.

Based on the foregoing review, an empirical study, in the state of Karnataka, India was conducted to explore factors that have a significant impact on students´ satisfaction in higher education. More clearly, the aim of this paper is to assess student perceptions on various dimensions of quality in higher education, indicating student satisfaction. The study examines the relationship between the demographic profile of students and the qualities that they demand from higher education institutions.

Methodology

Undergraduate students from all social sciences, commerce and basic science faculties enrolled during the period 2012 to 2015 in all colleges in Karnataka, was the population under study. We choose 10 out of 30 districts of Karnataka based on their HDI rankings. Three districts with high ranking, four with mid level ranking and three with low level ranking districts were selected. The sampling procedure applied was the probabilistic stratified random sampling with adequate representation between semi urban and urban colleges. These colleges were again stratified into three categories, namely government, private aided and private unaided colleges. In these colleges, male and female students were randomly selected from three different faculties namely basic sciences, social sciences and commerce. We thus collected data from 1500 students from thirty colleges during this period. Data was collected between July and December 2015. This sample is probably one of the largest found in literature for a single state in India with regard to perception-based studies on quality in higher education.

A focus group discussion was conducted in early March 2014, with 60 randomly selected college students from basic sciences, social sciences and commerce from government, private aided and private unaided colleges in the city of Bangalore, to identify some of the qualitative dimensions as perceived by Indian students which aided in developing the questionnaire. They discussed factors impacting their perceptions on quality in higher education. Students' feedback from focus group sessions to a large extent determined the questions. A pilot survey was carried out and the final questionnaire with appropriate changes was framed. The final questionnaire had 13 sections with 166 questions pertaining to respondent profile, meaning of quality, purpose met by college education, active and collaborative learning, interaction in class, syllabus and evaluation, campus enrichment, faculty interaction, teacher quality,

infrastructure facilities, support in personal growth, and financial indicators. Questions were ranked using a five-point Likert scale response format.

The data collected were analysed using Factor Analysis, which is a method of discerning unobservable variables under study. In the present study, these unobservable variables would include student perceptions of different facets of institution quality. Several questions/statements employed in the study are selected on the basis of specific criteria, including quality of the object, quality of the process, quality of infrastructure, quality of communication & interaction, and quality of atmosphere. These are based on Zineldin's (2007) classification of dimensions of service quality. In all, 65 questions were selected, including 15 in the first section, 14 in the second, 14 in the third, 10 in the fourth and 12 in the fifth, which were considered to be most pertinent to each topic. Principal Component Factoring was employed using SPSS 13 in order to isolate the most important factors in driving quality. Through factor analysis, indices were created of groups of variables indicative of each particular factor. These were used as dependent variables in a Tobit regression model. Though a linear regression model can be applied, the theoretical limitation of the dependent variable to values between 1 and 5 constrains analysis. Wooldridge (2003) suggests that the Tobit model provides a much better approximation.

Tools of Analysis

In order to ensure that factor analysis is applicable and relevant for the sample at hand, we must first ensure that the independent variables are highly correlated in the population. The determinant of the variable correlation matrix evaluates to 1.44E-11, which is very close to 0. Bartlett's test of sphericity provides an approximate calculated Chi-Square value of 36864.265, which, under 2016 degrees of freedom, is significant at a near 0% level and this continues to outline the possibility of employing factor analysis in the study. For the present sample, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy evaluates to 0.958, an extremely high value that falls into the category of "marvellous" according to the accepted convention, which further emphasizes the relevance of factor analysis. Principal Component Factoring was employed using SPSS 13. Thus, 11 factors were isolated, whose eigenvalues were greater unity. The factors were rotated through varimax orthogonal rotation, and the results are shown below:

TABLE 1

Variance Explained by Selected Factors

Factor	*Eigenvalue*	*% of Variance Explained*	*% of Accumulated Variance*
Factor 1	8.028	12.545	12.545
Factor 2	4.993	7.802	20.346
Factor 3	3.590	5.609	25.956
Factor 4	3.177	4.965	30.920
Factor 5	3.136	4.900	35.820
Factor 6	2.425	3.789	39.609
Factor 7	2.013	3.145	42.754
Factor 8	1.903	2.974	45.729
Factor 9	1.780	2.781	48.509
Factor 10	1.571	2.455	50.964
Factor 11	1.222	1.090	52.873

Source: Computed from field work

Variables significant to a particular factor are considered if their absolute factor loadings were greater than, equal, or very close to 0.6, i.e., there is approximately a 60 per cent or higher correlation between the factor and that variable, which would imply that the variable is closely related to the factor. For some factors, no variables had a factor load of 0.6 or greater, and for these, we selected a few variables with the largest factor loading. The questions selected for each factor, along with their factor loadings are summarised in the table below:

TABLE 2

Factor Loadings of Selected Variables

Factor 1 Loadings		*Factor 2 Loadings*		*Factor 3 Loadings*		*Factor 4 Loadings*		*Factor 5 Loadings*	
q2f	0.6543	q3g	0.7399	q5e	0.6242	q1e	0.6659	q1m	0.6272
q2h	0.5995	q3h	0.7180	q5f	0.7433	q1f	0.7541	q1n	0.6590
q2i	0.6890	q3j	0.7383	q5g	0.6818	q1g	0.6590	q1o	0.6328
q2j	0.6194	q3k	0.7546			q1h	0.6018		
q2k	0.7255	q3m	0.6360						
q2l	0.6956	q3n	0.7316						
q2m	0.6982								
q3a	0.6151								
q3b	0.6599								
q3c	0.6812								
q3d	0.7001								
q4j	0.6070								
Factor 6 Loadings		*Factor 7 Loadings*		*Factor 8 Loadings*		*Factor 9 Loadings*		*Factor 10 Loadings*	
q2a	0.5698	q4f	0.6686	q5j	0.5950	q4d	0.7394	q1a	0.5276
q2b	0.5136	q4g	0.7578	q5k	0.5003	q4e	0.7199	q1c	0.4523
q2c	0.5290	q4h	0.7071	q5l	0.6073			q1k	0.4087
q4a	0.6116								
Factor 11 Loadings									
		q1i					0.4600		
		q1k					0.139		

Source: Computed from field work

Factors correspond to specific categories of variables, and are hence grouped accordingly and named, the names given to each factor, according to the questions that they comprise, are given below:

1. Factor 1: Quality of Teachers and Teaching Process
2. Factor 2: Physical Infrastructure Quality
3. Factor 3: Quality of College Atmosphere
4. Factor 4: Personal Development
5. Factor 5: Quality of Syllabus
6. Factor 6: Interaction with Administration
7. Factor 7: Interaction with Teaching Staff
8. Factor 8: Organisation of Tests and Examinations
9. Factor 9: Interaction with Peers
10. Factor 10: Application of Knowledge
11. Factor 11: Adaptation to the 21st Century Economy

In comparison to the components proposed by Zineldin (2007) in his 5Q model of quality in higher education, we observe that Factors 5 and 10 conform to "Q1: Quality of the Object"; Factors 1 and 5 conform to "Q2: Quality of the Process"; Factor 2 conforms to "Q3: Quality of the Infrastructure"; Factors 6, 7, and 9 conform to "Q4: Quality of Interaction and Communication"; and Factor 3 is comparable to "Q5: Quality of the Atmosphere".

Each factor was considered a dependent variable in terms of quality. As the demography of students change, the perceptions of quality in each dimension changes as well. To consider each factor as a dimension, we created an index of the variables (responses to statements). This was done by computing a weighted average of responses to statements included in each dimension of quality. The weights employed were the factor loadings of each variable. Thus, variables that had higher factor loadings (were more correlated to a factor) were weighted higher than others. From the factor analysis, 11 dependent variables were formed, each corresponding to a particular dimension of quality.

The independent variables included in the study were: Age, Gender, Religion, District per-capita income (from 2008 data), Course, Nature of the College, Location of the college, and the amount of fees paid by the student. Three types of colleges were included under the purview of this sample: government, private-aided, and private-unaided colleges. Government colleges are colleges owned and operated fully by the government. This includes hiring and maintenance of staff as well as infrastructural facilities through government funds. Teachers in government colleges are recruited through national or state wide procedures and screening. Often, this ensures higher quality teachers being selected by the system. Government college teachers are also offered better pecuniary and non-pecuniary incentives. Private aided colleges are colleges owned by private entities, but which receive aid in various forms from the government. Common types of aid include grants for facilities and payment of teachers' salaries. Thus, private aided colleges have teachers employed by the government, who receive the same incentives as those employed in government colleges. Infrastructure and allied facilities often tend to be privately managed in private aided colleges. Private unaided colleges are owned and operated entirely by private entities with no assistance from governments.

The sample was selected keeping in mind national ratios of students enrolled in each type of college. Thus, 684 students from government colleges, 602 from private aided colleges and 214 from private unaided colleges were surveyed. The dependent variables are continuous ones that range between 1 and 5. For the purpose of analysis, we may assume that they are approximately normally distributed. While an ordinary least-squares linear regression may be applied, the analysis is constrained by the fact that the values of the dependent variable lie strictly between 1 and 5. In such cases, the Tobit model provides a much better approximation than the approach of linear regression, and thus, this method is used to analyse the data.

The Tobit model is applied when the dependent variable is zero for a substantial number of observations, while other observations assume a variety of other (positive, continuous) values. Here, all negative values map to zero and there is no theoretical possibility of the variable assuming a value outside the specified range. The model in question is also referred to as a censored regression model (Verbeek: 2004). In the data on student perceptions, all values below 1 are mapped to 1, while all values above 5 are mapped to 5. The distribution is thus truncated on two ends. For simplicity, we can assume that the lower bound of the values is 0, which is tantamount to shifting the values down by one.

Hence, the standard Tobit model may be adapted as follows:

$y_i^* = x_i'\beta + \varepsilon_i, \quad i = 1,2,\ldots.,1500$
$y_i = y_i^*, if\ 0 < y_i^* < 5$
$= 0\ if\ y_i^* < 0$
$= 5\ if\ y_i^* > 5$

Where y_i^* is the response variable, ε_i is assumed to be NID $(0, \sigma^2)$, and independent of x_i', the matrix of independent variables. β is the matrix of coefficients. Now, we must have:

$$P(y_i = 0) = P(y_i^* < 0) = P(\varepsilon_i \leq -x_i'\beta) = P\left\{\frac{\varepsilon_i}{\sigma} \leq \frac{-x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right\} = \phi\left(\frac{-x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right) = 1 - \phi\left(\frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right)$$

And similarly, : $P(y_i = 5) = P(y_i^* \geq 5) = P(\varepsilon_i \geq x_i'\beta) = P\left\{\frac{\varepsilon_i}{\sigma} \geq \frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right\} = \phi\left(\frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right)$

This, the likelihood function will be given by (Adapted from Verbeek: 2004):

$$L(\beta, \sigma^2) = \prod_{y_i^*<0} 1 - \phi\left(\frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right) + \prod_{0\leq y_i^* \leq 5} \frac{1}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2}\frac{(y_i - x_i'\beta)^2}{\sigma^2}} + \prod_{y_i^*>5} \phi\left(\frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right) \quad (1)$$

And the log likelihood function is thus given by (Adapted from Verbeek: 2004):

$$logL(\beta, \sigma^2) = \sum_{y_i^*<0} \log\left[1 - \phi\left(\frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right)\right] + \sum_{0\leq y_i^* \leq 5} \log\left[\frac{1}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2}\frac{(y_i - x_i'\beta)^2}{\sigma^2}}\right] + \sum_{y_i^*>0} \log\left[\left(\frac{x_i'\beta}{\sigma}\right)\right] \quad (2)$$

The parameters β have a double interpretation: as the impact of change in moving from an extremely dissatisfied position to one of higher satiation, and the impact of a change in the independent variable on the dependent one. Tobit regression is carried out using Stata, which utilizes maximum likelihood estimation of function (2) above. Since the data collected is cross sectional, there are relatively greater chances of encountering heteroscedasticity. In order to reduce this, the 'robust' option is employed as well. In addition, the lower bound is specified as 0 and the upper bound is specified as 5, which provides a two-limit to bit regression model considering each dimension of quality as the dependent variable and the various independent variables listed above. Dummy variables are created for each of the categorical variables Gender, Religion, Course, Nature of the College, and Location of the College. There are eleven regression tables, one for each of the factors underlying perceptions of quality. However, in the explanation following, we have only showed nine out of these that showed a significant response. The following section describes the results from these regression analyses.

Econometric Results

The regression reveals that the student's gender, course, location of the college and the amount of fees paid have a significant impact on their perceptions of the quality of teaching staff. Further, while no significant differences are presented between Hindu students, Muslim students, and students of the "Other" category of religions, a significant difference was found between Christian and Hindu students, wherein a Christian student would, on average, rate his or her staff 0.17 points higher than a Hindu student. The course (BA, BSc, and BCom) plays

an important role in determining perceptions about the quality of teaching staff. Science students, on average, rate their teachers the highest (0.22 index points higher than social science students), and commerce students fall in the middle between science and social science students (on average, providing an index rating 0.15 points higher than social science students). As the fees paid by a student increase, their perceptions of teacher quality tend to decrease. A Rs 10,000 increase in the fees paid by a student would, on average, decrease their index value by 0.036 points. There are several explanations for this phenomenon. One possible explanation lies in the higher fees paid by students in urban colleges. Judging from the significant difference seen in this index between urban and semi urban colleges, wherein a student from an urban college would on average produce an index value 0.22 points lower than a student from a semi-urban area, we may say that teachers are perceived to be of lower quality in urban areas while compared to semi-urban ones.

Age was found to be significant in determining a student's perceptions of quality of physical infrastructure. A negative coefficient reveals that as students grow older, they tend to assign lower scores for quality of infrastructure. Infrastructure includes multimedia facilities, laboratories, computers, lavatories, and facilities for research. For every single year increase in a student's age, they will on average provide 0.06 fewer points in the composite index. Perhaps the most significant difference in infrastructure quality perceptions is explained by the nature of the college. Government colleges were selected as the base category in this case. In comparison, students from private aided colleges provide index scores 0.36 points higher than those in government colleges. A larger difference can be observed between private unaided colleges and the base, wherein students provide an index that is 0.6 points higher. Thus, there appear to be perceptible differences in quality of infrastructure between the three types of colleges. Government colleges, maintained fully by the government, tend to fall to disrepair due to lengthy bureaucratic processes required for assigning and utilising funds. Addition of new infrastructure and maintenance of existing ones tends to be neglected as centralised fund allocation systems fail to be responsive to unit level needs of colleges. Stakeholders in individual institutions lack the required authority to facilitate change in these areas either. As a result, the infrastructure in government colleges tends to lag behind their private counterparts, as observed in the analysis of perceptions. Private aided colleges may have lower levels of infrastructure than unaided colleges due to reliance on grants leading to lower fees charged to students and a lack of adequate revenues to carry out necessary or desired institutional developmental activity. Similarly, fees are revealed to be a significant explanatory variable in this regression. Students who pay higher fees tend to generate index scores lower than others. A Rs 10,000 increase in fees decreases the index score by 0.053 points. Private unaided colleges, in general, tend to charge higher fees than government and aided colleges. These colleges rely heavily on advertisements, which focus largely on infrastructural and tangible facilities. Inability to meet the standards promised for the fees charged could possibly be the driver of lower perceptions in this area.

At the 10 per cent level of significance, there is seen to be divergences between students of different religions in their perceptions of the quality of college atmosphere. Muslim students, and students from the "Other" category of religions, on average, tend to rate questions in this area lower than Hindu students, while, on the other hand, Christian students, tend to rate their experiences in this area better than the base category, Hindu students. A Muslim student's index is on average 0.19 points lower than a Hindu student, a student from the "Other" category's index is 0.39 points lower than a Hindu Student.

A Christian' student's index is 0.23 points higher than Hindu students. Christian students are predominantly enrolled in Christian colleges, and thus find themselves in a better atmosphere, thus providing higher index rating. Hinduism, being the religion of a majority of the students (81.27 per cent), similarly, leads to the development of colleges that consist mostly of Hindu students, who then find their respective atmospheres relatively amenable. However, Muslim students attend Christian and Hindu colleges, as do students from the "Other" category. This possibility leads to relatively lower perceptions of atmosphere. Hence, religion plays an important role in determining perceptions of atmosphere quality of a student. Students from private aided colleges rate the atmosphere 0.33 index points higher than those from government colleges. Students from unaided colleges, however, are only found to have 0.26 higher index points than government college students. Thus, private aided college students perceive their atmosphere to be the best in the sample, while private unaided and government college students fall behind, finding the atmosphere less suited to their demands and requirements.

Gender, Course and Fees play significant roles in determining students' perceptions of the support their college provides in terms of personal development. Female students tend to provide higher rating (0.12 index points more, on average) than male students in this area. Though both Science and Commerce students differ significantly from Social Science students in their perceptions, there appears to be little difference between the former two course types in this area. Students from both courses, on average, generate indices 0.21 points higher than the base category (Social science students). A Rs 10000 increase in fees paid decreases the index value, on average, by 0.041 points, indicating that colleges that charge higher fees tend to focus less on personal development. There is no significant difference between perceptions of students in difference locations (urban and semi-urban) or in different types of colleges (government, aided or unaided). Thus, this divergence appears to be caused by some other factors.

The district PCI plays an important role in determining perceptions of syllabus quality. A Rs 10,000 increase in annual per capita income leads to a 0.018 point higher index in the model. Institutions in high income districts may have access to higher quality personnel and information services, allowing them to set and execute better quality syllabi than institutions in low-income areas. Commerce students, on an average, find their syllabus to be of higher quality than students from the other two courses. A commerce student has an index of syllabus quality 0.19 points higher than of a social science student on an average. It is probable that higher emphasis on extracurricular and non-academic activity coupled with a tighter screening process ensures higher quality students that enter into commerce whilst compared to the ones that enter into the social sciences may be the force driving this difference.

Students from "other" religions differed significantly in their rating of interaction with administrative staff than those from Hindu, Christian or Muslim backgrounds. A student in the 'other' category would, on average, have 0.38 points lower in the index of interaction than a student from one of the other three religions. College administration is often made up of individuals with similar backgrounds to that of the students. A Christian college may thus have a Christian administration with a majority of Christian students, while the same may be true of a Hindu or Muslim college. This allows the development of a better rapport due to the coexistence of people from similar faiths. Similarly, students from private aided colleges tend to find the interactions with administration better than students from the other two categories of college. There was no significant difference between private unaided and government

colleges in this area. A student from a private aided college generated, on average, 0.22 higher index points than students from a government college, while controlling for other factors. Restrictive bureaucratic procedures followed in government colleges, and a strong profit motive in private unaided colleges, may reduce the perceptions of students of the interactions they have with their respective administrations. Thus, it appears, that private aided colleges are perceived to have the highest quality when we consider the interactions that students have with administrations.

Students from urban areas find their interactions with teaching staff to be less satisfactory than those from semi urban localities. An urban college student will, on an average, rate his interactions with teachers 0.1 lower than a student from a semi-urban college. This result is similar to the relationship between the index and per capita income, as urban areas tend to consistently have higher per capita incomes than semi urban and rural areas. Differing social structures among the regions may tend to disallow interaction to adequate levels between students and teachers, leading to this result. Students from higher income districts rate the quality of interaction lower than students from relatively lower income districts. A Rs 10,000 increase in per capita income decreases the index value by 0.0203 points on average.

The course in which a student is enrolled plays a significant role in determining perceptions of quality by a student of tests and examinations organized. A science student's rating tends to be 0.33 points higher than a social science student, while that of a commerce student is 0.37 points. This difference perhaps arises from the response to the statement "I consider the evaluation of my answer papers to be fair". The more objective nature of answers given in science and commerce examinations makes valuation less subjective. Subjective evaluation of examination transcripts in the social sciences would leave students less than satisfied on average with their results and the fairness of the system than their counterparts in the sciences and commerce. The governance structure of the college also alters perceptions of students in this area significantly. Students from private aided colleges attach better perceptions to the organisation of examinations than students from the other two types of colleges. Students from private aided college generate indices 0.32 points higher than those from government colleges, while the difference between students of private unaided and government colleges is 0.27 points. The more flexible management lacking transparency present in private colleges may be the reason for poorer rating from respondents from private college students. Students from government colleges felt that the delay in conducting examinations and announcing results reduced the quality of the evaluation system in these colleges. Stricter discipline and regulations placed by aided institutions play a role in better organisation and management of examination, leading to better student perceptions in this area.

The only significant variable in influencing the quality of interaction with peers is the course. Commerce students rate their interactions the highest, which on average leads to 0.35 higher index points between commerce students and the base category. Science students tend to rate their interaction with peers 0.22 points higher than arts students. Students from commerce streams appear to have larger participation in extracurricular activities, giving them more opportunities to work in teams and in developing better peer group interactions, leading to higher scores in this area. Science students, similarly, are often encouraged to work on projects in groups, which strengthens peer group interactions and increases perceptions of quality by them.

Discussion & Conclusion

The study revealed several issues relating to quality while examined from a demographic perspective of students. Quality is not an unidimensional thing, and perceptions of quality differ according to respondents' age, gender, religion, course, college location, college management, and income. The findings suggest that government colleges are better perceived in terms of quality of teaching staff while private colleges appear to be on the other end of the spectrum, with a heavier focus on tangible infrastructure. With government colleges being ranked lower in terms of tangible infrastructure, it important that these colleges provide better facilities to students and there by improve quality. Private aided colleges, on the other hand, appear to have the benefits of both government private colleges by having good quality teachers and better infrastructure. This is probably due to the freedom hey enjoy in terms of decision making as well as access to government fund channels and placement of teachers on government payrolls. The policy implication in this era of privatisation of higher education appears to be that colleges of this nature should be developed in order to foster better quality in the Indian higher education.

The lower level of student-teacher interaction in urban centres from all three categories of colleges is an area of concern and improvements in this area can be considered essential for building quality in colleges. Designing courses and activities which provide more opportunities for interactions with students can help mitigate this problem to some extent. Investments in teacher training, recruiting better quality teachers and providing them with better pecuniary and non-pecuniary benefits is imperative to improving quality in higher education. Changes in course structures providing for better interaction among peers in social sciences with more scope for interactive learning experiences also can contribute to enhancing quality of these courses. There is a need for stricter discipline and regulations to make examinations better organised and managed, to improve student perceptions in this area. The study also found that girls, across the spectrum, appear to report greater satisfaction than boys with regard to all dimensions of quality taken for study. The reasons for this are intriguing and possibly related to social structures that exist. However, this study could not capture this element of demography to explain this difference. A study of this kind can also be extended to include familial backgrounds and issues concerning gender to explain this particular phenomenon.

Further research may include studies of other types of education programs, including but not limited to: management courses, medical education, engineering and other professional and vocational courses. Another possible area of study is to examine the variations in quality within each governance structure. Perceptions of quality are found to vary significantly with the demography of students, and thus customised models of education need to be designed to meet the quality requirements of different groups of students, colleges, and courses.

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Reconceptualising Teacher Education from an Emancipatory Perspective

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Abstract

This paper offers a critical and reflective perspective on the prevailing practices in teacher education with the help of a situational analysis to make teacher education emancipatory in its nature. While contextualising teacher education in India, the paper explains and illustrates the concept and practice of value-based social education, relationality of radical tradition and moral deliberations in teacher education, and critical analysis of teacher as a political actor in education. Further while proposing an emancipatory teacher education, diverse conceptual perspectives have been used to address the required changes. The ideas of criticality and reflection have been favoured, based on value base social practices and ethical rationality which largely constitutes the idea of critical pedagogy encompassing rethinking of ideas and reconstructive actions in teacher education. The article also discusses the existing challenges in teacher education and possible reforms for building a better teacher education in the contemporary context. At the end, the paper suggests suitable strategies to make teacher education more reflective, critical and emancipatory.

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Contextualisation

Teacher education in India is an important and huge endeavour. There are thousands of colleges and departments, government and private, which prepare teachers at various levels — primary, elementary, secondary and higher secondary. Some 1,680 institutions are providing teacher education degrees and diplomas in India, and are affiliated to the National Council of Teacher Education (NCTE). (NCTE: https://www.ncte.gov.in/website/RecognizedInstitutions.aspx) Some of them provide degrees whereas others provide diplomas. It shows that a massive number of teachers are being prepared every year. Although there are schools where a single teacher teaches the entire primary school, a hardly little percentage of prepared teachers are observed in schools. No doubt, we need teachers in schools but the whole idea of preparation of teachers and appointing teachers in schools exist with a wide gap. Enhancing the quality of teachers and teaching is the greatest challenge concerning school education. This challenge also encompasses teacher education within its domain of inquiry and generates space to raised valid questions to the teacher education programmes running across India. This also unquestionably establishes the need and importance of the reforms required in teacher education.

The prime objective of this article is to explore the role of teacher education to make educational practices in school and teacher education relatively more emancipatory in nature. For this, we need a more reflective, analytical and critical oriented approach to teacher education, so that the larger agenda of developing a just society can be achieved via collaboration with other reforms happening and required in social, economic and political spheres. We need to see reforms in teacher education as prerequisites to make progressive changes in other aspects such as education of school administrators and other supporting personnel, better working space and conditions in school and universities, professional structure and process and practice of teachers at various levels, policies related to provide degree and diplomas via teacher education and a larger level diverse social, economic and political contextual realities which shapes our society as a whole. The above mentioned reforms are required essentially to make teacher education better, but their impact may not be relevant and lasting if we fail to improve the quality of teacher education as a whole.

In its beginning, the article shares views about the normative basis for a critical approach to teacher education which strengthens and helps in recognition of emancipatory practices in education, particularly in schools. Then after, article focuses to create a link of these ideas with radicalism in teacher education along with the review of diverse theoretical and conceptual perspectives and pedagogical practices that have been taken up in teacher education by educators to understand and organise thinking and associated practices within this folklore. Further, the article tries to address the hopes and possibilities to achieve this emancipatory agenda for teacher education and suggests a few reforms required to be pursued in teacher education.

There is no doubt that emancipatory reforms with a critical vision may be carried out, in its best possible scope, by teacher educators. The teacher prepared via such a critical and emancipatory education programme can provide and create spaces and opportunities for meaningful learning for children in schools. It is significantly important to mention that focus here is on deliberating upon moral concerns. While doing this, it is to be kept in mind that a radically oriented educator does not give or provide, rather s/he educates. To understand this idea further, there is a need to develop a frame of viewing and

understanding *'education as a value-based social practice'* and '*engaging with reflective inquiry'*. Thereafter, the article discusses the basis on which reflective inquiry relates to a critical perspective to deliberate issues related to the moral aspect, how to see a teacher as political activists with regard to classroom teaching and outside the classroom in a larger social context. This way the article tries to argue not only to consider teacher educators as critical-reflective practitioners rather accepting them capable to facilitate future teachers and students to move toward emancipation. Let us start by familiarising ourselves about the relationship between value-based social practice and education.

Value-Based Social Practice and Education

Social practice can be seen as complex and diversely collaborative human action which is socially established that incorporates diverse activities such as maintaining family life, doing jobs, education and so on. In or via these activities we try to achieve higher standards of excellence which are fitting to and moderately perfect of, that form of activity. But why do people engage in these activities? It is because that human has the power to achieve excellence to its possible end. To do these activities effectively, we have to have a collegial kind of relationship with others and within, because in such collegial relationships if we take the role of a subsidiary with relation to others, we will be able to work toward creating a better humane society. It is important to keep in mind that subsidiary here has not been used for unimportant or secondary or subordinated, rather it has been used for respecting the values of justice and audacity with other in diverse kinds of relationship. While doing and engaging with any social activity we need to deal with each other sincerely and fairly and without any sense of conviction toward others. Carrying these values is fundamental in value-based social practice.

This way one of the fundamental aims of education is the development of a learner's identity, moral and cognitive self-sufficiency, belongingness to the community, and thinking and caring about others and so on. In this light education can be seen as constructed social practice that is organised with honest, hardworking and moral teachers for providing spaces for learners to become social, moral, caring, intellectual, and autonomous.

This perspective is value-laden and provides a critical understanding of a reflective approach to teacher education. To revisit the role of teacher or what kind of teacher, we want to prepare for students, we generally work in three ideas as given below:

- We reflect on ways or means via pedagogy and curriculum to achieve the set aims;
- We reflect on the consequences and outcomes of pedagogical practices;
- We reflect on the value-based and moral implications of pedagogical practices we use in school and teacher education

Here more emphasis has been laid on the third idea in comparison to the other two, and the reason behind focusing on this idea is that the value aspect is not the only aspect to be considered central, but also to work toward moral and value-based examination practices in schools and teacher education. It is believed that if teachers are able to do a moral analysis of school practices and pedagogy, they will not only facilitate the understanding of school but also develop as reflective practitioners. How will this happen is a crucial question? One way could be providing the exposure of lived practices and experiences to novice teachers and teacher educators with a community. In brief, education which is value-laden social practice

is the reflective and critical goal of education. So the aim of the proposed reflective and critical teacher education is to provide spaces and opportunities to develop cognitively and morally independent and autonomous teachers, who are concerned about others and motivated to provide better developing spaces and opportunities to learners. Since now, the idea and discussion have been abstract which requires to be discussed in a context to provide it more applicability in real-life context. To take the whole idea from the abstract to the concrete reality, it would be extended upon *relational aspect of radical tradition and moral celebration regarding teacher education, critical analysis of teacher as political actor in education* and *context of school and teaching (critical role or teachers and teacher educators to work toward a critical, reflective and liberating education).*

Relationality of Radical Tradition and Moral Deliberation Regarding Teacher Education

The paper argues for such teachers in future who may assess and examine the pedagogic implication and school practices about certain ethical norms which largely incorporate the principle of morality and political values which lead towards a connection between classroom practices and larger social context that is constituted with lived social practices. It is strongly believed that such a connection will make a teacher capable to raise fundamental and critical questions concerning the social, moral and political aspects of real life. It is important to work towards critical and reflective values-based teacher education in order to abolish social injustice and inequality. Radical tradition believes that schools promote inequality and work for an unjust society. Teachers are required to address such critics with reflective thinking and make the role of a school more emancipatory. But many others do not accept these arguments and they argue that school prepares their children adequately if not perfectly for future needs. Others have reasons for the argument that school does not provide spaces for developing indispensable cultural knowledge in the learner, whereas some other believe that school even do not prepare learners according to the need of the market they will be requiring in future. This way a variety of diverse perspectives do exist. It is important to know that explaining the critical and reflective perspective of school and teacher education will facilitate the process of understanding valued laden education with diversity and plurality and will help the teacher to take a thoughtful, honest, reasoned moral stand about education and pedagogy. If teachers can be prepared to be critical and reflective, with the ability to qualitatively assess the context, assumptions and values and their impact on education, and then only we can prepare prospective teachers with clarity of the task, uniqueness in the ability and wide-range in perspectives, where they will be able to take clear stand about moral choices. The aim of critical and reflective teacher education is not about making moral judgements on any social and other practices; rather it carries a more indepth meaning where teachers will become able to critically revisit the prevailed practices and aims of education and also the available alternatives to make school education more liberating. For example, if we find any prevailed practice unjust and it promotes inequality through school education or activities, a critical and reflective teacher must critically and with multiple perspectives evaluate the situation while incorporating distinct views. But this is possible only if teacher education motivates honest and moral reflection which is based on diverse choices and critical de-construction and re-construction.

This does not means that teachers will only be restricted and committed with the perspective they develop during teacher education programme, rather a teacher will be able to deal with ever-emerging issues in education if they will generate or develop their perspective about practices and create lived discourse to take a sufficiently sound position. In the absence of this, they will not be able to educate their learners appropriately. Teachers need to share their perspectives with learners but also share the diversity in position taking without which students will only develop a narrow perspective about the concepts being discussed which will generate inadequacy in their learning. Teacher educators for sure presents wide range of perspectives so that the prime aim of teacher education to make future teachers critical and reflective can be achieved.

Critical Analysis of Teacher as a Political Actor in Education

Is teaching a political act? According to Ginsburg (1996), "politics is considered as involving the control of the means of producing, reproducing, consuming and accumulating material and symbolic resources." It is important is to note that this idea is not restricted to state or government; rather it relates with the process of decision making vis-a-vis who takes decisions and who receives what and how, with regard to available resources. Education is a good example of this political process.

Teachers are transformative intellectuals and it is this idea which makes education a knowledgeable, skilled and reflective profession which demands commitment and moral laden honesty. Such commitment is also required because they teach in a diverse classroom which ranges from caste, class, gender, and economic status and so on. Directly or indirectly, they also share and transmit school culture, and while doing this they facilitate the process of social, political and personal meaning-making process. And teachers are centric to this entire process. This critical and reflective role of a teacher supports the transformative intellectual. Arguing for the transformative role of the teacher does not mean that to undermining the educator role of a school teacher. The role of the teacher is not only politicising rather they have a significant role in educating learners. Here, Hennery Giroux's (1986) idea is also subject to critique where he argues while politicising schooling they blur the very and significant role of the teacher as an educator. Both the roles of the teacher as mentioned above from the liberating education point of view are important but supporting the political role over the educating role is again subject critical inquiry. The prime role of the teacher is educating learners. The political role of teacher should be of the outside classroom, which definitely should promote better education to the masses. A teacher must encourage learners' vision and voice and also independent decision making which largely contributes to developing a healthy person with a healthy identity. While doing this, the teacher should necessarily provide spaces and opportunities to learners to critically revisit the prevailed moral values and belief system, which requires awareness about diverse values and belief systems and associated issues and concerns. Un-thoughtful and unplanned involvement of students in the political sphere may hinder their moral rationality than enabling moral critical rational inquiry.

A liberating and emancipatory education and teacher who teaches for such education must think critically on pedagogic practices that simply promote disciplinary control and provide only one-sided perspective to achieve or gain maximum consensus. The role of a teacher and pedagogy should be to make learners critical and reflective so that their process

of *'choices'* can be empowered and strengthened, which develops them to become capable to live in a democratically just society with all required rights and responsibilities based on moral rationality. A kind of '*just minded social practices'* needs to be developed so that hindrances and deterrents in living a humane life can be removed.

To work towards such just minded social practices, the teacher and students must develop consensus on some common hindrances which challenge a peaceful life. But, is it that simple to create or develop this consensus or agreement, certainly not. We may agree that gender, caste, class, etc. are hindrances to achieve a peaceful life but others may not agree upon this. Not only this, even if agree upon the causes, may not agree upon the way these factors contribute to social life as hindrances. Despite being a good idea, it is difficult to make several people arrive at a common consensus or full agreement on any concern and issue and a 'just minded social practice.' Expecting teachers and students to arrive consensus on such ideas or areas where they may fundamentally think differently and then take an active part in political practices does not look appropriate and looks mismatched. So, it will be difficult for teachers and students to reach consensus while knowing available diversity in ideas about political and general context.

But it does not mean that teacher should not present conflicting and contradicting viewpoints, nor does it mean that teacher should not maintain a moral norm for practices happening in the classroom. It is not only difficult rather impossible to call education as 'education' at any level actually education without presenting controversial or contradictory ideas and also the absence of certain moral rules of practice. The discussion on these two moral standpoints will explain the idea being highlighted here. Important to keep in mind that these two ideas have larger importance and implications for interaction taking place at a personal level and social policy level. As long as classroom practices are concerned, a peaceful resolution of the conflict is required. Certain norms must guide the discussion in the classroom to resolve the conflict. At the social policy level, this resolution would be directed towards assessing the diverse ways and approaches to deal with various in-border and outside-border conflicts. A teacher needs to understand that such a peaceful resolution is important as these conflicts may be harmful and one or another kind of danger is associated them to peaceful and humane life. But the entire practice will become a matter of concern when a teacher propagates only one-sided perspective and motivate learners to follow a particular cause. Doing this definitely will not provide a critical perspective towards an issue. Creating or developing consensus among students by presenting only one-sided perspective will come under the category of false consensus. Presenting only one-sided perspective is more vulnerable and risky than presenting multiple perspectives to students.

If we analyse, this approach (one-sided perspective) carries many parts. By it, we present only unclear and confused ideas of emancipation and liberation, where the idea of freedom and liberation is used for the sake of catchphrase which is rhetoric in its nature. These catchphrases become more powerful than actual conceptual foundations. Such a situation generates confusion in decision making. This confusion is also tied up the freedom and learners' identity, which needs adequate elaboration. The idea of freedom is not only closely related to the idea of identity but also dependent on identity. As a person possesses an identity and works accordingly, the same way freedom is acting out of an identity. This means freedom is secondary to identity and freedom is an act of identity. We can also understand it this way that if identity is presented than associated freedom will also exist.

Now we can directly relate it with education. If identity is a prerequisite of freedom and education provides space and opportunities for developing a better identity than certainly proper attention needs to be given to education and its processes and practices. But, the agenda of education which tries to generate false consciousness about consensus on ideas will be damaging in the long run to a humane life. Concerning teacher and classroom context, it is essential to identify and respect students' identity and, for this purpose, better opportunities should be provided by teachers to develop students' identities. So, when ideas will generate and work actively from the identity of the student, we will be able to call it liberating education.

Context of School and Teaching

By now, we are clear about the idea that school is required to develop critical and reflective minds. In this regard, future teachers must be aware of the work teachers are expected to do in school and what school practices and conditions barricades or hinders teaching and learning and what are the ways to deal with these hinderers. Important to know that most available and prevailed discourse is related to reflection, reflective practices and critical reflection associated with individual teachers and not to the larger social context. This discourse on reflection does not adequately represent the working situation and condition of teachers in the school in real sense. If one tried to relate it with the social context they move only to the institutional level. Such practices leave learners of education with ~~a~~ good and effective practice but do not provide them broad implications of these practices in the social, political and economic contexts. In this situation, teacher education must take up this work to critically evaluate the context of school problems and obstacles available in better teaching-learning practices and obstacles to the goals decided by teachers. Certainly, future teacher develops ideas and perspectives about various concepts such a how children learn, diversity in the classroom, pedagogic practices and so on. Here, the role of teacher educator becomes very crucial to make future teachers understand the actual context of school education and how does it facilitate and hinder the teaching-learning processes and goals.

To illustrate it further, we can take an example of ability grouping. Imagine yourself as a teacher and you have recently joined a school. In your school, ability grouping practice prevails, but you are not convinced with this idea. What would you do? The answer to this question is not simple because there are live pieces of evidence where ability grouping had helped a lot, particularly administratively. Ability grouping has also contributed to establishing schools as intellectual and social sorters. Now, you can realise that understanding ability grouping from your perspective may not be appropriate for all and from all perspectives. You have to think about a practice from diverse perspectives before you change it.

So, in this section, we talked about the school and teacher education from a liberating point of view which promotes reflection and criticality while considering moral stances and diversity significantly important. It also discusses the role of the teacher as a political actor and educator while assessing and examining the context and conditions of the school. The next section will highlight the practices and strategies used by teacher educators to meet the larger goals of teacher education which make education emancipatory in its real sense.

Existing to Required: A Contextual Analysis of Teacher Education

As for the argument made above about school education and teacher education, many may not agree with it. But a majority of readers will agree that there is a strong need to develop or planned reflective, critical and emancipatory teacher education. For which we have to use multiple strategies and pedagogical practices from diverse perspectives and lenses to achieve the larger goal of teacher education in our country. To develop our understanding deeper in the given context, following are being discussed:

- Prevailing and dominating approaches/perspectives in teacher education
- What is required to make teacher education reflective, critical and emancipatory

Prevailing and Dominating Approaches/Perspectives in Teacher Education

It is essential to critically revisit the existing practices and processes before proposing anything new. This critical and reflective review will help us to understand the proposed idea more effectively as it will provide a contextual base to it. There are many perspectives which exist regarding teacher education, but these may be categorised in three ways, i.e., *confirmative (conventionalism), apostate (rational)* and *radical*.

Confirmativism considers teacher as an artist and teaching as an art. For this view, we learn mainly by doing which makes us an expert in an area (here it is teaching). This doing enhances our experience to become an expert. So, becoming a good practitioner is equals to becoming a good teacher. The major critique and challenge to this view are that how will one decide about good or not good teaching. What constitutes a good teaching practice is not explained and elaborated satisfactorily. The underlined assumption of this perspective is the relationship between teacher and trainee, where a teacher with good relations with trainees will give all cultural knowledge to trainee and gradually the novice become expert. This shared idea indicates that the trainee does not have much to decide from own her/his own rather everything is given to him to be accepted and learned. How much one can take from the given will be accepted as a good practitioner. They cannot decide their directions for learning and development. Teachers are prepared only to be diffused into already created categories and needs based on existing social, political and economic requirements. Though, if we ask universities and teacher educators today, none will accept that they are following a conservative idea of teacher education, but it is very evident in today's teacher education programmes in our country.

Apostate or logical or rational is the second prevailed idea on which teacher education is based. This idea questions the confirmativist idea and stands on the weaknesses of earlier ideas. For this, teaching is an applied branch of science and teachers are as technicians. It also sees the teacher as a technician who practices the teaching strategies resultant from logical and systematic research. Surely, this perspective does not allow us to engage with a broad perspective of teacher education rather provides a very limited scope to understand teacher education which deals with preparing technical masters of teaching-learning processes. The Apostate perspective does not involve future teachers in the development of curriculum, debates of curriculum and development of various policies related to school. They are at receiving end and have very little control over deciding the major substance

of teacher preparation programme which also includes pedagogy and assessment. But unfortunately, larger social spaces and context has not been critically viewed by this approach regarding the teacher education programme. Rather the context whether it is social, political or others are taken as given and the future teacher are not determining them, which to some extent strengthen the idea of preparing teacher to be fit into an existing educational role.

The third practice which is more a theoretical idea as of now and has little evidence of perfect execution is called a radical idea or perspective. This perspective is deviated from the earlier two and has a goal to prepare critical teachers for schools with the help of a critical teacher education programme. This also facilitates critical thinking about both the earlier perspectives which conceptualises emancipatory and liberating educational experiences in teacher education and school education. Regarding such reflective teacher education, it is also important to understand the idea of reflection which has also been seen in the frame of technocratic stance. Important to know that reflection is also seen in two ways, reflection as an end and reflection as means or process to reach to ethical decision making, strategies of critical practices and recognition of end in an ethical frame of reference. It also explains reflection as a process that does not incorporate a critique of any social, educational and political milieu and as a process which submits critiques of conventional and logical perspective. Radical perspective incorporates critical pedagogy (reflective thinking and reconstructive practices/actions) with reference to teacher education context. This critical pedagogy promotes reflective review of existing practice and works towards taking reconstructive actions.

Important to know that various sub perspectives and approaches are used under a broader umbrella of radical perspective to provide a framework to organise thinking processes and practices based on evolved thinking. The emancipatory teacher education which is based on reflective practices, also requires to develop an equality (egalitarian) based teacher education programme and for this, variety of pedagogic processes are required based on equality perspective such as mutual dialogue, equal space for sharing ideas, inter-cultural communication and so on. This will also help us to achieve the aim of teacher education to prepare transformative intellects for the nation who will work for equality based democratic values and as an anti-hegemonic system. Important to note that if we want to develop a schooling system such where they can promote democratic values and just values for social life than teacher education must incorporate cultural politics which encompasses the study of history, culture, power relations, hegemonic practice, etc. Such teacher education will prepare teachers to work and go beyond the limited liberation aims. Moreover, they will also search out possibilities of developing alternative pedagogic practices so that, via teacher education, school system can also be made more democratic space which is equal and accessible for all and contribute in learners' identity development.

Based on the above understanding, two ways can be suggested to promote critical pedagogy in teacher education. *First*, it must focus on teaching and required skill, understanding, and abilities, etc., which contribute to the development of a positive self. *Second*, an awareness of the knowledge which helps in understanding the contextualisation of teaching practices. This contextual analysis will enhance teachers' understanding of social, political and ethical concerns which directly or indirectly improve school practices and associated sub-practices.

With this understanding, in the next section, some practical strategies have been suggested to make teacher education reflective, critical and emancipatory.

Strategies Required to Make Teacher Education Reflective, Critical and Emancipatory

The idea of teacher education, outlined above, is based on reflective and critical thinking which intended to promote critical pedagogy in teacher education. It talks about the emancipatory nature of curriculum and instruction of teacher education, which contributes in making future teacher believers of an egalitarian and humane society. For this, specific strategies also required to be used. We need to keep in mind that any strategy or practices do not make education reflective or critical unless they are used with ethical moral values. It is also not necessary to label certain practices under critical pedagogy because many teachers do use reflective and critical practice but not relating it with the ideas of critical pedagogy.

To develop a healthy idea about critical pedagogy in teacher education future teachers need to be aware and familiarised about the ethical, moral and political setting of school along with pedagogic practices used in school, diversity among teachers' identity, teacher action in school and obstacles in the path of curriculum construction and pedagogic practices in school. But basic questions are still pertinent and that is what strategies will help in promoting critical pedagogy via teacher education. In general, there are many ways, but six of them which are felt to be more crucial are discussed here. These are *engaging with action research, theorising with grounded theory research, engaging with ethnographic research, reflective writing, critical review of curriculum and associated concerns* and *managerial approach with a positive attitude.*

Engaging with Action Research

Action research has been appreciated time and again for its contribution in the teaching profession but unfortunately, till date, we are not serious about incorporating it as an essential part of the pre-service teacher education programme. If some field-based components are incorporated, they are insufficient. In teacher preparation process, action research has not been taken thoughtfully. Action research has been seen as a self-governed practice which helps a teacher to become an effective practitioner and thinker who understand the needs of the learner and know how to deal with raised concerns and challenges. Action research has never been used in our country as a way to take teachers towards critical pedagogy. We also do not have much evidence-based studies that are conducted to prove the effectiveness of action research in pre-service teacher education. Important to mention that India is not the only case, the majority of western countries also do not incorporate action research as a mandatory part of teacher training. Though there is no common understanding of the process and steps involved in action research but still, *identification, plan making, executing, observing* and *reflecting* are largely accepted while engaging in action research. In a sense, it is good that there are diverse ways of conducting action research because it gives space to innovation in developing different kinds of research methods.

Prospective teachers may do action research alone, i.e., individually, and they can also do it collaboratively. What way they choose, depends upon the concerns/issues they want to explore and deal with. Such a process will develop capabilities in future teachers to understand the learner and learning context. They also learn not to blame learner rather they have to plan various strategies to facilitate learning in the classroom. But using action research is not part of our teacher preparation programmes. Teacher educators must provide prospective teacher awareness about conducting action research. It is fine if the teacher uses different kinds of ways to do this research. Adding this component to teacher education will prepare better teachers to work towards emancipatory education.

Theorising with Grounded Theory Research

The fundamental problem of teacher education in India is that it uses western frameworks and theories to explore and resolve the problems of our context. This mismatch does not provide any substantiate understanding of our context. It also happens because we socialise ourselves in given theorizations and then visit the field to do research. The pre-field socialisation hinders our free exploration and tries to impose exiting ideas into the field. This becomes a cause that we are not able to contribute to theorisation. Grounded theory research allows a person to visit a field without any prior theorisation so that a person can explore the field naturally and without any biases. Academicians who favour '*theory than practice processes'* argue that by grounded theory researcher may research what already have been searched. But to be very honest, how does it matter, because whenever we visit the field we will come to know new ideas. Even if we come to know the same idea, we examine it in different contexts which provide a different kind of understanding about the field reality. So, introducing grounded theory research will provide scope to prospective teachers to contribute ~~in~~ to theorization. This theorisation may not be as strong as an established theory but the prospective teacher will develop a kind of ability which will help them to generate their small 't' theories, which they use every day in their classroom to deal with everyday problems.

Grounded theory research has enough strength to improve the deficits of teacher education programmes to some extent because it develops criticality, reflectivity, and generativity in future teachers. Such critical and reflective teacher education contributes to preparing teachers who have faith in the emancipatory nature of education.

Engaging with Ethnographic Research

To make teacher education more effective and strengthen its capabilities to prepare liberated and emancipatory teachers ethnographic research can be used as an effective method. Arguing for engaging prospective teachers in ethnographic research has a reason, as it helps teachers to become aware of the unrevealed contextual issues, which are generally unaddressed by other qualitative and quantitative researches. Ethnographic research provides an indepth understanding of the field. Same way, engagement of students in ethnographic studies will help to familiarise themselves with the school system with detailed integrities. A prospective teacher can do ethnography of the school where he/she is doing school life experience during the internship programme. Peter Wood (1985) has supported the use of ethnography in teacher education programmes because it assesses the

unknown school realities which are covered. A teacher should spend some time in school so that curriculum, pedagogy, examination and school ethos can be critically explored and a depth understanding can be developed about the school system and associated issues and possibilities of progressive change. Needless to say, teacher educators must facilitate prospective teachers to become familiar with ethnographic research methods theoretically and help them to research the given school. Always keep in mind that all schools have something unique to explore and have a specific social, cultural and political context. Generally, we carry a common-sense idea about school and school practices, which develop undesired and unclear understanding of schooling. Ethnography rather provides spaces for exploring the alternative practices which broaden prospective teachers' perspective about schooling, learner, learning, and knowledge. It helps a teacher to know the ideological assumption of curriculum a school carries inter-relational practice among various stakeholders in education and the social, political and economic context in which education is rooted.

Reflective Writing

Reflection is an essentially important practice in teacher education. It makes teacher education reflective and critical. Many educational thinkers and scholars have contributed in this idea and advocated the need and importance of using reflective journal writing or reflective diary writing in teacher education. Using reflective journal writing at a personal level is good but there is a strong need that it should be used in professional spheres. Representative use of reflective practices promotes critical pedagogy in school education via teacher education. Writing reflective journal has the advantage over other such tasks like preparing portfolios and case profile of a leaner etc., because reflective journal writing provides an open space and opportunity to write one's critical experience towards oneself and towards larger social context.

An essential segment of writing a reflective diary should also be added to the tasks of a prospective teacher. This way tasks or assignments are not left merely assignments. It becomes important, relevant and required to think critically about the tasks given to learners. Once teachers are enculturated in this practice they can also promote this in learners. This will promote reasoned and analytical thinking based on moral ethics which evolved from self and social deliberations. Overall, writing a reflective journal provides a required strength to teacher education which will be transferred to school education and eventually leads to critical, reflective and emancipatory education.

Critical Review of Curriculum and Associated Concerns

According to Reid (1998), "the fact is that curriculum policies in education have been characterised by dominant-subordinate relations where the voices of teachers, and the school communities in which they work, have been marginalised in the process of determining the official curriculum."

Critical review or analysis of the curriculum of teacher education needs to be done by teacher educators, researchers and prospective teachers. This develops a comprehensive perspective of teachers towards the curriculum they are going through and will be going through in schools. Teacher educators along with future teachers must be engaged in

deliberation over curriculum and its development. This strategy will help to critically analyse the prevailed ideological standpoint on which the current curriculum is based. It will also provide an indepth understanding of the alternative idea to develop a more egalitarian and emancipatory curriculum for teacher education. This engagement is also important so that new and emerging content and pedagogic practices can be given space in curriculum wherever it is needed. Certainly, it will also enhance the decision making of teacher educators and also prospective teachers with regard to analysing, developing and re-constructing curriculum at various levels of education. Not only this, but it will also involve them in the process of curriculum development for school education. They will be able to contribute to the critical revisit of the curriculum development and its application part. This contribution and active engagement will make them feel associated with the whole process of the curriculum which they have to transit in school. This ownership will develop a kind of attachment and this attachment will facilitate the fair and honest execution. For this outcome to be achieved, according to (Harris, 1990, 1994) there will be need to develop the appropriate critical knowledge, skills, and political will and commitment.

Managerial Approach with Positive Attitude

The managerial approach here means managing field exposure of the prospective teachers. It has been observed that over sometime teacher education practices have been deteriorated particularly about field experiences. What kind of field exposure do they get is very significant and crucial. What happens when they go to school for the internship, or field observation or any other fieldwork during the course? How these activities have been managed in recent years, is a crucial question to be explored further. If we take the example of a school experience programme, what is the frequency of supervision by the teacher educator, even if the supervisor supervises, is there any kind of '*collaborative supervision'*. Collaborative supervision means collaboration between school teachers and teacher educators. In the process of supervision, we must account for the school teacher role very valuable and significant. No doubt, they deal with school concerns every day and have their contextual ways to handle them. But unfortunately, our teacher education system does not adequately incorporate their experiences for the betterment of future teachers' education. This entire model is based on a hierarchal pattern where school teacher rests at the last ladder of this hierarchy. We have not explored the possibilities of incorporating existing school teachers' roles in making prospective teachers' training better. So, the model of such collaborative supervision needs to be developed. Similarly, other field-based engagements need critical and reflective revisiting to promote critical pedagogy in the entire teacher education system.

All six strategies can be used in teacher education to make it emancipatory, critical and reflective based on the idea of critical pedagogy. This will facilitate the process of various kinds of deliberation based on moral norms, ethics, and rationality on prevailed practices, ideas, and ideologies in teacher education. Engaging with action research, theorising with grounded theory research, ethnographic studies, reflective writing, critical review of curriculum and managerial approach with a positive attitude, all these have their different but associated roles to play in making teacher education more effective and useful which will eventually contribute to school education.

Conclusion: Achieving the Aim

Concluding this ever-emerging idea and discourse is not easy and also not required. However, an effort has been made here. How to achieve the agenda or aim described above depends on many combinations of ideas, facts, practices, and possibilities. We must always keep in mind that teacher education in the current context in India has inadequate status, disjointed and uncoordinated curricula, and inadequate investment of financial resources, poor enhancement and continuance. How state and private stakeholders '*rationalising*' teacher education is also a major concern and challenge. Although theoretically people agree that they want a critical and reflective teacher education where every component must have an aspect of reflective practices, in praxis, the situation is not that satisfactory.

However, keeping the current situation in mind and for achieving the aim discussed above teacher educators have a significant role to play. Teacher educators have to be an active part in the debunking and reconstruction of this radical and emancipatory change in teacher education. A teacher educator cannot be aloof or isolated from this developmental change in teacher education.

It is also significant for teacher educators to be role models for others. It should not be like s/he only lectures about aspects of critical pedagogy, rather s/he actually should portray the example of such pedagogic practices. This will help prospective teachers to adopt such practices with rationale that it works. It also means that teacher educators must be reflective of their pedagogic practices. This will also improve pedagogic practices in school.

Teacher educators also need to work towards '*social and educational rationalisation*' to in order reform teacher education, instead of using only '*technocratic rationalisation*'. In this light, they also have to critically analyse the factors outside teacher education that influence teacher education externally and set limitations on required improvement in teacher education. Along with this, reforms taking place outside teacher education also need to be supported such as the occupational value of the teaching profession, developing better workable conditions in the school, larger education and economic policies and so on. Beyond educational participation, it is required for a teacher educator to work towards larger political and economic struggle which influence the socio-economic condition of people in a larger context and create a kind of domination.

So it has been asserted here that the current arena of teacher education has numerous issues and challenges and needs fundamental change. This fundamental change is not about its duration or commitment of teacher educators etc.; moreover, this change is about the way we perceive the entire education system from school to university level. This causes a need to develop critical, reflective and emancipatory teacher education based on moral and ethical rationality.

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Understanding Sri Aurobindo's Integral Education: Nationalism and Sustainable Harmony

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"The conditions in which men live upon earth are the results of their state of consciousness. To seek to change conditions without changing the consciousness is a vain chimera."

— The Mother

Abstract

The evolutionary challenges that come with the advent of the age of internationalism has made it essential that mankind's approach to national and global issues becomes progressively integral. The paper seeks to explore the philosophy of integral education of Sri Aurobindo. How it can be instrumental in creating a holistic worldview that accepts and assimilates diversity? It also aims to discuss the perils of uniformity in the progressively pluralist modern age. Nationalism is seen as a force of egoism, prejudice and division. Why it has become evidently crucial to develop a true philosophy of nationalism that helps in building and promoting a stable and secure advent of internationalism? It also brings out the necessity of understanding the indivisibility between matter and spirit. This inclusive approach may explain unity amidst diversity.

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Introduction

The central concern of humanity in its evolutionary process has been a creation of a global environment for sustainable progress and harmony. However, the paradox of multiplicity in terms of opinions held, sense of duty, expectations of the society and our own distinct sense of ethics, morality and convictions make it a formidable task. Living through and within the confines of caste, class, religion, language and ethnicity has further widened the gap between humanity and its desired goal of establishing a lasting foundation of global harmony. The spirit of harmony, in essence, is nature's endeavour to promote the cause of the evolutionary journey of mankind.

The world today is undoubtedly moving steadily and definitely towards globalisation. Therefore, the realisation of global peace and harmony becomes even more imperative for the advent and smooth functioning of an international world order. A subtle undercurrent, which is characteristic of a certain revolution towards principles of globalisation is, conducting itself on multiple levels. On a surficial material level, we see this progress aided by technology, information, science, infrastructure, trade, industry, global issues and international organisations. However, the inner consciousness has not matured in keeping with the outer developments and parameters of progress of the human spirit. Which is reflected time and again through instances of conflict and disharmony across individuals, societies and nations. As long as our actions, duties and thoughts are guided and moulded externally, merely because we are told to do them without developing an inner understanding of why we should do them, the disharmony and vagueness will continue to persist between inner spirit and exteriority.

Keeping in mind the lack of homogeneity and universality between these indicators that set the boundaries of distinction, this paper seeks to address the need to develop systems, pedagogies and principles that can help modify, and work towards, harmonising the existing disparities to a certain extent. The mind is a significant starting point in this respect. Integral education can perhaps play a crucial role in mending the human weaknesses and ignorance that often lead to these mindsets of intolerance and discrimination. The beauty of human diversity may continue to prevail. The acceptance of diversity must become the highest legitimate aspiration springing from the innermost consciousness of humanity, by means of integral education, as propounded by Sri Aurobindo. The merits and necessity of education have been accepted by ancient minds and modern intelligent alike, beyond dispute. "But there is not quite so universal an agreement or common attainment to a reasoned or luminous idea on what education is or practically or ideally should be" (Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, 1956: 5).

This paper seeks to establish the necessity of an integral education that helps in formulating the right pedagogical mindset so as to facilitate sustainable peace and harmony and eventually lead to the evolutionary internationalism. Delicately yet closely associated with the right philosophy of education is the philosophy of nationalism. It is imperative to develop a contemporarily relevant pedagogy of nationalism. This paper highlights on the value and the decisive role of integral education in the shaping of national and international human mind, consciousness, soul and character. The all-inclusive form of education can help in formulating the right pedagogy of nationalism and eventually internationalism. Without undermining the significance of ancient wisdom across all cultures, the need perhaps is to build an understanding and philosophy of education that is entirely new and not just an

edited version or sterile resuscitation of a past system. Like Sri Aurobindo said, what we need is, "An education proper to the Indian soul and need and temperament and culture that we are in quest of, not something faithful merely to the past, but to the developing soul of India, to her future need, to the greatness of her coming self-creation, to her eternal spirit" (ibid: 5).

Thus the main aim of this paper is to explore the idea of integral education and the philosophical aspects associated with it. What is the basic premise of integral education? What is its philosophy? What are the principles of application and consequential vision? How can its practice become a guiding light towards cultivation and inculcation of a true philosophy of nationalism for the contemporary nations of the world? How will integral education foster an environment conducive to creation of that variety of social genius that may be able to lay foundations of progressive international civilisations?

Approaches and Theories of Nationalism

The human race has been on a continuous journey to arrive at the point of creation of a perfect balance between antithetical elements. This quest has witnessed mankind in various stages of transition. In this process we see the variations in the laws of development of the individual, society and the nation. One such concept is that of nationalism, which has shaped the course of human life. Despite the extensive affect it has on determining and moulding inter-personal behaviours of nations; nationalism was relatively not given much recognition as a subject of scholarly interest. Nationalism as a concept and doctrine has been surrounded by controversies, not only with respect to the realties of its origin but also its nature and intent. Umut Ozkirimli says, "For much of nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was seen as 'passing phase' both by liberalists and Marxists alike, hence as 'intellectually unproblematic' " (2000: 1). We find two sorts of responses to nationalism in the nineteenth century. "First was the approach of scholars and thinkers who were sympathetic to nationalism and who used their works to justify or enhance particular nationalisms. The second was the critical approach of those who have been sceptical of nationalism and who saw it as a temporary stage in the historical evolution of human societies" (ibid: 22). Even when nationalism was recognised as a subject matter of study by sociologists, historians and political scientists, for a long time, the projection of its understanding was piecemeal. The scholars' understanding of nationalism up to the First World War was more concerned with the merits and defects of the doctrine than with the origin and spread of the national phenomenon (Smith, 1993: 257). Another group of philosophers believed nation-state to be an alternative to the 'idiocy of rural life and pre-capitalist parochialism" (MacLaughlin, 1987: 1)

Evolutionist thinkers asserted that nationalism would gradually wither away with the establishment of a peaceful international order (Halliday, 1997: 360), while others have attempted to label nationalism as the modern and secular surrogate for religion (Smith, 1998: Ch. 5). "The Marxists were indubitably the most important group within the critical camp. That nationalism has always created difficulties for the Marxist school is well known, and these difficulties have been both political and theoretical" (Kitching, 1985: 99). Marxist historian Eric J. Hobsbawm believed that both nations and nationalism are products of "social engineering" (Ozkirimili, 2000: 116). Hobsbawm says that to preserve and consolidate the foundations of unity, nations invent and even reinvent traditions in

situations of fragmentation resulting from rapid industrialisation or other sudden social changes. Talking of 'invented traditions' Hobsbawm (1983: 1) says, "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rule and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."

Sri Aurobindo's view of nationalism, on the other hand is more integral and holistic. Not only he recognises the essential conditions that form the basis of nation and at the same time professes love for one's country, *Janmabhumi*, he also expounds the love for the culture of the land, which imparts the essential element of cultural uniqueness. Sri Aurobindo says, "geographical unity, a common past, a powerful common interest impelling towards unity and certain favourable political conditions which enable the impulse to realise its self in an organised government expressing the nationality and perpetuating it's single and united existence" (1972: 507).

According to Sri Aurobindo, the nation is not just a piece of earth, not a figure of spirit nor a fiction of mind, rather it is a mighty '*Shakti'* which is composed of the '*Shaktis'* of all the millions of units that make up the nation. He says the nation is veritably a soul, which is immortal and, even when geographically fragmented or divided, it has the power to reunite itself as one unity in diversity. He believes that even though the spirit, form and equipoise worked out differently in different parts of the world, the aim and the need of creating a social, political and economic order, bearing the attribute of fixity of status and striking unity of individual and collective interest, that is uniform and widespread. This consciousness of unity, according to Sri Aurobindo, is fostered as a result of an evolutionary process involving diverse stages of development, that are dependent on common types of civilisation accompanied by an apparent order of society. Sri Aurobindo believes in the existence of a 'nation-soul' along with other external manifestations that help in building the concept of nations. He has thus provided a 'spiritual-evolutionary' model of nationalism which is grounded on the consciousness of inner psychological unity. He believes that *"a nation unit is basically a manifestation of the psychological unity or of the nation-soul, which has the quality of abandoning of egoism both individually and collectively and also venturing to think beyond communal lines"* (1972: 360)

The philosophy of nationalism propounded by Sri Aurobindo aims to reinforce the ideal of fraternity. Sri Aurobindo says is it possible "*for man (to) rise to the third ideal of French Revolution along with liberty and equality the greatest of all the three, till now only an empty word on man's lips, the ideal of fraternity or, less sentimentally and more truly expressed as inner oneness. That no mechanism social, political, religious has ever created or can create; it must take birth in the soul and rise from hidden and divine depth within*" (ibid).

The key point that differentiates Sri Aurobindo's philosophy of nationalism from most other approaches to understanding this term is that the general nature of thought and thought-process does not go into the detail of ideas of things. The growth of an idea generally finds its source from the tangible corporeal world of human existence, dwells a little in the mind of an individual or the race and then in that partial stage of its growth, scrambles to manifest itself in the outer world. Just like the sculptor who chisels and carves a chunk of stone into a beautiful image. It is true that he transforms its form and also fills it with great substance, but only superficially.

The philosophy of nationalism, as elaborated by Sri Aurobindo, seeks to develop the term nationalism on both material as well as spiritual planes of human activity and thought. Complexities of human nature cannot be understood superficially. In order to incorporate the ideal law of social development, a harmony between material-rational and spiritual-mental world has to be strived for.

Defining Integral Education

The need for an integral approach arises from the complexities of individual human nature, coupled with the diversities of societies and nations. The historical struggle between an individual and a collectivity has always been to create conditions of genuinely symmetrical balance of human interests. Both are equally crucial for the survival and progress of mankind. Harbouring an exclusivist view of one from the other may only bring out conflict. Creation of a physically strong and mentally healthy individual combined with the trait of a socially good citizen, through integral education, is a possible means to realise a true understanding of the relationship between the individual and the society. Like Sri Aurobindo says: "*Then the description of individual virtue runs thus, the evolution by the human being of the inborn qualities and powers native to his personality; that is to say, just as every beautiful building has the solid earth for its basis but is built in a distinct style of architecture, so the beautiful human soul will rest on the solid basis of humanity but build up for itself a personality distinct and individual"* (Sri Aurobindo, 2003: 56).

Sri Aurobindo observes, in his book *The Life Divine*, that "For all problems of existence are essentially problems of harmony. They arise from the perception of an unsolved discord and the instinct of an undiscovered agreement or unity" (Sri Aurobindo,1988: 2). The problem of reconciliation of the interest of the individual and the society is also representative of lack of harmony. This problem can perhaps be addressed by adopting an integral approach to problems of harmony. Pavitra, in his book *Education and the Aim of Human Life*, says that "*In his imperfect vision of things, the human minds tends always to emphasise one aspect to the detriment of others*" (Pavitra, 2014: 5).

The philosophy behind integral education seeks to address this imperfection of subordinating and even sacrificing one unit to satisfy the overwhelming demand raised by the other one. Many philosophers have tried to define the term 'integral' and one of them given by Ken Wilber (2000) provides a convincing understanding of this term. James Duffy (2020: 4) says, in *A Primer on Integral and Its Application to Mental Health Care*, of Ken Wilber's work: "*Integral theory describes a comprehensive map that pulls together multiples includes comprehensive, inclusive, non-marginalising, embracing. Integral approaches to any field attempt to be exactly that: to include as many perspectives, styles, and methodologies as possible within a coherent view of the topic. In a certain sense, integral approaches are ''meta-paradigms," or ways to draw together an already existing number of separate paradigms into an interrelated network of approaches that are mutually enriching*."

Ken Wilber, in his book *Integral Psychology*, looks at the term 'integral' from the perspective of human consciousness. He says that there are multiple aspects of understanding human consciousness which are addressed by different schools of psychology. These include aspects pertaining to functions, structures, states, modes, development, relations and behaviour. He then says: "*The great problem with psychology, as*

it has historically unfolded is that, for the most part, different schools of psychology have often taken one of those aspects of the extraordinarily rich and multifaceted phenomenon of consciousness and announced that it is the only aspect worth studying (or even that it is the only aspect that actually exists)" (Wilber, 2000: 1). This fragmented outlook towards understanding humans and their world does not confine itself only to the discipline of psychology. Most part of our learning process seems fractional. Most arguments limit themselves to the existence of 'this' or 'that.' The majority of the grey areas are lost completely with the fixations of the black and white view of the world. In reality nature has created life not just in shades of black, white or grey but there is an entire spectrum of the colours of a rainbow. The need is to open our minds and hearts towards its acceptance and exploration.

If the ultimate human purpose is the creation of conditions of sustainable peace and harmony, and to achieve the highest stage of human evolution and its spiritual destiny, then we need to prepare the ground for integral progress through the instrument of integral education. The existing pattern and system of education is not only fragmented but also disconnected. It highlights certain aspects of knowledge and information as crucial and self-sufficient and blurs out other parts as redundant or non-essential. One key element of integral education can thus be to cultivate a new line of thought process that takes all truth, knowledge and wisdom in its fold and look at them all at once, not just in their individual essence but also in their totality and also as parts and aspects of the larger truths.

Ken Wilber, in his analysis of psychology, has described a similar pattern of fragmentation of the subject with respect to study of human consciousness. He talks about the various branches of psychology such as psychoanalysis, existentialism, transpersonal psychology and cognitive science. He believes that each one of them studies an important aspect of human consciousness but as long as we do not attempt a holistic study of each in connection with the other the perception will only be partial. In order to rise above this fragmentation and generate a holistic view one must incorporate all rational aspects of a particular concept. He says: "*A logic of inclusion, networking, and wide net casting is called for; a logic of nests within nests within nests, each attempting to legitimately include all that can be included. It is a vision-logic, a logic not merely of trees but also of forests"* (*op cit*, 2000: 2).

This brings out a significant principle of the concept of 'integralism' that is, finding balance. In our attempt to make sense of the whole we must not forget the unit. The aim is to develop an understating of the forest but the tree must also not be forgotten. A careful balance and awareness must then be maintained in understanding the individual and the universal.

Partho (2021: 21), in the book *Integral Education: Beyond Schooling,* says: "Integral education begins with the premise that the human being is not the head, heart or the body separately or successively; there is in fact, no such distinctly separate entity as the heart, head or the body. The human being is all of these — head, heart, senses and body— at once, simultaneously and seamlessly. And it goes beyond the tangible head, heart, senses and body: there is also the spirit and the soul, intangible, somewhat veiled and hidden, but as real and concrete in experience." The movements and processes of human life are multi-dimensional and can never be just linear and fixed. The reason perhaps is, that human beings, their world and the universe are at once exclusive in their manifestation and are at

the same time inclusive of one another. An important aspect of integral education therefore should be to comprehend this separation and the synthesis simultaneously.

Sri Aurobindo and The Mother (2020: 13), in their thoughts 'On Education,' have advanced the idea that "*For within the Universal mind and soul of humanity is the mind and soul of the individual with its infinite variations, it's commonness and its uniqueness, and between them there stands an intermediate power, the mind of the nation, the soul of a people. And of all these three, education must take account if it is to be, not a machine-made fabric, but a true building or a living evocation of the powers of the mind and spirit of the human being*." This brings us to another important aspect, that integral education in its true form must aim to be organic and evolutionary in nature and contents. This is significant for the simple reason that the subject of education is the human being, who by its basic nature is inherently growing and evolving. Education caters to the human mind from infancy to adulthood and if it does not take into account this progressively unfolding nature of human psychology, it may end up doing more harm than good. Further, there can be no doubt with respect to the timing of the introduction and circulation of the content of education. It must be precisely curated to suit the mind of the infant, adolescent and the adult, respectively, and successively. Imparting unseasonable knowledge may result in premature disintegration or unnecessary collapse of the intended progress. Sri Aurobindo and The Mother in their compilation *On Education* observe: "*The educationist has to do, not with dead material like the artist or sculptor, but with an infinitely subtle and sensitive organism. He cannot shape an educational masterpiece out of human wood or stone; he has to working the elusive substance of mind and respect the limits imposed by the fragile human body*" (ibid: 21).

Crisis, epidemics, terrorism, wars, economic recessions are a part of human journey, varying with time only in nature and degree, posing every now and then an existential crisis for the individual as well as the collectivity. And pushing us to rethink our way of life, our manner of social interactions and our ideas about the future. Time and again question the functioning and utility of the existing social, political and economic organisations and infrastructures. These questions, doubts and dilemmas are indicative of an evolutionary crisis of humanity. Sri Aurobindo has opined that mankind is undergoing an evolutionary crisis in which is concealed a choice of its destiny.

Integral education can be an effective answer to these crises. Evolutionary crisis is, in a manner, nature's design that expects us to grow until we have reached a spiritual culmination that matches our material growth. Integral education should gradually yet effectively work at moulding the human thought process towards strengthening the inclusivist approach and subsiding the exclusivist thought patterns, thereby providing more enduring ideas and institutions with lesser probabilities of collapse and failure.

Integral Education of Sri Aurobindo

The central unit of education is the child and this process of education perhaps begins even before birth, since the time of its inception in the mother's body. Therefore, each nation needs to have a clear understanding of its national system of education and methods of effective articulation. The present process of learning, however, suffers from many lacunae. It is fragmented and incoherent, and therefore, looks upon an individual's head, heart, senses and body as distinctly separate entities. The task of integral education is to carve out an

educational paradigm that helps in building the true individuality of a child by aligning the growth of all distinct parts of the human body in a harmonious pattern.

This thought has been reiterated in the writings of many writers and philosophers. The Mother (2020: 21) in her writings on education, says: "*To work for your perfection, the first step is to become conscious of yourself, of the different parts of your being and their respective activities. You must learn to distinguish these different parts one from another, so that you may become clearly aware of the origin of the movements that occur in you, the many impulses, reactions and conflicting wills the drive you to action*."

John Dewey, an American philosopher and educationist, in the book *The Child and the Curriculum* (2018: 9), emphasised the significance of education by means of connecting the seemingly different aspects. He says: "*The child is the starting point, the centre, and the end. His development, his growth, is the ideal. It alone furnishes the standard. To the growth of the child all studies are subservient; they are instruments valued as they serve the needs of growth. Personality, character, is more than a subject-matter. Not knowledge is all information, but self- realisation is the goal. To process all the world of knowledge and loose one's own self is as awful a fate in education as in religion. Moreover, subject-matter never can be got in to the child from without. Learning is active. It involves reaching out of the mind. It involves organic assimilation starting from within. Literally, we must take our stand with the child and our departure from him. It is he and not the subject-matter which determines both quality and quantity of learning*."

According to Sri Aurobindo, integral education connects and assimilates five principal aspects related to the five activities of the human being. These are the physical, the vital, the mental, the psychic and the spiritual.

The main aim of physical education is to create a constructive model that aims at inculcating respect for physical health, hygiene, strength and balance. Progressively it must also aim at imbibing awareness with respect to harmonisation of the form and its movements.

The education of the 'vital,' according to Sri Aurobindo and The Mother, must focus "*first on developing and utilising the sense organs, the second is to become conscious and gradually master of one's character and in the end to achieve its transformation"* (2020: 120). The key idea here is to develop those faculties in a child that help him in the decision making process by means of careful self-evaluation of instincts, impulses, passions and desires. This exercise is essential for the child as it trains and encourages self-assessment. It gives them practical training to distinguish between good habits and bad qualities and, in the process, substitute falsehood by truth and malice by love, through their own command over knowledge and understanding.

According to Sri Aurobindo, the third faculty that needs to be nurtured, in the path of integral education of the child, is that of mental education. The mind is the storehouse of all our life impressions, sensations, sensitivities, judgements and reasonings. The development of this faculty helps in the growth of the man towards finding a way for its own perfection. According to Sri Aurobindo, there are five principal phases of its development. These are:

1) Development of the power of concentration, the capacity of attention.
2) Development of the capacities of expansion, wideness, complexity and richness.
3) Organisation of ideas around a central idea or a higher ideal or a supremely luminous idea that will serve as a guide in life.

4) Thought control, rejection of undesirable thoughts, so that one may in the end, think only what one wants and when one wants it.
5) Development of mental silence, perfect calm and a more and more total receptivity to inspirations coming from the higher regions of the being" (ibid: 132).

The development of the faculty requires skilled educators. The educators who can put the child on the right road to his own perfection and encourage him to follow it, watching, suggesting, helping, but never interfering. Helps all the while in making the child realise his latent potentialities and creating conditions of natural growth and development. In order to free the mind of its rigidity and increase suppleness so as to prepare it for more complex and comprehensive synthesis, Sri Aurobindo suggests that: "*one should not only look to the number and variety of subjects for study, but particularly to the diverse approaches to the same subject; by this means the child will be made to understand in a practical way that there are many ways of facing the same intellectual problem, dealing with it and solving it"* (Sri Aurobindo and The Mother, 2020: 128).

With the new age world and the surplus splurge of information by modern means the mind is liable to experience fatigue and remission. Therefore, along with training the mind it also becomes vital to realise that just like all the other parts of human body, the mind, too needs rest. Sri Aurobindo and The Mother (2020: 132) say: *"The art of giving rest to one's mind is a thing to be acquired. Changing mental activity is a way of rest; but the greatest possible rest lies in silence."* This realisation is reflective of the deeper aspect of harmonising the seemingly opposite tendencies of movement and stillness. The wholeness of individual personality can be attained by a careful acceptance and assimilation of the opposites, which can be brought about by practising the integral approach towards dilemmas.

The final phase of integral education, pertaining to psychic and spiritual education, is based on the premise that each individual is endowed with faculties of consciousness above and beyond the perimeters of normal life and sensory experiences and is capable of realising a higher and vaster life. The multidimensional challenges of the modern age need a holistic and integral perspective. This implies examining the questions and consequences not merely externally but also internally on multiple planes of existence. The goal here is to bring out human psychology from its amorphous understanding of existential challenges and to generate a coherent comprehension between matter and spirit element. The psychic and spiritual education may seem to be mixed up, but in essence is essentially different. The aim of psychic education *"is a higher realisation upon earth, for the other, an escape from all earthly manifestation, even away from the whole universe, a return to the manifest*" (ibid: 140). Further, "*To become fully aware of your psychic being and to live a psychic life you must abolish in you all selfishness; but to live a spiritual life you must be selfless*" (ibid: 141).

The cardinal principle is that each and every child must be allowed to learn and grow according to his own *Swadharma*. Every child must be given the necessary space to be the sculpture of his own path and system, according to his ability and strength. After this broad framework of integral education is provided the child should have freedom to apply it as far as he can and as best as he can.

Integral Education and the Philosophy of Nationalism and Internationalism

Nationalism is primarily an identity specific term. In the age when humanity was not differently grouped as nations, the idea of forming clusters symbolising distinct identities still existed. The feeling of belonging to some and being different from the rest is an age-old phenomenon. From the primeval people to the modern contemporary nations, all have ventured to find out common grounds to separate themselves from the rest. Steven Grosby (2005: 1) observes: "*Evidence of humans forming large, territorially distinct societies can be observed from our first written records. Writings from the Sumerian civilisation of the area of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers from approximately 2500 BCE record beliefs that distinguished the 'brothers of the sons of Sumer,' those of Sumerian 'seed,' from foreigners. During the 16th century BCE, Egyptians thought themselves to be distinct from both the 'Asiatics' to their east and the Nubians to their south"* He (Grosby, 2005: 3) further adds that: "Such divisions, where one group differentiates itself from and opposes another, continue at the beginning of the 21st century: both Chechens and Ukrainians consider themselves to be different from Russians; Kurds distinguish themselves from both Iraqis and Turks; the Taiwanese seek an existence separate from mainland China; Slovaks and Czechs have separated, forming distinct national states."

The reasons for these classifications may vary from political exigencies to social necessities to psychological comforts. These distinctions and classifications, however, reflect diversity of the human race. The diversity is representative not only of singularities associated with geography and physical appearances but also in art, music, literature and the general way of life. This diversity is, in reality, the vital driving force for human race and is therefore essential to be maintained for the higher cause of human evolution. Sri Aurobindo (1972: 152) says: "*It would seem that the ideal or ultimate aim of nature must be to develop the community and all communities to the full expression of that many-sided existence and potentiality which their differences were created to express, and to evolve the united life of mankind to its fullness of life of the individual or the small commonalty, but by full advantage taken of the diversity which they develop*."

A free interchange, acceptance and assimilation of diversity is a significant instrument towards the realisation of united progress of mankind. The acceptance of significance of diversity can be useful in establishing firm foundations of true ideals of nationalism, eventually leading to the goal of internationalism. An international order does not necessarily imply subordination or substitution of the ideals of nationalism. Just like we cannot remove freedom in order to establish more orderly conditions of life; similarly, we cannot do away with diversity so as to get rid of notions of separatism and thus create uniformity. "*Absolute uniformity would mean the cessation of life, while on the other hand the vigour of the pulse of life may be measured by the richness of the diversities which it creates. At the same time while diversity is essential for power and fruitfulness of life, unity is necessary for its order, arrangement and stability. Unity we must create, but not necessarily uniformity"* (Sri Aurobindo, 1972: 153).

Unity established by eradicating diversity would be an illusion of real oneness and hence short-lived. A real psychological unity of human race can be maintained through the process of creating unity with diversity. The rise and fall of the Roman empire is a historic example

of how in a desperate attempt to consolidate its vast boundaries, in the name of uniform order and organisation, it lost its life, richness and vitality. Roman empire instituted an admirable administrative structure and achieved unity but also uniformity, which eventually led to stagnation and arrest of life and growth. All existence and human nature are one in its broad constitution but no two human beings are alike in their temper, dispositions and frame of mind. The natural principle of variation has to be respected, its richness accepted, if we want to secure stable foundations of internationalism. In order to maintain this diversity, it becomes essential not to override the differences, but to develop an inner sense of unity towards it, through integral education.

In this sense, developing a true philosophy of nationalism becomes a pre-condition for the successful advent of internationalism. Through the process of integral education certain higher truths have to be imbibed in the mind of the child to develop the right spirit of nationalism and internationalism. Sri Aurobindo and The Mother (2020: 184) have propounded: "*The first aim then will be to help individuals to become conscious of the fundamental genius of the nation to which they belong and at the same time to put them in contact with the modes of living of other nations so that they may know and respect equally the true spirit of all the countries upon earth. For all the world organisations, to be real and to be able to live, must be based upon mutual respect and understanding between nation and nation as well as between individual and individual. It is only in the collective order and organisation, in a collaboration based upon mutual goodwill that lies the possibility of man being lifted out of the painful chaos where he is now*." Nationalism as a concept cannot be done away with merely because its absence would give us a strong illusion of unity of mankind, in place of real oneness, at which it is so much more difficult to arrive. Uniformity does seem to give an easier way to unification as opposed to true nationalism which supports acceptance of the richness and diversity of all nations.

History of humanity bears witness to the idea that an interplay of minds, forms and activities is a constant attempt to establish balance and harmony. All ideologies, organisations, institutions, dictatorships, monarchies, democracies are instances of experiments undertaken to find out that perfection and balance in human life. They have their utility and then give way to more evolved systems of organisation. The dark ages, the middle ages, the modern revivals, the renaissance and reformations, struggle for independence all prepared the ground leading more and more towards some semblance of everlasting harmony.

Nationalism too has undergone many phases. Much of what we understand by nationalism is a reflection of our behavioural conduct of acceptance or rejection, as individuals belonging to one nation, towards those belonging to other nationalities. Each nation is cast in a mould of its own ideological beliefs, traditions and diverse ways of life, which in reality is nature's way of enriching and creating an ideal principle of existence. A false notion of nationalism sets in when we renounce everything other- national and claim our own truth as the only truth. Steven Grosby (2005: 17) says: "*When one divides the world into two irreconcilable and warring camps – one's own nation in opposition to all other nations – where the latter are viewed as one's implacable enemies, then, in contrast to patriotism, there is the ideology of nationalism. Nationalism repudiates civility and the differences that it tolerates by attempting to eliminate all differing views and interests for the sake of one vision of what the nation has been and should be*."

A true philosophy of nationalism, however, believes that humanity is one, but different people and nations are variant forms of that humanity. True nationalism is thus a sincere realisation that neither does one need to abolish their own special temperament nor obliterate others. By practising this, we reach a point of acceptance of this oneness of human kind and raise ourselves to be enriched through this richness of diversity. Acceptance and assimilation carried out with modification, without losing our own original spirit of life would be the true sense of nationalism. Talking about acceptance and assimilation of ideas pertaining to the external field of life, such as, liberty, equality, democracy, Sri Aurobindo (1997: 147) states: "*What I mean by assimilation, is that we must not take it crudely in the European forms, but must go back to whatever corresponds to it, illumines its sense, justifies its highest purport in our own spiritual conception of life and existence, and in that light work out its extent, degree, form relation to other ideas, application. To everything I would apply the same principle, to each in its own kind, after its proper Dharma, in its right measure of importance, its spiritual, intellectual, ethical, aesthetic, dynamic utility*."

The utility of nationalism is crucial for the realisation of evolutionary goal of Internationalism. True nationalism can help inculcate the ideals of acceptance and assimilation in the mind and eventually support principles of diversity. It would help in creating an environment of real psychological unity amidst diversity, which can be a sincere step towards the evolutionary goal of mankind. Such a true form of nationalism can be ingrained by means of integral education of the human mind, body and spirit. The first step can perhaps be activated by effecting a change in the national system of education, and synchronising it more with the national mind, spirit and temperament and its right application on problems and challenges. We must unload the mechanical attitude towards education which believes that mind and spirit of man is the same everywhere and can hence be operated on uniform principles of education. Sri Aurobindo (Sri Aurobindo and The Mother, 2020: 13) says: "*Within the universal mind and soul of humanity is the mind and soul of the individual with its infinite variation, its commonness and its uniqueness, and between them there stands an intermediate power, the mind of the nation, the soul of a people*." Integral education would help evoke such a realisation and function in accordance with the uniqueness and commonness of the individual, society, nation, and cumulative world spirit.

Integral education and philosophy of nationalism are more closely associated than as they appear. Education must be in harmony with the historical and cultural essence of the nation and its people. This harmony can make the education system more natural, easy and effective. As Sri Aurobindo and The Mother (2020: 23 - 24) have proponded: "*The basis of man's nature is almost always, in addition to his soul's past, his heredity, his surroundings, his nationality, his country, the soil from which he draws sustenance, the air which he breathes, the sights, sounds, habits to which he is accustomed. They mould him not the less powerfully because insensibly, and from that then we must begin*." If the indigenous mind of the child is exposed to foreign education, which is opposed to its own Dharma, it will sooner or later find itself in existential dilemma and consequentially revolt. "*To force the nature to abandon its own Dharma is to do it permanent harm, mutilate its own growth and deface its perfection. It is a selfish tyranny over a human soul and a wound to the nation"* (ibid: 23).

Concluding Remarks

Most of the contemporary problems facing humanity are largely and deeply grounded in ideological differences. These problems would keep multiplying if we keep treating them superficially and externally. An inner re-engineering of the mind, body and spirit needs to be undertaken, by means of integral education, to address the issues from their point of origin. The idea of integral education demands that we not only look at the process of education of an individual in respect to his outer environment. But at the same time, we understand it from the aspect of various layers and levels of consciousness that exist within the human being. A comprehensiveness of the integral education can be truly instrumental in designing a pedagogy of education for the modern times. This pedagogy may aim to address not only the contemporary needs of humanity towards ideals of true nationalism and internationalism, but at the same time it can create humans with spiritual consciousness aiming towards achievement of the evolutionary goal of humanity. The model of a new world order has better chances of sustaining itself when the individual and the aggregate accept the principle of plurality and respect each other's progress as distinct entities as well as complimentary realities. As such, today integral education becomes a pressing demand to face crises and contemporary challenges. For sustainable peace and harmony, for true ideals of nationalism and for a lasting model of internationalism, we must develop the spiritual capital of human race by means of true integral education that caters to the genuine needs of mind, body and spirit of the individual, nation and humanity.

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Growth of Multilingualism in India

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Abstract

The census 2011-based linguistic information offers an opportunity to assess linguistic progress in India beyond expansion in mother tongue. This is an exploratory empirical exercise in examining this trend using the census-based information on languages, which remains largely under-explored. Here we make a temporal assessment of linguistic expansion in terms of bilingualism and trilingualism. It is observed that share of bilingual has increased though moderate since 1991. However, share of trilingual remains somewhat constant. This analysis of linguistic expansion informs that bilingualism and trilingualism is conditioned by extent of minority count of mother tongue and mobility. Hence, with rising mobility across linguistic zones, one can expect a rise in this feature of multilingual adaptation. However, it remains to be seen as to the language that is preferred for adaptation in case of the need for becoming bilingual and trilingual.

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Introduction

Language serves as a means of communication, which is an identity, obtained by birth with a mother tongue. While it is well known that the Indian federation is being formed on the basis of linguistic identities, the number of languages spoken go beyond the ones considered in such regional formation. Further, over time with cultural integration, there are claims made to consider a whole host of languages to gain the status of classical language based on their historical existence as well as the cultural and literary underpinnings. Given the count of languages numbering beyond state identities, there are scheduled and non-scheduled languages as well. Given this widespread canvas of languages, the potential rise of bilingualism and trilingualism is observed over time that need exploration with its possible association with internal mobility across linguistic zones with predominance of a specific language.

In such a circumstance, the primary linguistic identity assumes least significance in understanding expansion dynamics of linguistics rather than the spread and adaption of multiple languages across regions. One of the fundamental premise behind growing bilingualism/multilingualism could be associated with mobility across linguistic zones besides other reasons like trade and commerce and cultural exchanges etc. In the midst of emerging pattern of linguistic adaptations, there is also a contentious debate surrounding prominence and popularity of one language over the others with a drive towards identifying one language as a national language within the linguistic diversity of our nation (Agnihotri 2015; Mohanty 2010).

In fact, such contention needs appropriate engagement with the reading of changing trends of bilingual and trilingual features across various primary linguistic identities as well as across administrative regions. The recent works relates to the question on linguistic divide (Mohanty 2010, Bhattacharya and Chandrasekhar 2020, Mathew 2018) and returns to English language (Shastry 2008, Clingingsmith 2014). Such an engagement highlights the creation of a class based on language for instance the elitism is associated with English speakers as against the categories like vernaculars and the educated/learned. However, the focus needs to be on the assessment of linguistic adaption featured in term of progress in bilingualism and trilingualism. Hasnain (1991) analysed trend in bilingual in India during 1961-1971 that is quite dated to reflect on the contemporary evolving scenario of progress in bilingual and trilingual in India. This is an exploratory empirical exercise in examining this trend using the census-based information on languages, which remains under-explored. Here we make a temporal assessment of linguistic expansion in terms of bilingualism and trilingualism along with an inspection of the two prominent alternative languages (English and Hindi) that are in contestation of being the most common languages of exchange.

Census of India is the unique source of providing data on languages spoken by Indian population across regions. Such information base is vital in understanding the linguistic diversity of our country and the evolving changes over time. Census collects data on mother tongue along with second language of communication and third language of communication. The data is made available under Social and Cultural Series “C-series” of the census. In 2011, 22 scheduled language and 99 non-scheduled languages were noted. For the nation as whole 96.7 per cent individuals reported having one of the scheduled languages as their mother tongue.

Progress in Bilingualism and Trilingualism

Census provides information on second and third language spoken by individuals beyond their mother tongue. Every person aged five and above was asked about his/her ability to communicate in second and third languages. Ability to communicate in a second or third language does not necessitate reading and writing ability of the same. Individuals reporting second language mean he/she has the ability to communicate in at least one language other than mother tongue. Similarly, person reporting third language means he/she has the proficiency to communicate in at least two more languages beyond the mother tongue.

Table-1 presents the share of people knowing second language and third language. Such information is tabulated against the various mother tongues. In 2011, 26 per cent people expressed their ability to communicate in at least two languages with wide variation across the mother tongue. People with Konkani mother tongue stand first in terms of knowing at least two languages (82.4 %) followed by Sanskrit (79.4 %), Sindhi (78.8 %), Dogari (69.1 %) and Bodo (67.6%). This exhibits the need for bilingualism being frequent among mother tongues that are minorities. On the other extreme, the extent of bilingualism was the least for mother tongue, Hindi (11.5 %) followed by Bengali (17.9 %), Tamil (25.3 %), Telugu (25.3), and Kannada (26.6 %). It is evident that the potential for bilingualism is less among the mother tongue categories that have a reasonable share of speakers in the population.

Although the observed pattern of bilingualism seems to be responsive to the share and strength of mother tongue, there is no systematic response across the board. Given that the language; Konkani, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Dogari, Bodo and Nepali are mother tongue of a fewer number, there is an obvious need for adapting another language for communication for wider exchange. Similarly, individuals with mother tongue Hindi happen to be less bilingual because Hindi is spoken by a large majority of individuals. It is also observed that the languages that are closer in tone and script to Hindi in terms of pronunciation and grammar also have relatively higher share of bilinguals such as Urdu, Maithili, Punjabi, Marathi, Kashmiri and Gujarati. It is relatively easy for these language speakers to learn Hindi. On the contrary, languages that are far from Hindi in terms of pronunciation, grammar and script have low share of bilinguals such as Bengali, Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya and Assamese.

In 2011, 7.1 percent people in the country reported having the ability to communicate in a third language. This is the share of people knowing at least two languages other than their mother tongue. It is 6.9 per cent for scheduled languages and 12.0 per cent for non-scheduled languages. Share of trilingual is the highest (52.2 per cent) for Konkani mother tongue followed by Sindhi (33.6 per cent), Sanskrit (31.9 per cent), Punjabi (28.8 per cent) and Nepali (26.4 per cent). Share of trilingual remains lowest for Hindi mother tongue (1.5 per cent) followed Tamil (3.3 per cent), Bengali (4.6 per cent), Maithili (4.8 per cent) and Santali (8.0 per cent).

TABLE 1

Percentage Share of Bilingualism and Trilingualism According to Mother Tongue

S.N.	*Name of Language*	*Percentage of Persons knowing second languages*			*Percentage of Persons knowing third languages*		
		2011	*2001*	*1991*	*2011*	*2001*	*1991*
1.	Assamese	38.0	32.3	27.9	12.5	14.5	12.8
2.	Bengali	17.9	20.4	13.1	4.6	6.5	4.7
3.	Bodo	67.6	57.4	-	19.0	18.6	-
4.	Dogri	69.1	59.4	-	25.4	26.5	-
5.	Gujarati	42.5	36.3	24.9	15.2	14.2	11.6
6.	Hindi	11.5	12.0	11.0	1.5	2.1	3.0
7.	Kannada	26.6	28.4	24.0	8.3	12.2	8.1
8.	Kashmiri	44.0	39.2	60.0	14.9	15.5	33.1
9.	Konkani	82.4	74.4	74.2	52.2	47.2	44.7
10.	Maithili	54.0	33.0	-	4.8	9.3	-
11.	Malayalam	27.3	28.7	28.9	11.8	16.6	19.6
12.	Manipuri	44.3	41.7	33.1	22.4	20.8	21.9
13.	Marathi	47.2	41.4	27.5	15.3	15.4	12.8
14.	Nepali	65.6	52.8	39.8	26.4	22.5	20.1
15.	Oriya	28.8	25.6	15.9	12.8	12.9	9.2
16.	Punjabi	53.4	52.0	37.7	28.8	31.3	23.1
17.	Sanskrit	79.4	73.6	51.6	31.9	30.8	12.5
18.	Santali	67.3	51.4	-	8.0	7.3	-
19.	Sindhi	78.8	73.2	63.5	33.6	35.6	28.5
20.	Tamil	25.3	21.5	18.7	3.3	3.2	2.2
21.	Telugu	25.3	25.0	20.7	8.2	10.7	8.3
22.	Urdu	62.4	51.0	38.0	15.6	18.4	12.1
	Scheduled Languages	24.9	23.9	18.7	6.9	8.4	7.2
	Non-Scheduled Languages	60.3	49.7	38.1	12.0	12.3	8.3
	India	26.0	24.8	19.4	7.1	8.5	7.3

Source: Estimated from Social and Cultural Series "C-series" of the census of India, 1991, 2001, 2011; Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

For the nation as a whole, share of bilingual increased from 19.4 per cent in 1991 to 24.8 per cent in 2001. During 2001-2011 the increase in the share of bi-lingual was only marginal. For Hindi, Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu, share of bilingual either declined or remained unchanged. These are the prominent languages spoken by greater numbers. Some languages registered greater increase in the share of bilingual. These are Maithili, Santali, Nepali, Urdu and Bodo. Since these are the languages spoken by a few, among them

the share of bilinguals increased significantly. For all the speakers of scheduled languages together the share of bilinguals increased marginally from 23.9 per cent in 2001 to 24.9 per cent in 2011. On the contrary, for non-scheduled languages it increased from 49.7 per cent in 2001 to 60.3 per cent in 2011. This indicative pattern points to the fact that propensity of being bilingual or trilingual is conditioned by the mother tongue to a large extent depending on its share and magnitude of speakers in the entire population.

There seems to be a marginal change in linguistic expansion if assessed in terms of change in trilinguals in the nation as a whole. Share of people knowing three and more languages have remained within a range of 7-8 per cent over the two-decade period. However, this share has improved for the mother tongue Oriya, Gujarati, Marathi, Urdu, Nepali, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi and Konkani when compared with other mother tongue among whom the extent of trilingualism has either remained unchanged or declined. For scheduled languages as a whole, it declined from 7.2 per cent in 1991 to 6.9 per cent in 2011. For non-scheduled languages it improved from 8.3 per cent in 1991 to 12 per cent in 2011. On the whole, adoption of multiple languages beyond one's mother tongue is largely shaped by the count/share of a specific mother tongue speaker as more the minorities in this count, greater is the likelihood of adoption of multiple languages beyond one's own mother tongue.

Table-2 presents the state wise share of people knowing second and third language. In 2011, Goa was the state with highest share of bilinguals (77.2 per cent) and Rajasthan the least (10.9 per cent). It is observed from the table that Hindi speaking states have the lowest share of bilinguals. Top five states with lowest share of bilinguals were the Hindi speaking states. These were Rajasthan (10.9 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (11.4 per cent), Chhattisgarh (13.2 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (13.5 per cent) and Bihar (16.1 per cent). If one looks into the top 10 states with lowest share of bilinguals, eight of them were Hindi speaking states expect West Bengal and Kerala. Going by Table-2, top five states with highest share of bilinguals were the states with smaller population size. Considering only major states for the analysis, Maharashtra (51.1 per cent) followed by Jammu and Kashmir (49.3 per cent), Punjab (47.0 per cent), Assam (46.3 per cent) and Gujarat (42.8 per cent) had the highest share of bilingual speakers. During the 2001-2011, share of bilinguals increased in a few states. Among the major states, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Jammu and Kashmir, Odisha and Tamil Nadu registered significant progress in this regard.

In 2011, Goa had the highest share of trilingual population (50.8 per cent) and Uttar Pradesh with least share of trilingual population (1.3 per cent). Among the major states Punjab had the highest share of trilingual population (28.2 per cent) followed by Maharashtra (17.6 per cent), Jammu and Kashmir (16.7 per cent), Gujarat (14.2 per cent), Assam (13.9 per cent) and Odisha (13.2 per cent). During 2001-2011 share of trilinguals did not show any improvement in any major state of the country except Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh where it registered some improvement.

TABLE 2

State Wise Prevalence of Bilingualism and Trilingualism

S.N.	*State*	*Percentage of Persons knowing second languages*		*Percentage of Persons knowing third languages*	
		2011	*2001*	*2011*	*2001*
1.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	67.6	65.5	19.1	24.5
2.	Andhra Pradesh	25.5	25.4	7.5	10.3
3.	Arunachal Pradesh	64.0	55.5	30.2	30.0
4.	Assam	46.3	38.9	13.9	15.3
5.	Bihar	16.1	12.9	1.6	3.7
6.	Chandigarh	54.9	58.2	30.5	37.6
7.	Chhattisgarh	13.2	11.7	1.7	2.0
8.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	57.9	43.4	20.8	13.7
9.	Daman & Diu	47.9	44.1	14.2	13.6
10.	Goa	77.2	73.4	50.8	47.8
11.	Gujarat	42.8	36.3	14.2	13.0
12.	Haryana	22.2	22.5	4.6	5.8
13.	Himachal Pradesh	18.1	15.0	5.1	4.1
14.	Jammu & Kashmir	49.3	43.8	16.7	17.3
15.	Jharkhand	30.3	26.4	4.8	6.9
16.	Karnataka	39.7	40.2	12.8	16.6
17.	Kerala	24.4	26.2	9.5	14.4
18.	Lakshadweep	28.8	24.5	15.5	13.9
19.	Madhya Pradesh	13.5	14.2	1.7	3.3
20.	Maharashtra	51.1	45.4	17.6	17.8
21.	Manipur	48.6	45.0	21.6	20.0
22.	Meghalaya	27.7	25.4	9.3	9.2
23.	Mizoram	28.2	28.8	4.8	6.1
24.	Nagaland	62.2	49.1	27.2	19.4
25.	NCT of Delhi	40.6	40.9	8.1	10.6
26.	Odisha	32.9	28.7	13.2	13.0
27.	Pondicherry	31.4	35.9	5.7	6.2
28.	Punjab	47.0	47.0	28.2	30.4
29.	Rajasthan	10.9	9.2	1.5	1.9
30.	Sikkim	63.7	52.6	29.7	22.8
31.	Tamil Nadu	28.3	23.5	3.4	2.9
32.	Tripura	34.5	31.6	5.4	5.3
33.	Uttar Pradesh	11.4	13.1	1.3	2.2
34.	Uttarakhand	17.4	15.8	1.9	2.2
35.	West Bengal	16.5	20.9	3.2	5.6
	India	26.0	24.8	7.1	8.5

Source: Estimated from Social and Cultural Series "C-series" of the census of India, 2001, 2011; Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Linguistic Diversity and the role of inter-state migration in Promoting Bilingualism

Language is primary means of communication and language other than one's mother tongue is also learnt to facilitate communication. An individual naturally learns the language that is spoken by parents (mother tongue). In a linguistic diverse country where states/regions are identified based on specific language, a majority have a mother tongue similar to the prominent language spoken in the state/province. If a person stays in the state/region/society, where he/she can communicate in their mother tongue, there is little incentive in becoming bi-lingual i.e. to be proficient in another language other than the mother tongue. However, for a person who has to travel/stay in state/region/society where communication in their mother tongue is not possible, an alternative language suitable for communication has to be learnt. It is also to be noted that learning language is not always that easy. It involves a time for adaption along with a need for the same. Another evolving reality is the rising mobility of individuals from one state/region to other in search of livelihood and various other reasons.

Therefore, it is much needed to analyse the extent of growing bilingualism and trilingualism speakers in association with the mobility of individual beyond the state of origin qualifying his/her mother tongue. Proportion of bilingual and trilingual speakers for each mother tongue across states is estimated. Summary of these results is presented in table-3. Two important aspects emerge from the analysis. First, people have a greater tendency to learn second and third language for communication when they are staying in the states where the native language is different from their mother tongue. Second, if people's mother tongue is widely spoken, they are less likely to learn other languages for communication.

It is clear from the table-3 that percentage of bilingual is much higher when someone is staying in a state with a native language different from his/her mother tongue. Maithili (52.9 per cent) followed by Punjabi (47.6 per cent) and Marathi (45.4 per cent) have highest share of bilinguals in their states while Hindi (8.3 per cent) and Bengali (10.8 per cent) have the lowest. Gujarati (83.5 per cent) followed by Maithili (81.5 per cent) and Malayalam (80.7 per cent) speakers have the highest share of bilinguals in other states while Hindi (51.2 per cent) followed by Bengali (54.2 per cent) have the lowest share of bilinguals. This happened with simple reason that Hindi and Bengali are the most widely spoken languages in country and have sizable magnitude of speakers in their corresponding region within the country. Therefore, people with these mother tongues are less likely to face communication problem.

TABLE 3

Percentage Share of bilingualism and Trilingualism by Mother Tongue Among Natives and Non natives

S.N.	*Mother Tongue*	*Percentage of Persons knowing second languages*		*Percentage of Persons knowing third languages*	
		Their States	*Others*	*Their States*	*Others*
1.	Assamese	37.5	70.9	12.3	29.7
2.	Bengali	10.8	54.2	2.5	15.3
3.	Gujarati	39.8	83.5	13.1	46.9
4.	Hindi	8.3	51.2	0.9	9.2
5.	Kannada	23.1	73.4	7.3	21.1
6.	Kashmiri	43.3	79.7	14.4	40.8
7.	Maithili	52.9	81.5	4.1	21.2
8.	Malayalam	23.4	80.7	9.3	45.7
9.	Marathi	45.4	71.5	14.7	23.7
10.	Oriya	25.5	69.0	12.5	16.6
11.	Punjabi	47.6	70.8	29.8	25.7
12.	Tamil	22.2	73.2	1.6	29.1
13.	Telugu	17.9	75.1	6.5	19.8

Source: Estimated from Social and Cultural Series "C-series" of the census of India, 2011; Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Progress in learning of Hindi and English

The issue of concern here relates to the fact that whether an individual moving out of his/her native adopt Hindi or English as the option of his second language. The choice will depend largely on the feasibility of communicating with a larger number. Hindi and English are the two most spoken languages in India. According to 2011 census, Hindi was the mother tongue for 528.3 million people, which constitutes 43.6 per cent of population of the country. In addition, 138.9 million people reported Hindi as their second language of communication and 24.3 million as their third language of communication. Overall, 691.5 million individuals (i.e. 57.1 per cent) of total population had the ability to communicate in Hindi. As against this scene, in 2011, only 2,59,678 individuals reported English as their mother tongue, but there are 128.5 million people speaking English as second and third language that constitutes 10.6 per cent of total population of the country. Given that English is the medium for higher education in India, nearly all the academic activities in India; writing research papers and making presentation in seminar/conference adopt the English language as the mode of communication. However, this remains limited to the educated class and may not be that acceptable as a popular means of communication.

Progress in Hindi

Under Article 343 of Indian Constitution, Hindi in Devanagari script has been prescribed as one of the official language of the country. Hindi is the main official language of several states of the country namely-Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand.

In 2011, there were 682.5 million people having a non-Hindi mother tongue. Out of that 20.4 per cent, people reported Hindi as their second language of communication. For scheduled languages it was 20.1 per cent and 25.2 per cent for non-scheduled languages. Proportion of people expressing Hindi as second communication language was highest for those with Dogri mother tongue (62.8 per cent) followed by Maithili (52.9 per cent), Sanskrit (49.2 per cent), Punjabi (46.7 per cent), Sindhi (45.7 per cent). Among the major languages, Gujarati (39 per cent) and Marathi (41.7 per cent) had the highest share of people speaking Hindi as second language. Tamil (1.5 per cent), Kashmiri (3.2 per cent), Malayalam (3.3 per cent), Bodo (4.2 per cent), Kannada (4.7 per cent) and Telugu (5.7 per cent) are the mother tongues with the least share of individuals having ability to communicate in Hindi.

Percentage of people speaking Hindi as second language by Non-Hindi speakers increased over the Census years. Overall it increased from 16.2 per cent in 2001 to 20.4 per cent, while for scheduled languages; it increased from 10.6 per cent in 1991 to 16.1 per cent in 2001 to 20.1 per cent in 2011. For non-scheduled languages it increased from 17.9 per cent in 2001 to 25.2 per cent in 2011. Urdu, Marathi, Nepali, Gujarati and Punjabi have shown highest improvement towards adopting Hindi as second language of communication during 1991-2011. At the same time, Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Bengali registered very slow improvement towards learning Hindi as second language of communication during 1991-2011.

Among the people with non-Hindi mother tongue, 3.6 per cent reported using Hindi as their third communication language in 2011. For the nation as whole, it declined from 5.1 per cent in 2001 to 3.6 per cent in 2011. Overall share of people having ability to communicate in Hindi among the non-Hindi mother tongue increased from 21.3 per cent in 2001 to 24.0 per cent in 2011. Ability to communicate in Hindi is greater for people with mother tongue (major languages) Punjabi (51.5 per cent), Marathi (43.6 per cent) and Gujarati (40.8). It remains the lowest among southern languages-Tamil (2.5 per cent), Kannada (9.0 per cent), Telugu (9.3 per cent) and Malayalam (10.7 per cent).

TABLE 4

Hindi as Second and Third Language among the Speakers of Scheduled Languages

S.N.	*Name of Language*	*Percentage of Persons who know Hindi as the second language*			*Percentage of Persons who know Hindi as the third language*		
		2011	*2001*	*1991*	*2011*	*2001*	*1991*
1.	Assamese	16.7	11.1	8.8	6.0	8.9	8.1
2.	Bengali	8.6	6.0	4.0	2.2	4.0	2.6
3.	Bodo	4.2	3.2	-	10.9	9.4	-
4.	Dogri	62.8	50.6	-	2.8	4.7	-
5.	Gujarati	39.0	32.4	22.1	1.8	2.2	1.8
6.	Hindi	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7.	Kannada	4.7	5.8	3.9	4.3	6.8	5.1
8.	Kashmiri	3.2	3.2	-	0.9	1.2	-
9.	Konkani	10.6	8.7	8.6	22.6	20.8	16.5
10.	Maithili	52.9	31.9	-	0.4	0.6	-
11.	Malayalam	3.3	3.1	2.7	7.4	12.2	16.4
12.	Manipuri	10.2	7.8	10.0	14.9	14.5	14.3
13.	Marathi	41.7	35.9	23.8	1.9	2.5	2.0
14.	Nepali	40.2	30.3	23.3	12.6	11.4	12.2
15.	Oriya	12.9	8.1	4.6	6.6	8.7	6.8
16.	Punjabi	46.7	41.9	30.8	4.8	8.0	5.5
17.	Sanskrit	49.2	51.3	44.3	9.1	9.8	2.4
18.	Santali	27.0	16.6	-	2.9	2.0	-
19.	Sindhi	45.7	45.6	40.7	13.0	13.4	9.9
20.	Tamil	1.5	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.9
21.	Telugu	5.7	5.4	3.3	3.6	5.8	4.7
22.	Urdu	36.7	25.4	16.6	4.3	6.3	4.0
	Scheduled Languages	20.1	16.1	10.6	3.4	5.1	4.5
	Non-Scheduled Languages	25.2	17.9	-	5.6	5.5	-
	India	20.4	16.2	-	3.6	5.1	-

Source: Estimated from Social and Cultural Series "C-series" of the census of India, 1991, 2001, 2011; Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Progress in English Learning

In India, English is not included in the list of scheduled languages. Information related to English language is presented in the list of non-scheduled languages. Although it is assigned the status of assistant language, it remains in the elitist domain frequent among the highly educated and administratively positioned in India. After Hindi it is the second most spoken language in India and perhaps the most widely read and written language in the country.

People with mother tongue Manipuri (27.3 per cent) are having the highest share of people expressing English as second language of communication and among the Santali mother tongue, it remains the least (0.2 per cent). Other scheduled languages with highest share of people expressing English as the second language of communication are; Konkani (22.5 per cent), Malayalam (19.3 per cent), Tamil (17.9 per cent) and Oriya (13.0 per cent). Other scheduled languages with least share of people expressing English as the second language of communication are; Maithili (0.4 per cent), Gujarati (1.7 per cent), Marathi (1.7 per cent) and Bodo (1.7 per cent).

Punjabi speakers have the highest share of people with English as the third communication language. It is 23.6 per cent in 2011. Other mother tongues with highest share of English as the third communication language are; Dogri (25.3 per cent), Sanskrit (15.3 per cent), Konkani (13.7 per cent) and Sindhi (13.3 per cent) contrary to that Hindi (0.6 per cent), Tamil (1.1 per cent), Santali (1.7 per cent), Bengali (1.9 per cent) and Kannada (2.2 per cent) are the least.

In 2011, considering overall English communication skill based on its reporting as second/third language Konkani (36.2 per cent) stands best followed by Manipuri (33.5 per cent), Punjabi (29.7 per cent), Dogari (23.4 per cent) and Malayalam (21.9 per cent). Among the most spoken mother tongue Malayalam, Tamil, Oriya, Telugu, Kannada and Hindi largely express English as second communication language while those with mother tongue Punjabi, Marathi and Gujarati consider English as third communication language.

Skill of communication in English language declined for the nation as a whole during 2001-2011. It declined from 12.2 per cent in 2001 to 10.6 per cent in 2011. For Gujarati, Nepali and Tamil, it is increasing over the census years 1991 to 2011. In case of Hindi and Malayalam it declined over the census years 1991to 2011. In case of Assamese, Bengali, Kannada, Manipuri, Marathi, Oriya and Sindhi it increased during 1991-2001 and then either declined or remain unchanged during 2001-2011. These trends in adaption of English as the second/third language will have its own correspondence with growth in higher education on one hand and emigration futures. In fact, reading of this pattern in age segregation may well offer a different pattern as the youth have attained more of higher education and the propensity of emigration choice in the evolving world order.

TABLE 5

Share of English as Second and Third Language Among the Speakers of Scheduled Languages

S.N.	*Name of Language*	*Percentage of Persons who know English as the second language*			*Percentage of Persons who have know English as the third language*		
		2011	*2001*	*1991*	*2011*	*2001*	*1991*
1.	Assamese	6.4	10.7	10.1	4.9	4.2	4.1
2.	Bengali	4.8	11.1	7.3	1.9	1.9	1.8
3.	Bodo	2.2	3.5	-	2.6	11.7	-
4.	Dogri	2.9	4.7	-	20.5	20.4	-
5.	Gujarati	1.7	2.2	1.5	12.2	10.7	9.1
6.	Hindi	6.1	7.7	8.2	0.6	0.6	0.7
7.	Kannada	7.9	9.8	9.4	2.2	3.2	2.5
8.	Kashmiri	4.2	3.9	13.5	10.7	11.0	19.1
9.	Konkani	22.5	19.9	21.7	13.7	11.8	13.2
10.	Maithili	0.4	0.7	-	3.9	8.2	-
11.	Malayalam	19.3	21.2	22.0	2.6	2.6	2.3
12.	Manipuri	27.3	27.7	19.3	6.2	4.8	7.0
13.	Marathi	1.7	2.2	1.7	12.3	12.0	10.4
14.	Nepali	7.4	7.4	4.1	7.9	5.7	4.1
15.	Oriya	13.0	15.3	10.5	5.5	3.5	2.2
16.	Punjabi	6.1	9.3	6.3	23.6	22.8	17.4
17.	Sanskrit	5.4	6.7	5.3	15.3	16.0	9.5
18.	Santali	0.2	0.6	-	1.7	2.9	-
19.	Sindhi	4.2	6.2	5.9	13.3	14.7	13.5
20.	Tamil	17.9	14.9	13.4	1.1	1.1	0.7
21.	Telugu	10.0	10.5	8.3	3.6	3.7	2.8
22.	Urdu	3.5	3.8	3.2	5.9	5.8	4.7
	Scheduled Languages	6.9	8.5	-	3.8	3.8	-
	Non-Scheduled Languages	4.1	4.0	-	3.5	3.3	-
	India	6.8	8.4	-	3.8	3.8	-

Source: Estimated from Social and Cultural Series "C-series" of the census of India, 1991, 2001, 2011; Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

Conclusion and Discussion

The paper made an attempt to assess the progress in linguistic pattern of a multi-lingual Indian society. It is observed that the share of bilinguals has increased though gradual since 1991. However, share of trilingual remains somewhat unchanged. It is also observed that share of bilingual/trilingual is higher among the mother tongue that are minorities. Moreover, bilingual/trilingual speakers are more among the people staying in states other than their native. This analysis of linguistic environment conveys that bilingualism and trilingualism is conditioned by extent of minority count of mother tongue and mobility. Hence, with rising mobility across linguistic zones one can expect a rise in this feature of multilingual adaptation.

Language is primary means of communication and language other than one's mother tongue is also learnt to facilitate communication. An individual naturally learns the language that is spoken by parents. However, for a person who has to travel/stay in state/region/society where communication in their mother tongue is not possible, an alternative language as per the need of communication has to be learnt. It is also to be noted that learning language is not a very easy task. It involves a time for adaption along with a need for the same. Therefore, people would prefer to learn the language that can be serve towards wider communication.

There is no denying the fact that regional languages must be promoted, however, in a linguistic diverse country some or the other language will prevail as a language of nationwide communication. It is immaterial whether it is officially declared as national language or not. The language with largest number of speakers will be accepted for nationwide communication.

Therefore, besides the regional language (the native language of a specific region) there will always be a language adopted as a second language by a large majority to communicate with those other than their natives. When such a second language gets adopted by a majority that receives a status of national language (meaning a language for nationwide communication). Hence, this conflict between regional language and national language is unfounded on this ground. Regional language is important for the region while national language is meant for nationwide communication. Language needs to be considered as a means of communication and knowing multiple language enhances the potential for wider communication. The ideal way to promote the regional language is to open language-learning centres for the people with varying linguistic backgrounds. Breaking linguistic barriers lies in promoting multi-lingualism and discouraging linguistic fanatism.

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Book Reviews

ANNIGERI, Vinod B.; DESHPANDE, R. S. and DHOLAKIA, Ravindra (Eds.) (2018): ***Issues in Indian Public Policies,*** Singapore: Springer Nature, pp. 225, ISBN: 978-981-10-7949-8

Theory and practice are intrinsically brought together in this volume which is quite special in character. There are also discussions on new aspects like the recently launched schemes. Most importantly, the book lends itself to an Indian and South Asian audience very well due to its discussions on various themes of relevance, bringing an Indian touch to the problems which are being faced locally. Of course, western thinkers would also find the book of interest if they are looking to read about India's development problems and identify the key issues and themes in the ongoing discourse. There have been a stream of books post liberalisation and many leading economists have written about these issues. What is new and interesting in this book is a novel treatment of the problems facing India for a long time.

This is a very timely book considering the focus on economic development overall and, more specifically, on selected issues in public policy. The authors weave together the disciplines of economics and public policy, and put across the theories and related evidences. In the Indian context, this book is one of the few of its kind on public policy issues. Thus, the book uniquely positions itself as one combining theory and policy making in a novel manner in order to address the topical issue of holistic development. The chapter on "Making of State Agricultural Policy: A Demonstration" clearly highlights the problems being faced in public policy making. Policy making as a field has still to take roots in India, like it has done in western civilisations.

The book begins with a technical discussion on "Sacrifice Ratio and Cost of Inflation for the Indian Economy" by Ravindra H Dholakia, which gives a thorough analysis of the sacrifice ratio within the standard macroeconomic theory and considers features which have hitherto not been examined in the literature. Also, the different methods to estimate the sacrifice ratio have been critically examined, along with a detailed discussion on the cost of inflation. Thus, theory and practice have been brought together to address the raging problem of inflation in the Indian economy.

All the same, the other issues are also very valuable to the contemporary reader. In "Financing Education in Gandhi's Thought perspective" by Sudarshan Iyengar and Nimisha Shukla, a very interesting philosophical discussion ensues about the financing of education in the way Gandhiji's ideas developed. It argues that in the Gandhian perspective the skill or vocation around which education has to centre depends on the livelihood base of the area and community. Gandhi viewed education as an imperative of life and not merely literacy. Moreover, his vision also contrasts with the way privatisation of education involves a distinction between self-financing and state financing.

Similarly, “Education Accounts: A Tool for Managing Educational Finances Prototype for Discussion” by Vinod B Annigeri places the prototype of Education Accounts for discussion, and tries to present the tool of Education Accounts which is missing in the education sector — both within and outside India. Just like the National Income Accounts and Health Accounts, the chapter tries to provide a schema of Education Accounts by putting forth the methodology and answering key questions like the sources of funding, quantum of funding and functions for which such funding would be made.

There are only a few books which include a discussion on agricultural policy options for balanced regional development. Here in “Making of State Agricultural Policy: A Demonstration,” R S Deshpande, J Prachitha and Khalil Shaha choose four states from India, namely Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat, and argue how a clear design of agricultural policies is a must at the sub-national level. The chapter well elucidates the decoding of agricultural policy and the issues of a federal state. Also, the theory of policy making has been elucidated well and presents a model of policy formulation. Moreover, attempts in this direction in the past too have been highlighted well. “Make in India: Policy Drives and Challenges” by Gopal K Kadekodi discusses the brand-new scheme “Make in India" prevalent since 2014, focussing on the economic aspects of the mission, and points to the major challenges in the way to operationalise the mission. In doing so, the book highlights well the policy thrusts to make the scheme successful. The challenges for “Make in India," such as those for the defence sector, are also elucidated.

“Glimpses of the Literature on International Inequality and Catch up” by K L Krishna reviews the inequality in per capita incomes and does a thorough review of the literature on international inequality. International inequality is seen on the decline, though intranational inequality is increasing. Using an analysis of the empirical determinants of economic growth and convergence the issues of inequality and catch up are well examined. Catching up of developing countries in the world economy is of great interest and major contributions to the literature are also discussed.

A holistic model of human welfare has been presented in “Holistic Development: The Strategy for the New India” by V R Panchamukhi, while discussing the shifts that have taken place in the development paradigms in India. Thus, the chapter presents the needs of development in the present-day world with a human angle. “Historicising Development Discourse and Higher Education Policy in India” by Naregal Veena discusses how the economic growth debate has dominated development economics and an over-reliance on human capital theory has led to a skewed understanding of the social sector. There is a need therefore to examine education, culture and labour sectoral influences which have remained under-analysed in social sciences and policy studies. This chapter thus ties up well with the previous discussion on holistic development. Ravi Kanbur, in the chapter on “The Role of the World Bank in Middle-Income Countries,” discusses how the World Bank and MICs relate to each other from the perspective of development assistance and the emphasis on comparative advantage. In fact, even the question of whether development assistance is relevant to middle income countries has been well discussed. There are tables giving the policy effectiveness and thus an evaluation of World Bank’s activities. There is also a special section on India which is of great interest.

Writing on “Myth, Science and Writing: A Valediction to Social Sciences,” G N Devy gives a new perspective on the biases in social sciences from 19th century Europe to the post-

colonial cultures. Here we have a discussion of how Indian economists, sociologists and political scientists tend not to always tell the story from an Indian perspective when they write. Finally, in "Integrating Ethics into Economics" by M V Nadkarni, the philosophical basis for integrating ethics into economics is presented along with the Gandhian way to economics. In doing so, the chapter gives a novel approach of understanding ethics as central to economics. Such philosophical orientations are welcome and a clear departure from regular economics books which tend to look at Indian development problem through western lenses.

Thus, the book is a significant contribution to the literature of public policy making in India. Perhaps, in regard to the structure and contents of the book, there could well have been different sections on agriculture, inflation, holistic development, etc. Philosophical discourses would then have further enhanced the readability, especially for the non-economics audience. Yet, the book is of immense value to those looking for a deeper theoretical understanding of public policy and development economics as well as practitioners interested in the applicability of theories to evidence based policy making in social sectors like education as well. The book also delves into philosophy, Gandhian values and ethics in a freshly nuanced manner.

There are few books which bring together all these aspects of holistic development. However, perhaps more discussion on health and education sector would have made the book truly rounded off well. Environment and sustainable development could also have found a place in these discussions. Still the book is well worth reading and marks a true break in the way problems of India are dealt with at the development policy level. India's problems are unique and we need local solutions which come from our own history, our own national leaders' perspectives and would require the precise treatment which is given in this book. This is especially relevant for economists when they write about public policy it must have an Indian flavour and be rooted in India's problems even while we globalise and internationalise. Thus, we need many more books like this to engage the Indian reader and, more importantly, to create a knowledge warehouse and a discourse which is India-centric. Only then could individual contributions be more central to what we as a country can gain from the literature.

Human development in India and selected developing countries, as elucidated in this book, will be of great interest to Indian and western scholars and marks a departure from the way growth and development is traditionally seen. While Amartya Sen's works are seminal in this regard, this book too is a major contribution to the development literature and public policy making discourse for India and the Global South. The book will be a very useful resource for economists and non-economists as well and educationists, development practitioners and those engaged in public policy making would immensely benefit from this volume.

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Gandhi, M. (2021): ***Ethnicity, Identity and Culture***, Jaipur, Rawat Publications, ISBN: 978-81-316-1153-1 (Hardcover), pp. 294, Price: ₹ 495.00

The question of Identity, Ethnicity and Culture remains a point of constant debate and discussion among various groups to assert, benefit, to fit, and make sense of one's existence. The book 'Ethnicity, Identity and Culture' by Malli Gandhi is based on an extensive fieldwork conducted among various tribal groups in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana which are home to many tribal communities forming a substantial part of the population of these states. It traces the historical process of development of the identities of these tribal groups, their vibrant cultural and social lives, the negotiations with those in power, and then it brings our attention to the historical injustices done to these group of people in the name of development and the ways in which identities shape an individual's political, social and cultural reality. Gandhi seeks to look at the role of affirmative actions and tribal development in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states. This book is an addition to a rich collection of works he has authored on the criminal tribes, nomadic, semi-nomadic and denotified tribes in the region of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, contributing significantly to our understanding of tribal development in the region and throwing the light of developing new perspective with which we look upon the issues related to the tribal region and its people.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters ranging from studies of the tribal culture and society of Thotis, Koyas and Savaras, Yanadis, Yerukulas, Chenchus and issues related to human rights, reformation and rehabilitation and education of the aforementioned tribes. The present reviewer would like to highlight some of the major themes touched upon in the book, along with a brief description of the chapters from the book. Chapter one tries to delineate the historical process which looks at the present state of the tribal communities and the ways in which these tribes were socially and economically alienated over the centuries. This chapter also covers the rampaging poverty in Tribal Agency Mandals (Blocks), migration of non-tribal population into tribal areas, land alienation in tribal regions, functioning of the cooperatives, credit and marketing in the tribal areas, displaced development, unrest in the tribal areas, and the demands of the Adivasis in these two states. This also offers recommendations as to the ways in which the tribal communities can participate in the decision-making process so as to bring social changes that are required for these groups in particular to gain autonomy and control over their environment and resources.

There is an ongoing debate on whether the leadership, agency and forms of resistance by different tribal and peasant groups during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were their own or they came from outside these groups and were imposed upon them. The second chapter, "Tribal Revolts in Andhra and Telangana," speaks of the reasons that forced different tribals groups including Savaras, Doms/Pariahs, Ghods and local chiefs, mainly located in hilly tracts and forests, to revolt against the holders of power and how the reasons of unrests and the grievances related to land alienation, natural resources and disadvantages still continues to be a living reality of these tribal communities. The third chapter covers an anthropological investigation providing critical observations with regard to the Chenchu tribal community, their indigenous knowledge, practices, domestic life, housing patterns, and social organisation. The details of the behavior and nature of the people of the Chenchu

community, their truthfulness, honesty, cultural practices and hospitality to the visitors provide for an interesting reading and make us familiar with the process in which identities are and get shaped.

Some of the subsequent chapters give a detailed account of the culture and societies of the Kolams of Telangana and Maharashtra, Thotis of Telangana, Koyas, Savaras and Yanadis. Their kinship, social structure, role and position of women in family and economic lives of the tribes, cultural festivals, nature worship, and the government's policy interventions through forest reservation policies and pattas form a major portion of these chapters. A shift in subsistence pattern is being noted with Kolams entering into a new phase of life as landless labourers, after extension of forest reserve boundaries over their cultivated lands. Links in the social structure and social norms of different tribal groups have been drawn along with land displacement, livelihood disruptions are common threads connecting the lives of these tribes. The different experience of Yanadis of Andhra Pradesh to a smooth transition and accommodating themselves to newer ways of life shaped by urbanisation and industrialisation from traditional sustenance of hunting and fishing is being spoken about at the same time certain parts of the book counters its arguments with regards to 'primitive' levels of development among the Yanadis and the need to better functioning of Integrated Tribal Development Agency. The low levels of literacy, poor higher education enrolments and educational backwardness are being spoken about as a cause of concern, along with providing reasons and recommendations for extension of services to bring quality education to the region.

The chapter titled "Issues Related to Denotified and Nomadic Tribes of Andhra Pradesh" is written with the clear objective to bring awareness about the existing public policy in respect of Nomadic/Denotified tribal communities, and it provides suggestive measures for the overall development of these communities. It also clearly defines the different categories in focus and how the post-independence reclassification has only brought some communities under the scheduled caste, scheduled tribes and backward class categories, while others continue to be notified and denotified tribes. An explicit picture is presented of the poor representation of Notified and Denotified Tribes in better paid jobs including judiciary, medical, education, police and other skills jobs and reinforcement of identities in implementation of welfare policies. Ensuring speedy and quality delivery of government programmes and schemes and positive discrimination is very much presented as necessary for the development of the Notified and Denotified Tribes.

While education has been enshrined as a fundamental right in our constitution and is a universal human right, it still remains a dream for a majority of India's scheduled tribes. This also remains a concern for the government and necessary efforts too are being made, but yet desirable results are not forthcoming in terms of standard of education and outcomes. The chapter on "Education of Scheduled Tribe Children" provides an analysis of the education facilities available to these groups, reviews their educational needs and makes suggestions about revising textbooks based on context and pedagogical requirements. Important recommendations are that the focus should be on bridging the gap between dropouts among tribal and non-tribal children, and also on elementary education and financial support from the early years of schooling. Finding a balance between preservation of the cultural identities and the values of the people and economic prosperity is the most

important and difficult objective to achieve in the context of the question of the education of scheduled tribal children.

The book provides a weighty description of the tribal groups in the region of Andhra and Telangana, but most of the chapters are lacking in direction as to the theoretical frameworks with which we can read the socio-cultural lives of people in focus; some of its parts are even self-contradictory. However, the book contributes hugely to the ongoing discourses and discussions around the change in perspective and set categories which with tribal groups have been looked at historically. It may thus be used by future researchers and administrators for assessing the real ground situation, and academicians working for similar studies about tribal groups in general and those of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh in particular. This will help them give these tribal groups their due in history and recognise their contribution in the freedom movement.

The book also serves as a gentle reminder to us, as a country and society, regarding the values enshrined in our constitution and regarding what is our reality with regard to the removal of social and economic inequalities. It seeks the attention of administrators and policymakers dealing with tribal development to the need to look into the issues related to administrative and political mechanisms and the measures that need serious consideration. The book also has a section of the terms used by tribal groups in their day-to-day life, along with the English and Telugu equivalent of each of these terms. This would help researchers going into the field to get familiar with the terminology, as the specific meaning a term has in a particular context is very significant in making sense of communities under study. One of the appendices has photos depicting the social life of Gonds, Yerukulas, Sugalis, Naikapods and Thotis in Andhra and Telangana, giving visual substance to some of the descriptions of the tribal culture in the book. The book holds relevance for our time and for the region being studied by Gandhi, and may help us to widen our understanding of a significant population of our country. However, it is expansive and can be afforded only by a niche audience.

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