FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLING AND EMERGENCE OF ALTERNATIVE MODELS: A CASE STUDY OF UP

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **"FAILURE OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLING AND EMERGENCE OF ALTERNATIVE MODELS: A CASE STUDY OF UP"** submitted by **RACHNA SAXENA** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University and this is her own work.

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Dedicated to

All Children of India

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RACHNA SAXENA

CONTENTS

GANDHIJI'S VIEWS ON LITERACY

The primary need of those who are come of age and are following an avocation is to know how to read and write. Mass illiteracy is' India's sin and shame and must be liquidated. Of course, the literacy campaign must not begin and end with a knowledge of the alphabet. It must go hand in hand with the spread of useful knowledge.

As for illiteracy among the women, its cause is not mere laziness and inertia as in the case of men. A more potent cause is the status of inferiority with which an immemorial tradition has unjustly branded her. Man has converted her into a domestic drudge and an instrument of his pleasure, instead of regarding her as his helpmate and 'better half!' The result is a semiparalysis of our society. Woman has rightly been called the mother of the race. we owe it to her and to ourselves to undo the great wrong that we have done her.

M K Gandhi

1-2-1939

CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

Writing two and a half thousand years ago, the Greek philosopher Aristotle declared the central purpose of education to be the attainment of 'the good life', or the enrichment of the quality of life.[1] Since he believed that states existed only for the sake of promoting 'the good life' and not life alone, it went without saying that they should educate all of their citizens. 'It is', he wrote, 'a lawgiver's duty to arrange for the education of the young. In states where this is not done, the quality of the constitution suffers'.[2] Tom Paine in 'The Rights of Man' writes, "a nation under a well-regulated government should permit none to remain uninstructed. It is monarchical and aristocratic government only that requires ignorance for its support."[3] J.S. Mill, in similar vein, argued that there could be no real political rights if people lacked educational skills to understand and use them. He envisaged a positive role for the state to finance free education for all. According to him, it is 'a self evident axiom that the state should require and compel the education..... of every human being who is born its citizen.' [4]

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[1] Aristotle (1967), Politics III. 9, OUP, Oxford.
[2] ibid., p. 451-52 .
[3] T. Paine(1995), Rights Of Man, OUP, Oxford, p.297.
[4] J.S. Mill (1972), Utilitarianism, on Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government, Dent, London, pp. 160-163.

The contemporary liberal notion of state is that of a welfare state which does not regard the state to be an abstract legal institution. Welfare state has been variously defined from the sociological, economic and political angles. Sometimes it was confined to Fabian Socialism and at other times with Marxian category a bourgeois state. To some, it was an economic proposition, to others identifiable with representative democracy.[5] According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, the concept of welfare state applied to a number of liberal democratic states since World War II, which involves a widening of the functions assigned to the state by individual liberalism.[6] T.W. Kent attempts to define welfare state as 'a state that provides for its citizens a wide range of social services'. Such a state is seen as an active system operating in society that serves the purposes for which it came into existence. To put it in Easton's logic, the individual provides the inputs (demand) into the political system (state) and the output will be the policy. Laski maintains that the welfare state must create those conditions in which all persons get an opportunity for the development of their faculties so that they may grow and expand to the best of their ability. As MacIver has said, 'it is not order for the sake of order but for the sake of protection, conservation and development' that should be the purpose and justification of state action. Responsiveness and development of human capacities are principal functions of a welfare state.

[5] G. Sudarshan and M.V.Rama Rao (1991),"Welfare State and Education in India" ,Journal of Educational Planning and Administration,April 1, p.24.
[6] Encyclopedia Britannica (1977) , Vol 17, p 613.

The earlier paradigm of development, derived mainly from the postulates of neo classical economics, placed implicit faith in economic growth as a panacea for the social and cultural maladies of developing societies.[7] The neo classical writers maintained that development benefits all the major income groups and while conceding that temporary unemployment may be caused by monetary, wars and technique factors, but in the long run the equilibrium unemployment is impossible.[8] This model linked development with progress and saw material welfare crucial to develop society. Hence, development and growth was measured through income indicators like Gross Domestic Product and per capita expenditure.

However, experiences across the globe showed that these strategies of development could not register any impressive gains in improving the quality of life of large masses of people, the volume of unemployment, standards of nutrition, health, housing and education. In the 1950s, economists such as Robert Solow were puzzled by data showing that factor of production such as capital, land and labour could not fully explain changes in productivity. They attributed the unexplained part of the equation to education. In the 1980s Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker worked this finding into what became known as the Human Capital Growth Theory. Human capital was defined as the stock of useful knowledge acquired in the

[7] S.C. Dube(1958), India's Changing Villages: Human Factor in Community Development, London, p.1.
[8] Ibid., p. 3.

process of education[9], investment in which generated the skills needed to increase productivity and raise wages.

Still, though education was rediscovered as a development theme in the 1970s, it owed less to the view that education was intrinsically important than to recognition that it was capable of generating high economic growth.[10] Subsequently, investment in basic education was accepted as a powerful engine for accelerating economic growth. Some of the most powerful evidence comes from East Asia where research by World Bank found that primary school enrolment rates in the 1960s were almost twice as important as investment levels in explaining the subsequent growth performance of South Korea, Indonesia and Malaysia.[11] Thus, education has been viewed as a means to other ends, rather than as an end in itself. Towards the end of the 19th century, the British economist Alfred Marshall wrote, "knowledge is our most powerful engine of production.... the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings."[12]

It was not until the early 1990s that the idea of education being an end in itself became part of mainstream thinking about development. The catalyst for change was the work of Indian economist Amartya Sen, which was communicated to a wider

[9] G. Becker et. al., cited in The Oxfam Education Report (2000), Oxfam Publication, p.47.
[10] ibid., p. 15.
[11] World Bank : The East Asian Miracle : Economic Growth and Public Policy, cited in The Oxfam Education Report (2000), op. cit., p. 47.
[12] A. Marshall : The Principles of Economics cited in The Oxfam Education Report (2000), p.46.

audience through United Nations Human Development Report. In the new strategies for development the emphasis has shifted from Gross National Product to Gross National Welfare and is inspired by recognition of the intrinsic and instrumental value of education.

The new approach did not deny the broader benefits of education but it powerfully reasserted the view, first elaborated by Aristotle, that education did not have to be justified in terms of its instrumental value. Sen holds, "something that is of intrinsic importance can, in addition, be instrumentally momentous without compromising its intrinsic value."[13]

Sen and Jaen Dreze have linked education with the concept of fundamental freedoms and see the relation in five different ways. Being educated and healthy are valuable achievements in themselves and these are of direct importance to a person's effective freedom. Along with intrinsic importance, education can help a person to make use of economic opportunities, which add to a person's freedom to achieve functions that he or she values. These are referred to as instrumental personal roles. Greater literacy and education also facilitate public discussion of social needs and encourage informed collective demands. Dreze and Sen have also highlighted the instrumental process roles of education through which the process of schooling can have benefits even aside from its explicitly aimed

[13] Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen (1995) "Basic Education as a Political Issue", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, pp.1-2 .

objectives namely formal education. For example, the incidence of child labour is intrinsically connected with non-schooling of children. And lastly, education and greater literacy among disadvantaged groups can increase their ability to resist oppression, to organize politically and to get a fairer deal.[14]

Education is closely related with literacy though education involves a much broader definition. In a letter to the International League for the Rational Educational of Children, Tagore argued for viewing education as a right which enables individuals to act on reflection.[15] However, literacy and schooling are important components of educational achievements of immense importance. These are convenient statistical indicators of educational levels. Schooling system provides the means of acquiring education and literacy. According to World Bank, literacy rates represent the most telling indicator of a country's educational status.[16] The core of mass public education and, hence, the starting place for literacy is primary education. Literacy and basic education for instance lead to empowerment among deprived sections and becomes a powerful tool for these people in a society where social interaction involves written media. Basic education in itself is necessary if one has to participate in modern economy and society. It is a big catalyst of social change to participate as good citizens in national development. Such education

[14] Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (1995), Economic Development and Social Opportunity, OUP, New Delhi, p. 14.
[15] Public Report On Basic Education (1999), OUP, New Delhi, p 6.
[16] http://wbln 1018.world bank.org

also encompasses general skills needed for further education and training.

The post colonial independent Indian state is a welfare state which responds to the demands for change and carries out reforms in the system. The welfare state in India works on the practical assumption of a positive role of the state as a tool of society to solve problems. The state's involvement in education fulfils part of its role as a welfare and progressive state. Popular education is necessary for the preservation of those conditions of freedom, which are essential to free individual development and creative self-expression. No agency other than government can undertake obligations so universal in character as providing mass education. The role of state is central to human development of which literacy and elementary education are two key features.

The benefits of education though go much beyond economic return, the economic value of education has been rightly stressed by parents, children, economists and educationists. Basic education helps in better employment, enhancing one's skills and promoting an individual's capability to make use of the economic opportunities. The use of the economic opportunity by one person can, in many circumstances, open up further opportunities for others through backward and forward linkages in supply and demand.[17] There is, hence, enough rationale for the Indian state to invest in human

[17] Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (1995), op. cit., p.15 .

capital and capability, the returns on which are higher than returns on any other investment.[18]

Recent evidence from many East Asian countries like China, Thailand and South Korea suggests that by far the single largest determinant of economic growth for eight East Asian economies was primary education.[19] This is accounted for by the fact that modern industries demand many basic skills for which elementary education was essential and secondary education most enabling. Thus, investment in education by states lead to increased growth and productivity in the formal sectors. Even the productive benefits from education in the rural areas have been particularly noticeable. According to National Human Development Report 2001, studies concerning 31 countries concluded that if a farmer had completed four years of elementary education, his productivity was 8.5% higher than other farmers who had no education.[20] Likewise, it has been conclusively proved that adoption and spread of Green Revolution in the country was faster among educated farmers.

Education not only has high economic returns but also generates non-market benefits. Literate people are more aware of health and nutrition status and likely to take the advantage of social services available for them. This may in turn reduce child death and

[18] Ratna M. Sudarshan (1998), "Where are we at?", Seminar, April, p.21.
[19] http://wbln 1018.world bank.org.
[20] V.S.Gupta, (2003), "Basic education for rural areas", Kurukshetra, Ministry of Rural Development, p. 14.

mortality rates. The linkages between education, health, nutrition and reduced fertility result in synergies, which can transform vicious cycles of poverty, malnutrition, gender inequality and disease into virtuous cycles of learning and health, equity and social development.[21] Other human development gains generated through education relate to empowerment or capacity of poor people to influence institutions, processes and policies that affect their lives. For instance, when a young person from a deprived community acquires education, his or her abilities often help the whole community. In an unequal society like India, basic education becomes an important tool of self-defence for the marginalized sections and enhances one's social status. Privileged groups have much better education opportunities and this further consolidates their privileges. A tremendous sense of powerlessness is associated with being illiterate in modern society. Thus, if a state is to work towards the goal of mitigating inequality in society, the best way is to provide for proper schooling system for attaining universal elementary education.

Education is not confined to social and economic development, it is also about citizen's realizing their rights and obligations.[22] Mass exclusion from education is as bad for the democracy as it is for poverty reduction. As J.K. Galbraith has written, "education not only makes democracy possible, it also makes it essential"[23] Education

[21] http://wbln 1018.world bank.org..
[22] Romila Thapar (2001), "Democracy and Education", Seminar, April, p. 110.
[23] J. Galbraith, The Good Society : The Human Agenda cited in The Oxfam Education Report (2000), op. cit., p.63.

creates the voice through which rights can be claimed and protected. Throughout history, reformers have seen education as a driving force for democratization. Classical economists were interested in education more as a right of citizenship than as a means to increase productivity. Adam Smith was a strong advocate of universal basic education. Because the invisible hand of market would, in his view, invariably failed to finance the education of the poor he advocated public financing of basic education.[24] Literacy and education are important tools of effective political participation, whether it takes the form of informed voting or signing a petition or organizing a protest or contributing to public debates. In a democratic society like India where political awareness and participation is so crucial, an informed and literate population is a desirable prerequisite for the successful democratic functioning of our polity. It has been conclusively proved that in India the absence of adequate expansion of basic education not only came in the way of rapid economic development and technical change but also slowed down the implementation of welfare policies.[25]

The approach paper to the Xth Five year plan says, "our performance in the field of education is one of the most disappointing aspects of our developmental strategy."[26] Out of approximately 200 million children in the age group 6-14 years, only 120 million are in schools and net attendance in primary level is only 66% of enrolment.

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[24] Adam Smith (1987), Wealth of Nations, OUP, Oxford, P. 785.
[25] G. Sudarshan and M.V. Rama Rao (1991), op. cit., p. 24.
[26] V.S.Gupta (2003), op.cit.

Despite a remarkable increase in literacy levels in the last decade, close to 300 million persons in the age group 7 years and above are illiterate (see Table 1.1). Inspite of the constitutional commitment in the Directive Principles of State Policy to provide Universal Elementary Education, the bleak scenario is reflected when we compare the literacy and educational levels of India with other Asian countries. Besides, there are huge disparities in the literacy status between different groups. For example education system is heavily biased in favour of urban as compare to rural children, males in comparisons to females and higher castes to the extent of marginalizing the lower caste children. (see Chart I)

Education policy in India since independence has suffered from a good deal of inconsistencies and confusion. National Policy on Education in 1986 declared with blind optimism that 'by 1995 all children will be provided free and compulsory education upto 14 years of age'[27] without giving any sense of the revolutionary policy changes that would be needed to achieve this goal. It is only from nineties onwards that Universal Elementary Education was given priority before which bulk of expenditure on education was spent on secondary and higher education. The Department of Education appointed a committee in 1997 which estimated that implementing Fundamental Right to Education would require only an additional

[27] National Policy on Education 1986, Government of India (1992), Ministry of HRD, New Delhi.

TABLE 1.1

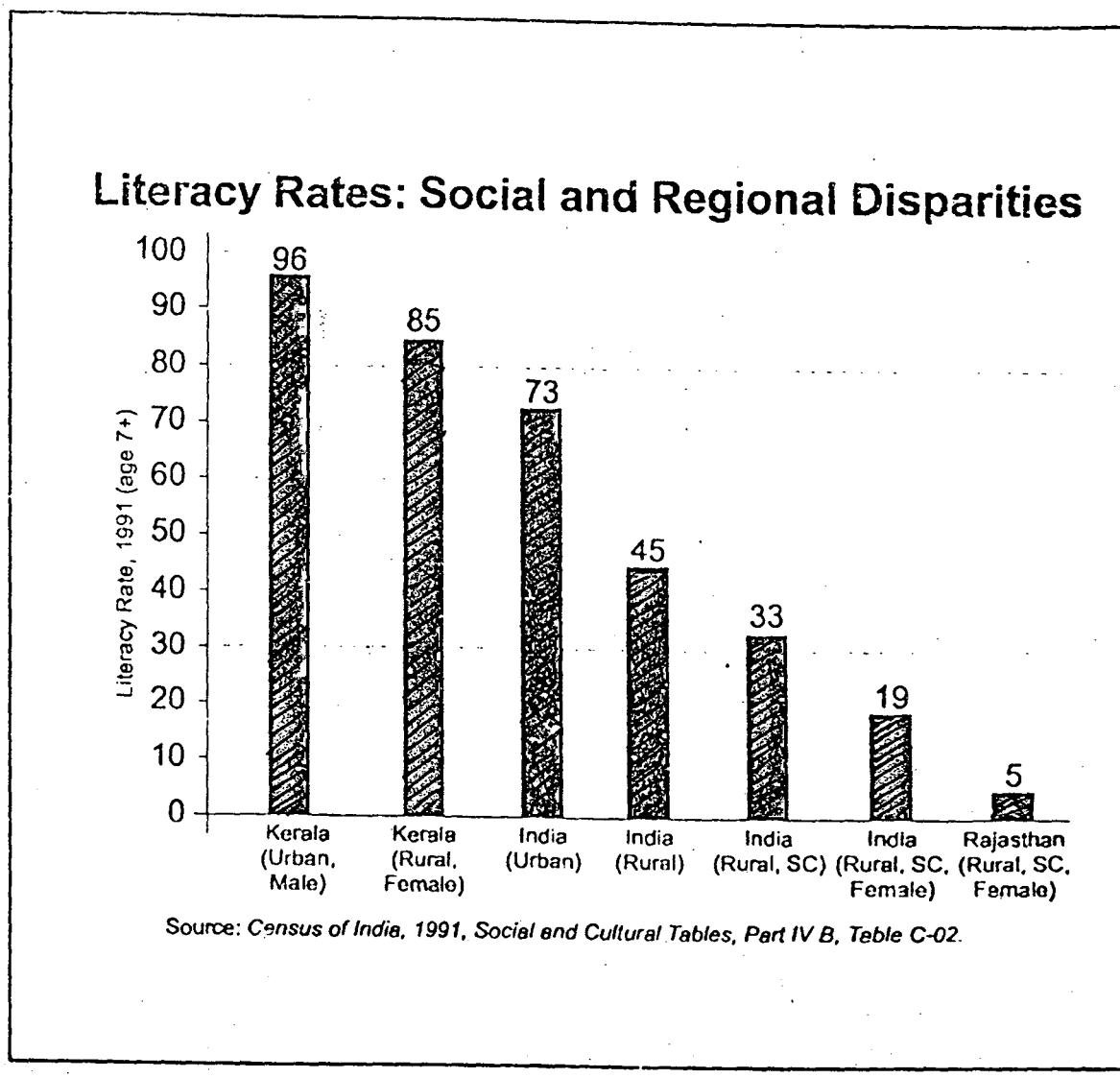
Population:	***Decadal Growth 1991 - 2001:***
Persons 1,027,015,247 Males 531,277,078 Females 495,738,169 Sex Ratio: *933*	Persons : *(+) 21.34 %* Males : *(+) 20.93 %* Females : *(+) 21.79 %*
Population (0 - 6 years):	***Percentage of Population (0-6) to Total Population:***
Persons 157,863,145 Males 81,911,041 Females 75,952,104 Sex Ratio: *927* *(0 - 6 years)*	Persons : *15.42 %* Males : *15.47 %* Females : *15.36 %*
Number of Literate:	***Percentage of Literate to Total population:***
Persons 566,714,995 Males 339,969,048 Females 226,745,947	Persons : *65.38 %* Males : *75.85 %* Females : *54.16 %*

annual expenditure of around .5% of India's Gross National Product for next fiver years.[28] Inadequate public expenditure on education coupled with severe imbalances has translated into inadequate infrastructure, insufficient number of schools and poor quality of education. Most common reasons cited for this failure to provide elementary education places the onus on factors like poverty, child labour, lack of awareness and motivation among parents. However, the PROBE report dispels most of these reasons as myths and reveals that there is a strong demand for education even from poor households (see Chart II). The demand, however, is linked to quality education. The responsibility consequently shifts on the state to provide more number of schools with proper infrastructure, updated curriculum and quality education.

After bringing the elementary education into the concurrent list in 1976, education is the joint responsibility of central and state government with central government taking initiatives to supplement the efforts of the state governments by meeting some critical gaps. The central government envisaged provisions for free and compulsory education for children in 6-14 years age group, through the 93rd Amendment Bill for creating a Fundamental Right to Education. This historic legislation was passed by Parliament in November, 2002. The

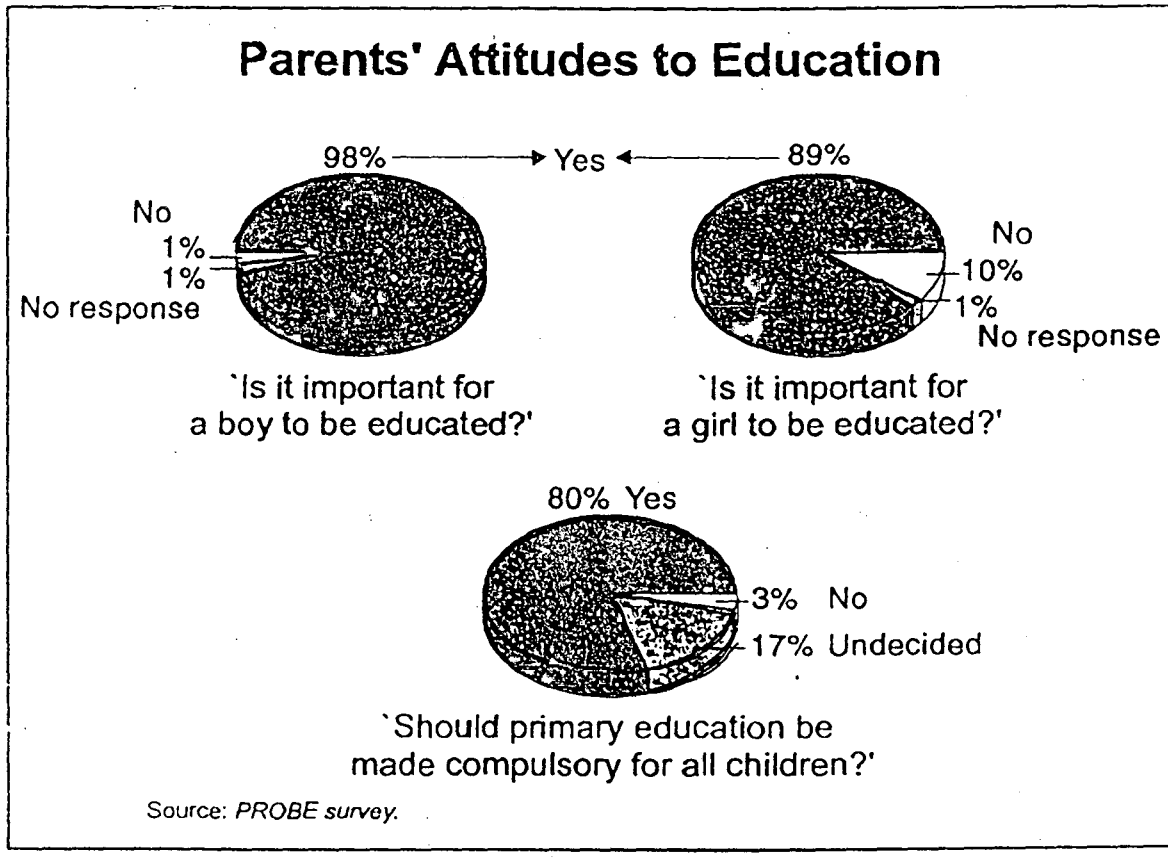
[28] Annual Report of The Department of Education, Government of India (1997), Ministry of HRD, New Delhi.

CHART I



Source: *Census of India, 1991, Social and Cultural Tables, Part IV B, Table C-02.*

CHART II

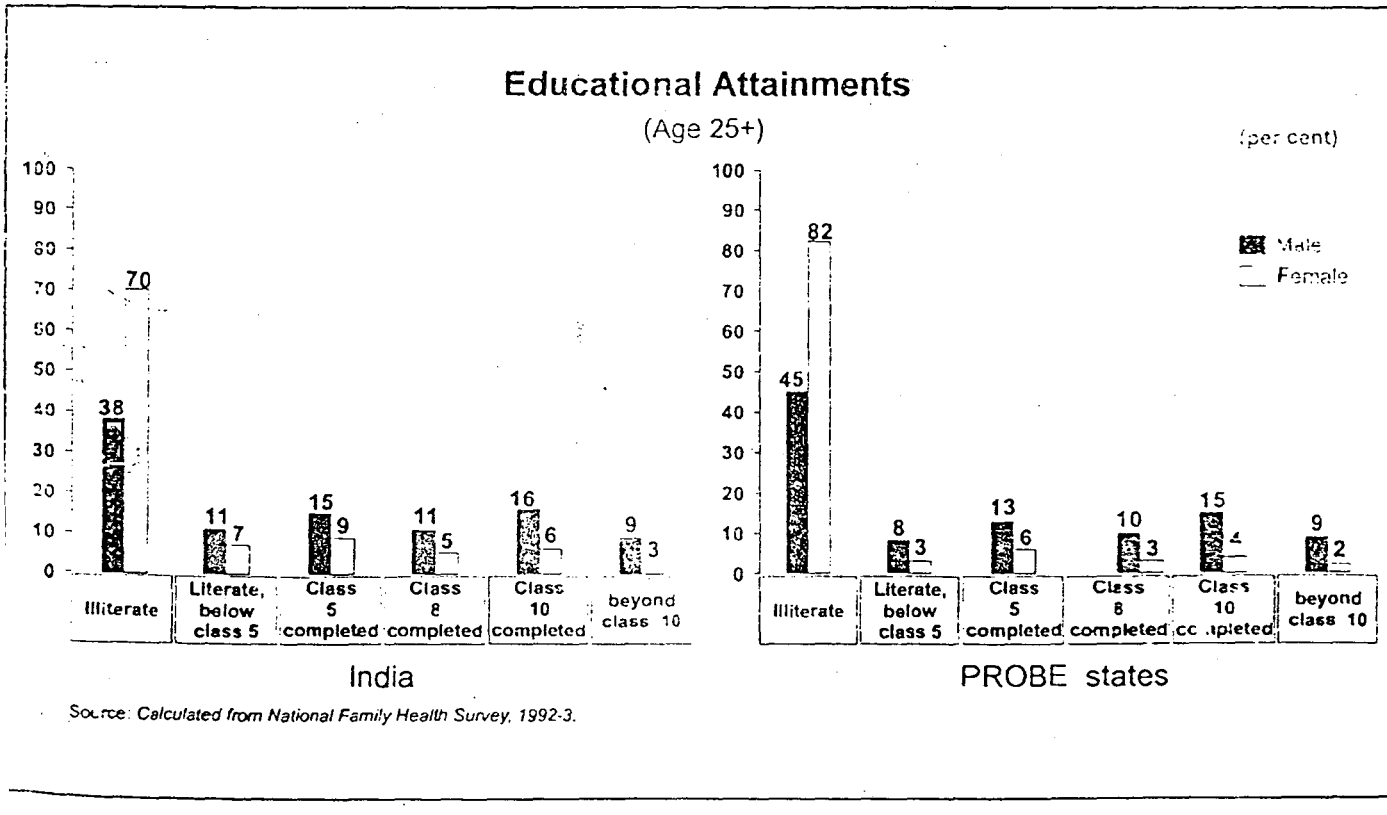

Parents' Attitudes to Education
98%
Yes
89%
No
1%
1%
No response
No
10%
1%
No response
`Is it important for a boy to be educated?'
`Is it important for a girl to be educated?'
80% Yes
3% No
17% Undecided
`Should primary education be made compulsory for all children?'
Source: PROBE survey.

Supreme Court in Mohini Jain case in 1992 observed that the Directive Principles, which are fundamental in the governance of the country could not be isolated from the Fundamental Rights guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution. Without making Right to Education under Article 41 of the Constitution a reality, the Fundamental Rights under Chapter III shall remain beyond the reach of the large majority, which is illiterate.[29] The Court further held that the Right to Education flows directly from Right to Life. The Right to Life under Article 21 and the dignity of an individual are not being assured unless it is accompanied by the Right to Education. The new Bill, thus, states, "the state shall provide free and compulsory education.... in such manner as the state, may, by law, determine." The onus has now shifted on respective state governments for fulfilling their obligation with respect to elementary education.

The reach and quality of the schooling system varies a great deal from state to state within India. A few states like Kerala and Himachal Pradesh have yielded impressive results with literacy levels much higher than the all India averages. On the other hand the North Indian states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, aptly referred to as BIMARU states, makes stark and disturbing reading on the status of basic education. These states have failed miserably in expanding basic education facilities (see Chart III).

[29] Madhav Godbole (2001), "Elementary Education as a Fundamental Right: The Issues", Economic and Political Weekly, Dec. 15, 2001, pp. 4609-13.

CHART III



Source: *Calculated from National Family Health Survey, 1992-3.*

A case study provides lessons to be learnt about the causes of failure or success through these regional contrasts between states. Thus, there are wide regional contrasts within India and a comparative or a specific study would help understand what are the facilitators or obstacles to achieve Universal Elementary Education.

Uttar Pradesh, the largest Indian State in terms of population and with huge political significance in Indian democracy lags behind much of the rest of the country in indicators of development and social progress. Although remarkable achievement has been made in the last decade towards the goal of Universal Elementary Education, the above achievements look impressive only because progress in the previous four decades was abysmal. (see Table 1.2) UP provides a crucial case in point to the fact that states with low literacy levels also turn out to be the states lagging behind rest of the country in terms of social well being and demographic transition (see Table 1.3). UP contributes 16.17 percent to the total population of the country despite the fact that a new state of Uttaranchal has been carved out of it. According to the Census Report 2001, had UP been a country it would rank at 6th place after Brazil with its population of 166 million people.[30] The potential of this vast human resource is not only underutilised but also has actually become a liability with most of the population being illiterate and poor. Such a large state with exceptional levels of endemic deprivation deserves a good deal of attention in its own right. Also an understanding of the causes of retarded educational levels in the state would give an important insight in to the backwardness of the country as a whole.

[30] Census Report (2001), Government of India.

Table 1.2

Literacy Rate 1951-2001, Uttar Pradesh

Years	Persons	Male	Female
1951	12.02	19.17	4.07
1961	20.87	32.08	8.36
1971	23.99	35.01	11.23
1981	32.65	46.65	16.74
1991	40.71	54.82	24.37
2001	57.36	70.23	4.98

Note: Literacy rates for 1951, 1961 and 1971 relate to population aged five years and above.
The rate for the years 1981 to 2001 related to the population aged seven years and above.

Table 1.3

State	Population	Poverty Rate	Per Capita Income (Rs. '000)	Growth In Net Sdp (1993-1999) In %	Health Facilities	Literacy Rate	Infant Mortality
Andhra Pradesh	75.7	15.8	14.7	5.4	VL	61.11	66
Gujarat	50.6	14.1	18.6	8.3	L	69.97	63
Haryana	21.1	8.7	21.1	5.8	L	68.59	68
Himachal Pradesh	6.1	7.6	15	6.7	H	77.13	NA
Karnataka	52.7	20	16.3	8.1	M	67.04	58
Kerala	31.8	12.7	18.3	5.9	M	90.92	14
Maharashtra	95.7	25	23.4	6.7	M	77.27	48
Punjab	24.3	6.2	23	NA	H	69.95	53
Rajasthan	56.5	15.3	12.5	6	VL	61.03	81
Tamil Nadu	62.1	21.1	19.1	7.2	H	73.47	52
West Bengal	80.2	27	15.6	6.9	L	69.22	52
Assam	26.6	36.1	9.6	2.6	VL	64.28	76
Bihar + Jharkhand	109.8	42.6	6.3	3.9	EL	47.53	63
Mp + Chattisgarh	81.2	37.4	10.9	4.2	VL	64.11	90
Orissa	36.7	47.2	9.2	4.4	NA	63.61	97
Up + Uttaranchal	174.5	31.2	9.8	4.4	EL	57.36	84

LEGENDS: EL - extremely low; VL - very low; L - low; M - medium; H - high; NA - not available; SDP - state domestic product

Source: Economic Survey, 2001-2002; Secretariat For Industrial Assistance Statistics, Ministry Of Industry, May 2002; Food Insecurity Atlas Of Rural India, M S Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai 2001

Despite the state's great political significance and clout, its failure to make inroads to produce substantial changes in the field of elementary education has been amply documented in researches. An inquiry into the reasons for this failure of schooling which have led to the emergence of other alternatives illustrate the possibilities and feasibility of translating Fundamental Right to Education into to a reality.

Objectives of Research:

1. To look into the performance of the state of elementary education in the country through a case study of UP and to discover problems and lacunas assosiated with the system of government schooling.

2. To inquire into the state of dismal elementary education in UP and its linkages with other indicators of development.

3. To investigate into the reasons for failure of government schooling system in UP and to probe into the extent of the role of state as a cause of this failure.

4. To study the emergence of alternative models of schooling and the role played by civil societal institutions like NGOs and Private schools.

5. To look into the possibilities and challenges of partnership between state and civil society in the field of basic education and literacy.

The main focus of my dissertation is on elementary level schooling. The term refers to sections from standard I to standard VIII. However , primary schooling that is from class I to Class V have also been discussed in some chapters since many field surveys relied upon, deal with primary schools. Primary and elementary schooling form part of the broader theme of basic education. Also the main thrust of the dissertation is to look at the failure of government schooling in UP. But emphasis is not just on supply side factors, since schooling is a broader theme within which falls the responsibility of the government to provide for universal elementary education. The idea is to look at emerging relationship between state and civil society through their contributions in the field of education. Hence, other socio-economic obstacles that come in the way of universal elementary education through the schooling system have also been examined.

METHODOLOGY:

The method adopted for the purpose of my research is descriptive and exploratory. To look at the role of state in providing elementary education, the case study methodology has been applied whereby the state of Uttar Pradesh has been selected. The sources relied upon are mainly secondary with some primary data from government documents such as census reports.

The chapter titled 'State Of Elementary Education In Uttar Pradesh: A Background" deals with general state of education in UP. It

looks into the general backwardness of the state and its linkages with elementary education and education policy in the state. The distribution of educational finances between centre and states in the federal political set up that impacts the educational policy in the state is discussed. The legislative Acts passed by state government relating to education and their implications are also dealt with in this part. Systemic deficiencies in the schooling system in UP are reiterated in the discussion that have made the policy interventions in the state unsuccessful and ineffective.

The next chapter titled 'Failure of schooling in UP: a critical analysis' gives a critical account of the political, economic and social reasons for the failure of the state to achieve Universal Elementary Education. It gives exploratory account for low achievements in basic education in the state. A number of field based investigations are relied upon for crucial data that help explain the causes of persistent illiteracy in the state.

The disillusionment with government inertia has led to emergence of movements and initiatives within civil society that support the issue of Universal Elementary Education in the state. The changing attitudes to education, with strong parental thirst for their children to be educated, has given the goal of achieving Universal Elementary Education an urgency. This has contributed to the rise of movements promoting it. A study into these, with emphasis mainly on NGOs, private Schools and Panchayat schools that indicate a clear trend towards decentralization of educational system and popular

involvement in the process, form the core of this chapter. However, such schemes have their own limitations and drawbacks that are investigated in this chapter. These reaffirm the pivotal role of the state in promoting education although a partnership between state and civil society with substantial safeguards can go a long way in achieving this prized objective of universalising elementary education.

Learning is a road of intellectual expansion and adventure and every progressive state makes for the organisation for a comprehensive system of education that is universal to fulfill the objective of realising freedom and equality. The present Indian state is a combination of responsive, legitimate and coercive components. UP's unimpressive record in the field of elementary education in linked to other kinds of deprivation in the state, thus, clearly stating that society has to incur high costs in the absence of adequate opportunities for mass education. The present state, despite its limitations and constraints, must be administered with effective allocation, proper planning and setting right priorities in which welfare is a matter of right to be provided to all[31] which can become the key stone of the arch of good life.

[31] G. Sudarshan and M.V. Rama Rao (1991), op. cit., p. 24.

CHAPTER – II

STATE OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN UP: A BACKGROUND

Uttar Pradesh can be seen as a case study of development in a region of India that lags behind much of the rest of the country in terms of a number of important aspects of well-being and social progress.[1] This point can further be illustrated by highlighting relevant indicators of development in general profile of the state.

One sixth of world's population is in India and one-sixth of Indians live in U.P. With 166,052859 million people, it is not only the most populous state but also one of the poorest. Sex ratio in the sate is 898 per thousand males, much less than national average of 933 (Census 2001). About 20 percent of state's population is urban (CSO 1995). The preponderance of rural population makes the state economy primarily agrarian. The distribution of land is highly skewed. Poverty and unemployment are the two major human aspects of development whose magnitude reflect the final outcome of growth as well as development efforts undertaken by the state.[2] Despite its rich natural and human resources, a little more than 45 percent of UP's population live below poverty line as compared to 39.4 percent of India's population (NSS 1983-84). Another key indicator of its

[1] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), "Uttar Pradesh: The Burden of Intertia", in Jaen Dreze and A Sen (eds.) (1997) Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives, Clarendon Press,Oxford, p. 33.
[2] North India Human Development Report (2002), Planning Commission, p. 255.

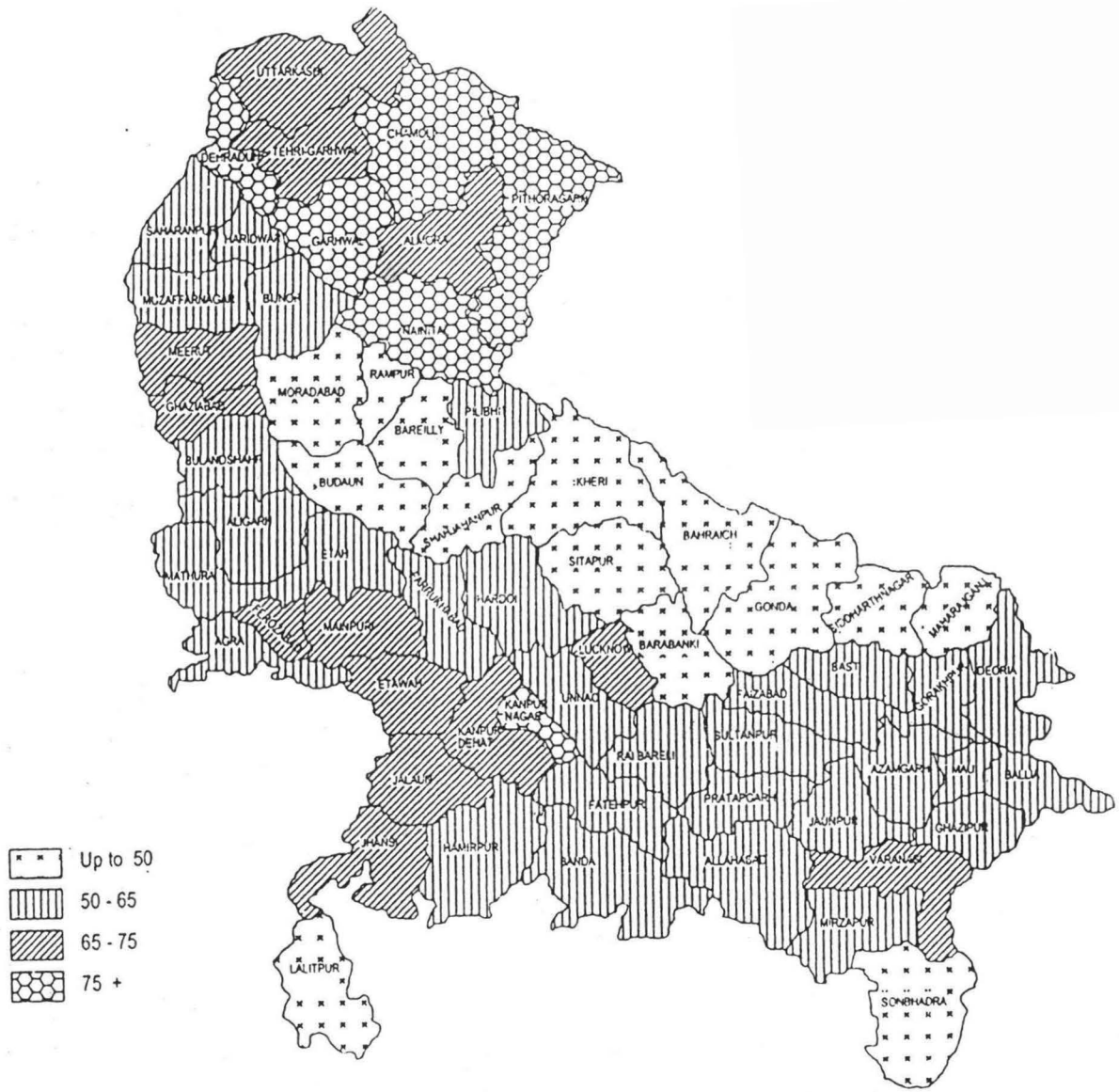
backwardness is unemployment rate by daily status, which is 3.4 percent in the state as against 6.1 percent for India as a whole (NSS 1987-88). As regards a key component of human capital i.e. education, UP has a dismal literacy rate of 57.4 percent (Census 2001). The low literacy rates are further compounded by enormous inequalities in terms of region, urban and rural population, gender and social groups such as SCs, STs and minorities (See Map 2A & Table 2.1). Thus, widespread poverty, literacy and large scale unemployment and underemployed labour force in the agriculture dominated state economy presents a poor picture of social and human aspects of development in UP. The Human Development Index for Indian states computed by Shiva Kumar (1991) and Tilak (1991) place UP at the bottom of 15 major states, while HDI computed by Pal and Pant (1993) ranks UP 13th among 15 major states[3] (see Table 2.2).

A comparative data on UP with reference to all India averages clearly demonstrates that the region is characterised inter alia by exceptionally high levels of mortality, fertility, morbidity, under nutrition, illiteracy, social inequality and slow pace of poverty decline[4] (see Table 2.3).

Empirical analyses of the determinants of demographic outcomes in India have consistently brought out the crucial role of

[3] Ibid.
[4] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997),op.cit., p. 33.

MAP 2A



MAP **Total Literacy in Uttar Pradesh (2001)**

TABLE 2.1

Literacy among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Uttar Pradesh and India, 1991

Population group	All areas			Rural			Urban		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
All in India	52.21	64.13	39.29	44.69	57.87	30.62	73.08	81.09	64.05
SCs in India	37.41	49.91	23.76	33.25	45.95	19.46	55.11	66.60	42.29
SCs in UP	26.85	40.80	10.69	24.76	38.87	8.47	42.30	54.79	27.36
STs in India	29.60	40.65	18.19	27.38	38.45	16.02	56.60	66.56	45.66
STs in UP	35.70	49.95	19.86	33.81	48.20	17.94	64.34	74.91	51.06
All in UP	41.60	55.73	25.31	36.66	52.05	19.02	61.00	69.98	50.38

Source: Census of India, 1991.

TABLE 2.2

Profile of Uttar Pradesh

Item	Unit	Year	Uttar Pradesh		Highest		Lowest		India
			Rank	Actual	State	Actual	State	Actual	Actual
CMIE index	No.	1995	11	112	Punjab	171.9	Bihar	91.3	100
HDI indicators (Pal and Pant)		1993	13	0.530	Punjab	0.793	Bihar	0.503	1
(Shiva Kumar)		1991	15	0.292	Kerala	0.651	UP	0.292	1
(Tilak)		1991	15	0.110	Kerala	0.775	UP	0.110	1
PCY (at 1980–1 prices)	Rs	1992–3	14	1591	Punjab	3730	Bihar	1142	2226
Urban population	%	1991	12	19.89	Maharashtra	38.7	HP	8.70	25.73
Literacy	per '000	2001	14	573.6	Kerala	909	Bihar	475	654
Life expectancy	Years	1986–90	15	53.4	Kerala	69.5	MP	53.0	57.7
Electrified dwellings	%	1988–9	13	8.9	HP	83.9	Bihar	4.5	26.9
Annual PC consumption of electricity	kWh	1991	13	186	Punjab	703	Assam	96	299
Road length	per '000 sq. km	1991	7	692	Kerala	3567	MP	321	621
No. of beds in hospitals	'0000	1993	14	32.7	Kerala	255.0	MP	26.3	68.3
Nc. of dispensaries	'0000	1990	10	1.3	Gujarat	15.2	MP	0.4	3.4
Regd. med. practitioners	'0000	1992	9	24.7	Tamil Nadu	82.9	UP	24.7	28.9
Agriculture									
Cereals (per capita)	kg.	1993–4	3	238.2	Punjab	1016.3	Kerala	32.0	193.7
Pulses (per capita)	kg.	1993–4	5	17.2	MP	48.8	Kerala	0.6	15.0
Total oil seeds	kg.	1993–4	10	10.6	MP	66.5	Kerala	0.4	24.6
Sugarcane (per capita)	kg.	1993–4	1	724.4	UP	724.4	HP	4.9	260.3
Potato (per capita)	kg.	1993–4	2	53.2	West Bengal	73.0	AP	0.1	20.7
Milk availability (per capita per day)	ml	1991	7	180	Punjab	672	Assam	0.05	218
Manufacturing									
Share in net value added from manufacturing	%	1993	4	9.1	Maharashtra	22.8	Punjab	4.1	100
Regd. working factories	%	1993	12	2.9	Bihar	20.8	HP	0.6	100
Share in employment of regd. working factories	%	1993	6	6.7	Maharashtra	14.7	HP	0.6	100

Note: PCY: per capita income.

Sources: CMIE Index 1995, District Profile, Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy; *Statistical Abstract*, 1992, CSO, Government of India.

TABLE 2.3

Uttar Pradesh: Regional Contrasts

Region	*Share of total UP population, 1991 (%)*	*Child mortality rate, 1981*[a]		*Female–male ratio, 1991*	*Estimated rural birth rate, 1988–90 (per 1,000)*	*Literacy rate, age 7+, 1991 (%)*		*Incidence of rural poverty, 1987–8*[b]	*Index of real wages for male agricultural labourers, 1989–92*[c]
		Female	*Male*			*Female*	*Male*		
Himalayan	4.3	106	110	955	32.4	43	76	8	–
Western	35.6	170	145	841	39.7	27	55	26	7.3
Central	17.4	164	158	855	37.8	28	55	36	–
Eastern	37.9	154	144	923	37.4	21	55	43	3.5
Southern	4.8	166	147	846	37.1	24	58	50	–
All Regions	100.0	160	146	879	38.0	25	56	35	4.2
South India	–	91	104	979	25.3	49	68	30	4.5

Notes. [a] Probability of a new-born child dying before age 2 (multiplied by 1,000). This is considered to be the most reliable among the district-level estimates of infant and child mortality that have been calculated from 1981 census data (see Government of India, 1988, p. 2; and Government of India, 1989, p. 2). As recommended in these publications, we have used the 'graduated estimates', whenever available.

[b] Head-count ratio (percentage of the population below the poverty line). Note that these estimates are not directly comparable with those presented in Table 1, since they are based on a lower 'poverty line'.

[c] In Rs/day at 1970–1 prices.

literacy in reducing mortality and fertility rates.[5] The poor educational record of UP is particularly striking in case of female literacy.Only one woman out of four in 7+ the age group was able to read and write.While the 7+ female literacy for the state as a whole was 25 percent in 1991, the figure goes down to 19 percent for rural areas, 11 percent for SC's and 8 percent for SCs in rural areas. Even in the younger age groups, illiteracy is endemic. Thus, U.P. is nowhere near the realisation of constitutional goal of free and compulsory education for children enshrined in the Directive principles of state policy. The problem of educational backwardness in U.P. is multidimensional which can be traced through analysis of state's education policy and its implementation.

India's policy priorities in the post-colonial era relied heavily on defence, heavy industries and higher and technical education. These neglected the elementary education sector that was marked by under investment and adhocism till the National Policy on Education 1986 brought a shift in priorities.[6] The deadline in India's constitutional commitment to attain free and compulsory education for all children has been repeatedly extended by every successive plan.[7] Central Advisory Board of Education(CABE) set up in 1935 as the main educational planning agency has been playing the leading role in the

[5] Nirmala Murthy(1992), "Issues in Health Policies and Management in India", in M Das Gupta, T.N. Krishnan and L Chen(eds.), Women's Health in India:Risk and Vulnerability, Bombay,OUP.
[6] G.Balatchandirane, Rajiv Ranjan and Sreemati Chakrabarti (2001),"Basic Education and Economic Development:A Comparative Study of Japan, India and China", International Studies,38,p.3.
[7] 86th (Amendment) Act has made Right to Education a Fundamental Right derived from Right to Life itself.

formulation and monitoring of educational policies and programmes which include, inter alia NPE 1968 and 1986, Programme of Action 1986 and revisions made in the last two in 1992. NPE 1986 was updated in 1992 after the 1990 Jomtien Conference on Education for All had sought to redefine priorities with emphasis on universalisation of elementary education.[8] After the 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Constitution in 1990s, the responsibility to establish and maintain primary educational institutions was transferred to Panchayati Raj Institutions. Accordingly, NPE 1986 envisaged the strategy of disaggregated target setting and decentralised planning. The National government at the top had a diminished role to play till 1976 since education was not the responsibility of central government. Education was brought under the concurrent list through the constitutional Amendment of 1976, as a result of which it became the joint responsibility of both the Central and State Governments.[9] While educational policies are formulated at the National Level, educational plans are implemented and developed at the National, State and sometimes at the district level. At the National level, Planning Commission for all sectors of economy including education carries out planning. The state educational plans are implemented through Secretariat and Directorates of Education. The Secretariat deals mainly with policy decisions whereas the Directorates are more directly involved in the implementation process. When planning for

[8] National Policy on Education (1986), Modified in 1992, Government of India.
[9] 42nd Amendment of the Constitution,affected in 1976, made education a concurrent subject on which both central and state governments can now legislate and administer plans and policies.

education is carried out at state level all the Directorates of elementary, secondary and higher education and Departments are consulted and thus educational plans are formulated with active involvement and consultation of these bodies.

An understanding of federal nature of Indian polity and the distribution of educational finances is imperative to understand the educational framework in India. The Planning Commission and Finance Commission now determine the distribution of expenditure between centre and the states on education. The states contribute more than twenty percent of their budget on education while centre spends only a small amount of its budget on education.[10] However, distribution of finances between centre and states are not guided by rational economic criteria like equity considerations or efficiency aspects but are made on the basis of political considerations.[11] The Union budget and planning do indicate the direction in which the priorities of the Union Government are being shaped and it obviously has considerable influence on the development of education in the states.[12] Lack of coordination between centre and states can be linked to low educational achievement among various states of India.

The Indian Constitution's assignment of responsibilities gave the state's much notional power, attenuated in practice by the paraphernalia of planning.The present system of financing of

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[10] G.Balatchaandirane, Rajiv Ranjan and Sreematee Chakrabarti (2001), op.cit., p. 266.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Jandhyala B.G. Tilak(1999), "National Human Development Initiative" , Economic and Political Weekly, March 6-13, p. 618.

education in UP is based to a large extent on state support in the form of grants in aid to privately managed educational institutions, the main responsibility for funding primary education is meant to lie with local bodies. After the legislation of Basic Education Act 1972, the local body/Zilla parishad schools were brought under the state governments' direct control in the sense that their teachers were henceforth to be paid directly by the state government exchequer rather than through local bodies.[13] As far as administration is concerned these schools are under local bodies but from the point of view of payment of their salaries, they are directly under state funded government schools. Thus, they are not treated as government educational institutions even though their entire funding comes from the state government in the form of teacher salaries.[14] As regards private schools, Kingdon, has shown that unrecognised private schools exist almost entirely at the primary level of education and that the effect of their omission from the All India Education Surveys is to seriously skew the educational statistics, giving the erroneous impression that primary school education in the state is largely state supported. Kingdon (2001) has also cited evidence from sample surveys suggesting that fee charging private aided and unaided school sector also absorbs a much higher proportion of the school going 6-11 year olds than that suggested by official statistics.

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[13] Geeta Gandhi Kingdon and Mohd. Muzammil (2001), "Political Economy of Education in India –11 The case of U.P", Economic and Political Weekly, Aug. 18. p. 3178.

[14] The government of India itself notes [GOI 1985 a:25] : 'more than 90 percent of the expenditure – in some states even more than 98 percent is spent on teachers' salaries.'

The decisions as to which private schools will get grants is not based on any well defined principles or objective criteria but is determined by political pulls and pressures.[15] This, Kingdon argues is detrimental both for equity and efficiency and suggests that teacher's interests are pursued in preference to the interests of the efficient and equitable distribution of scarce educational resources. Rudolph observes, "these grants-in-aid technically conditioned upon the maintenance of certain academic and administrative standards, but in reality an educational entrepreneur who enjoys political favour has little difficulty in establishing his intuitions qualifications."[16]

This kind of political penetration by teachers in U.P. has been helped by a Constitutional provision for their reserved representation in the Upper House of state legislature which has influenced the evolution of educational legislation and structures in U.P. The various educational Acts and rules of U.P. government like Basic Education Staff Rules of 1973, U.P. Recognized Basic School Rules 1978 and U.P. Secondary Education Act 1982 have been promulgated almost invariably in direct response to teacher demands.[17]

The effect of these legislations has been to centralise the procedures for the selection and recruitment of teaching staff and to greatly improve a teacher's job security thus greatly reducing their local answerability. However, there is no strong lobbying for primary

[15] Ibid, p. 3179.
[16] Rudolph, L. 1 and SH Rudolph (1972), "Education and Politics in India, Harvard Univ. Press, p. 105.
[17] Kingdom, op.cit., p. 3180.

schools to be brought on the grants-in-aid list in UP since these primary teachers' unions are not so well connected politically.[18] .

Financial allocation and measures to generate revenue for elementary education act as indicators of the state's political will and commitment towards basic education.[19] Education expenditure of India, seen as a percentage of GNP has risen from about 1% half_a century back to nearly 3.5% in the 1990s. The first twenty five_years after independence saw the number of universities grow in India by four times and double over the next twenty five years. The culturally dominant and economically stronger sections of society exploited the resources of the state to consolidate their grip on the expanding state apparatus of few functions and opportunities.[20]

Although government of India recognises that education is an important item of basic human development needs, contradictions between stated goals and resource allocation is responsible for India's poor performance in quantitative achievements made in literacy, number of primary schools, enrolments, improvement in dropout etc. during the post-independence period. On the basis of the recommendation of high powered Saikia committee (Government of India 1999), a group of experts was constituted to estimate the requirement of financial resources for making elementary education a

[18] Ibid., p. 3180.
[19] Balatchandirane, op.cit., p. 265.
[20] Ibid.

Fundamental Right in the constitution.[21] The committee estimated that the government additionally needs .7% of GDP to provide for reasonably good pupil teacher ratio, improved physical access, provision of other necessary incentives and on the whole a tolerable minimum level of quality of education.[22]

In the present context, expenditure on education is seen to vary across the states over time. Per child expenditure on primary education and literacy rates across the states tends to move together. At present the state of Kerala spends much more on basic education than UP. It is argued that high literacy rates lead to higher educational awareness, which in turn acts as social pressure demanding better quality of primary education.[23]

A recent UNICEF study covering 9 countries as well as Indian state of Kerala, identified six broad themes as factors that led to some countries achieving greater results in ensuring right to universal elementary education in which it accorded high priority to financial allocations on basic education, which reflect the political commitments of states as well.[24] As per the data prepared by NIPFP for UP from 1977 to 1991, a distinct upward trend in the share of total educational expenditure devoted to primary education is observed.[25] Compared to averages for all major states prior to 1988, U.P. was

[21] Jandhyala B.G. Tilak (1999), op.cit, p. 615.
[22] Anand Sarup (1988) former education secretary observed 6 percent is the centre and state expenditure on education that should be used for policy planning and implementation
[23] Jean Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 109.
[24] Kevin Watkins (1999), Education Now:Break The Cycle Of Poverty, OUP, pp. 198-199.
[25] http://co.www.education.nic.in

spending a smaller percentage of its total plan and non-plan expenditure on education. Since then, the share has been above average. UP appears to have been attempting to increase resources for education in general and elementary education in particular, in recent years. However, the earlier years of neglect and the state's low income and revenue base resulting in absolute expenditures remaining very low.[26] Also mere increased expenditure on education with unstructured categorical allotment does not yield any significant results.

To prove this fact, the overall enrolment rate in the state in 58.5 percent — almost every second child in the state never goes to school.[27] The recorded level of enrolment in primary schools is worse than the level that prevails in many other states. The enrolment rate varies widely across districts from low of 38.4 percent in Etawah to 150.86 percent in Garhwal.[28] However, reliability of official enrolment data itself is doubtful. In order to avoid being transferred, a teacher has to ensure that enrolment does not fall below the official norm. In field investigation of primary schools in 16 villages in the districts of Rai Bareli, Pratapgarh, Moradabad and Banda, Dreze and Gazdar discovered that teachers were able to maintain inflated registers and reduce their chances of being transferred.[29] Schools with dilapidated condition of buildings and lack of maintenance led them to conclude

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[26] Ibid.
[27] North India Human Development Report, (2002), Planning Commission, p. 256.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar(1997) op.cit. p. 71.

that expenditure on elementary education or physical supply of schooling infrastructure is not the main constraint on educational expansion at primary level in UP. Thus, Dreze and Gazdar have rightly pointed out that transforming educational situation is not just a question of increasing public spending, but to ensure that every village in the state has a well equipped, well staffed, well functioning and well attended primary school.[30] According to North India Human Development Report,in UP only 81,811 out of 111,975 villages in U.P. have a primary school within the village. Another 19,475 villages have a school within 1 km. Thus, about 72.59 percent of villages have a primary school within walking distance for children. Children in more than 5% of the villages have to walk a distance of more than 3 kms to receive primary education.[31] The existence of a primary school within the village is a necessary prerequisite for achieving universal elementary education. Most states have succeeded in providing primary schools to children right inside the village and within their walking distance. The state of UP is still far from achieving this goal. According to its own official website on education, there is need for upgradation and strengthening of existing infrastructure and facilities and invites participation of private sector for the same.[32] Thus, it is found that not only are there pitfalls in the budget but also rapacious politicians have directed sums earmarked for education.[33]

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[30] Ibid.,p.75
[31] North India HDR(2002), op.cit. p. 257.
[32] http://www.education.nic.in
[33] Dreze and Gazdar have pointed out the holders of political power are more interested in using the schooling system as a means of exacting and dispensing publiic resources for their advantage.

The systemic deficiencies in the schooling system have often been attributed to the demand side. Poverty is often assumed to be the main reason for failure on part of Indian parents to send their children to school as child labour makes a crucial contribution to household economy. However, it has been clearly established through field investigations in U.P. as well as other BIMARU states that influence of some other variables like literacy of parents and quality of available schooling facilities are correlated with income.[34] Bashir in her survey of primary schools in 3 districts of U.P. has found that quality of schooling affects the motivation of both parents and children and many parents mentioned that the continuing of their child's education would depend on the child's interest.[35] Field investigations by Dreze and Gazdar revealed that in government schools fees are extremely low and there was no evidence of non-fee payment being demanded from parents by school authorities. The opportunity cost of children's time and the direct cost of schooling are important considerations for parents but it may depend crucially on the quality of schooling services they obtain in return.[36] As mentioned before, there is plenty of poverty in UP with a number of people living below poverty line. In fact poverty indicators for UP and India have been quite close to each other in most years, but this cannot explain why U.P. has done so much worse than average in terms of a wide range of indicators of well being. The same point applies with greater

[34] Jaen Dreze and Gazdar(1997), op.cit., p. 81
PROBE REPORT points that children work because they have dropped out of school and not the other way around.
[35] Sujatha Bashir (1992), Education for All : Baseline Survey of their Districts in U.P., India, p. 6.
[36] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar(1997)op.cit.;p.82

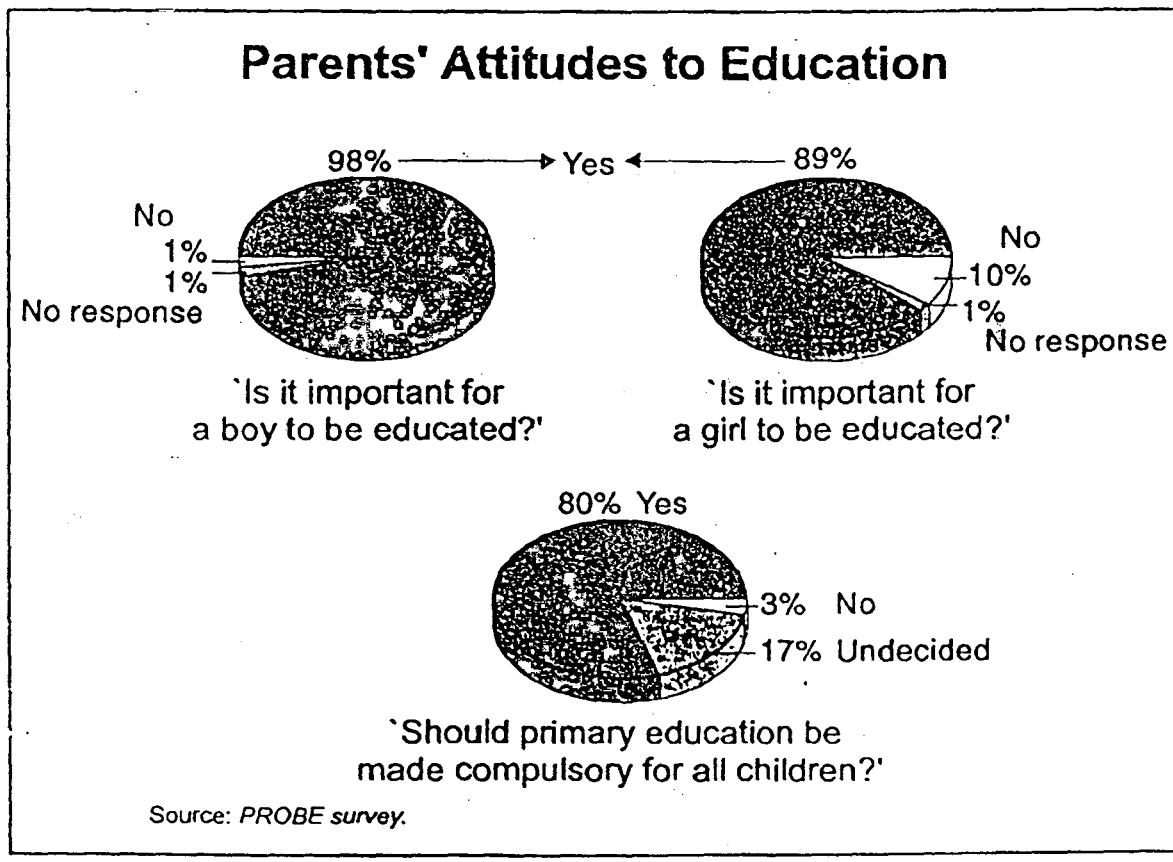
force when we compare U.P. and Kerala which had similar levels of poverty but were poles apart in scales of literacy.[37] Even if we take a look at regional contrasts within the state we find that western UP, which has enjoyed significant economic growth during last three decades and is now considerably more prosperous, has failed to take advantage of its comparative prosperity to achieve any kind of lead in literacy and education.[38]

Another feature of educational scenario in U.P. as elsewhere in India is the existence of large disparities in literacy achievements between different regions and social groups. In the village of Palanpur (Moradabad district) where field survey was done, it was found that gender and caste based inequalities in educational achievements can be extremely large even within a single village. It was found that female literacy rate varied from zero among Jatabs (Palanpur's main SC) to 100 percent among Kayasthas.[39]

Parents' indifferent attitude to daughter's education as compared to sons has been clearly established through PROBE survey in BIMARU states.[40] (see Chart IV) Patriarchal culture of North India is particularly strong among dominant landowning communities such as Rajputs and Jats. Gender relations among labouring classes have tended to be less unequal, party due to the influence of much higher rates of female labour force participation. But in U.P. these classes are

[37] Dreze Jaen and Gazdar, op.cit. p. 47.
[38] ibid., p. 49.
[39] ibid., p. 83.
[40] PROBE report reinforces that difficulties in marrying well educated daughters, role of daughters as housekeepers and inability of parents to send them to school as soon as expenditure rise act as demotivating factors for female education.

CHART IV


Parents' Attitudes to Education
98%
Yes
89%
No
1%
1%
No response
No
10%
1%
No response
`Is it important for a boy to be educated?'
`Is it important for a girl to be educated?'
80% Yes
3% No
17% Undecided
`Should primary education be made compulsory for all children?'
Source: PROBE survey.

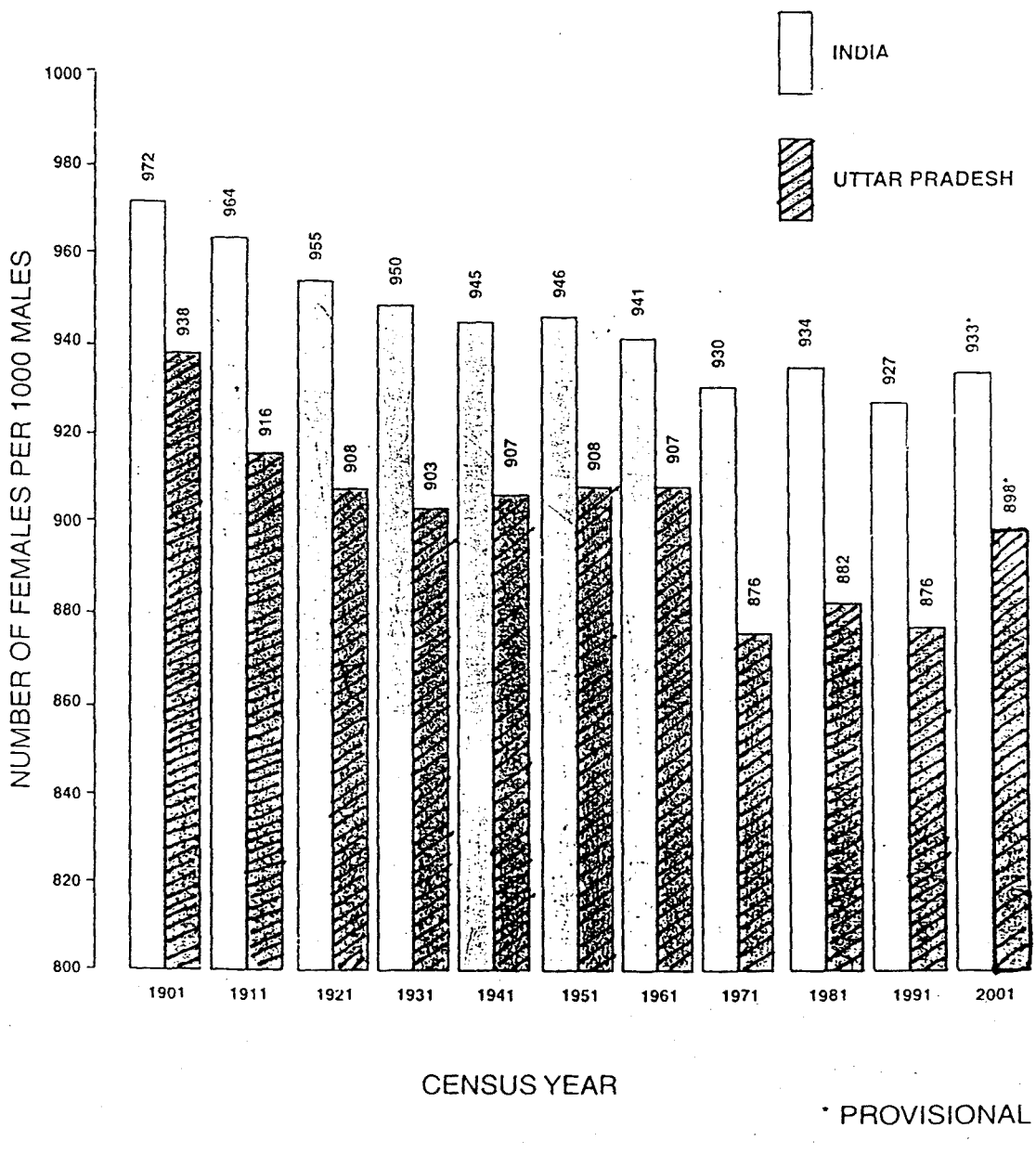
rates of female labour force participation. But in U.P. these classes are relatively unimportant in numerical terms.[41] The male female ratio has declined in UP since beginning of this century from .94 in 1901 to .88 in 1991 which is a tangible reflection of anti female discrimination.[42] (See Table 2.4) Attempts by women to claim their property rights or by agricultural labour have been met with violence, rape and murder.[43] Lori McDougall points out that if UP were a country, its population of 140 million would make it the seventh largest in the world and if it were treated as a separate country in the Gender Development Index, UP would rank 123rd out of 137 countries. He observes that there are more women in UP suffering the indignity of illiteracy than almost any other place on earth.[44] In UP extreme social restrictions on women's freedom of movement and activities suppress women's agency by physically confining them to the domain of the household and even diminishing their ability to act effectively within that domain.[45]

Similarly, caste based differences in educational achievements are statistically significant for UP even after controlling for differences in income levels. Subtle forms of discrimination are observed. Bashir

[41] Dreze Jaen and Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 46.
[42] ibid, p. 47.
[43] ibid, p. 108.
[44] Lori McDougal(2000),"Gender Gap in Literacy in UP Questions for Decentralized Educational Planning ", Economic and Political Weekly, May 6, p. 1650.
[45] Jaen Dreze and Gazdar(1997), op. cit., p. 56.

TABLE 2.4

SEX RATIO IN INDIA AND UTTAR PRADESH 1901-2001



points out that discrimination such as that against SC settlement in the location of schools, teachers refusing to touch SC children and children from particular castes being special targets of verbal abuse and physical punishment by teachers is rampant in UP villages.[46] Kiran Bhatty in her field investigation in UP and Haryana observes that costs of schooling and poor quality of education are seen as the most crucial factors that underlie educational deprivation among Dalits.[47] It is ironical that the present Chief Minister of UP is a scheduled caste woman which in itself is a path breaking development.Still, the needs of disadvantaged groups for educational attainments is low on political agenda. Some Dalit castes have been able to avail of opportunities for education and new occupations. However, Sudha Pai (2001) rightly points out that new inequalities are being created by the present policies of affirmative action and the social conflict that results as competition between Dalits for scarce resources heightens.[48] Thus, initiatives to make elementary education universal without parallel measures may not fulfill intended purpose.[49] The absorption of educational inputs will be poor if a large number of children are simply not capable of deriving benefits from

[46] Sujatha Bashir(1993), op. cit., pp. 20-21.
[47] Kiran Bhatty(1998), "Educational Deprivation in India :A Survey of Field Investigations" ,Economic and Political Weekly,July4,p.1735.
[48] Sharda Jain, Alok Mathur et al. (2002), "Children Work and Education", India Education Report,p.83.
[49] Rashmi Sharma, (1998), 'Universal Elementary Education: The Question of How', Economic and Political Weekly, June 27, p. 1647

improved educational facilities. Thus, it is a mistake to consider that public policy is concerned with provision side alone. In the absence of any educational reform activities undertaken by UP governments and inability to address other local constraints have led to compounding of this multidimensional problem of low literacy levels with large disparities[50].

The emergence of private schooling system in UP. As has already been pointed out the problem infecting government schools in UP is not that of lack of physical infrastructure or accessibility or inadequate expenditure on education but underutilisation of existing facilities and poor teaching and management standards, high rate of teacher absenteeism and crude teaching methods.[51] Continued increasing literacy rates can be explained by expansion of private schooling facilities in UP. Gazdar's own survey reveals that 86% of primary school children attend private schools in urban Lucknow. Mushroomed growth of private schools has rapidly increased demand for elementary education in UP.[52]

In these private schools there is comparatively less problem of teacher absenteeism. There is a chain of accountability that stretches

[50]Jaen Dreze and Gazdar(1997), op. cit., p. 87. Similar investigations in Kerala revealed that primary schools there closely monitered school attendance, contacted parents when child fails to turn up, midday meals were provided. None of these practices were observed in any schools visited by Dreze and Gazdar in UP.

[51] Bashir (1993), op. cit., p. 64, She found that only 10 percent of the teachers in UP reported using any teaching as other than prescribed textbooks.

from the providers of service to its ultimate recipients. This accountability exists in government schools notionally in the form of school inspection system whose links, however, are fragile and tenuous.[53] Ineffective and unsuccessful education through government schools easily leads to misallocation and poor utilisation of scarce resources. A study by Singh conducted in four villages of Meerut district where 33-63% of population is Dalit, documents the disillusionment of parents with poor quality of teaching in government schools leading to a search by them for alternate schools. Kingdon has also reported on exodus from government school system in Lucknow and attributes this to a collapse of government school system.[54] The latest census figures for the state of UP indicating an increase in literacy rates are inspite of persistent inadequacy of public schooling rather than as a result of positive government policies.

The Total Literacy Campaigns, initiated by end of eighties, were one of the few exercises undertaken in India with total participation of community in managing an educational programme. The TLCs cater to both the demand syndrome and the supply mechanism. In other words, a positive demand for literacy is generated first before the delivery mechanism is provided.[55]

The considerable potential of this campaign has been well demonstrated in several other states. Ghosh et. al. have noted that

[53] Jaen Dreze and Gazdar(1997), op. cit., p. 77.
[54] Geeta Gandhi & Mohd. Muzammil,(2001)op. Cit., p. 3179.
[55] Programme of Action, National Policy on Education 1992,.Government of India

TLC had made little impact in most educationally backward states including UP and argued that poor response is primarily due to low political commitment to eradication of illiteracy in those states.[56] Operation Blackboard is a scheme undertaken by Government of India in 1987-88_for expansion of schooling infrastructure. However, there was no evidence of Operation Blackboard having had much practical impact in the sample schools investigated by Dreze and Gazdar.[57]

One of the policy changes that have come after liberalisation is large grants earmarked for promotion of basic education from International Agencies. As already mentioned most of the state expenditure goes to teachers' salaries and small central_share is used to fund new programmes. Hence Government of India in the post liberalisation period, has embarked on externally funded projects. With the World Bank willing to provide large scale soft loans and other funding agencies willing to chip in, the Central Government along the line consolidated all funds into a single programme called District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) to be implemented according to blueprint that was prepared by World Bank. The World Conference on Education highlighted the lack of access to and quality of India's basic education system. The Bank's first investment in basic education in India UP DPEP was approved in 1993. It is financed by 165 million dollar IDA credit. The unanticipated increase in_enrolments resulting

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[56] Jaen Dreze and Gazdar(1997), op. cit., p. 88.

[57] Bashir in a survey of primary schools in 3 districts of UP found that most of the aids and toys supplied the Operation Blackboard scheme were lying in brand new condition in trunks and the head teachers home.

from UPBEP I interventions led to approval of UPBEP II approved in 1997. The project is a centrally sponsored scheme with 85% of project cost shared by Government of India and remaining 15% by the state government. The Government of India's share is resourced by external funding. DPEP adopts area specific implementation of proposed project. It adopts a localistic approach with district as the unit of planning and implementation so as to retain the contextuality and sensitivity to local conditions.[58] The programme stresses on community participation and ownership. The programme is structured to provide additional inputs over and above the provisions made by the state governments for expenditure on elementary education.[59]

DPEP fills in the existing gaps in the development of primary education and seeks to revitalize the system. There is now evidence that in UP overall primary enrolment in UP DPEP districts have increased from 22% to 32% for the period 91/92 to 97/98. The enrolment of girls in UPBEP districts in lower and upper primary schools has been significantly larger than the one for boys. Also hundreds of disadvantaged villages in the sprawling countryside of UP are witnessing a people's movement for literacy initiated under DPEP. A field visit to the area reveal the visible outcome of this new approach Radha Rastogi writes, "women are scaling new heights in leading their communities". Her field visit to Begumganj, a cluster of villages having low female literacy, poor enrolment and minority dominated, reveal

[58] UP DPEP,Sabhi ke liye shiksha Pariyojana Parishad,BSA,Lucknow
[59] http://www.education.nic.in.

that DPEP has worked wonders in Begumganj. Women motivation groups, mother teacher groups were formed who reported on reasons for non attendance in schools with practical solutions. Illiterate villagers are responding to participatory learning and action techniques.

However, the initial success of DPEP has to be qualified. C.M. Subramanian has argued that onward march of external funding has to be resisted by democratic movement as a whole and the Indian government must be pressured into discharging its minimal responsibilities as guaranteed under the constitution. He refers to this as imperialist penetration in Indian education system. In a Marxian analytical mode he argues that with collapse of USSR and seeming annhilation of a socialist alternative, imperialism seems to have entered a new phase of expansion.[60] Tilak has rightly pointed out that major emphasis of DPEP on capacity building, quality improvement and decentralised planning can be adhered to in programmes that are internally funded.[61] He believes that there is massive wastage of even the current low expenditure since schooling fails to create literacy among children; more funds in such a scenario would simply mean more wastage of money. Finally, DPEP is not an exercise in finding unique solutions. Funds provide only a necessary condition for the success while sufficient condition is provided by our own capacity to plan and implement the process.

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[60] C.N.Subramaniam, www.revolutionarydemcoracy.org.
[61] Jandhyala B.G.Tilak (1998)op.cit.

From its inception, the Indian state was confronted by two different versions of reconstruction – the Gandhian project of decentralised development and Nehru's model of development through industrialisation, bureaucracy and centralisation. In recent years increasing community participation through local needs as implemented through DPEP have become focal point of the reform in education. The decentralisation of school system has impacted government school system tremendously. After the panchayats are constituted in UP following the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the constitution, there have been efforts at decentralisation of educational management through PRIs. It has also been pointed out by Dale that state intervention in governance of education involves funding, delivery and regulation. Raina holds that it is not necessary for state to carry out all these activities while remaining in overall control.[62] Apart from majority of state controlled government schools in the country, we have panchayat schools, private aided, private unaided schools, convents etc. This opens avenues for non state funding of education resulting in decentralised mode of functioning. With decentralisation of educational management, locus of authority shifts closer to the people and management can respond to differentiations along social classes and within districts. It has been reported in Karnataka that decentralized education system in the late eighties led

[62] Vinod Raina(2000),"Decentralisation of Education", India Development Report, p.113.

to major improvement in performance of village teachers and health workers.

In UP local government bodies are constituted on the basis of elections. However, given the highly factional nature of social classes in UP, PRIs have failed to provide anything like an effective basis of local democracy and accountability. Privileged groups have exercised a tight control on local government institutions. In UP decentralisation was perceived as a problematic issue from the very start. Caste or sub caste kinship have acted as natural units of local factional mobilisation. Inter faction rivalries are enhanced by securing access to state resources. Development or welfare programmes are often regarded by faction leaders as useful channels for recruitment and reward of supporters.[63] Thus, despite UP government's stated commitment towards decentralisation of education, the sanctioning of programmes and resources at state level is meaningless if implementation bears no resemblance to stated policy objectives. Lori McDougall in his case study of UP holds that increased local participation in governance may allow new opportunities for community cooperation but this also allows more opportunity for wider regional, gender and caste divides because of fewer checks and balances from above. [64]Using gender as a proxy for social biases, his findings reveal that female literacy is subject to deep regional and sub regional variations underscoring the importance of recent policy shifts

[63] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar(1997),op.cit.,p.99
[64] Lori MacDougall(2000),op.cit

towards decentralised education programmes. Thus, he concludes that in final analysis, efficiency gains of decentralised education are dependent on the degree of equity in a community and the scope it allows for collective action.

In the post Jomtien phase which was celebrated as decade of Education for All, far reaching changes in education have taken place in most countries including India, including shift from higher and technical education to elementary education as high priority area. Most States in India have responded to the increased demand for elementary education and have come out with outstanding results in literacy attainment. UP with contrasting socio economic background along several districts has also responded to these changes through various policy interventions but has managed to achieve partial success. Extreme inequalities of political power have severely distorted the priorities of state intervention and implementation of most development programmes. Srivastava points out that improvement in functioning of schools and effective devolution of management to panchayats are critical areas in policy intervention. For transformation of development priorities, agency of state is central but decisions of state and effectiveness of government initiatives are contingent on the nature of democratic politics. In the next chapter we look in critical detail at the politico economic factors that are consequent for failure of policy initiatives in UP.

CHAPTER – III

FAILURE OF SCHOOLING IN UP: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Uttar Pradesh has emerged as a crucial case in point among the states that are commonly identified as lagging behind the rest of the country in terms of social well being and demographic transition which also turn out to be the states with lowest literacy levels. Inspite of remarkable increase in literacy rates in the last decade according to the latest census reports (though authenticity of official statistics is also doubtful), the failures of schooling in UP are fairly extensive and their roots are deep.[1] Aggregate literacy figures tend to hide sharp variations between different regions and population groups, implying extremely low achievement for the most disadvantaged groups at a more disaggregated level.[2] Many children in UP, if they are literate at all, acquire this skill on the basis of a fleeting passage through the educational system.[3] High levels of illiteracy in the younger age groups is the most sobering feature of educational situation in UP. The pathetic physical condition of schools, teacher absenteeism and reduction of primary schools to child minding centres are all

[1] Krishna Kumar (1998), "Education and Society in post Independence India – Looking towards the future", Economic and Political Weekly, June 6, p. 1392. He adds that the gap between census figures and the ones collected by HRD ministry was spotted a while ago and most recently a report has humbly acknowledged that no two sources of information seem to match.
[2] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), "Uttar Pradesh: The Burden of Inertia" in Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (eds.) Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives, OUP, New Delhi, p. 42.
[3] ibid., p. 43.

corroborated by local people who tend to be highly critical of the functioning of schooling system in UP. The uneven distribution of female teachers in UP is reflective of gender imbalance in teaching. The low involvement of women in teaching is one reflection of this general suppression of women's agency in society.[4] This acts as a major constraint on expansion of primary education and particularly of female education.

The poor status of elementary education in UP and the declining quality of teaching in government schools have been extensively dealt with in the previous chapter. Now an attempt in being made to explore the causes of retarded backwardness in elementary education in this region.

It might be tempting to think that the main cause of UP's low achievements in basic education lies in high levels of poverty. At a time when development thinking was dominated by economic indicators of welfare, Sen shifted the debate to define poverty in terms of capabilities. He wrote that low income was one aspect of poverty, but deprivation was about something more than material wealth: it was also about the absence of what Sen called 'fundamental freedoms', which included attributes associated with education and ability to influence institutions affecting one's life.[5]

[4] ibid., p. 69.
[5] The Oxfam Education Report (2000), Oxfam Publication, p. 16.

Of course there in plenty of poverty in UP, almost 30% of people live below poverty line.[6] The low level of incomes in UP are a major constraint on individual and social opportunities. The demand for education is inextricably related with the poor economic status of parents. Sending children to school, instead of using them as household help or wage earners, is not an economically feasible option for poor parents. In addition, if direct costs of education are also to be borne, then schooling becomes practically out of reach for the poor.[7] The role of direct schooling costs has been emphasized by Nidhi Mehrotra in her field based information from UP According to her, often it is the inability to meet direct costs which includes fee, cost of textbooks and other writing material which compels parents to withdraw children from school.[8]

According to the latest UNDP's Human Development Report 2003, the cost of education is too prohibitive for the poor, with surprisingly uniforms being the biggest cost to parents.[9] The PROBE survey in five northern states of UP, Rajasthan, MP, Bihar and Himachal Pradesh explode the myth that elementary education in India is free, as directed by the Constitution. The survey indicates that cash costs of education play a major role in discouraging poor families from sending children to school, especially when the quality of

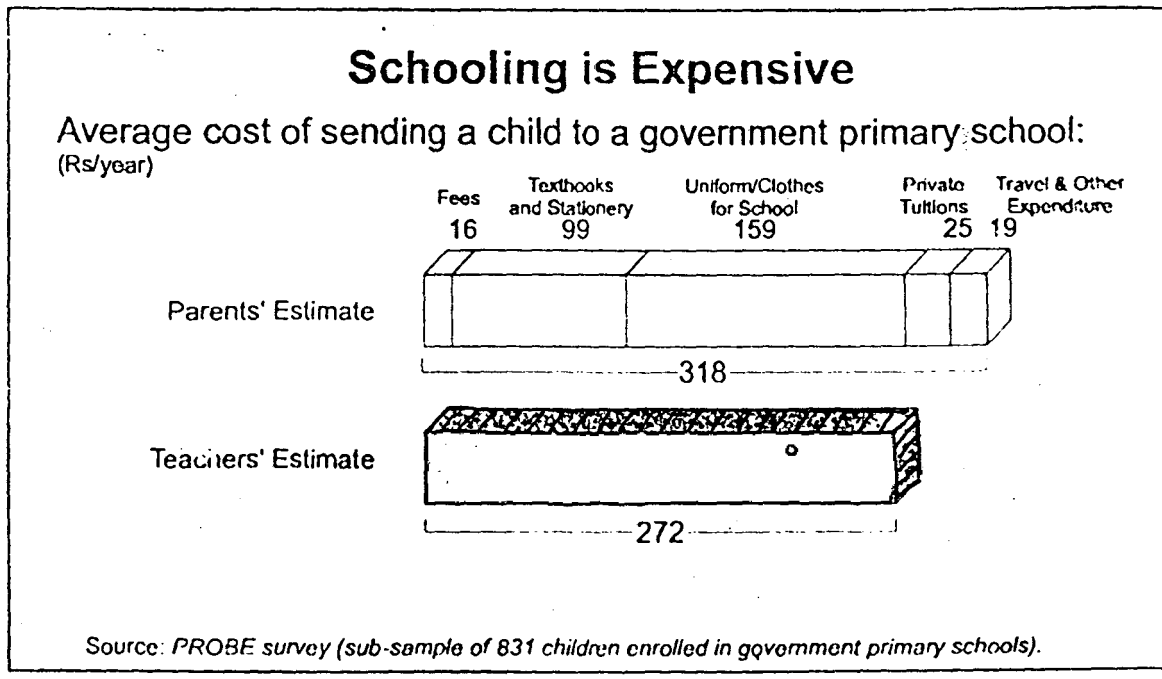
[6] Poverty by Amartya Sen has been described as a failure of basic capabilities. However, here poverty is used in the conventional sense of low per capita expenditure.
[7] Kiran Bhatty (1998), " Educational Deprivation in India – A survey of Field Investigations" Economic and Political weekly, July 4, p. 1735.
[8] Nidhi Mehrotra (1995) cited in Kiran Bhatty (1998), Ibid., p. 1734.
[9] The Times of India, Saturday July 19, 2003.

schooling in low.[10] The PROBE survey suggested that north Indian parents spend about Rs. 318 per year on average to send a child to a government primary school (see Chart V). This is a major financial burden especially for poor families with several children of school going age.[11] Secondly, most parents do not have the freedom to meet the annual expenditure of say Rs 318 as and when means permit, rather they are often forced to produce cash at short notice to meet immediate needs. This creates a potential liquidity problem even when the annual expenditure is otherwise affordable.[12] Based on interviews with parents of a random sub-sample of never enrolled and drop out children, the economic constraints dominated the perceived obstacles in sending children to school.[13]

Survey data on schooling expenses confirm that the cash costs of sending a child to school are far from negligible. Hence, poverty as a factor for poor educational achievements in UP can not be underrated. However, dismissing the direct stereotypical linkage between poverty and education, Wazir points out that poverty argument cannot account for the fact that there are many low income countries and states within India with significantly higher literacy rates. She emphasizes that the low-income status of a developing economy often

[10] Public Report on Basic Education (PROBE) (1999), Clarendon Press, OUP, New Delhi, p. 16.
[11] ibid.
[12] ibid. p. 32.
[13] ibid. p. 36.

CHART V


Schooling is Expensive
Average cost of sending a child to a government primary school:
(Rs/year)
Fees
16
Textbooks and Stationery
99
Uniform/Clothes for School
159
Private Tuitions
25
Travel & Other Expenditure
19
Parents' Estimate
318
Teachers' Estimate
272
Source: PROBE survey (sub-sample of 831 children enrolled in government primary schools).

provides a convenient alibi.[14] The point is that UP is not very different from India as a whole on poverty index, so that the causes of UP's extraordinary backwardness in terms of basic social achievements such as elementary education cannot be explained on the basis of high levels of poverty. The same point applies with great force when we compare UP and Kerala. Both states according to available estimates had similar levels of poverty but are poles part on the scales of literacy attainments.[15]

Furthermore, even within UP while western UP has seen a greater increase in rural incomes relative to its eastern counterpart, this prosperity has not resulted in a corresponding increase in literacy and education.[16] A study in UP by the GIRI Institute of Development Studies also found that dropouts do not bear a clear relationship with per capita income levels of the household.[17] There is also a fair amount of anecdotal evidence that points to the fact that despite the very poor economic conditions of the population, almost complete landlessness and practically no other employment opportunities, some villages have been able to achieve high literacy rates.[18] An NGO CREDA working in Mirzapur district of UP, suggests that the poorest

[14] Rekha Wazir (2000), "Profiling the Problem" in Rekha Wazir (ed.), The Gender Gap in Basic Education: NGOs as Change Agents, Sage, New Delhi, p. 30.
[15] BPL data on U.P. and Kerala.
[16] Kiran Bhatty (1998), op.cit., p. 1732.
[17] ibid., p. 1734.
[18] Ibid., p. 1732.
ILO's Intenational programme on elemination of child labour has also shown that even among the most impoverished families, parents are quite willing to send their children to school.

of the poor are interested in the education of their children and are even willing to contribute to it.[19]

In UP, technological change over time has led to a significant expansion of private agricultural incomes and also laid the basis for some diversification of economic activity. This gradual expansion of private incomes has led to a slow decline in conventional indicators of poverty. However, absence of major redistributive programmes and neglect of other basis of improvement in human well being have resulted in comparatively limited achievements in terms of elimination of the scourge of illiteracy from the region. Another counter to poverty argument as cause of UP's educational backwardness is given by various studies which indicate that economic returns to education in India are higher than returns to other investments. Participatory poverty assessments consistently carry the message that the poor see education as a mechanism for escaping the poverty trap and for stopping the transmission of income-poverty across generations.[20]

There is no firm empirical evidence on the actual importance of poverty as an obstacle to widespread schooling. Other relevant variables including literacy of parents, the quality of available schooling facilities and the social support are clearly correlated with the income aspect. Dreze and Gazdar after their field surveys in rural UP point out that the importance of material deprivation as a factor of

[19] PROBE (1999), op. cit., p. 101.
[20] The Oxfam Education Report (2000), op. cit.,p. 96.

non attendance has to be evaluated in the light of poor functioning of schooling system in many areas.[21] The positive experience of various primary schools in UP run by private and voluntary organizations even among economically deprived groups lend little credence to the over exaggerated importance of poverty as a cause of persistent illiteracy in UP. Hence, the above analysis clearly establishes that illiteracy in UP is a multi dimensional problem having other significant variables such as quality and relevance of educational services, the social and cultural disincentive to schooling, the commitment and sense of emphasis of policy makers and the sensitivity of the public at large to this issue.[22] The focus of policy discussions should consequently shift from an exclusive preoccupation with economic explanations towards a greater consideration of other variables and facilitators in the form of policy interventions to overcome the barriers of social and cultural disincentives to schooling. These unfortunately have received little attention in education policy in the state of UP.

The dimension of economic constraint as an obstacle to universalisation of elementary education has been subdivided by Bhatty into (a) the direct costs of schooling and (b) The opportunity costs of children's time. The direct costs incurred by parents on books, stationary, clothes and related items and their constricting role on expansion of primary education have already been discussed at

[21] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 82.
[22] Manabi Majumdar and A. Vaidyanathan (1994), "Access to Education in India : Retrospect and Prospect", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, Vol. VIII, October, p. 370.

length. Now we discuss the issue of opportunity costs of time of children which brings us to the most controversial aspect of the problem i.e. child labour.

It is commonly accepted in official circles that the opportunity cost of sending children to school is very high as children make valuable contributions to household economy. UP boasts of various handicrafts units whose products are acclaimed world over, yet the full time employment of child labour in these areas of occupation is an ignoble illustration of exploitation. Handknitted woolen carpets of Varanasi and Mirzapur, chikan of Lucknow, terracotta of Gorakhpur, brasswares of Moradabad and glass work of Firozabad are occupations that hire child labour extensively and blatantly. Although the child labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act came into force in 1986, some organisations like Bandhua Mukti Morcha claim that 65 million children in India are forced to work for more than eight hours a day.[23] Firozabad city, a land of glass and bangles, employed some 1200 children in factories who were found carrying molten glass and working at furnaces in which the temperatures ranged from 800–1100°C. Inaction of officers of Labour Department, nexus between labour inspectors and factory owners, bureaucratic apathy and corruption account for the high incidence of child labour in Firozabad as elsewhere in the state. Also, UP being predominantly an agrarian economy with agriculture contributing about 43 percent of State

[23] PROBE (1999), op. cit., p. 14.

Domestic Product and employing a majority of the labour force.[24] During times of peak agricultural activity, poor families are under great pressure to mobilize children as full time labourers.[25]

Thus, it is hardly contestable that poor parents perceive the opportunity costs of their children's schooling to be significant. However, there is no consensus in the literature on the role of poverty in forcing households to put its children into employment. Bhatty and Leiten among others argue that poverty has only a limited role in explaining child labour. Bhatty cites studies on child labour in UP to support the view that income and related variables do not seem to have any direct significant effect on children's work input and that children are often put to work as a deterrent to idling rather than as an economic necessity.[26]

UP is characterized by high birth rate and big population the reasons for which lie in gendered socialization process that determine the health seeking and reproductive behaviour of women.[27] The socialization process is informed not only by gender but also by class and by the material conditions surrounding the families. However, Leiten in his study of child labour in UP found that the saying 'A Small Family is a Happy Family' is a reflection ex-post which brings

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[24] "Secondary Data Report for Uttar Pradesh" (2002),National Human Development Report, Planning Commission, p. 255.
[25] Dreze and Gazdar's field surveys in rural schools in U.P. substantiate this by reporting high levels of child absenteeism during periods of high activity in the agricultural cycle.
[26] Kiran Bhatty (1998), op. cit. p. 1734.
[27] Swapna Mukhopadhyay and R. Savithri (1998), Poverty, Gender and Reproductive choice : An Analysis of Leakages, Manohar, New Delhi,p. 20.

the mothers and fathers to realise that more the number of children the more difficult the conditions.[28] Leiten clearly establishes that the prospect of profiting from growing up children by hiring them out as agricultural labourers is hardly attractive: wages are abysmally low and employment opportunities are limited.[29] Thus, direct income generation i.e. sale of child labour power in the labour market in not rampant among districts in UP. Leiten's fieldwork in two villages in UP supports the aggregate picture that children's labour market participation has been over exaggerated. Inspite of parents realizing the importance of small family and access to education for their offsprings, high incidence of child labour can be explained only by the fact that poor regions are characterized by high fertility rates and women's resistance within largely unalterable power structures.[30]

Hence, the appropriation of child labour power to augment family income is by and large rejected. The statement is corroborated by available data on labour force participation which clearly indicate that only a small minority of Indian children are full time labourers. Hence, attributing child labour as an explanatory variable for educational deprivation in the state would involve a simplistic reading of the complex dynamics between child labour, poverty and schooling.

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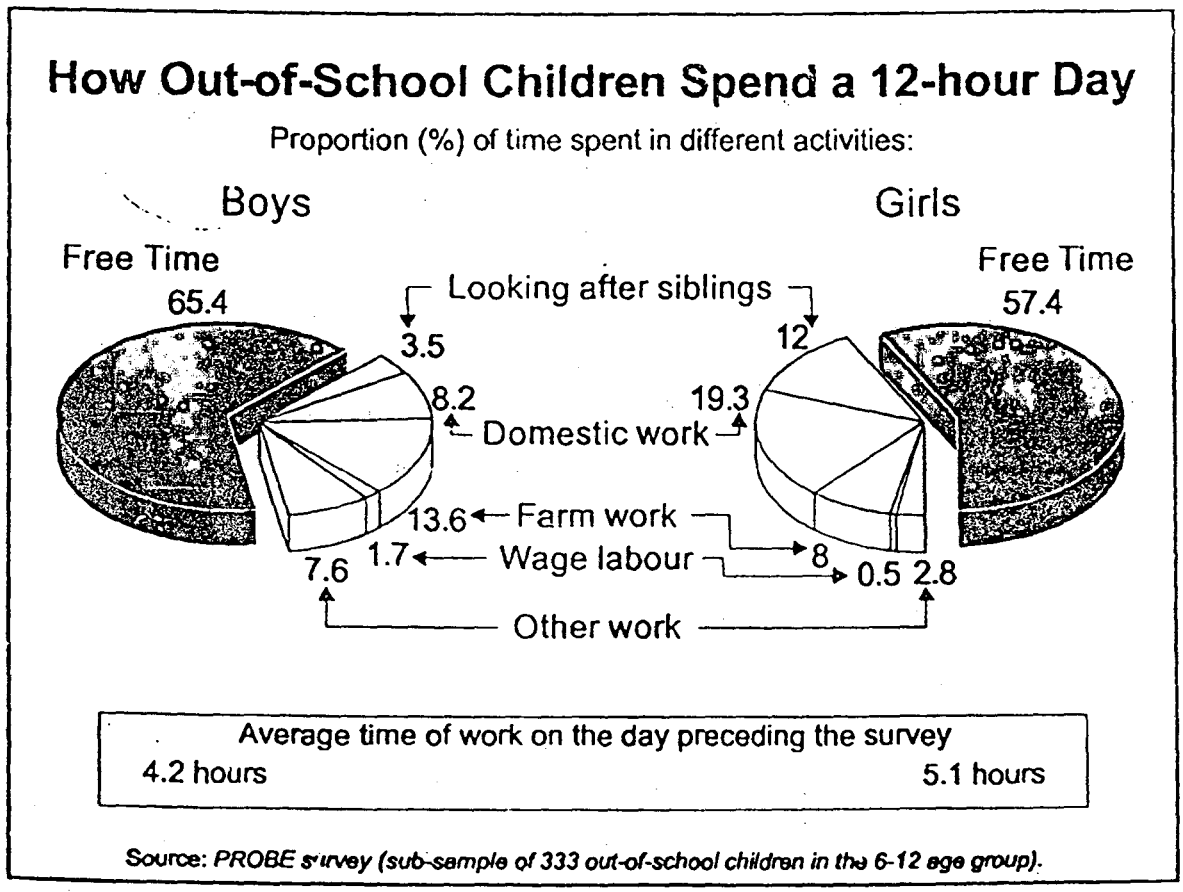
[28] G.K. Leiten (2000), "Children, work and Education – II Field work in Two U.P. Villages" Economic and Political weekly, June 17, p. 2173.
[29] ibid., p. 2177.
[30] ibid.

Coming back to the opportunity costs of time, there is much evidence that children of poor families often assist their parents in various household activities. Hence, child labour overwhelmingly takes the form of helping parents at home or in the fields rather than of full time work outside the household.[31] In the case of girls, child labour consists mainly of domestic work and looking after the siblings. The PROBE survey points out that the work hours of young out-of-school children are relatively short (see Chart VI). Similarly, the school hours are relatively short. Unless family labour involves rigid work hours that consistently clash with school timings, it is unlikely to prevent children from attending school with reasonable regularity. Observation of PROBE investigators in UP and other BIMARU states suggests that the activities involved do allow relatively flexible work hours.[32] Hence, the catch all of household duties so often held responsible for preventing children from going to school needs to be seriously reexamined. Srivastava's research programme in two districts of Balia and Rampur revealed that the problem of children's involvement in paid/unpaid work is much more significant for older children (10-14 years) and for girls.[33] Hence, it is difficult to accept the proposition that the demand for family labour clash with schooling.

[31] PROBE (1999), op. cit., p. 36 .
[32] ibid., p. 29.
[33] Ravi srivastava (1997), Access to Basic Education in Rural Uttar Pradesh, UNDP Project, p. 36.

CHART VI


How Out-of-School Children Spend a 12-hour Day
Proportion (%) of time spent in different activities:
Boys
Girls
Free Time
65.4
Looking after siblings
3.5
8.2
Domestic work
13.6
Farm work
1.7
Wage labour
7.6
Other work
Free Time
57.4
12
19.3
8
0.5
2.8
Average time of work on the day preceding the survey
4.2 hours
5.1 hours
Source: PROBE survey (sub-sample of 333 out-of-school children in the 6-12 age group).

Another interesting dimension to the issue is given by Mehrotra in her field based information from UP, who points out that parents are often found to use the labour of their children ex-post following their dropping out of school, for reasons totally unconnected with opportunities for work.[34] Corroborating this, PROBE investigators point out that when children work rather than go to school, the direction of causation need not run from child labour to non attendance. In many cases it is the other way round : children work because they are unable to go to school.[35]

Hence, evidence of their working does not by itself establish that poverty is the prime reason for their not attending school. Pandey and Talwar in a study in UP found that of the children of school going age not going to school, 80% were reported as non workers.[36] Thus, there is ample evidence to suggest that child labour is resorted to as a 'default activity'. Summing up, we can say that the inter connections between poverty, child labour and schooling are very complex and the common notion that parents can not afford to send children to school has to be qualified in a number of ways. A significant finding of Mehrotra in UP was that most children who dropped out of primary school did so in the early grades suggesting that there is no direct relationship between child labour and non attendance.[37]

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[34] Nidhi Mehrotra (1995) cited in Kiran Bhatty (1998), op. cit., p. 1734.
[35] PROBE (1999), op. cit., p. 29.
[36] Pandey and Talwar (1980) cited in Kiran Bhatty (1998), op. cit., p. 1734.
[37] Kiran Bhatty (1998), ibid.

True, there is some amount of child labour in UP depending on the nature of local economy, this by itself does not suggest that child labour is a constraint on the demand for schooling. Child labour, opportunity costs and direct costs are only part of the story. The other part is that access to education is a general wish among parents even from poor households, children's working hours are not rigid and do not necessarily clash with school timings and that the woefully inadequate educational services available to students accentuate the problem vis-a-vis access to schooling. The non enrolment and drop out factor is more likely to be associated with push factors internal to the school system than to the pull factor emanating from the labour market.[38]

This brings us to the crucial point that systematic indifference of the poor parents to education, if at all, is explained at least in parts by the resource poor and low quality education provided to the poor in many parts of the country which offers little attraction to offset the opportunity costs of children's schooling.[39] When educational institutions are often woefully short of proper academic standards, relevant curriculum and basic physical facilities, one should seek an explanation for poor educational participation in UP from the supply side too, in addition to exhausting the demand centred hypothesis. The need for effective schools and importance of school quality are

[38] G.K. Leiten (2000), op. cit., p. 2177.
[39] Manabi Majumdar and A. Vaidyanathan (1994), op. cit., p. 370.

critical issues for successful and genuine universal elementary education.[40]

Researchers, travelling from developed to developing countries found that all schools have some minimum basic facilities in developed countries. In contrast schools in developing countries can lack something as elementary and essential as a blackboard. Therefore, many researchers assume that the quality of the school rather than the socio economic background of students is central to learning outcomes.

Quality in education is an inherently elusive concept, difficult to define and measure even within one country. There is an almost universal recognition, however, that learning acquisition is crucial. To assess the adequacy of school facilities, the state of building, desks, basic instructional material, the availability of water and sanitation facilities are vital. Besides, the physical infrastructure, a school's quality depends on curriculum, pedagogical inputs and teacher quality. At this level the problem becomes complex because the community questions the utility of such education. The impact of poor quality of governments schooling becomes more pronounced for poor deprived sections of population who are forced to accept the inadequate services due to lack of economic power to put their children in profit oriented private schools. This leads to further

[40] Rashmi Sharma (1998), "Univrsal Elementary Education – The Question of How", Economic and Political Weekly, June 27, p. 1640.

marginalisation of certain sections which diminishes their chances of any true empowerment which is a crucial function of literacy and education.

According to Dreze and Gazdar in most of the schools in villages of rural UP the dilapidated condition of buildings and lack of maintenance was a common sight. The minimal resources that were available were also being poorly utilized.[41] Nidhi Mehrotra's study on infrastructure in schools in UP (Allahabad and Pithoragarh) revealed that the rooms that existed were often used as office space or for storage purposes, not one school had a class room for every grade and children sat on worn out mats or strips of sack cloth brought from home.[42] Tavleen Singh after a visit to government primary schools in UP rightly states that tokenism rather than real education is the leitmotif of education in UP.[43] In her visit to Badalpur, Sikandarabad and Saifayi, she observed, the same pathetic conditions were observed in all government schools. Dreze and Gazdar's survey of 15 schools in UP villages discovered that most buildings were found to be bare barring a table and chair for the headmaster. In several cases the furniture allotted to the school had moved to the homes of the headman, teacher or other influential persons in the village.[44] The evidence of poor infrastructure is further testified by Srivastava's survey of primary schools in Rampur and Balia where most of the

[41] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 66.
[42] Nidhi Mehrotra (1995) cited in Kiran Bhatty (1998), op. cit., p. 1737.
[43] Tavleen Singh (2003), "State gives Lessons in Tokenism", Indian Express , New Delhi, 18 March.
[44] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 164.

schools did not have adequate roof cover for seating even half the number of students on their registers.[45] Hence, the deplorable quality of schooling infrastructure is extensively visible in government primary schools in UP and is a major issue for poor record of schooling system in the state.

An argument that has been quite influential in spreading skepticism about the importance of universal elementary education is that such education is pointless as long as the school pedagogy does not have a more liberating character.[46] Also much of the curriculum is irrelevant and urban based which often acts as a further inducement for parents of rural areas to see their children working rather than wasting their time in irrelevant studies. Leiten concluded from his field work in two villages in Faizabad district of UP that if government school is often experienced as a place where one hardly learns anything and one that does not help foster the chances on the labour market, then parents may not be insisted and children not anxious to go to school.[47] Similarly, Dreze and Gazdar's survey exposed the government schools in UP which were little more than child minding centres.

Srivastva's field work confirms that at a primary level what the community values most is basic competency in language skills and mathematics. The community also questions that utility of the

[45] Ravi Srivastava (1997), op. cit., p. 316.
[46] PROBE (1999), op cit.,p. 5.
[47] G.K. Leiten (2000), op. cit. p., 2177.

curriculum both in terms of its irrelevance of prevailing socio economic needs and practices. Existing educational practices are seen to have a negative value in so far as they distance children from their customary economic roles.[48] Sharma argues in similar vein that ineffective and unsuccessful education can very easily lead to misallocation and poor utilization of scarce resources.[49]

However, the pedagogical critique applies throughout the schooling system and is not a case for tolerating the exclusion of underprivileged children from the schooling system. Also adequate literacy achievement like learning to read and write can do a great deal to liberate children from the tremendous sense of powerlessness experienced by illiterate persons in modern society even when these skills are acquired through fairly routine methods.[50] Hence, low involvement in the state cannot be and should not be explained away by the pedagogical and curriculum arguments. Street level delivery of government services like education, health care and drinking water in UP is a pervasive problem which is to be abhorred but to use them to justify the argument that children are better off working is as illogical as it is pernicious.[51]

However, the more alarming issue for low educational achievements is teacher absenteeism and teaching quality. In Dreze &

[48] Ravi Srivastava (1997), op. cit., p. 317.
[49] Rashmi Sharma (1998), op. cit., p. 1646.
[50] PROBE (1999),op. cit.,p.5.
[51] Shanta Sinha (2000), "Child, Labour and Education" in Rekha Wazir (ed.) Gender Gap in Basic Education , Sage, N. Delhi, p. 66.

Gazdar's study, the most basic problem of schooling system in sample villages was that of teacher absenteeism. An indication of the magnitude of the problem is the simple fact that teachers in sample schools were absent even at the time of the visit of field investigators.[52] Another aspect of the problem of teacher absenteeism is that most teachers came late and left early. The situation is somewhat better in urban areas but even there teacher absenteeism and shirking are serious problems. In her survey in Lucknow, Kingdon found that government schools supplied on average 3.2 hours per day of teaching to grade 8 children.[53]

On teaching practices Sinha and Sinha also reported, "there are serious grievances regarding teacher absenteeism and lack of devotion and accountability from almost all the districts but less from some of the hill districts of UP."[54] Even when the teachers were present they performed very little teaching activities. Teachers in the sample schools were found to be engaged in one or more of the following activities: Supervising children, playing cards, talking with visitors and among themselves, reading comics, preparing rolls for the forthcoming election etc.[55] This is facilitated by nexus between local elites and public schooling system. The other side of the coin is also worth mentioning, that is the demotivating professional environment

[52] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 66.
[53] G.G. Kingdon and Muzammil Muhammad (2001), "A Political Economy of Education in India: The case of UP" Economic and Political Weekly, Aug 11 and 18. p. 3181.
[54] Sinha and Sinha cited in Kiran Bhatty (1998),op cit.
[55] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 66.

in which teachers are expected to perform. The working conditions in village schools make the task of conscientious teaching highly challenging.[56] The pathetic school environment is not a regular feature among all schools especially in urban areas given that school teachers have permanent posts and a good deal of bureaucratic protection. In the absence of conducive teaching environment the basic incentive structure is very weak.[57] Thus, the poor infrastructure and functioning of school system is compounded by the problem of teacher shirking and low teaching standards in govt. schools in UP which becomes a major disincentive for parents to send their children to schools.

Despite low levels of literacy in the state the people of UP are politically very conscious. However, a degree of politicization has a detrimental effect on the education scenario in the state. The present system of financing of education in UP is based to a large extent on state support in the form of grants-in-aid to privately managed educational institutions, particularly at the secondary level of education. Though many procedural norms have been laid down by the state government for regulating grants, ultimately it is only political pulls and pressures that determine the allocation of grants-in-aid to educational institutions in UP.[58] The strong lobbying from teachers' political pressure are instrumental in forcing government to

[56] ibid., p. 77.
[57] Amartya Sen and Jaen Dreze (eds.) (1995), India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity, Delhi and Oxford, OUP, p. 10.
[58] G.G. Kingdon and Muzammil Muhammad (2001), op.cit., p. 3179.

include particular private schools on the grants-in-aid list and once that is done it becomes the responsibility of the government to maintain it as an aided school. The drawbacks of politicization of grants-in-aid are obvious and consequential upon teaching standard in schools. If teacher politicians or teacher union leaders help private schools to gain aided status, the teachers in that school feel indebted to their political patrons for their services and favours.[59] These indebted teachers support the political activities of the union/teacher that helped them. This mutual back rubbing undermines the maintenance of academic standards because the institution receiving these grants use their facilities, teacher time and even students to support the political ends of the teacher union/union leaders that helped them.[60]

Also gaining aided status leads to loss of local accountability since teachers now do not feel as accountable to their private managers and parents of pupils any more. Rudolph and Rudolph have observed, "these grants in aid are technically conditioned upon the maintenance of certain academic and administrative standards, but in reality an educational entrepreneur who enjoys political favour has little difficulty in establishing his institution's qualification."[61] The many concessions won by teachers regarding appointments, emoluments, promotion and service conditions of teachers in primary

[59] ibid.
[60] ibid.
[61] Rudolph and Rudolph (1972) cited in G. G. Kingdon and Muzammil Muhammad (2001), ibid.

and secondary schools by way of UP Basic Education Act 1972, Salary Disbursement Act 1972, UP Basic Education Staff Rules of 1973, the UP Recognized Basic School Rules 1978, and the UP Secondary Education (Service Commission) Act 1982 can be regarded as the achievements of their agitations and political lobbying.[62]

Another indication of financial victories by teachers is evident from rapid increase of teachers' salaries. The recurrent expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure on education has increased over time but most of it was devoted to teachers' salaries. Political penetration of teachers have been helped by Constitutional provision for their reserved representation in the Upper House of state legislature and political influence of teacher's union.[63] Still, research suggest that teacher salaries have no significant influence on student achievement but that other forms of educational expenditure does.[64] Teacher's participation in politics also has a direct adverse effect on the functioning of schools, it keeps them away from schools because they are engaged in union/political activities. Consequently teaching suffers adversely. Hence, political economy factors impinge on the school education sector in UP.

Another evidence of hollow politicization without any effective change in the socio economic conditions of some sections of population is provided by the rise of BSP since the mid 1980s in UP

[62] ibid., p. 3180.
[63] ibid., p. 3182.
[64] ibid.

with new notions of social Justice and democratic transformation. Dalit movement emerging in UP since the late colonial period was absorbed by the congress party which provided patronage, reservations and various developmental programmes for the Dalits.[65] The educational support programmes of the government in UP and elsewhere have contributed to the formation of political leaders and spread of literacy which has led to greater awareness, politicization and assertion of Dalit identity[66]. The new Dalit movement in UP led by BSP is formed by a new generation of educated dalit leaders. During its periods in office, BSP has pursued Dalit-oriented policies in the field of education, employment, housing and welfare. However, these do not encompass all the rural poor and exploited sections of population in UP. Being both a movement and an opportunist political party, its schemes are targeted at mobilizing Dalits rather than for long term societal transformation. The preoccupation with short term electoral politics has contributed to the neglect of education and schooling among the marginalized sections in UP. Despite a commitment to social justice and provision for reservations for the historically disadvantaged sections, political parties and social movements have hardly tried to implement schemes for universal education or have cared to make it an electoral issue.[67]

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[65] Sudha Pai (2002), "The State, Social Justice and the Dalit Movement: The BSP in Uttar Pradesh" in Niraja Jayal and Sudha Pai (eds.) ,Democratic Governance in India:Challenges of Poverty,development and Identity,Sage, p.206.

[66] Mendelsohn (1986) cited in Sudha Pai (2002), ibid., p. 207.

[67] Sudha Pai (forthcoming), "Universal Elementary Education in India: An Exploratory Study of Movements in Civil Society".

Financial allocation and measures to generate revenue for elementary education act as indicators of the state's political will and commitment towards basic education. As already discussed, state expenditure on elementary education has increased over the years. However, allocation of financial resources to elementary education is low in comparison to some other states. The increase in expenditure is almost entirely accounted for by sharp increase in teachers' emoluments. Besides the State's planned expenditure, there are also centrally sponsored schemes financed by the central government. The Planning Commission gives "matching grants" to every state. The larger a state's education budget, the larger is the amount that the centre gives it, states that allocate lesser amount to their education budgets get less from the centre.[68] Financial allocations made on the basis of political considerations are detrimental to the quality and quantity of education.

The most important educational legislations in UP came after periods of intense strikes by teachers which suggests that these came more as a reaction rather than based on well conceived principles of efficiency and equity.[69] Politically influential teachers have campaigned singularly for their own financial betterment and not for the improvement of school facilities etc. more generally. Any increase in financial resources has been fully tapped by teachers for

[68] Allen Roy, B. Kamaiah and M. Govinda Rao (2000), "Educational Expenditure of Large States- A Normative View", Economic and Political Weekly, April 22, p. 1468.
[69] G.G. Kingdon and Muhammad Muzammil (2001), op.cit., p. 3183.

themselves and no parents' or children's lobby exists to demand greater allocations to school non-salary expenses.[70] Bringing unaided private schools on the aided list through political influence affects equity and efficiency. A World Bank study found that there appeared to be large leakages in public educational expenditures, because although expenditure has risen greatly, the number of schools and teachers has not risen much.[71] When a private unaided school becomes aided, the government education expenditure increases and well off students start receiving educational subsidies.[72] It appears that government education spending has leaked because increased expenditure does not result in any increase in the number of students or teachers.

Tavleen Singh's tour of schools in UP brought to fore the fact that it is not lack of funds that is the problem so much as the mismanagement. Complaints of irregularities in a World Bank funded Rs.24 crore programme aimed at educating women in eight districts in UP made news recently for all the wrong reasons. Soon after the release of the first instalment of about Rs.7 crore, complaints on allocation of funds and shortlisting of fake NGOs surfaced.[73] Such events only help to reaffirm the notion that education in UP is low on the political agenda and the holders of political power are more

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[70] ibid.
[71] ibid.
[72] ibid.
[73] The Times of India , 28 Dec. 2002.

interested in using the schooling establishment as a means of extracting and dispensing public resources for their own advantage.[74]

Low priority given to basic education by the state government is indicated by the underutilization of large grants earmarked for the promotion of elementary education received from International Agencies as well as the central government.[75] The breakdown of formal monitoring procedures have led to institutionalized corruption in the state. These problems are not exclusive to UP but nevertheless they provide valuable insights into different aspects of economy and society of UP.

Women's education apart from being an important objective in its own right, helps to overcome wider gender-determined inequalities and creates virtuous circles of human development and poverty reduction.[76] The critical role of female literacy and education emerges forcefully from comparisons between different countries and between different regions of the same country. One of the distinguishing features of Kerala's development is the early promotion of female literacy. Vimala Ramachandran points out that as far as the issue of female illiteracy in India is concerned, we have hardly made a dent. She is critical of the women's movement for having relegated the issue of women's literacy to the background while foregrounding the issues

[74] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op.cit., p. 78.
[75] ibid., p. 88.
[76] ibid., p. 56.

of dowry, work participation and income generation.[77] UNDP's Human Development Report(2003) recognises that the reason for India's slippage on the Human Development Index is the tardy progress of women's rights in India.

The 7 + female literacy in UP as a whole was 42.98 percent in 2001. According to Lori McDougall, if UP were treated as a separate country in the Gender Development Index for 1996 it would rank 123rd out of 137 countries. Declining sex ratio and most of the districts having female literacy below the state average indicate towards stark gender inequality in the state. Gender bias is a multi layered phenomena of which illiteracy is one of the many correlates. There has been an actual decline of sex ratio in the state since the beginning of this century which can be explained only through persistence and accentuation of unequal gender relations (see Table)

In UP extreme social restrictions on women's freedom of movement and activities suppress women's agency by physically confining them to the domain of the household and even diminish their ability to act effectively within that domain.[78] Many scholars have reported on the patriarchal culture of north India especially among landowning communities like Rajputs and Jats.Human Development Report 2003 confirms that northern states lead the way in suppression of women. Gender relations among labouring classes

[77] Vimala Ramchandran (2000), "Literacy, Development and Empowerment" in Rekha Wazir (ed.) Gender Gap in Basic Education NGOs as Change Agents, Sage, New Delhi.
[78] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op.cit., p. 56.

have tended to be less unequal, partly due to influence of much higher rates of female labour-force participation.[79] These classes are relatively unimportant in numerical terms and hence gender relations in UP have been overwhelmingly influenced by the fiercely patriarchal practices of propertied class.[80] Through the phenomena of Sanskritization, emulation of castes having patriarchal tradition is followed which is detrimental to gender equality. Though UP is one of the states which has seen economic progress after Green Revolution, but this has not translated into reducing gender inequalities in education and other sectors of economy and society.

There is enough evidence to suggest that parental motivation for daughter's education is much less in comparison to education of their sons. Employment motive for investing in education, so powerful in the case of boys, is much weaker for girls. Marriage as the ultimate goal of a daughter's upbringing and other social norms also play a crucial role in demotivating parents from sending their daughters to school. The silver lining, however, is reported by PROBE surveyors where it was pointed out that even from the point of crucial marriage consideration some amount of education for girl was desired since this would help the daughters to write letters and keep in touch with parents. Also education keeps daughters get a good match and make it easier to raise children and cope with widowhood and divorce. The point, however, is to achieve a social consensus for female education

[79] ibid., p.105.
[80] ibid.

of the kind that has been achieved in Kerala, Himachal Pradesh or Manipur. This can be done through state action and initiative.

The breakdown of government schools especially among rural areas in UP typically affects female children far more than male children who are sent to private schools as a response. Another aspect of poor quality of schooling system which may also discourage female education is the low number of female teachers in many states. There is evidence that daughters are often withdrawn from school due to the absence of female teachers or separate schools for girls.[81] The conservative nature of gender relations makes it very difficult for women to work as teachers or doctors in rural areas. Thus, a vicious circle is formed and talents and initiative of most women in UP are overwhelmingly focused on domestic work. The low and unequal distribution of female teachers leads to virtual exclusion of women from teaching positions in UP, diminishing the quality and diversity of the socialization experience for girls and boys.

Providing reservation to women in government services or policy announcements for female education do not solve the problem. Despite all the benefits associated with female literacy, at the heart of gender gap is the fact that many of the benefits of female education are societal whereas the costs are private.[82] One comparative study of

[81] Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (1995), "Basic Education as a Political Issue", Journal of Educational Planning and Administration ,Vol. IX, Jan., p.20.
[82] Lori McDougall (2000), "Gender Gap in Literacy in Uttar Pradesh: Question for Decentralised Educational Planning", Economic and Political Weekly, May 6, p. 1650.

schooling in Sirmaur district in HP and Allahabad district in UP found that the functioning of anganwadis was very poor in Allahabad but reasonably good in Sirmaur.[83] Thus, activism on the part of state to overcome social norms against females and more schemes exclusively devoted to increasing female participation in education is called for for economic development and social progress of society as a whole.

Motivation of parents as regards to basic education is closely linked to its influence on future employment and earnings. Though literacy and basic education is intrinsically important for developing human capital and capability, its impact is cumulative and apparent over time.[84] Education has been widely discussed in recent development literature and its potential for furthering economic development and redistribution and creating opportunities has been highlighted. The presence of opportunities acts as a great motivating factor for children, parents and teachers. A village level study showed that inhabitants of more modernized villages had greater availability of reading material. The general paucity of printed material in rural areas and particularly in the less developed ones is a major handicap for learning to read and write.[85] When city children begin to learn to read, they delight in recognizing words in advertisement hoardings and newspaper headlines. Unfortunately in the absence of

[83] PROBE (1999), op. cit.
[84] Ratna M. Sudarshan (1998), "Where are we at?", Seminar ,464, April, p.21.
[85] Rashmi Sharma (1998), op.cit., p. 1646.

opportunities that give recognition to their learning, children may lapse into non-functional literacy.

Similarly for teachers, who prefer to teach in schools situated in more developed areas that provide better opportunities for living conditions and transport facilities. UP with its backwardness in many areas of development provides very little incentive for children's education. Schools and literacy are more meaningful when there are opportunities, again dependent on development of rural infrastructure and availability of jobs and credit facilities. The existence of opportunities may boost the demand for education and concern with the quality of schooling. Thus, Sharma has rightly pointed out that conversion of less developed area types into better developed area types is necessary as a parallel measure for effective universal elementary education.[86]

Through the Ambedkar Village Programmes a large number of welfare schemes are undertaken by the present Mayawati government. Under this, schemes like road building, drinking water, existing IRDP, JRY, adopted, building schools, Panchayats and housing programmes are undertaken. These parallel measures are certainly a welcome move. However, based on the notion of social justice, they are meant only for the Dalits. The model Ambedkar villages are being built by transferring funds from developmental schemes spread over large

[86] ibid., p. 1647.

areas and concentrating them in small enclaves for the Dalits.[87] The long standing state policy of job reservation has provided opportunities to scheduled caste population of the state who see benefit in acquiring education and seek high esteemed government jobs. According to one estimate UP has the highest enrolment of SCs in class 1 to 12 in the entire country, namely 471930.[88] The same, however, does not go for Muslims and Backward Classes who do not perceive education as something useful. The out migration from the state of educated youth and people of lower castes and Muslims is also explained by the fact that they perceive higher returns from education and formal sector jobs elsewhere. In the absence of adequate employment opportunities, parents have been found to look for other aspects of economic advancement than the education of children. Some observers deplore this materialistic view of education but there is no reason to dismiss the concern of poor parents for greater economic security.[89] Lori McDougall opines that in the hill region of UP, combined with the traditionally greater freedom of mobility of hill women and a much higher incidence of workforce participation than in the rest of UP helps explain the existence of high literacy rates.[90] The persistence of widespread illiteracy is both a cause and effect of endemic deprivation and backwardness in other areas of social and economic activity. Progress towards the goals of

[87] Sudha Pai (2002), op. cit., p. 216.
[88] Sudha Pai (forthcoming).
[89] PROBE (1999), op.cit., p.4.
[90] Lori McDougall (2000), op.cit., p. 1655.

universal and free basic education through a well functioning schooling system, therefore, requires an enhanced role of public services.

The history of attempt to achieve Universal Elementary Education by the Indian state in the post independence period has been one of the shifting goalposts i.e. of numerous reports and policies, each of which have reiterated this goal but have been unable to achieve it.[91] The commitment to eradicate illiteracy and raise levels of schooling attainment by the population is shared by all political parties and mentioned in every Election Manifesto, but when they come to power, few try to implement schemes for universal education.[92] A couple of months before the election time a school is put in place in some part of a constituency with whatever staff that can be mustered for a few months. However, once the election is over the politician forgets the school and its needs in terms of adequate staff, building or education equipment. The outcome of falling standards in government run institutions has led to the emergence of education sharks who are setting up schools and professional colleges in the private sector.[93] UP provides a good example of this phenomena which has seen a mushroomed growth of unaided and unrecognized private schools. According to a survey by NCAER, the proportion of

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[91] Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (2002), India Development and Participation , OUP, New Delhi, p. 164.
[92] Sudha Pai (forthcoming).
[93] "Quality Education Beyond the Reach of Ordinary Citizen" (2003) in Nation and the World, Feb, p. 20.

school going children attending private schools - recognized and unrecognized in rural UP is 27% which is the highest figure among all Indian states.[94] Incentives by governments can play a major role in lowering opportunity costs and raising returns from education. Ravi Srivastava's study testified that educational incentives in the form of freeship and scholarships and schemes like midday meals have partially helped overcome opportunity costs. In Saifayi, the government gives each student five rupees a year in lieu of their midday meal as part of government policy.[95] Such mismanagement and ineffective implementation of schemes reflect the political apathy of state governments.

State apathy in the field of social policy is no doubt an all India phenomenon. In implementing social programmes sponsored by the central government some other states have taken important initiatives in the field.[96] These indicate responsiveness of state policy to developmental concerns and social needs which is lacking in UP. Patronage based governance has corrupted political institutions at all levels in UP. In the absence of real accountability of the schooling establishment, reforming it is a major challenge that relies crucially on basic education in UP becoming a major political issue. True, the expenditure on education has been on rise in the state, but most of it

[94] Sudha Pai (forthcoming).
[95] Tavleen Singh (2003), op.cit.
[96] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op.cit., p. 98.

is due to growing reliance on centrally sponsored and externally funded schemes.

In UP distortion of priorities have reached extreme proportions. The right to elementary education has received less attention than the right to cheat in exams. The first decision taken by the newly elected government of UP in Dec. 1993 was to repeal the Anti Copying Act, a symptomatic example of the influence of students enrolled for higher education as a major political force.[97] Another testimony of biased strategies in education sector in UP came to light when education in UP was highlighted in newspaper and media reports for all the wrong reasons. UP government's KalpaYojna was meant to envisage a change in syllabus as well as functioning of government schools in the state, but unfortunately it was nothing more than about Saraswati Vandana and Vande Mataram. This reflects narrowing of knowledge by giving a single definition to Indian culture and society through educational channels. Romila Thapar opines that replacing educational policy and curriculum with every new government is to make a mockery of the process of education.[98]

UP is a microcosm of Indian society and polity and most of the problems of development present at the national level is seen to persist in the state of UP. Despite its greater political significance, it is one of the poorest and least developed states. Through this case study

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[97] Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (1995), op.cit., p. 21.
[98] Romila Thapar (2001), "Democracy and Education", Seminar.

an attempt to understand the causes for persistent illiteracy and retarded development in the region in made. Some of the problems are unique to the region whereas some are an extension of challenges that confront the entire country. These causes can be overcome through political activism and concerted public action as can be seen in the case of some other states like Himachal, Kerala and Manipur. One aspect of the inertia that accounts for slow progress in UP education is the apathy of the state, but an equally important factor is the failure of civil society to challenge oppressive patterns of caste, class and gender relations. UP reflects the penalties of inertia. Kerala on the other hand with similar poverty levels, gender relations and local democracy has managed to scale greater heights of development through determined public action. The response to failure of government schooling through private initiatives, NGO's, decentralization and the role of civil society has contributed towards substantial changes in the state of schooling in UP. These will be discussed in the next part.

CHAPTER – IV

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF SCHOOLING : NGOs AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Elementary education, viewed as basic instrumentality for developing human resources, influences the progress of a community not merely through augmenting the productivity of workforce but also through its impact on cultural, political and ethical dimensions. The state seeks to provide this objective through the formal structures in the form of educational policy and the schooling system sponsored by it. In the state of UP there has been an attempt at proliferation of state sponsored elementary education. However, the expanse has not led to increase in literacy levels and universalisation of elementary education, neither has this expanse led to parallel rise in the quality of elementary education. A curious related development, or rather, non-development, has been the silence on these issues of the civil society and the otherwise vocal intelligentsia.[1]

From its inception the Indian state was confronted by two different visions of reconstruction: the Gandhian model of development with emphasis on decentralization and his notion of basic education to reach the ideal of swaraj, and as against this, the Nehruvian plan of prosperity through active state control, centralization and strong bureaucracy. The post colonial Indian state,

[1] Rashmi Sharma (2000), "Decentralisation, Professionalism and the School System in India", Economic and Political Weekly, October 14, p. 3765.

however, dismissed the former and embarked on the road to development through state sponsorship and initiative. Consequently it was felt that providing free and compulsory elementary education is the duty of the state, so that it is the state that must provide for schools through a mechanism of government schooling system.

During this decade, however, far-reaching changes in education have taken place in the country, which have included shifts away from state control towards privatization and decentralisation. These changes have surfaced partly as the disillusionment of civil society with the state for its failure to provide for quality schooling as well as due to effects of the changes in the global economy in the recent past, both direct and indirect.

It might, therefore, be said that while education remains a public issue in common with many state activities, its coordination has ceased to be the sole preserve of the central or state governments. Instead, it has become coordinated through a range of forms of governance, among which decentralization and privatization figure prominently. Total Literacy Campaigns, the DPEP, private schools, NGOs and voluntary organizations provide examples of such new forms of governance during the last decade.

The traditional assumption that all the activities involved in the coordination of education i.e. funding, delivery and regulation or

control need to be carried out by the state.[2] However, the community has always been indispensable to the operation of education systems and its area of involvement has greatly expanded and has formalized as the area of direct state involvement has contracted. The panchayat schools, private schools, missionary and convent schools and schools funded by other religious bodies like madrassas and RSS (Shishu Mandir Schools) lie outside the ambit of government schooling in the country though parallel funding of any of these may be done by the state governments.

It is argued that the state has understood the limitation of its own bureaucratic structures involved in universalizing elementary education and is, therefore, seeking the community's help in doing so. This is a process that can be traced from the Sixth Five Year plan that raised the question about the ability of the state structures to deliver in all areas of development. The Ninth Five Year Plan says that the top down approach in planning and implementation have led to ineffective formulation of schemes without assessment of the people's needs and their active cooperation.[3] The state of UP has also embarked on this journey of increasing local participation in governance of elementary education in the wake of its inability in battling low literacy levels in the state.

NGOs play an important role both in generating mass awareness of the importance of education and in actual conduct of

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[2] Dale (1997), cited in R. Govinda (ed.) (2000), India Education Report, NIEPA and OUP, p. 12.
[3] IXth Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Website.

schools.[4] Various NGOs in the education sector have become operational in the state to fill in the gap created by government apathy and indifference. The emergence of these have been called the global 'associational revolution'.[5] These are complex and heterogenous in nature, characterized by a rich diversity of approaches, traditions and activities. According to Disha Nawani there are basically three types of NGOs in the field of basic education:

1. Those for whom education is the central and the only concern.
2. Those that pursue several objectives and consider education as one of the most integral. In their framework education has an important bearing on their overall developmental objectives.
3. Those for whom education is one of several activities and not particularly a central or primary concern.

There are many NGOs in the field of basic education working in their individual capacity towards realizing their objectives in UP though their reach is limited and their budgets small, their contribution is slowly being appreciated and recognized in India.

Asha, a vibrant NGO in the field of education in UP has been functional in the state for the past many years. Founded by Sandeep Pandey, it undertakes education projects in various districts of the state especially for dalits. Asha has recognized that illiteracy is a pertinent link in the chain that keeps a large number of children in

[4] A Vaidyanathan (1998), "The Rural Scene", Seminar, 464, p. 52.
[5] Clarke (1998) cited in Disha Nawani (2000), Research Project, "Role and Contribution of NGOs in Basic Education in India", NIEPA-UNESCO, New Delhi, p. 121.

UP in a poverty trap. Innovative and imaginative campaigns by Asha over the years have raised awareness of the problem and provided people with opportunities to help make a difference. Many of these projects have come to be funded by international agencies. Since the NGO exists in the state on such a large scale, it is important to do a profile of its projects and schemes in various districts.

In Moradabad district, Asha has started a school called Adarsh Ilm Vidyalaya through cooperation of group of people In the local community. The aim is to impart formal education to children of lower income groups, farmers, land labourers and backward classes. At present there are 90 children in the school with a student teacher ratio of 8:1. The aim of Ilm is community participation in rural development and promoting education.

The Asha Lalpur project in Hardoi district provides free education and health services to the villagers. Various training programmes and camps are organized from time to time to develop ideas as well as promote skills development programme. The primary focus is on children of dalits and tribals and to work for social change based on a philosophy of education.

Similarly CREDA i.e. Centre for Rural Development Action is a Mirzapur based NGO that is engaged primarily in eliminating child labour in Mirzapur-Bhadoi carpet weaving belt of UP and uses education as an effective tool to wean children away from all kinds of exploitative work. it is supported by the UNDP and NORAD CREDA

operates in 50 village schools each with a 100 students. The target group is children between 8 and 14 years mainly from the Schedule Castes and Tribes. Most of the children belong to landless families and are first generation learners.

CREDA's work has reiterated once again that poverty is not a major cause of child labour and other non-income factors such as lack of adequate schools and apathy of government functionaries have a far greater impact on creating an environment where children are sent to work. If good schools and quality education were available, more parents would be motivated to send their children including girls to schools. Many people in the region where CREDA schools operate are dismissive of government run schools because the rigidity of the caste system extends into schools.

Government's education delivery system in UP has been unresponsive to the needs of girl child with parents often citing cases of absence of single sex schools and inadequate number of women teachers. Hence girls' education is a special focus area for CREDA. In the UNDP supported schools 44% of the 5000 students are girls. Community participation has been the backbone of the NGO's work. Village based vigilance groups comprising of parents, village elders youth volunteers, government school teachers, elected representatives and government functionaries have been formed.

However, as Dreze and Sen have pointed out that these alternatives cannot be permanent substitute to government schools

but can only act as a temporary supplement. NGOs lack resources and at times government often sees them as unprofessional fly by night operators in many cases motivated largely by political convictions hostile to governmental interests.[6]

However, **CREDA** has successfully managed to falsify this argument and successfully enrolled children into government schools and retained them there with the active help of the community. Community is not seen as active participant in the process of reform of education in the state. Instead it is perceived as passive recipients of education services designed and delivered by unaccountable bureaucracies. Participation, like education itself, is an important end in its own right. These provide mechanisms for identifying the education needs and problems of local beneficiaries assessing the quality and relevance of service provision.[7] CREDA experience has shown that community support organizations have helped check the high absenteeism among primary school teachers and the widespread system of proxy teachers in the state of UP.

The NGO, however, needs to find point of contact between the non formal education system and the government structures, so that the approaches developed at a community level can be scaled up and their benefits multiplied. The villagers consequently face a challenge when it comes to higher education because there are hardly any secondary level schools and colleges in the region and ambitious

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[6] Kevin Watkins(2000), The Oxfam Education Report, Oxfam Publication, p. 309.
[7] Ibid., p. 313.

students are forced to travel to bigger towns in the adjoining districts. This raises questions with regard to sustainability and long term implications of NGO activity. The NGO sector realizes and believes that the final and ultimate responsibility of providing education to all its citizens rests on the government, no matter how many profit or non profit initiatives emerge in between. However, the CREDA experience voices the concern of people in the region, particularly the opppressed and is seen as being more efficient and closer to the people. In the long run the aim, of course, is not to create structures parallel to those of the government but to supplement and strengthen government's initiatives in providing education to all its citizens.

As already discussed, the NGO sector in India is not a monolithic structure and the diversity and heterogeneity of our vast society is manifested in the NGO types. Another NGO, **Nirantar**, works in Banda and Kashipur districts of UP. Banda is one of the most backward districts of UP. Sex ratio in the district is 860 as against the state average of 898 females for 1000 males which itself is much lower than the country average of 933.[8] Female literacy in the district is a dismal 17.10 according to the 1991 census report. The district is dacoit ridden and is marked by extreme poverty, low literacy levels and a high degree of violence against women. A significant proportion of its population belongs to the SCs and STs. The focus of Nirantar that works in this region is decisively on women.[9] Gender issues

[8] Census Report (2001), Government of India.
[9] Disha Nawani (2000), op. cit., p. 123.

permeate all its activities. Education, for Nirantar acquires a meaning that goes beyond imparting literacy and numeracy skills to women. Nirantar views education as a tool to empower women. The essential aim of this NGO is to enhance the status and self esteem of the women it serves and enable them to critically view their socio-cultural environment.[10]

Nirantar experience proves that NGOs have stepped in where there is a need ,that is, either some sections of society are being deprived of education or people of a particular geographical area are educationally backward. Its attempt at empowering women through a meaningful and relevant curriculum exemplifies successful interventions by civil society in the field of education. Schooling system in U.P is heavily biased in favour of males due to strong patriarchal norms in the region. Such kinds of NGOs help to overcome social norms through successful mobilization and awareness strategies. Most NGOs like Nirantar see their role as that of assisting the government and see a complementarity in their work with that of government.[11]

Another local NGO, Society for the Integrated Development of the Himalayas(SIDH), has made possible meaningful education opportunities to children in Jaunpur, an especially marginalized tribal hill region of UP. Because of dominant tribal culture in the region the people of this region are feared and considered backward. Despite low

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

educational levels, SIDH research into local attitudes to education showed that primary education was the top priority for the tribals. Problem of schooling in the region related to child labour, irrelevance of curriculum, distance from school and low enrolment of girls.

SIDH from the beginning set out to pilot a community primary school initiative. The growth of the programme heralded the need to move from a voluntary approach to securing funds for continuity and to cover, as a minimum, a stipend for the voluntary teachers who would otherwise need to seek paid employment elsewhere. The experience of the initial primary schools led to a general policy of starting primary schools in those villages that requested one and were able to provide for space, local school leavers for teacher training and ensured that they would send their children to school. SIDH started various innovative schemes like a pre-primary (balwaadi) programme grew out of the primary school programme wherein local young women with around five years primary schooling were selected by their community as teachers and given training and support by SIDH. SIDH experience revealed that a flexible approach to school provision was found in the hill regions. Mechanisms like a culturally adapted schedule, flexible time table, multi grade teaching were adopted. Another indication of this flexible approach is the creation of non formal evening centres by SIDH. These mechanisms for improving access automatically have an impact on quality. Various workshops on the relevance of curriculum were organized that looked at creative ways to raise issues, such as value systems and social responsibility

within the curriculum. The education progarammes have offered SIDH a progressively deeper understanding of the community dynamics which in turn have stimulated more responsive prgramming.

SIDH's work in developing and innovative and relevant primary and early childhood education programme in the hills has come to be respected in both government and non government sectors. This achievement has resulted in mounting external pressure to replicate the programme in government schools. Different ways in which SIDH has tackled the issue of illliteracy in the region has offered useful lessons for the government. NGOs are generally seen as filling a gap, assisting communties where government systems fail to function. There are, however, inherent dangers in this trend since NGOs can become he tools for addressing the larger issues of poverty and development and the means for availing bi/multi lateral aid while government accepts its failure in provision and abdication of responsibility to disadvantaged groups. SIDH involvement in schooling in UP found that the community still prioritized modelling the schools on the state system so that children would have the opportunity to continue in government schools later. This explicitly states the need for NGOs to collaborate with the state and its agencies for implementing particular development programmes.

A large number of NGOs with a plethora of schemes have emerged as alternatives in UP to provide basic education in the state (see Chart VII). The majority of them are small organizations limited

CHART VII

#	Project Type	Description
1	Alternative Education	Asha works with many schools that attempt to provide quality holistic education to children from poor economic backgrounds. These schools come under a special category called "Alternative Education" schools (Alt-ed schools) because they seek to explore different alternatives in education. Such schools continue to encourage the spirit of enquiry in a child and help them make their choices based on nurturing the child's interest and learning. A lot of importance is given to the child's psychology at an early age so that they loose the psychological fears or complexes they may have towards learning. This encourages children to think independently and become more responsible. Most of these schools are engaged in creating and using innovative teaching methodologies that ensure that rote learning does not happen. As an example – some schools have developed excellent language teaching methodologies. Others may use creative games and experiments to explain difficult concepts in Math or Science. Some schools have changed the class room structure to encourage better children and teachers interaction. Such creativity is typically missing in the conventional education stream practiced by majority of schools in India. Alt-ed schools are often founded by persons with a strong interest in what education means, and what it should provide. Since the established patterns in the conventional education system in India are missing many aspects of what education is for - alternative education schools try to address these inadequacies and create a space for exploring alternatives in education. Alt-ed schools that Asha supports have been especially created to not only address the pitfalls in the conventional education system but also ensure that children from poor socio-economic backgrounds are not deprived of the opportunity for high quality education. Alt-ed schools assist children in taking the main stream government exams. Alt-ed schools that Asha supports have been especially created to not only address the pitfalls in the conventional education system but also ensure that children from poor socio-economic backgrounds are not deprived of the opportunity for high quality education. Alt-ed schools assist children in taking the main stream government exams.
2	Community Awareness Programs	Asha supports different community awareness programs. These programs provide education that is aimed at raising awareness on various issues and creating an informed society. They empower people with information so that this will serve as an impetus for social change. These programs are located both in rural communities (tribal) as well as cities. They cover a broad range of issues including agriculture, general health, women's education and community rights.
3	Community Based Interventions	Asha has typically started working with our partners through different types of educational programs. As our relationship with the partner and community builds we have worked on different initiatives that can have better overall impact on the community. We have supported costs for providing drinking water facilities, seed funding for women's self help groups, small scale fisheries, and other types of community based activity.
4	Disabilities	Asha works with many schools that specifically reach out to children with various disabilities. There is a huge dearth of schools for children with disabilities in India and very little in terms of law in ensuring that persons with disabilities have equal access. Asha has sought to find and support schools for children with disabilities such as cerebral palsy, visual impairment, hearing impairment, slower learning capabilities and other physical or learning disabilities. Many of these schools also actively work with the government in trying to ensure more rights for persons with disabilitites. They also conduct several community awareness programs aimed at educating the community on the whole in areas related to disabilities such as proper nutrition during pre-natal stages (which can reduce cerebral palsy), neighborhood accessibility for persons with visual impairment. They also address common biases that exist in communities against persons with disabilities. Most of these schools have developed good vocational training programs to suit the special abilities of the children and young adults.
5	Educational Experiments	Asha has a strong group of volunteers in India who are involved in setting up centers of learning promoting self-sufficiency and entrepreneurship via learning. The basis of the centers created by different Asha India volunteers is that young minds need holistic development leading to self reliance and strong values. Conventional education is only oriented towards jobs, therefore based on competition, which in turn gives rise to pride, prejudice and conflict. The education provided at these centers is based on empowerment by imbibing the spirit of cooperation instead of competition.
6	Fellowships	Asha supports a fellowship program that supports individuals of the highest quality and unquestionable dedication. Support is given to those whose work in time will have a large positive impact by creating an institution or a methodology. Fellowships are reviewed after the potential fellow has been nominated by a nominator actively working in India. The area of support is typically of current importance with potential to make large social impact to reduce poverty and injustice in the life of the underprivileged of India. The area of support includes (but not limited to) education, income generation, women's empowerment, integrated tural or slum development, addressing dominant social concerns like child labor, bonded labor and other areas.
7	Formal Schools	Asha works with formal schools for children in rural as well as urban areas. The schools provide full time schools for children with the syllabus prescribed by the government. The formal schools being supported by Asha are typically located in areas where there is no other schooling available. The children attending these schools pay little or no fees and come from low socio-economic backgrounds. Some of the formal schools incorporate good teaching and learning techniques to ensure that the education the children receive is effective. Asha has helped support the financial needs for schools including school infrastructure and building cost, land cost, teacher salaries, educational materials, transportation and other requirements.
8	Internships	This is a unique experimental program by the Stanford chapter of Asha. Internships are organized for college students in India allowing them to participate in an 8 week summer internship with a partner developmental organization. This program is intended to give students from middle class backgrounds exposure to work done in this area. Such internships hope to inspire more social consciousness and long term involvement from the students.
9	Non-Formal Educational Centers	NFE centers are typically created for children who are unable to attend an entire day of school. Often these centers serve as a stepping stone to more formal education. NFEs are, as their name implies allow non-formal enrollment – children can join irrespective of their age. Some NFEs tend to be non-formal in content – they can follow varying curriculums. There are bridge schools that offer several years of curriculum in a condensed manner to help the children join a formal education system. Other schools try to get the children comfortable with a subset of the curriculum such as language and basic maths and sciences hoping to encourage the children to learn further. Asha works with NFE centers that have been started by members of the community themselves i.e started by community groups. NFEs need various forms of support from infrastructural support, running expenses, educational resources and teachers training programs.
10	One Time / Infrastructure	This type of project is a one time expense, usually used towards infrastructure costs.
11	Orphanages	Asha supports the running costs of several homes for children (orphanages). Typically the support provided covers the costs of daily and living expenses and schooling for the children. In certain cases the child homes receive referrals and partial support from the state government as well.
12	Other	Choose this type if your project does not fit any of the current categories. Then email webmaster@ashanet.org the project type and it will be added to this list.

in their reach, with small budgets, either trying to implement government sponsored schemes or working towards enhancing the quality of education and experimenting with new models of teaching and learning. On one hand, there are organizations that are repeatedly being written about, and on the other hand, there are those that anonymously do their work. There are serious constraints, for example, limited availability and reach of these NGOs, paucity of funds and little scope of replicability and long term sustainability although substantial research on these aspects has not been attempted so far. However, the issues that have been surfacing are that NGOs in the field of education are not a homogenous category and hence , their relationship with the state is complex. In some cases, the government itself asks for the cooperation with the NGOs to seek the objective of Universal Elementary Education justifying it as an expression of the emphasis on popular participation or participatory development. For instance, the UP DPEP phase-III is to be delegated to the UP sabhi ke liye siksha pariyojana parishad, an autonomous organization, headquartered at Lucknow which was established under the UP Society's Registration Act of 1860. On the other hand, some NGOs are engaged in critiquing government programmes and offering alternative models of development. There are constraints and problems related to both government sector as well as voluntary NGOs. However, the relationship between the two shows that there is much to learn from each other in the area of basic education through an emerging partnership.

A move towards popular participation and decentralisation in the field of basic education is also facilitated by the DPEP. Through this project the locus of authority is expected to shift closer to the people. The problem of illiteracy in the country is now viewed not in terms of the traditional classification of educationally backward states but among and within districts and also among social classes. DPEP is one way by which the management of education can respond to this differentiation.[12] The programme was initially launched in 1994 at all India level covering 42 districts spread over 7 states. Similarly Basic Education Project covering 17 district in UP was also launched. The project adopts area specific approach, with district as the unit of planning and implementation.

The key strategies of this district specific planning have been to retain the contextuality and sensitivity to local conditions.[13] Consistent with the phenomena of decentralisation, plans are prepared at district level through participatory process involving district and sub-district functionaries, teachers, parents and community members. The programme is structured to provide additional inputs over and above the provisions made by the state governments. Alternative models under DPEP include back to school campaign in UP and formal primary education through Makhtabs and Madrassas. There is now evidence in UP that overall primary school enrolment in UPBEP district till 1998 has increased by 32% as

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[12] Rashmi Sharma (1998), "Universal Elementary Education – The Question of How", Economic and Political Weekly, June 27 p. 1640.
[13] http://www.education.nic.in.

compared to 22% in non UPBEP district. A people's movement for literacy in being witnessed in many villages initiated under DPEP. Radha Rastogi, through a field visit to the area finds a visible outcome of the new approach. Women are scaling new heights in leading their communities. Vrinda Sarup, project director DPEP says, "Just the process of getting the groups together on a common platform took months of regular meetings training workshops, plan formulation, identification and problem solving." Illiterate villagers are responding to participatory learning and action techniques like naturals and are now also able to identify local problems. Srivastava points out that local community involvement could ensure that schools function according to rules.

However, decentralisation can not be treated as a panacea for fighting the ills of illiteracy and ignorance in the state. The shift towards decentralisation can result in diminished institutional support of various kinds. At district and sub district level, the institutional arrangements do not exist and elected representatives are only accountable at election time. They are not part of democratic processes such as questions raised by opposition, debate on issues and press reports.[14]

Another lacuna of decentralisation is that very few professional advisory bodies exist at smaller geographical units. Lori McDougall's study of DPEP district in UP raises questions on the ability of

[14] Rashmi Sharma (2000), op. cit., p. 3773

decentralised planning to promote educational equality. He argues that the degree of equality or inequality within a society has a clear impact on what decentralisation can achive.[15] He says that neither enhanced conditions for participation nor vast resources can guarantee a positive outcome. The social fractures that existed prior to decentralisation- spatial, cast and gender – may only be magnified by this process since the dominant groups are given a new forum in which to hold sway and to have their decisions branded as consensual.[16]

UP provides a case in point for the presence of extreme factions of class, caste and gender in society. Factional strife has been influential part of political life in much of India, but this has been particularly so in UP.[17] Although economic and political changes led to some relative decline in the old elite groups of high caste landlords, these groups continued to dominate village politics, and captured the new Panchayati Raj Institutions by means, foul or fair.[18] In such a scenario developmental or welfare programmes are often regarded by faction leaders as useful channels for the recruitment and reward of supporters.

In the final analysis, the efficiency gains of decentralised education are dependent an the degree of equity in a community and

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[15] Lori McDougall (2000), "Gender Gap in Literacy in Uttar Pradesh Questions for Decentralised Educational Planning", Economic and Political Weekly, May 6, p. 1650.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), "Uttar Pradesh The Burden of Inertia", in Jaen Dreze and Amartya Sen (eds.) India Development Selected Regional Perspective, OUP, p. 98.
[18] Ibid.

the scope this allows for collective action.[19] Simply put, the balance of power in society sets the framework for action and change. Another handicap associated with decentralised education schemes is that it can raise public expectations without delivering tangible benefits. This may create greater cynicism about government. Educational equalisation programmes such as DPEP affect access and quality, but can not guarantee greater household income from participating in education as this outcome may depend on the expansion of labour market.In the case of UP, the dearth of jobs for women or social strictures against female employment can lead to instrumental use of education as a commodity in the marriage market.

These decentralised schemes of education with emphasis on larger participation have their own limitations. There should not be an excuse for the government to offload the major funding responsibility to the community, nor can greater local management responsibilities be considered to automatically reduce corruption and increase accountability.[20] Getting the balance right between central and local power is one of the most delicate aspects of decentralisation.

Marketization of education for greater public choice is also a form of decentralisation. It might be said that while education remains a public issue in common with many state activities, its coordination has ceased to be the sole preserve of the state or government.[21] UP

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[19] Lori McDougall (2000), op. cit., p. 1657.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Vinod Raina (2000), "Decentralisation of Education", in R.Govinda (ed.), India Education Report, NIEPA and OUP, p. 113.

provides a good example of the mushroomed growth of private schools. According to official statistics, less than 3% of all primary schools in UP are managed by private instructions. These cover, however, only the private recognised schools by the governments. Dreze and Gazdar suggest that unrecognised schools account for a much larger share of all private schools in UP as there has been a complete failure of the public education system and implicit privatisation has taken place.[22] The remarkable decadal increase in literacy rates in the state is also accounted for by these private schooling initiatives according to them.[23] Their village study confirmed that private schools in the state are profit oriented and charge substantial fees. The teachers in these schools have strong a incentive to teach since they might lose their job if attendance declines due to poor teaching standards. In order to obtain official recognition from the government, private schools transfer their children to government schools after class five, for the sole purpose of obtaining a certificate. This system is advantageous not only to private schools, whose existence depends on it, but also to government teachers who are able to maintain inflated rolls.[24] Dreze and Gazdar also indicate towards implicit privatisation through private tuition by government teachers, sometimes to the same children whom they are supposed to teach at school.[25]

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[22] Jaen Dreze and Haris Gazdar (1997), op. cit., p. 21.
[23] ibid.
[24] ibid, p. 73.
[25] ibid.

NCAER survey reports that the proportion of school going children attending private schools in rural UP is 27% which is the highest figure among all states, Kingdon has referred to this phenomena as mushroom growth of unaided and unrecognised private schools.[26] Although large number of studies charge these with commercial and profit motive, Kingdon's work showed that this sector is quite heterogeneous in UP and there are many private schools that charge comparatively less fees and are located in rural areas wherever parents are prepared to pay and the numbers are rising.[27] Accessibility and quality of private schools coupled with collapse of government schooling system makes for the dense existence of private schools in the state. Kingdon reports an exodus form the government schools system in urban Lucknow into private schools and attribute this to a collapse of the government school system.. UP government's policy of bringing Private unaided schools at upper primary and secondary levels into the aided list to make them grant-in-aid schools has added to the rise in unrecognised primary schools. The private schools are apparently responding to the unfulfilled demand for primary education since the government school system is largely dysfunctional.

Jagpal Singh's study of private schools in the prosperous Meerut district reveals that a large number of students have shifted to

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[26] G.G. Kingdon and Muzammil Muhammad (2001), "A Political Economy of Education in India: The Case of UP", Economic and Political Weekly, August 11 and 18, p.

[27] ibid.

private schools from the government schools which have failed to provide quality schooling in the district.[28] He points out that a large number of private schools are set up in the region by educated so called backward caste people who are unhappy with the government school system and would like their children to go to better quality schools. The importance accorded by them to education is seen from the fact that it has become a catalyst for change in economic and social status in the sample villages and provides an opportunity for upward mobility into white collar jobs.[29]

Thus, both urban and rural, high and low caste children are making a shift to private schools in UP in the wake of failure of the government schooling system. Thus, the significant place of private schooling in the elementary education sector is visible in the state of UP. The phenomena is a symptom of rising demand for education but it is the rising demand in the face of falling quality of education. Private sector participation in education scenario in UP is also heterogeneous. Some aided recognised schools which are subsidizing themselves through a fee-paying unrecognised primary section ensures the popularity of the school by paying careful attention to quality. However many of the profit oriented private schools were found to have worse infrastructure than that in government schools. Evidence on teacher qualification is also varied with some examples of

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[28] Jagpal Singh (1998), "In Search of Quality Education: Alternative Schooling in Meerut District in Western UP", in Aggarwal and Kusum H. Premi (eds.), Reforming Social Education Issues in Policy Planning and Implementation, Vikas Publishers, New Delhi, p.149.
[29] Ibid.

less, even poorly qualified teachers than in government schools and others reporting more qualified teachers.

It is most debatable, however, that these alternative schooling be relied upon to achieve the goal of Universal Elementary Education while the government allows its own system to deteriorate further. NCAER survey points out that resource constraint is the most important reason for dropping out.[30] It is the massive government school system on which the poor still rely on and the costs of schooling even here are often too much to sustain. Considering that the government school system provides unrestricted entry to all children, have-enough or have-little, mediocre or meritorious it is imperative to carefully examine whether we need to revitalize rather than abandon such a system.[31] The quality of government schooling will also suffer if the more prosperous are encouraged to leave the system. Both macro and micro level data indicate that private education is a costly business. Not only are incentive schemes not in evidence, but fees, books etc. are hugely expensive. People who have made a shift to the private sector in search of good schooling may not necessarily be assured of quality education. Jagpal Singh's study of four villages of Meerut district of UP shows that performance of children in private aided or unaided schools did not differ much from that of children studying in government schools. Further these schools appear to have a fragile base and are often prey to local caste

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[30] R. Govinda (ed.) (2000), "Private Schools and Universal Elementary Education" in India Education Report, p. 148.
[31] Ibid.

politics. The decade of 1990s has witnessed a major shift in official policy to alternative schooling to meet the needs of the educationally deprived. The extent of participation of civil society after the breakdown of the government system has to be qualified. It has to be ensured that alternate and innovative schools do not become inferior systems of schooling for those who have hitherto been educationally deprived and high cost private schools the prerogative of economically and socially advanced people.

The above discussion highlights the crucial fact that people's participation either in the form of private school dedicated to the cause of removing illiteracy or voluntary organsation can not come about with the vast majority of the people being poor and illiterate, having little knowledge and inadequate access to information. Much can be done by civil society organisations to improve the accessibility, affordability and quality of schooling by organising enrolment drives, providing text books, improving infrastructure, raising teacher student ratio and making the curriculum more relevant.[32] Alternative schooling involves both risk and opportunities including the danger of forced consensus by dominant social groups as well as the promise of government public accountability. These alternative strategies by the civil society must be, thus, rooted in a holistic view of the development process, making connection between access, quality and outcomes of education.

[32] Sudha Pai (forthcoming).

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

Like any historical change, globalisation is changing the distribution of economic wealth and power. It is creating winners and losers, both at an international level and within counties. The winners are those with the skills and assets that they need to participate in the new knowledge based global economy, the losers are those without. To capitalise on this phenomena, it is imperative that people have basic education. Globalisation and new technologies are rapidly increasing the returns to education at a time when there are massive inequalities in educational opportunity. For regions characterised by low educational levels, globalisation points in the direction of rapid marginalisation. Thus, it has become imperative for the state to promote universal elementary education for equity and justice, besides, for a number of other factors linked to human development and meaningful democratic participation.

The case study of UP discussed here brings to fore some importance issues. Firstly, as far as schooling for elementary education is concerned, the record of the state has been rather disappointing. Despite the presence of a large school system, the goal of universal elementary education remains the most conspicuous failure of the schooling system in UP. This failure is related not just to provision and utilization of existing facilities, but also to the apathetic

attitude of the government to take into account the other related aspects which may hinder the progress of schooling for children. The failure of schooling system in UP is both a cause and an effect of other kinds of deprivation in the state.

Secondly, there are wide range of factors for the poor performance of schooling in UP, ranging from child labour, lack of job opportunities, poor infrastructure of school and politicisation of teachers' union in the state. There are few other services in the state for which people pay so much but over which they have such limited influence.

The agency of state is central to any kind of transformation in the field of elementary education. A study into the causes for failure of schooling in the state conclusively proved that determined action for improving schooling system does not exist in the state. Inertia of government authorities and absence of accountability of schooling establishment becomes the major hindrance for reforming the schooling establishment. It implies changes in public attitudes, policy priorities and power relations. Reforming schooling system is not just about identifying good policies; it is also a matter of building the broad democratic alliance and consensus needed to underpin the reform process.

Disenchantment with quality of schooling establishment in UP and growing demand for education led to the emergence of alternatives form the civil society. This has fostered changing

relationship between state and civil society. Private schools, both recognised and unrecognised, NGOs and other schemes have emerged as part of alternative schooling in the state. However, these need to be looked at with caution since participation is not a panacea for overcoming the problems of exclusion of educational opportunities. Highly participatory institutions are perfectly capable of generating highly unequal outcomes that defeat the very purpose of education.

In the light of these issues that have emerged from my dissertation, I would like to reiterate that it is difficult to give a generalised statement in assessing the relative strengths and weaknesses of state and non state actors .Civil society looks at state as part of the problem whereas government percieves the motivation of civil society to be guided largely by political convictions hostile to government interests. However this conventional relationship is undergoing a change as was witnessed in the case of UP. The government has exhorted the community to contribute towards the needs of schooling and civil society intervention, precisely in those areas where state has failed. This has led to an emerging partnership between the two. NGOs and private providers are often seen as the most efficient agents for facilitating participation. However, this case study reiterates that effectiveness of such participation is conditioned by wider social and political process.

Thus, developing partnerships between state and civil society entails difficult process which require a reorganisation of the

capacities and comparative advantages of each actor which is often difficult to achieve in practice. The real challenge is to enhance the performance of public institutions by improving their accountability and increasing their efficiency. No country or state has achieved universal elementary education in the absence of effective state action. The study of UP revealed that most of the failures of schooling system are due to lack of political commitment and state activism can go a long way in reforming the schooling system in the state.

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APPENDIX

Statement - 5

Literacy rates by sex for State and Districts

Sl.No.	State/District	Literacy rate *					
		Persons		Males		Females	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	UTTAR PRADESH	**40.71**	**57.36**	**54.82**	**70.23**	**24.37**	**42.98**
1	SAHARANPUR	42.11	62.61	53.85	72.26	28.10	51.42
2	MUZAFFARNAGAR	44.00	61.68	56.63	73.11	29.12	48.63
3	BIJNOR	40.55	59.37	52.57	70.18	26.50	47.28
4	MORADABAD	30.67	45.74	40.35	56.66	19.03	33.32
5	RAMPUR	25.37	38.95	33.79	48.62	15.31	27.87
6	JYOTIBA PHULE NAGAR	31.96	50.21	44.98	63.49	16.58	35.07
7	MEERUT	52.41	65.96	64.88	76.31	37.67	54.12
8	BAGHPAT	48.69	65.65	63.52	78.60	30.75	50.38
9	GHAZIABAD	54.43	70.89	67.15	81.04	39.08	59.12
10	GAUTAM BUDDHA NAGAR	51.66	69.78	69.12	82.56	29.82	54.56
11	BULANDSHAHR	46.00	60.19	63.51	75.55	25.33	42.82
12	ALIGARH	44.94	59.70	59.96	73.22	26.89	43.88
13	HATHRAS	46.32	63.38	62.36	77.17	26.63	47.16
14	MATHURA	44.85	62.21	61.95	77.60	23.43	43.77
15	AGRA	48.58	64.97	63.09	79.32	30.83	48.15
16	FIROZABAD	46.30	66.53	59.76	77.81	29.85	53.02
17	ETAH	40.15	56.15	54.09	69.13	22.91	40.65
18	MAINPURI	50.29	66.51	64.34	78.27	33.12	52.67
19	BUDAUN	24.64	38.83	33.96	49.85	12.82	25.53
20	BAREILLY	32.88	47.99	43.44	59.12	19.93	35.13
21	PILIBHIT	32.10	50.87	44.37	63.82	17.22	35.84
22	SHAHJAHANPUR	32.07	48.79	42.68	60.53	18.59	34.68
23	KHERI	29.71	49.39	40.58	61.03	16.35	35.89
24	SITAPUR	31.41	49.12	43.10	61.02	16.90	35.08
25	HARDOI	36.30	52.64	49.45	65.08	19.75	37.62
26	UNNAO	38.70	55.72	51.63	67.62	23.62	42.40
27	LUCKNOW	57.49	69.39	66.51	76.63	46.88	61.22
28	RAE BARELI	37.78	55.09	53.30	69.03	21.01	40.44
29	FARRUKHABAD	47.23	62.27	59.37	72.40	32.30	50.35
30	KANNAUJ	47.90	62.57	59.29	73.38	33.88	49.99
31	ETAWAH	53.80	70.75	66.24	81.15	38.67	58.49
32	AURAIYA	52.90	71.50	65.76	81.18	37.04	60.08
33	KANPUR DEHAT	51.86	66.59	64.56	76.84	36.32	54.49
34	KANPUR NAGAR	63.95	77.63	72.92	82.08	52.91	72.50
35	JALAUN	50.72	66.14	66.21	79.14	31.60	50.66

Sl.No.	State/District	Literacy rate *					
		Persons		Males		Females	
		1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
36	JHANSI	51.99	66.69	67.32	80.11	33.95	51.21
37	LALITPUR	32.12	49.93	45.23	64.45	16.62	33.25
38	HAMIRPUR	41.71	58.10	57.86	72.76	22.07	40.65
39	MAHOBA	36.49	54.23	50.98	66.83	19.09	39.57
40	BANDA	37.33	54.84	53.06	69.89	17.90	37.10
41	CHITRAKOOT	32.19	66.06	48.06	78.75	13.37	51.28
42	FATEHPUR	44.69	59.74	59.87	73.07	27.24	44.62
43	PRATAPGARH	40.40	58.67	60.29	74.61	20.48	42.63
44	KAUSHAMBI	29.56	48.18	45.18	63.49	11.53	30.80
45	ALLAHABAD	45.17	62.89	61.85	77.13	25.72	46.61
46	BARA BANKI	31.11	48.71	43.71	60.12	15.99	35.64
47	FAIZABAD	37.44	57.48	52.42	70.73	20.56	43.35
48	AMBEDAKER NAGAR	39.67	59.06	55.17	71.93	23.30	45.98
49	SULTANPUR	38.49	56.90	55.08	71.85	20.74	41.81
50	BAHRAICH	22.67	35.79	32.27	46.32	11.01	23.27
51	SHRAWASTI	29.55	34.25	44.91	47.27	10.57	18.75
52	BALRAMPUR	23.75	34.71	34.43	46.28	11.22	21.58
53	GONDA	29.56	42.99	43.48	56.93	13.42	27.29
54	SIDDHARTHNAGAR	27.16	43.97	40.92	58.68	11.95	28.35
55	BASTI	35.36	54.28	50.93	68.16	18.08	39.00
56	SANT KABIR NAGAR	34.95	51.71	51.83	67.85	16.76	35.45
57	MAHARAJGANJ	28.90	47.72	45.67	65.40	10.28	28.64
58	GORAKHPUR	43.30	60.96	60.61	76.70	24.49	44.48
59	KUSHINAGAR	32.30	48.43	49.57	65.35	13.86	30.85
60	DEORIA	42.42	59.84	61.48	76.31	23.58	43.56
61	AZAMGARH	39.19	56.15	56.11	70.50	22.64	42.44
62	MAU	43.80	64.86	59.44	78.97	27.86	50.86
63	BALLIA	43.89	58.88	60.76	73.15	26.13	43.92
64	JAUNPUR	42.22	59.98	62.24	77.16	22.39	43.53
65	GHAZIPUR	43.27	60.06	61.48	75.45	24.38	44.39
66	CHANDAULI	44.81	61.11	61.43	75.55	26.28	45.45
67	VARANASI	51.88	67.09	66.66	83.66	35.00	48.59
68	SANT RAVIDAS NAGAR BHADOHI	40.02	59.14	60.77	77.99	16.80	38.72
69	MIRZAPUR	39.68	56.10	54.75	70.51	22.32	39.89
70	SONBHADRA	34.40	49.96	47.56	63.79	18.65	34.26

Note - * Literacy rate is the percentage of literates to population aged 7 years and above.

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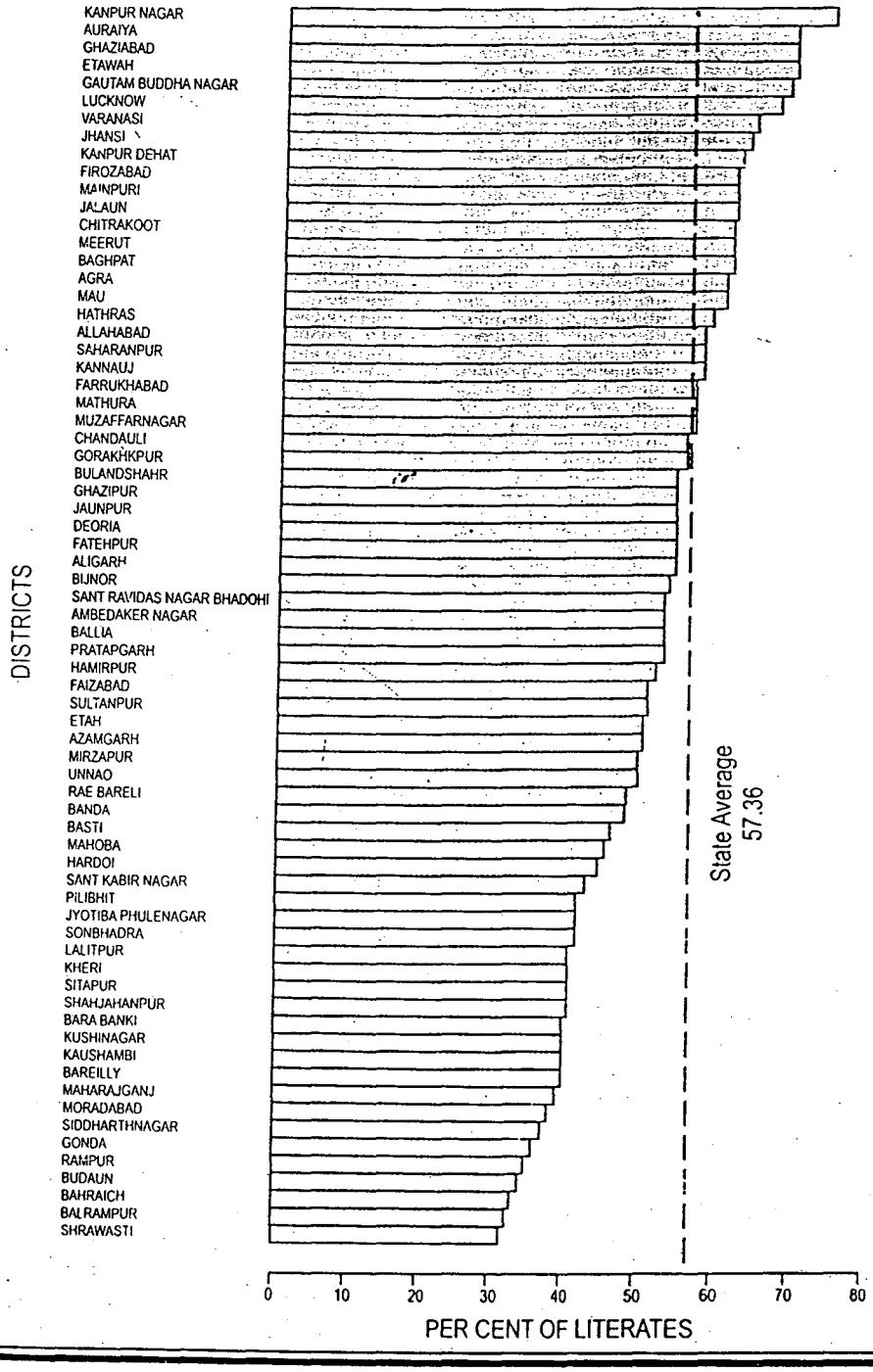

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FEMALE LITERACY 2001
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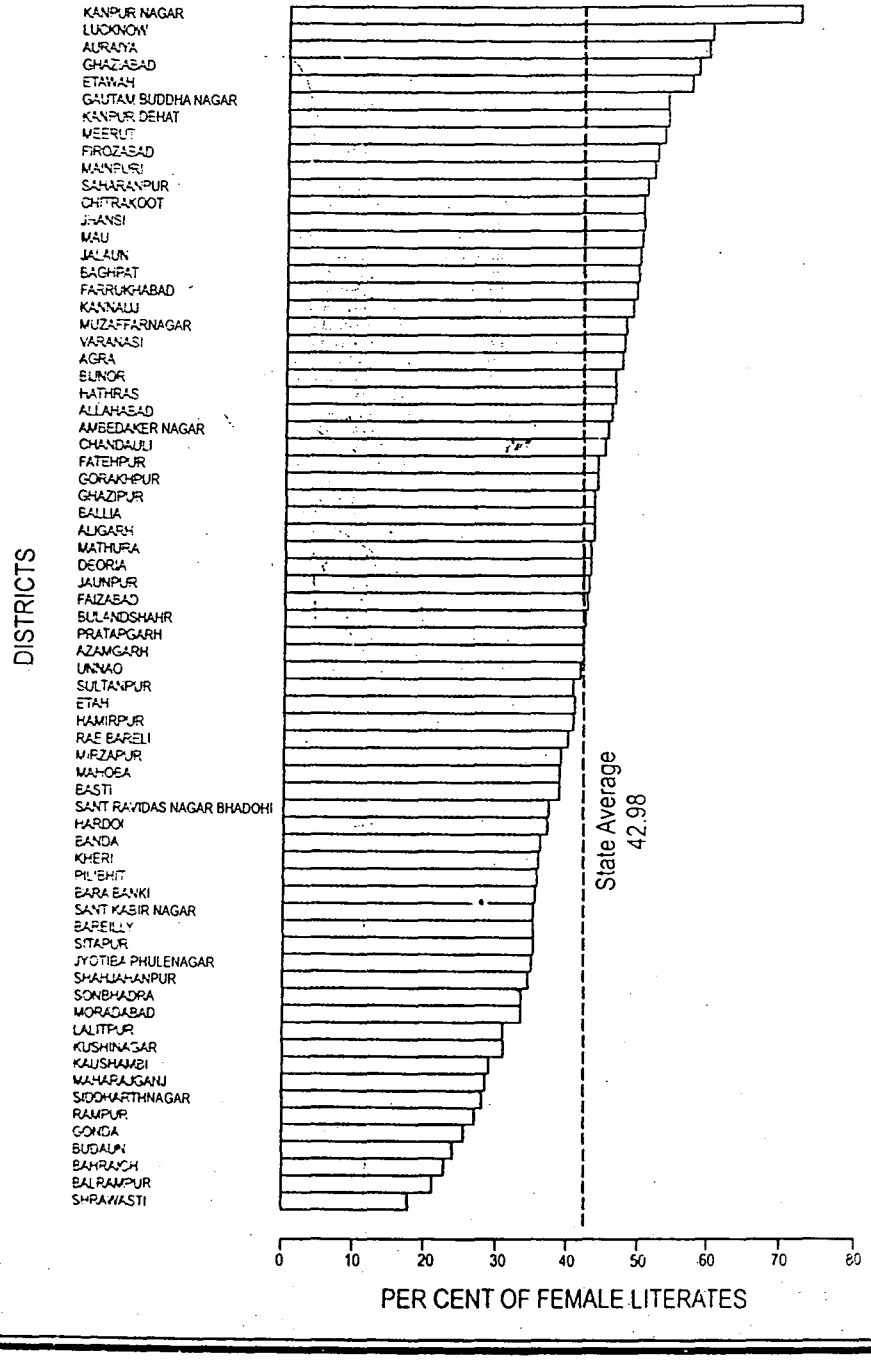

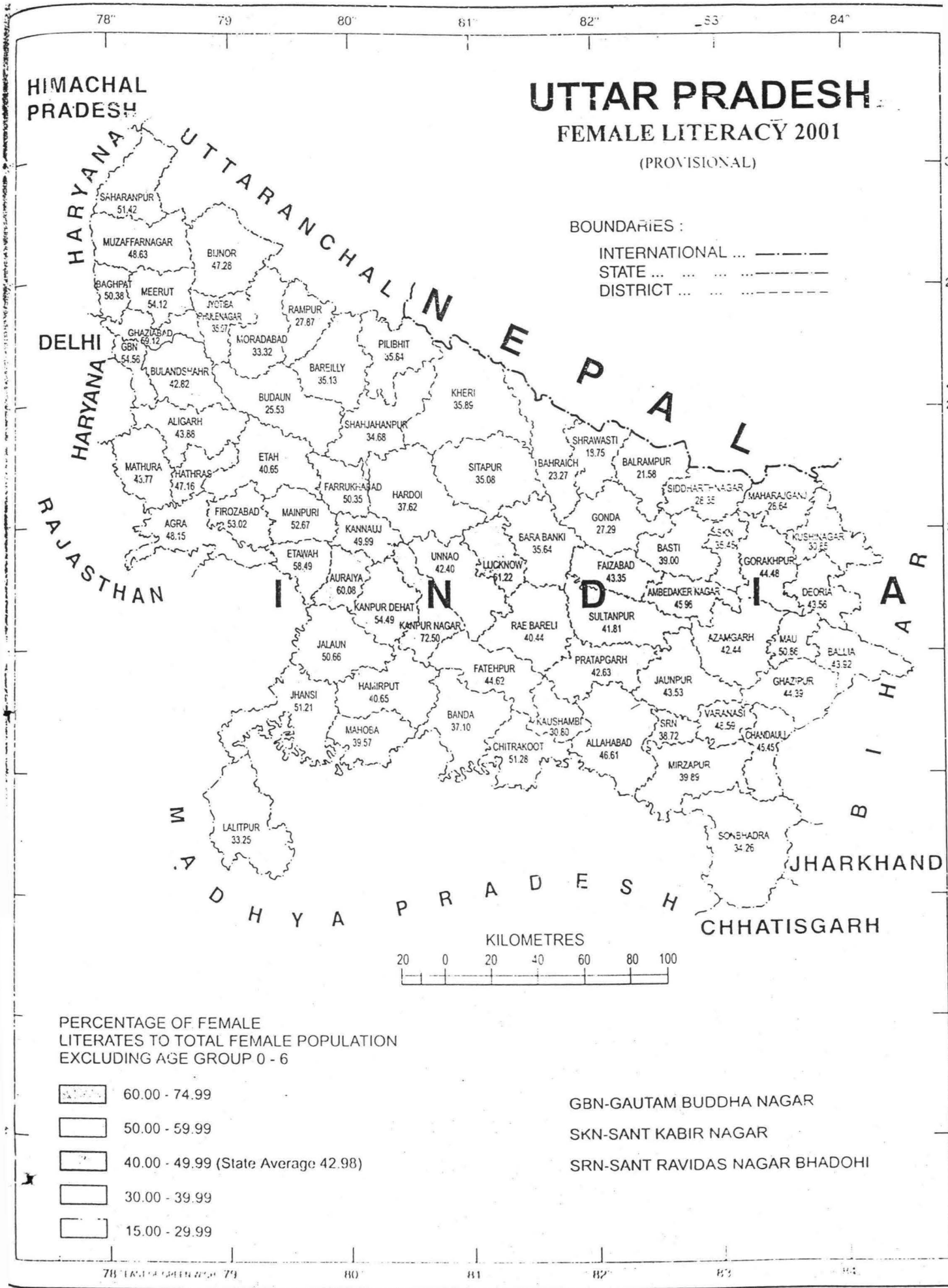
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FEMALE LITERACY 2001
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STATE ...
DISTRICT ...
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NEPAL
DELHI
HARYANA
RAJASTHAN
BIHAR
JHARKHAND
CHHATISGARH
MADHYA PRADESH
INDIA
SAHARANPUR 51.42
MUZAFFARNAGAR 48.63
BIJNOR 47.28
BAGHPAT 50.38
MEERUT 54.12
JYOTIBA PHULENAGAR 35.97
RAMPUR 27.87
GHAZIABAD 69.12
GBN 54.56
MORADABAD 33.32
PILIBHIT 35.64
BULANDSHAHR 42.82
BAREILLY 35.13
BUDAUN 25.53
KHERI 35.89
ALIGARH 43.88
SHAHJAHANPUR 34.68
SHRAWASTI 19.75
MATHURA 43.77
HATHRAS 47.16
ETAH 40.65
SITAPUR 35.08
BAHRAICH 23.27
BALRAMPUR 21.58
FARRUKHABAD 50.35
HARDOI 37.62
SIDDHARTHNAGAR 26.35
MAHARAJGANJ 25.64
FIROZABAD 53.02
MAINPURI 52.67
AGRA 48.15
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LUCKNOW 61.22
FAIZABAD 43.35
GORAKHPUR 44.48
AURAIYA 60.08
AMBEDAKER NAGAR 45.96
DEORIA 43.56
KANPUR DEHAT 54.49
KANPUR NAGAR 72.50
RAE BARELI 40.44
SULTANPUR 41.81
JALAUN 50.66
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MAU 50.86
BALLIA 43.92
PRATAPGARH 42.63
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GHAZIPUR 44.39
HAMIRPUT 40.65
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CHANDAULI 45.45
MAHOBA 39.57
CHITRAKOOT 51.28
ALLAHABAD 46.61
MIRZAPUR 39.89
LALITPUR 33.25
SONBHADRA 34.26
KILOMETRES
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PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE
LITERATES TO TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION
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40.00 - 49.99 (State Average 42.98)
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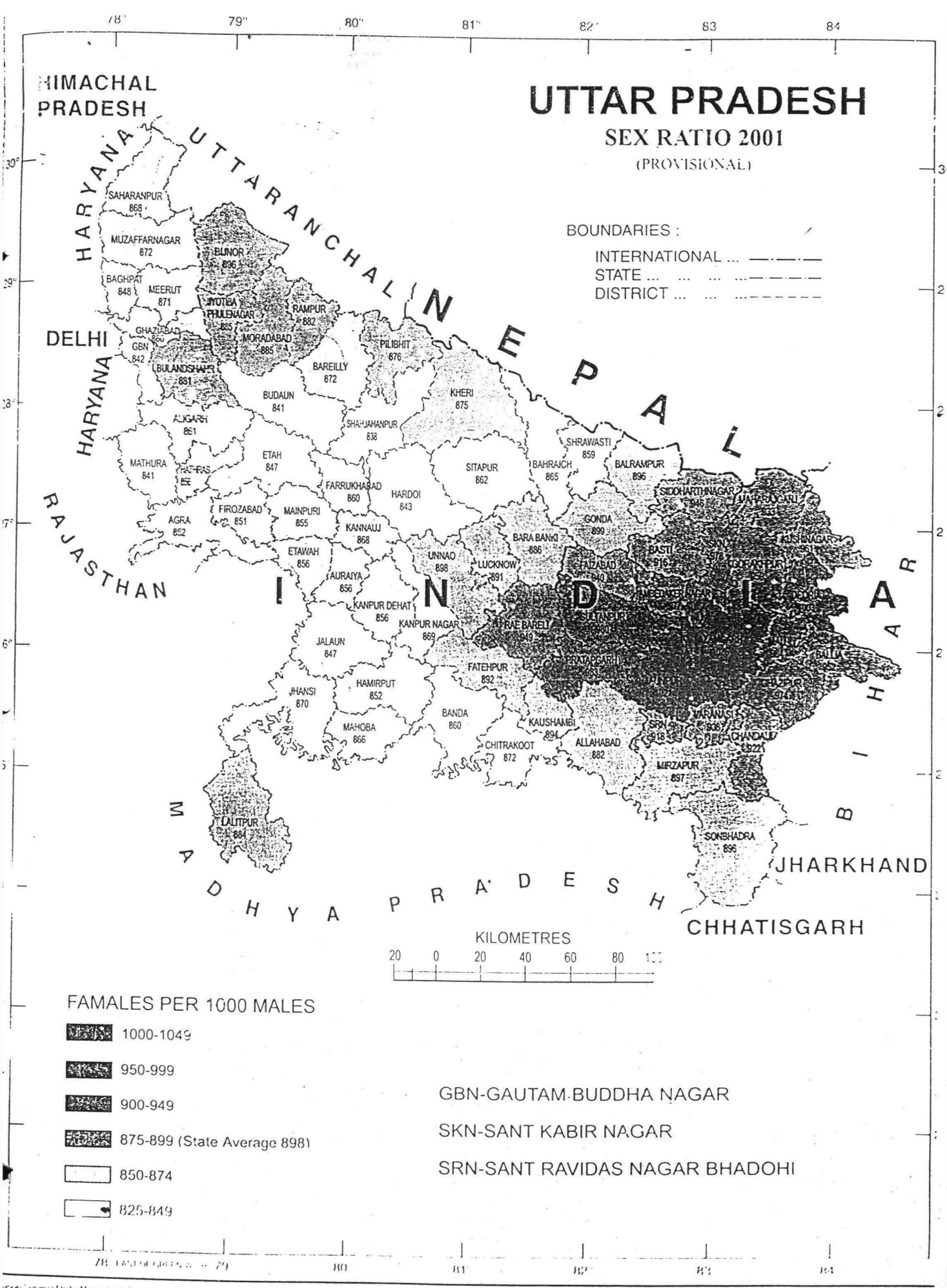
SKN-SANT KABIR NAGAR
SRN-SANT RAVIDAS NAGAR BHADOHI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CHHATISGARH
INDIA
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RAMPUR 882
GHAZIABAD 880
GBN 842
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PILIBHIT 876
BULANDSHAHR 881
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MATHURA 841
HATHRAS 856
ETAH 847
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BAHRAICH 865
BALRAMPUR 896
FARRUKHABAD 860
HARDOI 843
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FIROZABAD 851
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GONDA 899
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JALAUN 847
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SONBHADRA 896
KILOMETRES
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FAMALES PER 1000 MALES
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900-949
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GBN-GAUTAM BUDDHA NAGAR
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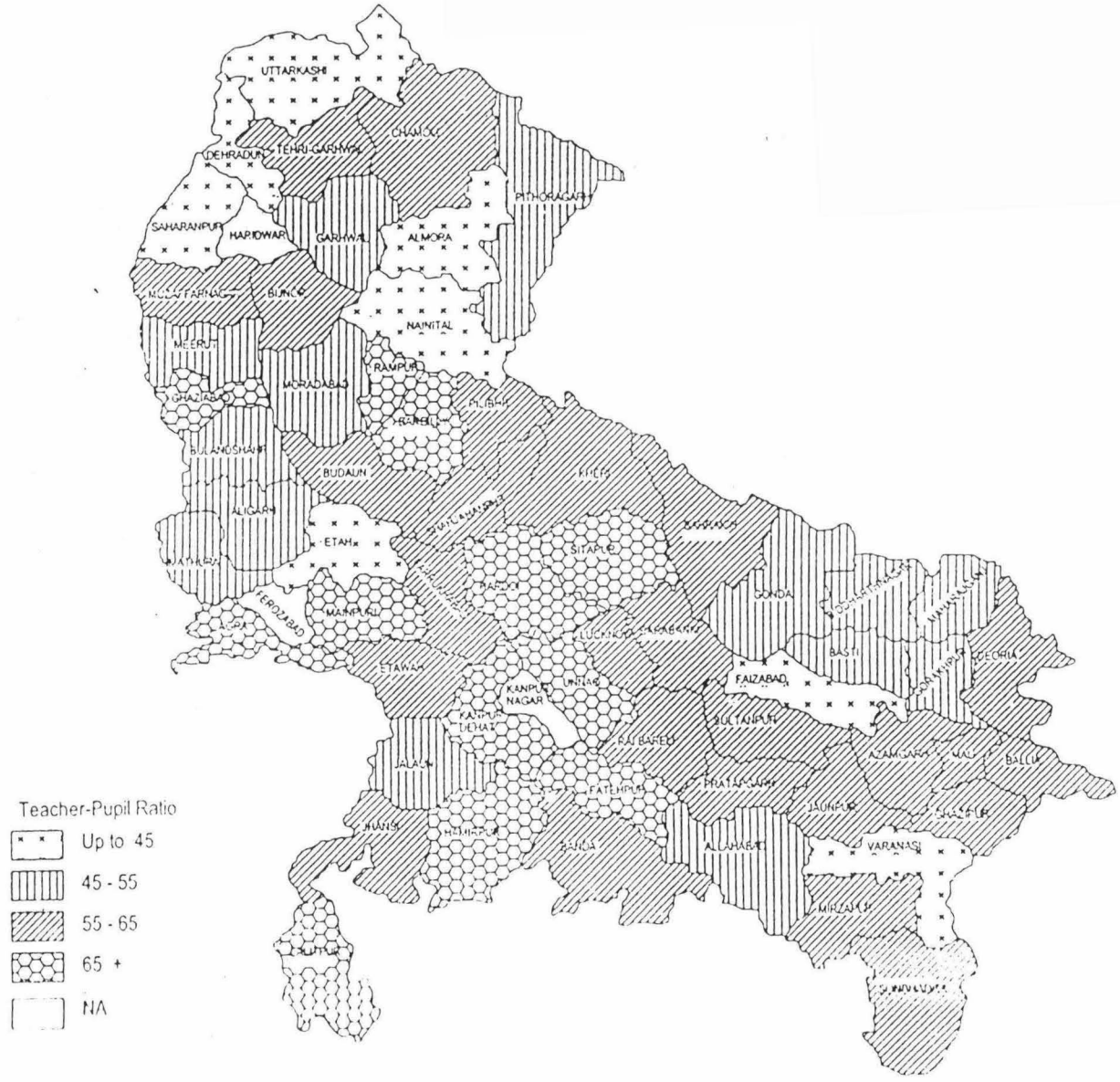

MAP **Availability of Teachers in Uttar Pradesh**

UTTAR PRADESH

COMPARATIVE POPULATION SIZE OF THE DISTRICTS 2001

(PROVISIONAL)