

**IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON SCHOOL EDUCATION IN
INDIA: EMERGING ISSUES AND CONCERNS**

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SAHEED



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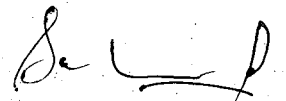


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CERTIFICATE

The dissertation entitled "**Impact of Globalization on School Education in India: Emerging Issues and Concerns**" submitted for the award of the degree of the Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other university and is my original work.


SAHEED

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for the award of M. Phil Degree of this university.


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To

My late younger brother

Mr. TAHIR HUSSAIN

(...departed from us at the age of 13, was a child of great intellect and understanding at such a tender age. I humbly dedicate this work to him who makes us to learn the art of selfless service and consistent devotion to work)

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CAG	Comptroller General of India
CABE	Central Advisory Board on Education
CIT	Communication Information and Technology
DAC	Development Association Committee
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
EGS	Employment Guarantee Scheme
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
GOI	Government of India
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
HR	Human Rights
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IDA	International Development Association
IPEE	International Programme on Environmental Education
LPG	Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MHRD	Ministry Human Resource Development
MNCs/TNCs	Multinational Corporations/ Transnational Corporations
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
NCERT	National Council on Education Research and Training
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPE	National Policy on Education
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PRIs	Panchayat Raj Institutions
PTR	pupil teacher ratio
SAARC	south Asian association for Regional Cooperation
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programme
SSN	Social safety net
SC	Scheduled Caste
ST	Scheduled Tribe
SSA	Serva Siksha Abhiyan

UGC	University Grant Commission
UNCEF	United Nation Children Fund
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nation Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNEP	United Nation Environmental Programme
UNO	United Nation Organisation
WB/IBRD	World Bank/ International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
WFP	World Food Programme
WTO/ GATT	World Trade Organisation/ General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social change is a necessary and an inevitable process in the evolution of the society. However, the process of change is historically situated and it has relevance in a particular time and space. Much in the same vein, classical sociological theories have viewed the societal transformations, from *agrarian feudal* to *the industrial, capitalist mode of production* (Marx); from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellshaft* (Tonnie); from *traditional* to *rational social action* (Weber); and from *mechanical* to *organic societies* (Durkheim)¹. The advent of the modern world is in a way a result of such transformations, which has culminated into a process of colonisation, onset mainly with the discovery of sea routes to America, Asia and Africa followed by the painful process of de-colonization for those hitherto colonised societies.

It is further argued that if the end of the 19th Century witnessed a distressing impact of the historical discourses of industrial revolution and colonialism, the end of the 20th Century witnessed the emergence of two paradoxical processes (Baral 2006: 3). First is *globalisation*, a process that cuts across the boundaries of nations, cultures and societies heading a move towards larger integration of the world and facilitating inter-dependence, moving towards a larger global culture; and second is *resistance to globalisation*, in the form of vehement articulation of the local, for preservation of indigenous cultures and identities, thus there is fighting for preserving one's identity and local aspirations. In this sense, globalisation in recent decades has been seen as an inevitable and irreversible process of change that has cropped up as a complex web of inter-connectedness across boundaries with myriad challenges² that have brought in contrasting positions, theoretical traditions and varied academic responses with it³.

¹ See Coser (2004), Giddens (1971).

² Singh (2000) in his '*Culture Change in India: Identity and Globalisation*' notes, 'the revolution in mode of communications, travel, internet, electronic mail, e-commerce, fax and many other new modes of international and inter-cultural interaction have resulted, paradoxically on the one hand, into the intensification of consciousness of identity and, on the other hand, selective appreciation and even

The recent trends of globalisation brought in many changes in almost all the societies across the world. The trends have impacted every segment and institution of the society, be it polity, economy, culture and education, etc., which in turn are transforming the way the societies themselves are organised⁴. In the political world, the slogan calling for 'one world, many powers' rather than one or two super powers is redefining the global political order⁵. In terms of the economy, the national differences have subsided in the quest for an inter-dependent and across- border movements of commodities and people. Similarly, in the educational sphere, the forces of globalisation have initiated major changes in the policy making of many countries in terms of the movement of students, institutions, curriculum and the ideas as well, irrespective of whether they are developed or developing.

The context of globalised world has many implications for society like India. With its unique position as most populous nation, next only to China, has made it an important partner in the global socio-economic, political and educational scene. The national policies governing polity, economy, culture, and education have witnessed transformation in the light of the trends of globalisation in the late twentieth century. In the decade of 1990s, with the adoption of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), the private sector in education has grown in a big way. In this process, the school education (both primary and secondary) has not remained untouched by the move towards globalisation and privatisation. The implications of such impact of globalization on the school education as a whole has not yet received attention of social scientists in India. It is in this context, an attempt has been made through this study to identify the broad effects and trends of globalisation in the school education in India. The study specifically tries through a review of the policy documents, statistical data and secondary source

adaptation to new cultural styles, forms and practices from other regions within India and from the countries outside India" (pp17-18)

³ Thinkers like Frank (1982), Amin (1967), .Baran (1982), and Wallerstein (1984) talk of multiple dimensions and transnational character of rich and poor dichotomies and underdevelopment in the world.

⁴ For instance, according to Avijit Pathak (2006), globalization has given new meaning to modernity. It is the modernity of the post-cold war/post-socialist era characterised by the overwhelming power of the market, information revolution and the heightened social mobility. He also notes the dramatic socio-cultural transformation in Indian society. For instance there is a steady growth of the middle class with global aspirations, the spread of consumerist culture, the revolution in mass media and information technology, and the changing mode of entertainment, leisure and life style.

⁵ See Baylis and Smith (2000)

material to study the effects of globalization on the equity, quality, curriculum and content of the school education in India.

This introductory chapter of the study deals with the overall conceptual understanding of 'globalisation' and tries to understand the linkages of globalisation with education in general and school education in particular. It seeks to examine the relationship between the state, education and the processes of globalization, which are changing the way the systems of governance are sought to be transformed in recent times. The discussion includes a specific discussion of these linkages in the Indian context. The chapter also reviews a few studies that have peripherally touched on the subject and delineates the rationale for the study. It also presents the objectives, methodology, and chapterisation plan of the study.

Defining Globalisation

Globalisation has been defined in a number of ways. There are varying definitions, perspectives, theoretical understandings and methodological frameworks to examine the discourse of globalisation not only in terms of its influences, but also in terms of its growth and intensity⁶. However, economists have been in the forefront in the analysis of globalisation. The sociological definitions are, however, very few and limited in number. Therefore, the study attempts to bring in multiple perspectives to understand the process of globalisation.

Anthony Giddens (1989) while defines globalisation, notes as 'world has become in important respects a single social system, as a result of growing ties of interdependence which now effect virtually everyone (p: 520)⁷. For Waters (1995), "globalisation is a social process which constrains the geography as social and cultural arrangements recede and people become aware that they are receding" (p: 3). Much in the

⁶ A number of studies observed that the growth and spread of globalisation has been uneven. It benefits some and harms others. See Andre Gunder Frank (1965), coined the phrase "*development of underdevelopment*", Wallersain (1984) World System Theory sees the process in core-periphery model.

⁷ Giddens (1989) also warns the reader of certain misconceptions on the definitional aspect of globalisation. He notes, "it would be mistake to think of globalisation simply as a process of the growth of world unity. The globalising of social relations should be understood primarily as the reordering of the time and distance in our lives. Our lives in other words are increasingly influenced by activities and the events happening well away from the social contexts in which we carry on our day to day activities."(PP: 520)

same vein, Ronald Robertson (1992), a leading authority on the subject, states that, in the broader sense, “globalisation refers to both the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.”⁸

David Held et al (1996), placing the “*continuity and change*” perspective, sees globalisation as ‘a set of processes which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of the social relationships and transactions... generating transcontinental or interregional flows and network of activity, interaction and the exercise of power’ (p.16). In other words, globalisation is seen as a process of continuity between the national and the global. Beck (1992) while talking of globalisation, distinguishes between *globality*, *globalisation* and *globalism*. For him, *globality* refers to a particular situation that the human beings are heading an intimately interconnected world. Consequently no event is only limited to the local concerns rather it is felt across the national boundaries. *Globalisation* refers to a process where societies are interconnected across the boundaries. *Globalism* refers to the subjective sphere of our society where the ideas about a growing global society have made deep inroads. Robertson (1992) uses the concept of “*global human condition*” to suggest the global oriented perspective which indicates the primacy of growing consciousness among the people of the world as one society. Thus, globalisation more specifically is used as a distinct term to describe the processes and structures involved in the creation of globalised society.

Globalisation, in this context, denotes a shift in the scale of social organisation, the emergence of the world as a shared social space, the relative de-territorialisation of social, economic and political activity and the relative denationalisation of power (Baylis and Smith 2005)⁹. Further, the essence of these definitions directly corresponds to the Marshal McLuhan’s rich and influential scholarship on *global village* (1964)¹⁰. For him,

⁸ Cited in Sharma (2004), p: 56

⁹ It is seen primarily due to the increased influence of multinational companies, international social, political and economic organisations and recurrent influence of science and information and communication technology.

¹⁰ The term basically originated in 1960s in his work especially in reference to media trends, see Ronal Robertson and H.H.Khondker (1998).

the main effect of these developments where time and space became compressed to such an extent that everything loses its traditional identity (Baylis and Smith 2005)¹¹.

It is worthwhile to distinguish here the terms and concepts that are used almost interchangeably with the term globalisation, namely, modernisation, internationalisation, and westernisation. It is argued that since globalisation signifies global capitalism and global culture, it represents a reincarnation of modernisation in a sharper form (Yang, 2003). Similar to this contention, Anthony Giddens (1990) views globalisation as an enlargement of modernity from society to the world. Hence, there is a significant difference between the two. In fact, the developments in manufacturing technology advanced the modernisation process. Modernisation itself inherits some aspects of flexibility, while globalisation does not. Modernisation admits the importance of nation, while globalisation tends to undermine it. In sum, modernisation has a human face and cherished the value of equality and civility, unlike globalisation, which, as Sharma (2004:60) observes, is primarily concerned with capital maximisation'. Putting the relationships in a perspective, Sharma observes that the globalisation is the latest device of the capitalist west. Colonisation and modernisation have been its precursors. In fact, colonisation was the first attempt to capture the world by force. Modernisation followed as a second strategy of the western domination through rationalisation. While globalisation represents the latest design of the capitalist regime which tries to reinforce its hold over the world through market integration" (ibid: 60).

The term globalisation may be distinguished from the term internationalisation, which it seeks to replace. In fact, the term internationalisation refers to the growing interdependence between the states but they remain discreet national units with clearly demarcated boundaries in contrast to the process of globalisation (Baylis and Smith 2005). Internationalisation recognised and respected the national boundaries, identities, aspirations and national priorities. It seeks to build a bridge among the nations, and, in doing so, goes out of the way to discover, even commonalities. In contrast, globalisation

¹¹ Baral (2006) sees the increasing rate of identity politics and crisis of preserving cultural symbols, which can be seen in the globalization of local products and in turn the infiltration of foreign products and cultural symbols into their arena.

seeks to devalue national boundaries and dilute sovereignties (Kochhar 2004). Further, the process of internationalisation respects the sovereignty of the nation-state and promotes global peace and well being through the development and application of international structures (Jones 1998).

The term westernisation too has a close proximity with the term globalisation. It is often alleged that globalisation can only be understood simply as the global diffusion of western modernity that is westernisation. Hence, there appears to be a considerable amount of anti- globalisation sentiment, based on the assumption that globalisation means western cultural homogenisation and or that globalisation entails loss of sovereignty (which it does, to some degree, for all nations) via the rapid growth of the global market economy and other dimensions of globalisation (Robertson and Khondker 1998). Thus globalisation is seen in terms of western cultural domination and considered a viable threat to local identities, cultures and social structures¹². It is evident from the preceding account that the term globalisation has certain similarities with the terms like modernization, internationalisation and westernization in terms of its reach and interconnectedness with the wider society, but it is quite distinct in terms of its aims, objectives and procedural characteristics.

Globalisation is also defined in terms of certain characteristic features. For instance, global culture, as Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (2004) notes, “is brought about by a variety of social and cultural developments, namely, the existence of a world satellite information system, the emergence of global pattern of consumption and sports, the spread of world tourism, the decline of sovereignty of the nation-state, the growth of global military system, recognition of worldwide ecological crises, the development of world health problem, the emergence of world political system, the creation of global political movements, the existence of the concept of human rights, and the complex interchange between the world religions”(p.258). According to Bagchi (1999), the following are the analytical usages of globalisation:

¹² For more, see Baral (2006) and Pathak (2006). Further, Kancha Ilaiah (2004) notes that the global reach of dalits through modern education He sees it as a viable threat to Brahmanic myth of superiority and domination whereupon the dalits, a historically marginalized section of society may find ways for liberation.

- There is a spread of international trade in goods and commodities in the Marxian sense;
- People migrate from one country or region to another temporarily or permanently;
- Money and means of payment are exchanged on an increasing scale between different countries or regions;
- Finance not necessarily linked to the production of goods and services from between different countries;
- Capital from one country to another to help produce goods and services;
- Transnational companies (TNCs) arouse, which increasingly are engaged in the activities listed so far;
- Technology is traded between different countries, increasingly with the spread of patent regime generated by the Paris Convention as modified by the provision of World Trade Organization (WTO), frontier technologies take an increasingly proprietary form;
- Spread of printing and electronic media;
- Lastly, growth in international trade and production of services of all kinds shipping insurance, banking, healthcare and of course finance.

However, Bagchi (1999)'s views, by and large, are limited to trade, finance and science and technology aspects of the process of globalisation. Water's (1998) description in terms of economic, political and cultural globalization seems more comprehensive for that matter. He categorised globalisation in the following terms:

1. Economic Globalisation

- Freedom of exchange between localities with interminate services and symbolic commodities;
- The balance of production activity in a locality determined by the physical and geographical advantages;
- Maximum foreign direct investment (FDI);

- Flexible responsiveness of organizations to global markets;
- Decentralized instantaneousness and state less financial markets;
- Free movement of labour.

2. Political Globalisation

- An absence of state sovereignty and multiple centres of power at global, local and intermediate levels;
- Local issues discussed and situated in relation to a global community;
- Powerful international organizations predominant over national organizations;
- Fluid and multi-centric international relations;
- It weakening of values attached to the nation-state and strengthening of common and global political values.

3. Cultural Globalisation

- A de-territorialized religions mosaic;
- A de-territorialized cosmopolitanism and diversity;
- Global distribution of images and information;
- Widespread consumption of simulations and representations;
- Universal tourism and the end of terrorism.

It may be seen that Water's account presents a broader picture of globalisation. He sees the penetration of its impact into every aspect of human life whether it is economic, social cultural and political. The discourse is quite evident in the growing extensity, intensity, velocity, and deepening effects of worldwide interconnectedness (Baylis and Smith 2006). Further, for Giddens (2001), globalisation is evident in the integration of the world economy; for Schotte (2000), in de-territorialization or growth of supra-territorial relations between people, and, for Harvey (1999), it is time-space compression. Thus globalisation as a set of discourses of worldwide interconnectedness has significant effects on human life across political and social boundaries.

Effects of Globalisation: Multiple Sociological Perspectives

As mentioned earlier, there are a number of approaches towards analysing globalisation. Sharma (2004) reflected upon two important conceptual perspectives,

cultural economy perspective which sees globalisation as historically developed where the world heading towards acquiring a global culture cutting across existing conventional boundaries and *political economy* perspective which sees globalisation in terms of the triumphant of global capitalism. In fact, it is in this Marxian sense that globalisation is understood as a hegemonic project of economic transformation enforced on the Third World¹³ through international organizations such as World Trade Organisation (WTO), World Bank (IBRD), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the like.

Barbules and Torres (2004) took a note of the varying perspectives and different trajectories of thinking on globalisation. According to them, the term refers to some as the emergence of supranational institutions like multinational companies whose decision process significantly started affecting the policies of governments. For others, it means the overwhelming impact of global economic process including process of production, consumption, trade, capital flow and monetary interdependence and also the rise of neo-liberalism as a hegemonic policy discourse. For yet others, globalisation primarily means the emergence of the new global cultural terms, media and technologies of communication all of which shape the relations of affiliation, identity and interaction within the local settings. It is also perceived as a set of changes, a construction used by the state policy makers to inspire support for and suppress opposition to changes because greater force (global competition, responses to IMF and World Bank demands obligations to regional alliance and so on) leave the nation-state on choice but play by a set of global rules not of its own making (2001:1-2)¹⁴.

In this sense, globalisation is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon as a result; it has become a deeply controversial issue. On the one hand, most governments and organisations are anxious to position themselves to take advantage of the benefits of the new globalised world economy. On the other, an anti-globalisation movement has

¹³ Term 'originally used in the late 1940s to denote a potentially neutral bloc in Europe, but from the early 1960s referred to countries of the developing world, as a distinct from the 'first' (developed) capitalist and 'second' (communist) worlds' (Marshall 1998:667).

¹⁴ The proposition mostly seen in terms of domination of developed nations, consequently which led the lobbying of developing nations at Dhoha WTO summit (2004), and recent demonstration against globalization at G8 summit, (Berlin, Germany) by various civil society groups, (The Hindu 5 June 2007).

emerged in a big way. The most intense debate about globalisation nevertheless concerns its implications for equality and poverty. Critics (Apple 2001, Sharma2004,) of globalisation have drawn attention to the emergence of a new and deeply entrenched pattern of inequality. Globalisation is thus a game of winners and losers. Subsequently, in some respects, diversions over globalisation have replaced more traditional left-right divisions, based upon the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Wallerstein (1984), the propounder of the World System Theory, sees the emerging global tensions in terms of *core-periphery model*. The theory maintains that a world system is a very historical social system of interdependent parts that form a bounded structure and operates according to distinct rules or a unit with a single division of labour and multicultural system. The theory highlights the structural conditions of uneven political and economic development that lead to growing inequality between core and periphery parts of economic world system. Accordingly, the system is marked by a functional and hierarchical division of labour between its industrialised, wealthy core and an exploited, underdeveloped periphery, from where assets (cheap labour, raw material or other form of surpluses) are constantly stripped (Baylis and Smith 2005).

It is precisely in this context that the Marxists (Hirst and Thompson 1999) consider globalisation as bit of a sham. It is more considered as an ideological device used by economist and politicians to advance the cause of neo-liberal economics and corporate interests. Moreover, there is nothing particularly new, and is really only the latest stage in the development of international capitalism (McGrew 2005). Above all, for them, it is a western-led phenomenon, which basically aims to further the development of international capitalism. Rather than making the world more alike, it further deepens the existing divide between the core, the semi-periphery and the periphery.

Similarly, the dependency theory, an approach developed initially in the South American context, is another theoretical framework over the discourse of anti-globalisation. According to the theory, global society has developed in an uneven way, such that the main core of the industrialised world (such as the United States, Europe and Japan) has a dominant role, with the Third World countries being dependent upon it (Giddens 1989). The theory insists that the origin and nature of dependence vary

according to how far a specific country was colonised and by whom. It is argued that the reliance of the third world countries is consequential on selling cash crops to the developed world (Baran 1982). In this context, Andre Gunder Frank (1965), an economist has coined the phrase '*development of underdevelopment*' to describe the evolution of the third world countries to such a pathetic condition of underdevelopment. He says that societies have become impoverished as a direct result of their subordinate position in relation to the industrialised countries (Giddens 1998). Thus, this theoretical strand notes that the industrialised nations have become rich at the expense of the third world nations, which they have created through colonialism and neo-imperialism. For them, development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin. Actually, the rich countries form a metropolitan centre around which the satellite (Third World) countries are grouped, their economies being dependent upon those of the more advanced countries, which they themselves become largely impoverished (Frank 1965, Baran 1982).

Contrarily, there are other theoretical perspectives, which see globalisation as advantageous to the society on various grounds. The neoliberal perspective postulates that the economies of the countries are interdependent and globalisation extends this interdependence through the flow of factors of production i.e. capital, labour and technology. Interdependence is also facilitated by the comparative advantage with respect to the factors of production. If a country were in an advantageous position to export technology it would do so. The comparative advantage puts countries in a position of equality. Similarly, Schotte (1996) argues that globalisation offers prospects for complete realisation of the promises of modernity.

The neo-liberal school of thought argues that globalisation is primarily driven by technology, economic organisation, information and communication technology and cultural patterns. Hence, one of the ironies of globalisation is its reliance on the state to make position free operation of market, but on the other it significantly or desperately want the reduced role of government or state, both as regulator and provider of public services (Jones 1998). However, critics argue that the neo-liberal perspective is not only ahistorical, but it is blind to see the partisan nature of global process.

The advocates of globalisation argue that it is a major factor underpinning the trend towards democratisation. Somewhat favourable conceptual propositions have been given by Daniel Bell (1960) in terms of '*end of ideology*' and by Fukuyama (1992) in terms of '*end of history*', both are of the view that the extension of market capitalism will lead to a universal acceptance of liberal democratic principles and structures. Economic freedom is inevitably associated with political freedom, because the complex and diverse pressures unleashed by market economies can be contained only within open and democratic societies (Haywood 1997). On the other, Anthony Giddens (1994) argues that the conventional ideologies of both the left and the right have become increasingly redundant in a society characterised by globalisation, the decline of tradition and the extension of social reflexivity. This argument may be true in the case of countries like India.

An alternative way of interpreting those developments, however, is offered by post-modernism, which suggests that the major ideologies or grand narratives were essentially a product of a period of modernisation that has now passed. Critics have argued that globalisation cannot be justified on that ground. Thus, as Heywood (1997) argues, the very assertion of an end of ideology, or an end of history, or an end of modernity, can be seen as an ideology in itself.

While observing the effects of globalisation on education, Markinson (1999) notes as following:

“Globalisation is irreversible, changing the politics of the nation-state and its regional sectors, domestic classes and nationally defined interest groups. It is creating new potentials and limits on the politics of education. Its effects on the politics of education are complex. Increasingly shaped as it is by globalisation – both directly and via the effects of globalisation in national governments – education at the same time has become a primary medium of globalisation, and an incubator of its agents. As well as inhibiting or transforming older kinds of education, globalisation creates new kinds (Markinson 1999:19)”.

The views of Markinson (1999) reflect an inherent dialectical relation between education and globalisation. For him, globalisation works both on and through education policy, i.e. that not only is education affected by globalisation but it has also become a principal mechanism by which global forces affect the daily lives of national populations.

In addition, there are many other thinkers who see this two way process between education and globalisation in more systematic and descriptive form. For instance, Kellner (2000) argues that the global flow of culture and rapid spread of new technologies have enormous consequences for education. On the one hand, globalisation might entail the imposition of corporate management structures and imperatives on educational institutions, further colonising education by business forces. It might lead to increased common edification of education, rendering quality education only accessible to elite who can afford it. The globalisation of education might involve the privileging of western, and particularly English language, culture in the entire world, as English is emerging as the preferred language of Internet (Kellner 2000).

Kellner further argues that there is utopian potential on the new technologies because of the possibility for increased domination and the accumulation of capital. While the first generation of computers were large mainframe systems controlled by big government and big business, the current generation of “*personal computers*” create a more decentralised situation in which more individuals own their own computers and use them for their own projects and goals. In relation to education, this means the possibility of opening opportunities for research and communication not previously available to students or teachers who did not have access to major research libraries or institutions. The Internet makes accessible more information and knowledge to more peoples than any previous institution in history, although it has its problems and limitations. Moreover, the internet enables people to participate in discussions and to circulate their ideas and work in ways that were previously closed off to individuals who were not connected to the mainstream media of information and communication (Kellner 2000).

The complex and inevitable dilemma is that globalisation involves both positive and negative implications for society and education. For instance, on the one hand, it has brought social mobility, easy global reach, new modes of living, communication and scholarship, but on the other, there is an increase of communalism, identity politics,

consumerism, stressful life and break away from the traditional harmonic society and cultural configurations. Further, in relation to education, it has brought immeasurable implications and consequences. It has immense potentiality to shape and reshape their discourse in the society. Educational institutions are other sets of contestations of particular discourse of nation, citizenship, modernity and development (Faust and Nager 2001: 2878). In other words, globalisation has opened new ways to some, but closed the same to others. The process is not fairly equal to all (Sharma 2004, Burbules et al 2000, Bagchi 1999). Overall, the prevalence of market economy, consumerist culture, and technology driven interactions have brought in many changes in the existing conventional tools of training, scholarship and learning methodologies, on the one hand, and function and role of the state in changed context of globalisation.

Education, State and Globalisation: Understanding the Linkages

Education is one of the institutions that human race has created to serve certain needs in the society. Like all human institutions, it responds to changes in the environment (Oliva 1992). It came up as an institutional mechanism with the emergence of complex cultures and economy. Anthony Giddens (1989) argues that the process of industrialisation and the expansion of cities, served the increased demands for specialised schooling. People now work in many different occupations, and work skill can no longer be passed on directly from parents to children. The acquisition of knowledge becomes increasingly based upon abstract learning (of subjects like mathematics, science, history, literature and so forth), rather than upon the practical transmission of specific skills (ibid 1989). Subsequently in the last two centuries, the needs of the rational economic organisations, scientific and technical revolutions and massive expansion of production and consumption systems have made the mass education indispensable. As a major factor in economic growth and development, social mobility and equality, and as the main indicator of democracy, education has immense economic and political value for the modern nation-state in the '*globalised world*' today.

There is a historical relationship between education and the state. Various theoretical strands and schools of thought, however, see this relation differently with

different consequences. The approaches can be broadly categorised into two. Within the first approach are the classical pluralist liberal democratic theories, functionalist and Marxist traditions. Firstly, the classical theories such as the liberal-pluralist perspective traces its roots from the classical liberalism and liberal democratic theories of the state associated with Hobbes, Locke, and Bentham, etc. The other thinkers adopting this approach are Margaret Archer and Randell Collins. They were primarily concerned about the political accountability of the government towards the people and stressed on the democratic system. In fact the picture that the classical 19th century liberalism visualised of the state was that of an empire, which monitored and provided the best possible conditions for the pursuit of the best 'utility' citizens according to the rules of economic exchange and competition, market economy and private appropriation of resources (Held 1999). The other liberals such as Hobbes (1968) and Locke (1963) were more concerned about the separation of the private sphere or civil society from the public sphere or political system and the state. They were more concerned of the liberty and rights of individuals. For them state should be fully accountable and should provide the services like education to its citizens.

The second perspective within the classical approaches is that of the functionalists, who primarily concentrate on the role of the state and educational system in the persistence and changes within the society as a whole and analyse the mutual linkages within that framework. The pioneering thinker under this approach is Emile Durkheim, extended further by Davis and Moore and others. The approach focuses on the role of education for the fair and smooth functioning of society or state as a social system. The third classical approach is that of the Marxists. Their analyses mainly dwell upon the class conflict and political coercive nature of the state. Education is basically considered as an instrument or apparatus for the domination by the ruling class (Prasad 2002).

In the second category of approaches, there are many approaches which have attempted to explain the rapid expansion of education system after World War II as, for instance, the convergence theories stressing the modernization process; the neo-Marxist approaches, highlighting the neo-colonialism and a new type of imperialism; and neo-institutionalism, hyperglobalist approach, the sceptical approach and transformationalist

approach which see linkages between education, state, and globalisation in deferent terms, which are described in detail in the following discussion.

Neo-Marxist Approaches

Alex Inkeles and Larry Sirowy (1983), in their study of the convergent and divergent trends in the national education systems from an equilibrium perspective, argue that the major explanation for the convergence of the educational systems lies in the social pressure exerted by the requirements of operating a large scale and complex technology based economy and society. In fact, Wallerstein's World System Theory became the point of departure for many Neo-Marxists and other conflict theorists. For instance, Altbach (1971) argues that the educational neo-colonialism perpetuates the economic dependency of poor countries on rich ones. Similarly, for Gramsci, *hegemony* is the domination of society through the use of a range of structures like trade unions, churches and schools. These structures convey to the individual a system of values, attitudes, behaviours, beliefs and morality that support or reproduce the established social order and the class interests that dominate it (Collero 2000). As Gauri Vishvanthan (1989) has shown the British Indian educational institutions, through their curriculum, propagated the notion of racial inequality and superiority of English culture.

Scholars working within the tradition of critical pedagogy have identified several discrepancy practices, even within the classrooms that contribute to the control of minds and reproduction of elites. For example, Apple (1990) points to the existence of hidden curriculum whereby students are socialised and behaviourally conditioned to accept hierarchical structures of power, and Shor (1992) describes the authoritarian classroom where students are conditioned to become passive, conformist and obedient members of the society, thus generating easily manipulated workers and passive, apathetic citizens. Bowles and Gintis in their well-known work '*Schooling in Capitalist America*' used '*correspondence principles*' promulgated by Marx in analysing the education system in America. These principles mean that all institutions and ideologies existing in a society are directly determined by the economic system or the modes of production of the society.

On the same neo-Marxist trajectory of thinking, Althusser, in his essay '*Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus*' (1971), explained that the ruling classes accomplish the reproduction of social division of labour through the state, which operates through two main apparatuses. First are called the '*Repressive State Apparatuses*' such as police, prisons, etc. and the second, '*Ideological State Apparatuses*' such as the education system, media, cultural and religious institutions, etc. While the former intervenes in the class struggle on the part of the state by means of force and repression, the second operates as a long drawn and subtle way of securing the consensus of the people over the ruling class ideology. In his work "*The State, Power and Socialism*" (1978), Paulantzas also dealt with the question of social reproduction. According to him, the school contributes to reproduction of class structures by the distribution of youth in various strata of labour force. It also inculcates the values among the children for continuation of the capitalist system of production.

Neo-Institutionalist Approach

John Meyer heads the Neo-Institutionalist school of thought. He sees international organisations as part of the world society, which had developed rapidly since the World War II. For him, many features of the contemporary nation-states, including economic, political and educational frameworks, derive from the global models constructed and propagated by international organizations (Rosenik 2006). Similarly, Connie McNeely in, "*Education as Cultural Imperialism* (1974), point out the influence of international organisations' prescriptions regarding national educational policies and ideals that are often used to guide the state policy. Taking the same line of approach, in her recent paper, Maushimi Basu (2006) looks at the impact of international organisations like the World Bank on Indian education and demonstrates the essentially political nature of aid relations in the field of primary education.

In recent years, a corpus of research has emerged that attempts to understand the way international organisations function and how international models are constructed. These approaches conceive of international organisations as an agent of economic or educational policies driven by their own institutional targets, which themselves are

determined by institutional constraints (Rosenik 2006). For instance, Roser Cusso and Sabrina O' Amico (2004) examine the pressure on United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) to adopt the OECD and the World Bank's statistical procedures in order to remain relevant to the educational discourse of the 1990s. Beatrice Hibou (2000) analyses the changing discourse of the World Bank and the way that it influenced policies in Africa, mostly in unintended ways, by delegitimising governments. Because of the nature of the African states, liberalisation and economic reforms had much greater socio-political effects than the economic ones. Similarly, Christian Laval and Louis Wefer (2002) argue that even powerful states such as France tend to delegate discussions about educational priorities to the international organizations, decisions that are agreed on the states without any public debates (Rosenik 2006).

Further, Held et al (1999) discusses three main perspectives while dealing with the linkages between education, state, society, and globalisation. Although these approaches are themselves not homogenous and subsume a plurality of thoughts, viewpoints and ideologies, they do serve as a useful analytical tool to examine education in the context of the emerging global scenario.

Hyperglobalist Approach

This approach is basically premised on the idea that the world is truly being '*globalised*' involving the triumph of global capitalism and the advent of idiosyncratic forms of global culture, governance and civil society. The works of Ohme (1995) and Strange (1996) are associated with this line of argument. In fact, they celebrate the demise of nation-state, and argue that the global postmodernist has undermined the modernists' goal of national-education and of creating a national culture. Edwards (1994), working on new technologies and globalisation, argues that the information superhighways and the way that it intersects with global markets will lead to the demise of schooling in its traditional forms. Moreover, the approach forwards arguments that are critical on various grounds. For instance, Green (1997) has pointed out that such claims are overstated and national governments still hold primary responsibility for providing

schooling. Nonetheless, it is argued that the postcolonial governments have often used education as a principal means to forge national unity and a common citizenship and have in fact strengthened rather than loosened their grip on education system (Tikly 2001).

The Sceptical Approach

The advocates of this approach argue that the trading blocks are in fact weaker now than in the earlier periods of history (such as during the height of European imperialism), although there has been a growing trend towards organisation in trade and politics. In this formulation the logical global capitalism had led to greater polarisation between the 'developed' and developing countries (Tikly 2001). It has also led, paradoxically, to greater significance for the nation-state in managing the deepening crisis tendencies of capitalism. In fact, this view found its stronger roots in Green's views, which see little evidence that national education system is disappearing. Rather he suggests that there has been a more modest process of '*partial internationalisation*' of education involving increased student and staff mobility, widespread policy borrowing and attempts to enhanced international dimension of curricula at secondary and higher level (Green 1997).

Tikly (2001) argued that the Sceptical Approach, particularly with its reference to the increasing polarisation between high and low income countries, would seem to have a lot to commend for an analysis of the education system of sub-Saharan Africa. The structural adjustment and austerity, along with the rising population have led to the decline in enrolment rates and in the quality of education in much of the subcontinent. More than 40 million children are estimated out of school (a figure only paralleled in South Asia) and the region has the lowest primary education enrolment rates in the world, estimated at 60 percent in 1999 (World Bank, 1999).¹⁵

However, the approach is criticised on various grounds. More importantly, critics have raised the question of its comprehensiveness and global application (Giddens 1990 Castells1996). It is argued that Green's analysis is not a global one at all, but rather focuses on the western industrialised countries and also confined to those of the Pacific

¹⁵ Cited in Tikly (2001:154)

Rim. In the context of active participation of the civil society organisations, Green's views merely suggest a partial 'internationalisation' of education.

Transformationist Approach

Tikly (2001) argues that the criticism of Green's work lead to a consideration of the third broad approach in educational studies, namely, the transformationist approach. The perspective is reflected in the work of Stephen Ball (1998), Philip Jones (1998), Blackmore (1999), Henry et al (1999) and others.

Like the hyperglobalists, this approach too suggests that we are indeed experiencing the unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness (Giddens 1990, Castells 1996). However, unlike hyperglobalists, they question whether we are entering a totally new '*global age*' of economic, political and cultural integration. Rather, they see globalisation as a historically contingent process replete with contradictions. Thus, although globalisation is resulting in greater integration in some areas of the economy, politics and culture, it is also resulting in greater fragmentation and stratification in which some states, societies and communities are becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are becoming increasingly marginalised (Held et al 1999).

Further, in contrast to the sceptics, transformationists argue that these contradictory processes are linked to a transformation in the *global division of labour* such that the core-periphery relationship is not just about the relationship between nation-states but involve new social relationships that cut across national boundaries. According to Hoogvelt (1997), for example, the 'core' of the world economy now includes not just the wealthy nations, but elites in the poor nations as well. Similarly, transformationists take the view that although nation-states have retained, much power is being transformed in relation to the new institutions of international governance and international law. Lastly, transformationists see how the process of migration, diaspora formation and cultural hybridisation have transformed individual and group identities and created '*new ethnicities*'. Rather than being listed and essentialised, these new forms of cultural identity are contingent and fluid (Hall 1992, Hoogvelt 1997).

On various grounds, transformationist approach is appreciated as it revolves chiefly around the extent to which the approach allows for a complex and contingent view of the relationship between education and different aspects of globalisation; the role of the state and of civil society is mediating the inflame of global forces; and an exploration of issues relating to culture, language and identity. Further, those who have adapted a transformationist perspective within education do try to relate the emerging global division of labour and increasing social stratification within and between cultures to development in education policy. Thus Ball (1998) presents the new educational quasi-markets in western industrialised countries as examples of how growing social stratification is mirrored in the educational terms. Much in the same vein, Blackmore (1999) argues that the state's reduced role in relation to education provisions places a heavy burden on women, regardless of geographical location, who are left to take up the 'slack' (Tikly 2001).

Thus, the process of globalisation is often used as a code word that stands for a variety of theoretical and political positions (Burbules et al 2000:305) to define the transplanetary connections among people. Subsequently, it too has created new challenges for education and polity. Simultaneously it has created new (or deepened the existing ones) dilemmas, contestation and paradoxes (viz. rich and poor, tradition vs. modernity, digital divide, etc) in the world, in general, and India, in particular (Singh 2000, Sharma 2004, Burbules et al 2000). For instance, theoretically speaking, critics (including marxists, liberals, multiculturalists and post-modernists) see it as a harbinger of the devastating destruction of local traditions, the continued subordination of poorer nations and regions by richer ones, environmental destruction, and a homogenisation of culture and everyday life (Keller 2000).

Education, State, Society and Globalisation: The Indian Context

As discussed earlier, in the 90s, many nation-states took a paradigm shift from their earlier promised welfare state policies with the implementation of *structural adjustment programmes* (SAPs) and *New Economic Policy*. As per the IMF - World Bank conditional ties, the developing countries like India began to withdraw from all social

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sector services including education thereby paving the way for privatisation of all services. Thus the policy buzzwords like privatisation, commercialisation, choice and decentralisation of education system became widespread. The popularly called acronym LPG meaning *liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation* became an important policy driven philosophy and the Indian state started to withdraw from the expenditure on education subsequently.

This scenario is further accentuated in the context of World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATTs). Shrivastava and Choudhry (2006) observe that the ruling of the WTO under the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff has essentially made education a trade-able good. It primarily means that now the education too can be traded internationally and it will also be governed by the rule of market and free competition. Shrivastava and Choudhry (2006) note, “the Article 1 of Part I of GATTs put forth four main modes of trade in services (WTO 1999), which are also applied to trade in educational services. These four modes are called consumption abroad, cross-border supply, commercial presence in the consuming country, and the presence of national persons. The consumption abroad mode reorganises the mobility of students for education overseas i.e. students can go to foreign countries for the purpose of getting education. Under the cross-border supply mode, distance learning, any type of testing services, and supply of education material through the Internet as well as postal services for crossing the national borders have been acknowledged. Commercial presence enables foreign educational investors to set up educational institutions through direct foreign investment and joint ventures in the host countries. The presence of natural persons allows movement of individual educators across the countries for a period, though not well defined in GATs documents but roughly from six to ten years”(Shrivastava and Choudhry 2006:181). In the entire discourse, education will be made a commodity. As result, it may have distressing effect on the historically marginal sections of the society.

In fact, these apprehensions are echoed by various social scientists who argue that the dichotomies or gaps between the rich and the poor are increasing on an accelerated scale especially in developing countries and India is not an exception in this regard

(Sainath 2006, Bagchi 1999, Nayyer 2002, Tilak 2002, Vanaik 2004). It is in this context that the processes of globalisation reward the countries that have the resources to exploit it, but penalise those, which do not have resources (Stewart 1966: 331).

The asymmetrical and exploitative nature of social, economic and political relations within the nations put up myriad challenges, not only before the developing nations such as India, but the disadvantaged groups within these countries. In fact, it is only since the late 40s and 50s most of these countries have emerged independent. Their newly established national governments were keen to accelerate the pace of their economies and social development. But the current thinking at the world level had condemned them because of existing vicious circle of poverty. They were poor in capital and skills. Their rapid economic development therefore could be ensured only through receiving as large inflow of foreign assistance. These countries thus urge to prepare the ground for obtaining an ever-enlarging inflow of foreign capital and skills and technology (Patel 1985), under certain conditions decided by the international donor agencies.

Further, the case of India is even more critical and interesting as the society is highly stratified in terms of the closed system of caste. For instance, Yogendra Singh (2001) argued that, in India, traditionally, 'the context of education was esoteric and metaphysical; its communication was limited to the upper class, or the twice born'¹⁶. Caste and the structure of its professional organisation were hereditary and closed. The role both of the teacher and the taught was qualitative ascriptive¹⁷. But the modern education has fundamentally different orientation and organisation. Its content is liberal and exoteric, and it is steeped in modern scientific world view. Freedom, equality, humanism and denial of faith in dogmas are the themes, which a modern education should contain (Singh (2001). It has a professional structure, which is not ascribed to specific group or class but can be achieved by merit by any one in society' (Singh 2000:101-02). Thus, the historical paradigm shift took place in education in India from traditional form to modern liberal form. Moreover, when philosophy and technology of

¹⁶ Historically, the upper caste has dominant influence in Indian social system. Their top position in social hierarchy always seen on the cost of lower caste. But in modern times, the existing conditions come to change little bit. But they still hold considerable influence in almost every walk of life.

¹⁷ the relation between teacher and taught were primarily based on prevalent traditions and customs. They were more of informal kind and social position based.

education differ in ages, the nature of problems, dilemmas and issues also differ relatively as the means of ownership and content of education change in its dialectical relation to the change in society itself.

Further, schools as institutions of learning and scholarship are both means and ends to this unequal process and outcome of globalisation. For instance, English medium schools endangered a process of social fracturing (*or social divisions*)¹⁸ which alienate students particularly those who come from the vernacular background from their own families (Faust and Nager 2001: 2880)¹⁹. And this very process may further strengthen the process of “*circulation of elites*” as has been observed by various social scientists (Faust and Nagar 2001, Kumar 1987, Anitha 2005).

This very process of globalisation, according to scholars like Kancha Ilaiah (2003), has opened new ways to the pupils of oppressed strata to acquire new skills and social capital. He sees economic globalisation as exploitative and unwanted, but, interestingly, he embraced globalisation in terms of its cultural aspect. For him, it has reopened the channels of cultural integration of productive mass culture with the global culture. Ilaiah (2003) argued “ the *dalit-bahujan* children who came in touch with the English language acquired skills to learn global knowledge and skills. They too could communicate with global audience. Though over a period of time even English became the social capital of the upper castes, quite a large number of people coming from the oppressed castes learnt it and came in touch with the world’s egalitarian knowledge systems.”²⁰

In fact these ongoing political economy of privileges and capital formation create, “a world of difference between persons from historically educated (privileged) castes learning English and historically suppressed communities learning language and reaching

¹⁸ Italics mine added

¹⁹ It is assumed that at the societal level, English-medium education has played a critical role in producing what Kothari calls a modernized techno-managerial elite that continues to have disproportionate influence in shaping the discursive terrain of development and thereby policies and programmes that effect the social fabric of the country. Less visibly, English-medium education widens social fractures in Indian society by creating and reinforcing a social; cultural economic and discursive divide between the English-educated and the majority (Faust and Nager 2001).

²⁰ Cited in his article (2003) cultural globalisation, editorial page The Hindu 22 February

out to knowledge of the west”²¹. However the emerging worldwide interconnectedness especially in the form of ‘cultural globalisation negates the Brahminic myth of “*purity and pollution*” and liberates the dalit-bhujans in several ways. The first and foremost liberation takes place with the simple fact that what is condemned at home became common in a globalised culture, a positive commodity for sale. Their condemned self becomes respectable. The danger lies in economic globalisation itself’ (Ilaiah 2003)²². Therefore, globalisation has inevitable crucial implications for caste, class and gender dynamics, which are produced and reproduced over a period of time through the education system²³.

Further, globalisation has immense implications for schools not only in terms of resource allocation as usually outspoken economic connotation, but also in creating pedagogical changes, new values, norms, habits, dress codes and life styles (Holmes and Russell 1999). It is creating new division of labour and redefining job markets as well. Similar to this context, schools too are reorganising through providing English learning, computer literacy, emphasising on market oriented disciplines like science and management studies and socialising children into a social capital which is compatible enough to modern global ethos (Lawson and Comber 2000). Interestingly several institutions are not only adopting these newer values, but are also consciously involved in the project of extending these values to the society through day to day learning, socialisation and scholarship.

Subsequently, there is an emergence of strong contestations between values of society and the values which are coming as concomitant to globalisation. For instance, Yogendra Singh (2001) talks of co-existence of tradition and modernity in Indian society. There is a need to understand these contestations, explicit or implicit, which are rooted in society. In fact, there is need to look at these contestations not only in terms of their challenging nature, but their receptiveness in certain sections of society; which further create another form of contested terrain or dichotomies, which, we can say local in

²¹ *ibid*

²² He sees economic globalization exploitative and suppressive, rather accept cultural one.

²³ Expressing his concerns R. Radhakrishnan (2004) maintains that globality and globalization are the Darwinian manifesto of the survival of the fittest, the strong will survive, “naturally” for it is their destiny to survive, whereas weak nations will inevitably be weeded out because of their unsatisfactory performance (*cited in Baral 2006*)

nature. For example, Indian urban centres or elite classes are more receptive to newly emerging global values, rather those rural and poor masses.

This perception of Yogendra Singh thus rejects that of Ilaiah who believes that globalisation is in a way benefitting the poor. While critically analysing the nature of contemporary social and economic development, Yogendra Singh (2000) highlights the dual character of it. He says that, on the one hand, there is growth in technological and material base of societies, there is more prosperity, less diseases or deprivation for a growing section of population. On the other hand, there is poverty, deprivation and diseases, serious value displacement generated by the rise of new acquisitive class. The dualism between the rich and the poor, traditional and contemporary and communitarian and alienative mode of leisure get sharpened. These generate social as well as cultural crisis in society (2000:235).

Brief Overview of the Studies and Rationale for the Present Study

As mentioned earlier, the 90s is a decade that marks a new phase in the developmental processes in education in India. Amidst a series of economic crises that have preceded the decade, the Government of India adopted structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) for correcting some of the broad contours of the economy. One such measure is to enhance interaction with the global economies through a process of liberalisation. As a result, the process of globalisation took its intensified form, re-emerged as a dominant discourse in the process of privatisation and liberalisation. Profit motives became important and education itself became a commodity, which became inaccessible for various disadvantaged sections of the society. Moreover, various factors have influenced the organisation, content and processes of education. It is precisely in this context that the study attempts to explore and examine the emerging trends, issues and concerns in both social and economic aspects of globalisation and school education.

There has not been much work precisely on this issue. The issue so far has not received serious attention from the social scientists in India. Only a few studies of the effects of globalisation in the Indian education system are conducted that to by the economists like Tilak (1994, 2006). He also basically deals with issues such as

expenditure and flow of capital to primary education. Others such as Basu (2006), Kumar (2001, 2006), Pathak (2000, 2006), etc. have written on the implications of what they see as the diminishing meaning of learning. None of these studies have looked at the issues of equity, accessibility and changing organisation of education. Pathak (2006) deals with globalisation in terms of the socio-cultural aspects rather than its implications to education. At the most, there have been occasional references to the effects of globalisation on the education system by several authors and researchers like Sadgopal (2006), Sharma (2003), Bagchi (2000), Aikara (2006), (1996), Kumar (2005), Krishna Kumar (2007), Nambissan (1996), Saxena (2006), Shukla and Kaul. (1998), etc. The focus of these writings is, however, not globalisation per se. Thus, the absence of any systematic study of the impact of globalisation on the school education necessitates a study, such as the present one, very relevant.

Objectives of the Study

1. To understand the educational policy shifts, especially in school education, in the context of globalisation, post-1990s.
2. To examine the extent to which the organisation of education has been influenced. Here the deferent segments/stages of education providers, the disciplinary focus and the composition of education seekers and providers will be examined.
- 3 To examine the implications of globalisation on the equity and accessibility of school education for the socially disadvantaged sections of the society
- 4 To understand the contemporary debates and discussions on the curriculum change in the school education and their implications in the context of globalisation

Methodology of the Study

The study is primarily an exploratory and analytical one. It aims to explore the emerging trends, issues and concerns by examining the policy debates, the statistical data

and academic discourses on school education India²⁴. The study is primarily based on the review of documents, reports, and articles in journals, newspapers, etc. The data used here is from sources like NCERT (National Council of Educational Research and Training), MHRD (Ministry of Human Resources and Development), and the World Bank and other such organisations. The study attempts to explore the social science or sociological literature to make sense of the broad quantitative and qualitative data on school education.

Organisation of the Chapters

The study comprises of four chapters. The first chapter introduces the conceptual and theoretical contours of the debate connecting globalization and education. It explores the theoretical linkages between education, state and globalization in general and India in particular and discusses the emerging contemporary issues in education. It also points out the paucity of any systematic study at the macro or micro level on the impact of globalisation on the school education in India. The chapter also describes the objectives, methodology, and chapterisation of the dissertation. The second chapter examines the emerging trends and concerns in Indian school education in the context of globalisation. It focuses on the shifts in the role of the state and the emergence of privatisation as a major player in the school education. It also focuses on the implications of such changes on the equity, accessibility and quality of teaching and learning in the Indian schools. The third chapter presents the developments in the school curriculum in recent times and the kinds of debates they have raised. Particularly, the chapter highlights the contradictions of global and the local as reflected in the debates surrounding the making of the curricular frameworks. The fourth and final chapter tries to present the brief conclusions of the study.

Limitations of the Study

The study basically deals with the developments in the school education at the elementary and secondary level and examines the post-1990s period. The lack of

²⁴ School education implies both elementary as well as secondary education.

systematic and updated data makes it restricted in its coverage. In the absence of availability of any specific studies and research, both at the macro level and at the micro level on the theme poses a serious problem in making some aspects of the interlinkages look very superficial. However, they may be seen as indicators/pointers for the future areas of research on the theme, particularly it could become a basis for a very intensive micro-level field based study.

CHAPTER II

GLOBALISATION AND SCHOOL EDUCATION: POLICY SHIFTS, CURRENT TRENDS AND CONCERNS

The founding fathers of the Constitution of Independent India recognised the importance of education in general and school education in particular. They envisaged imparting free and compulsory education to all children till the age of 14 years through the Article 45 under the Directive Principles of State Policy²⁵. However, this goal has neither been achieved in a considerable way so far nor has it been made legally mandatory till recently. It was only in the 1990s that the Government of India (GOI), apart from taking various financial measures, took some viable steps such as making elementary education a Fundamental Right, as per the 86th Amendment to the Constitution. Further, the GOI also took measures to strengthen equitable mass education, even though there have been various inconsistencies in those measures as noted by some studies (Sen and Dereze 1995).

In recent times, there has been an upsurge in the international monetary assistance for educational development in India. The World Bank played a major role in funding one of the major initiatives in primary education, namely, District Primary Education Programme (DPEP). This has resulted, to some extent, in the re-organization of Indian education system in a big way. Particularly, the way DPEP has changed the vocation of teaching or the nature of teaching profession by emphasising the recruitment of Para-teachers, effected the curricular changes in many states, and even the very basis of educational planning itself.

In this context, the chapter examines the effects of globalisation on the education policy in India. It discusses the social-historical context of policy evolution in terms of school education in the country from the pre-independence period to the recent times. The main focus of the chapter is the educational policy shifts in the period after 1990, which marked the beginning of a new thinking in economic policy-making that has set in

²⁵ The Directive Principles of State Policy inspired by the Irish precedent are a unique feature of our Constitution. They are non-justiciable. They merely guide the policy making and State's actions towards its welfare.

motion the process of globalisation in its new manifestation in India. The chapter mainly examines how the policies of the government in the post-1990s have influenced the organisation of school education, through an unprecedented growth of private educational institutions and involvement of community and civil society organisations in the school education. The implications of these changes in school education have made it important to understand the shifts within the Indian education system in the post-1990s.

Social Context of Education Policy in India

At the time of independence, India has inherited an educational system that has institutionalised the inequalities of educational opportunities (Aikara 1996). The issues of accessibility, equality and equity have become crucial issues in the education policy making to correct the distortions of the past. In this context, understanding the socio-historical background of the Indian education system is imperative to understand the complex nature of the effects of globalisation on the education policy-making in recent times.

Pre-Independence Period

India has been a land of scholarship and learning from the times immemorial. Historical accounts reveal that the scholars from Persia and Greece, later from China and Tibet, came over to India to study either in ‘*gurukulas*’ established by the Hindu teachers or in the universities established in the *Buddhist monasteries* (Kuppuswamy 1993). However compatible to caste-stratified and rigid Indian society, education was limited to certain sections within India. For instance the Brahmins were the sole receivers and distributors of such education. Moreover education was limited to learning the religious instructions and rituals. It was a primary tool to inculcate caste consciousness and preaching the tenets of religious ideals. A. R. Desai observes, “neither individuality nor a rational outlook could develop among the pupils in these schools of pre-British India. The education imparted was to make the pupils staunch Hindus or Muslims, uncritical subscribers to their respective religions and social structures sanctioned by those religions (1954: 119).” However it was the advent of modern education, which proved of historical significance. Modern education was essentially seen as a rational and progressive act

(Desai 1954). For Desai, the spread of modern education was the result of three main agencies of the time - foreign Christian missionaries, the British government and the progressive Indians.

It was in the nineteenth century when the modern educational institutions were established due to the consistent efforts by the Christian missionaries initially, and later by the British administrators through legal provisions. For the first sixty years of its rule in India, the Britishers were totally aimed at trading and profit making concerns, took no real interest in the promotion of education (Kuppuswamy 1993). Over a period of time, they established colleges to provide a regular supply of qualified Indians to help the administration and procure their own concern at various levels. Further, colonial education was devised as an ideological apparatus that sought to legitimate the privileges of colonizers and their domination (Kumar 2006: 15). It was in 1834 when Macaulay, who became the President of the Committee on Public Instruction (established in 1823), drafted the famous Minute. The Macaulay's Committee faced with the problem of mass education versus higher education and decided that it would be better to educate a few hundreds well than millions superficially.

It is not to say that, historically; India was without inequalities of educational opportunities. It may be reiterated here that, in the traditional caste system, education was monopolised by the twice-born and it has been the stronghold of the so-called upper castes. But, what is highlighted here is that the British policy of providing education, and that too English education to the elite, has resulted in the direct neglect of mass education, accentuating the hitherto existing inequalities in the education system that were imposed by the traditional caste system. The upper strata are the first to receive modern education and their dominance in society continued to be maintained as a result of this. Thus, modern education led to the emergence of a new educated elite among the Indians, as for instance, the Bengal Bhadraklok saw the affirmation of their class interest in English education (Pathak 2002: 81).

In this sense, British colonial education system has thus acted as a tool of the state, dominant groups and other influential stake holders (Pathak 2001)²⁶. The marginal

²⁶ The view corresponds to Marxian explanation of education system. In Indian context in earlier period, it was caste system, which had influential institutional control, which made education accessible to few, now

sections have remained as subservient and sub-ordinate as they were before to the upper castes. Other than the caste system, the deprivations in terms of gender, class, rural and urban differences too made their dominant presence in an unequal distribution and uneven spread of educational opportunities in the Indian society.

However, as some scholars would argue, the latent function of this proved partially disastrous for colonizers. Modern ideas, if not education, did filter down to the masses, though not in a form as desired by the rulers, but through political parties, press, pamphlets and various other public platforms. Kamat (1985) rightly noted that the new English education actively collaborated in the establishment of the colonial socio-economic and political structure. In this general process of subjugation, it played a kind of liberating role in breaking down traditional norms to the extent needed and in inducting values of a bourgeois society and modern nationalism.

In the course of time, this liberating influence was internalised and covered into two directions. First, it led towards a close scrutiny of the indigenous social system and culture leading to powerful movements of social and religious reforms and protest movements like Satyashodhak Samaj and secondly towards the process of self-discovery and self-assertion in the context of the new situation leading to the creation of an alternative centre of social cohesion, the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation (Kamat 1985: 20). Another significant support for modern education emerged from a Dalit leader, Jyotirao Phule. He was one of strong advocates of the belief that the common man could benefit from the legal system and scientific reforms introduced by the British (Kumar 2006: 16).

In the course of time, a strong concern was also felt for the spread of primary education. First, it was realised and advocated by the Indian educated elites like Jyotirao Phule, Dadabhai Naroji, Gokhle, Malviya and Gandhi. Particularly, Gokhle moved a resolution in the Imperial Council in 1910 for free and compulsory education. Madan Mohan Malviya's Presidential speech at the 1909 Congress in Lahore decried India's lack of progress in the era of globalisation while noting educational growth in other countries (Kamat 1985, Kumar 2006). Kamat quotes him as following:

it is increasingly private stakeholders, thus the problem of accessibility, organization and ownership still remain an unresolved dilemma.

“... it is said to find that progress is not being made in the matter of education as it should be ... Elementary education was made free and compulsory in England so far back in 1870. Japan, an Asiatic power, also made it compulsory nearly forty years ago. It has been compulsory in America, in Germany, in France in all the civilized countries of the West, why should India be denied the great advantage, which accrue from a system of free and compulsory primary education”(Malviya 1909).²⁷

Moreover, various organizations like Arya Samaj, the Servants of India and the Indian National Congress have given due attention to education. Gandhi too made important and consistent efforts and advocated free and compulsory education for seven years with mother tongue as medium of instruction (Gandhi 1938). He advocated for *nai talim*²⁸ or *basic education* which he thought to be compatible to environment in India, was based on the idea of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Sarkar (1983) notes that education became an integral part of Swadeshi movement. Subsequently, the first congress of the national education was called at Wardha on 22 – 23 October 1937 to discuss the proposed educational system.

In this series of serious educational deliberations, the recommendations and understanding of the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) of 1944 called on the post-war educational developments in India, the CABE report of January 1944, also known as the *sergeant commission*, elaborated on the questions of equality, quality as well as quantity as aspect of education in India. It defined the “would be” character of national system of education through emphasising the essential responsibilities of the state to provide them essential services like education. It also suggested the speedy introduction of a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages 6-14 (Tilak, 1996:275) Subsequently, the efforts on the part of the national leaders and the spirit of the national movement itself have made inroads into the

²⁷ cited in Kamat (1985) pp:346

²⁸ Gandhian ideal of *nai talim*, similar to basic education, was blend of four ingredients; craft, art, health and education. He thought education should be an enterprise base on self-supporting, rather dependent on money (shukla2002).

Constitution and later developmental programmes designed as per the Five Years Plans and other programme of actions adopted initially.

Post –Independence Efforts

Post-independent efforts to universalise education as well as compensate for past discrimination have gone some way in providing a measure of justice. However, the persistence of structural constraints as well as the logged-jam effect of poverty not only militate against the accessing of existing educational facilities but also make it difficult for these sections of the population to break free of the many inter-linked shackles binding them (Dreze and Sen 1995, Tilak 2000, Aikara 1995, Nambissan 1986). However the government had tried taking full view of the plight of underdevelopment of education in the country. It had set up various commissions and committees to this effect. It further put its effort to procure its responsibilities through different programme of action and aiming at universalising of elementary education to all. This section is aimed to discuss these aspects of Indian governments' efforts.

The plight of underdevelopment of education could be imagined with the fact that in 1951, the literacy rate of the country was only 18.33 per cent and, among females, it was only 8.36 percent. It is in this background, the country has laid stress on the role of education as an instrument of social change, mobility, equality and integration. There was thus a consensus among the Constitution makers and policy makers in the Independent India that education upto the age of fourteen years made compulsory and universal. Further, it was agreed that the disadvantaged groups had to be given access to education even if it meant giving special privileges (Chanana 1993: 21). After all, the first, and prime concern, of the newly independent nation from colonial yoke, was to strengthen unity, integration and the pace of development of the country.

It was observed by Pathak (2002) that, after the post-independence, educational agenda was a 'nationalist project' having broadly two components; (a) it attached great importance to modernity; trying to put forth the image of an industrially advanced modern state having a scientific and rational paradigm of development; and (b) it was deeply concerned with the issue of national integration, which meant overcoming all

local identities and strengthening the centrality of the new nation-state. Thus, in the initial decades of post-independence, the emphasis was on making India, self-reliant and an integrated whole. The independence of the country from a colonial regime was obviously expected to bring in a paradigm shift in the nature and process of development. The Government of India was essentially aimed to bring this shift, to quote:

‘Treating the sick, teaching the ignorant, and maintenance of the indigent’ were taken as a matter of collective concern, to be addressed through the state policies. By adopting a Constitution, which assured fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, the state vowed to ensure justice to all. A process of planned development was launched to address the problems of economic and social inequality (Government of India 2006).

The Constitution of India, which came into force on 26 January 1950, directed the state to provide the free education to all children. Article 45 of the Constitution of India envisages that ‘the state shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years’. Similarly, Article 46 directs that the ‘ State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

The government has accorded special importance to education not only in the country’s Constitution but also in the Five Year Plans and other non-plan sources as well. From the very first Five Years Plan onwards, attempt was made to make education an integral part of the social and economic planning. It was in these spirits that plan after plan incorporated a chapter on education and science and technology, and highlighted their relationship with economic development (Tilak 2006). For instance, post independence agendas of education, whether they are envisaged by Jawaharlal Lal Nehru or the Radha Krishnan Commission (1949) or the Kothari Commission (1966) or the National Policy on Education (1986, 1992), all had recommendations for equitable educational development and compatible with the new era, science and technology on their schemes became the paramount goal of education (Kumar 2006). Moreover, these

committees and commissions have suggested various measures for achieving India's longstanding aim of universalisation of education.

Resultantly, the universal primary education was the main target of the nation to shape its future. The Kothari Commission (1964-66) in its report highlighted this by saying that the destiny of the nation is being shaped in her classrooms. Following the recommendations of the Kothari Commission, a resolution on national policy was issued by the government on July 24, 1968, which came to be regarded as the first national policy education in free India. The first national policy resolution called for a transformation of the system of education, to relate it more closely to the lives of the people. It called for continuous efforts to expand educational opportunities and for sustained effort to raise the quality of education at all stages. especially at the elementary and secondary levels. It viewed the system at macro level and provided an aggregate approach.

It was only in 1978 that a departure was made to provide a disaggregate approach to achieve universal elementary education (Chanana and Rao 1999). Thus, the Working Group on Universalisation of Elementary Education 1978 provided information of inter-state disparities. The important outcomes were the identification of educationally backward states and introduction of scheme of non-formal education in those states to reduce the dropout rate and at the same time increase access to elementary schooling.

In the evolution of the educational policy, 1986 is important because it is in this year the country chalked out a comprehensive national policy on education. The NPE - 1986 reinforces the urgency and resolve by restating the target before the nation as follows:

“It shall be ensured that all children who attained the age of about 11 years by 1990 will have had five years of schooling or it's equivalent through the non-formal stream. Likewise, by 1995, all children will be provided free and compulsory education up to 14 years of age” (para 5.12 of NPE).

While continuing the priorities set out by the NPE 1986 and POA-1986, the national policy on education 1986(as revised in 1992) and the programme of action, 1992(POA) reaffirmed the national commitment to universalisation of elementary education. The national policy on education specifies that the UEE has three aspects:

- Universal access and enrolment;
- Universal retention of children upto 14 years of age; and
- A substantial improvement in quality of education to enable all children to achieve essential level of learning

The NPE 1986 was reviewed in 1990. While NPE 1986, as mentioned above, emphasised universal enrolment and universal retention of children up to 14 years and improvement in the quality of education, the 1990 Review of NPE - 1986, is far more comprehensive and it is inspired by the ideas of national thinkers like Gandhi and Tagore. It links the failure of the target of universal elementary education with a flawed framework as well as with social factors and issues such as child labour. It underscores the need to treat elementary education as a fundamental right, it also looks at systemic flaws and focuses mainly on the rural child especially the SC/ST children and the girls in the context of inter and intra-state disparities.

The policy recommends the main thrust areas to be incorporated in the NPE 1986 policy framework. These are (i) convergence of services like water, fuel and fodder along with literacy; (ii) linkages between school and community that is now being sought through the 73rd constitutional amendment, and (iii) decentralised and participative mode of educational planning and management (1990:155). The decentralised approach was adopted to bring the local agencies and group of the people from grassroot to give a momentum to the educational development. In fact, the period following the adoption of National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 saw the introduction of a number of centrally sponsored schemes to cater to the specific needs of the elementary education sector. These included Operation Blackboard (1987) to improve school environment, enhance retention and learning achievement of children by providing minimum essential facilities in all primary schools; restructuring and strengthening of Teacher Education (1987) to upgrade pedagogical skills of teachers through establishment of dedicated teacher training institutes at District level (DIETS); revamped Non-formal Education Programme (1986) to provide alternative education facilities for girls, working children and children in far flung areas; Minimum Levels of Learning (1990) to improve learning achievements of children; and the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education,

commonly known as Mid-day Meal Scheme, to provide nutritional support to children in primary classes. Schools and enrolments have certainly increased but so have the number of out of school children.

However, keeping in view the aforementioned discussion, the NPE recommended a major overhaul of development policy and a clear shift towards equity and social justice. In short, in the last fifty years the educational base has been expanded to complete the unfinished task in the foreseeable future. However, there has been a lack of strong political and administrative commitment and a national desire for universalisation of elementary education, due to which the goal is still an unfinished agenda. Subsequently the decade of 1990s came up with new challenges and policy shifts as well. The next section will deal this aspect of school education.

Post 1990s: Towards a Paradigm Shift

As discussed above, with the introduction of the New Education Policy in 1986 and its revised formulations in 1992, government tried to pay greater attention to both quality and quantity aspect of school education, thus expenditure on education in India grew rapidly, but this growth was arrested in the early nineties due to the fiscal crisis that erupted in 1991. This crisis and the accompanying general economic crisis led to a series of economic reforms, important among which were steps initiated to reduce the fiscal deficit and contain growth in public expenditure. Subsequently, it affected the government's expenditure on various social services such as health, education, housing and other welfare service to the masses (Sharma 2003, Bagchi 1999). It is led by many factors such as the oil crisis of 1970s, collapse of Soviet Union in late 1980s, etc.

Further, the civilian use of technologies such as Internet provided a strategic context where the relations between institutionalised structures of the state and the market began to change throughout the world (Kumar 2006). Moreover, it was argued by some that the already existing power relations indicted these changes. As a result, the developing nations were pushed to reform their economies in correspondence with the demand of global markets. It is also assumed that these markets are described as 'global', mainly located in the hyper-consumer societies of fully developed world (Kumar 2006).

Eventually, the consensus over the welfare state model in delivering the goods it promised began to disappear (Halsey 1997). India as a developing nation did not remain untouched. Preceded by a series of world economic crises, the Government of India in 1990s adopted the *structural adjustment policies* (SAPs), which, as mentioned earlier, inflicted serious cuts in budgetary resources for education in general. Even though the adoption of SAPs was regarded as a '*necessary evil*', it has changed the whole situation and thereby the approach of the government (Deolalikar 2005). The Government of India, as a result cut its expenditure on education though there has been a spectacular growth in educational institutions and enrolment ratio at various levels of schooling.

Kumar (1998) observed three important scenarios in the economic policies of 1990s era. Firstly, the new policy will achieve a resounding success, fulfilling the targets set by its proponents, including the World Bank. Poverty and unemployment will diminish and vast mass of population will gradually become literate and will be able to participate in fully monetized open economy'. Secondly, the vast mass of population will form a politically restive underclass even as the export-driven economy deepens social divisions. For him, in this scenario, the newly adopted economic policies will lead to disaster. Finally he says that the new economic policies will neither fully succeed nor disappear. The rich section of the society may reach to western form of consumption, but the rest of the sections of the society which he called '*fringe of underclass* may be inducted into peripheral relationship with globalised production and service. He further assumed that the state would remain a major player in the distribution of scarce resources in addition to performing regulatory roles in the context of large-scale privatisation. The outcome of the new policies will become increasingly difficult to distinguish from older trends' (Kumar 1998: 1391).

Further, it is assumed that the relationship between educational development and structural reforms is antithetical (Tilak 2000). It is because of the fact that equity in education is likely to be declined sharply and education will become a commodity through privatisation. Therefore, the 'accessibility' will be made dependent upon one's ability to pay. The forms of imparting education would run through its own created framework of exclusion and inclusion as well. Gill (2006) quite rightly observes,

“In unaided private educational institutions, the capacity to pay, instead of merit, becomes the basis for access to higher education. This excludes the students from the underprivileged section. This widens the divide between the rural and urban population and between the SCs and STs and the upper caste. Even now very few students from the rural areas and the poor families have little access to higher education in India (The Tribune 2006)”.

The recurrent implications of globalisation are drifted and seen harmful. Moreover, social scientists and educationists who still have their faith in the tenets of welfare approach criticize it. In fact, the globalisation of education under GATTs and WTO involve a paradigm shift in education. There is a shift towards viewing education as a social service with large positive benefits (externalities) for society to commodity meant for sale/ purchase at market prices, even though the 1998 UNESCO Conference cautioned against the mercantile approach to education. It was noted that the free funded private educational institutions enrol fewer underprivileged students (Gill 2006). S.L. Sharma (2000) has raised similar concerns on the issues of social justice, social security and social harmony in the wake of emerging new challenges and counter-productive developments. For him, ‘globalisation is a conspiratorial project of north or developed countries through which they attempt to dominate and manipulate their own desires on the developing nations and capturing their markets. It is a false notion of development.’ He argues,

“.....the proof of its hegemonic character lies in the way contemporary globalisation has been managed. It began with the structural adjustment programmes, economic reforms, and deregulation of economy, liberalization, and privatisation. It remains a hegemonic project of economic transformation enforced on the Third world by international economic organizations like the World Bank, World Trade Organization, GATT, OECD and the like” (Sharma 2000:58).

Thus, it is in this sense that the fears and anxieties become widespread in both public and private spheres as well. The introduction of SAPs further aggravated the educational crisis (Kumar 2006). Eventually, one of the important phenomena that took place is that the crisis was recognized internationally. Interestingly, the last decade of the

twentieth century saw the emergence of a variety of agencies whose activities transcend national boundaries such as Trans-national Corporations (TNCs), various interest groups, citizens' organizations, and ethnic and religious groups. The number of governmental and non-governmental international organizations and regional communities has increased rapidly. The issues of educational underdevelopment made its presence and recognition to be taken up by these agencies. These agencies strengthened the civil society, where the voices for educational and other forms of development get a platform.

UN and its various specialized bodies have taken up such issues and made various efforts to that effect. For instance, in March 1990, the first World Conference on Education was held at Jomtein, Thailand. It proposed an approach to deal with the crisis in education sphere with collective effort. It propagated the slogans such as "*education for all*" and "*lifelong learning opportunities.*"

Further, in line with the international developments, Government of India made a commitment to fulfil the promises declared at various international conferences, such as the one at Jomtein in 1990, to provide education of good quality to all primary school age children (World Bank 1997: 4) As a result, the Indian Government has committed to make compulsory and universal education for all the children in the school going age by 2015 and also gender sensitive environment in the schools to be achieved, as these are the primary goals of the UN led *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs)

It is precisely because of the ongoing momentum of international concerns that Government of India has fully committed to the belief that schooling is one of the most powerful instruments for reducing poverty, unemployment and inequality, improving health and nutrition and promoting the sustained human led envelopment and growth (Deolalikar 2005:67). Moreover, education is also seen as a panacea for a wide range of social ills, too have better implications for democratic functioning, ecology and population growth (Hennum and Buchman 2005: 333-34). Thus, India, under this wider global influence, has committed to the universalisation of primary education and reorienting the context, process and functioning of the school education in correspondence with the emerging global concerns.

International Economic Thinking and its Effects on School Education in India

Discourse about development can be understood as an aspect of an emerging global governmentality (Tikly 2004). In this context, the emergence of global governmentality has been exemplified by two recent shifts in thinking on the part of multilateral development agencies associated with two important discourses i.e. *Washington Consensus* and its consequent *Post –Washington Consensus*²⁹, that have important implications for governments across boundaries and in turn their economies on social sector and education as well.

In the first place, neo-liberalism provided the basis for the Washington Consensus, that emerged in the wake of the oil shock of the 1970s and which provided a normative framework for action for the major multilateral and donor agencies in their dealing with Africa and other parts of the so called ‘*developing*’ world’ (Ibid 2004). Further, the consensus was based on encouraging low-income countries to adapt to policies of trade liberalization, export led growth and the creation of conditions favourable to attract foreign direct investment (FDI), including cuts in public services and end to price control for basic commodities. In fact, the consensus was accompanied by its own typical form of programme and policies such as SAPs and conditional lending (Ibid 2004).

Secondly, the emergence of Post-Washington Consensus, which shows important marginal shift in previously adopted liberal governance across the globe. Moreover, the Consensus was immediately recognized by researchers and thinkers associated with the World Bank. For example, Joseph Stiglitz (2002), the then Chief Economist of the World Bank, recognized that the blind faith in untrammelled market forces as a way out of poverty for the population in low-income countries has, to some extent at least, been counter-productive (Tikly 2004). It is observed by the World Bank and its associates that poverty under SAPs have increased in some cases rather than decreased (Gore 2000). So the central focus of post –Washington Consensus was in a belief in the importance of

²⁹ This consensus basically formulated by the developed nations in Washington in the wake of economic crisis in 1970’s. These were aimed to liberalise the economies of the developing nations. There was the shift in the attitude of developed nations to help the developing nations in terms of providing resources in the form of loans and aids to their welfare services like education, health and others (Tikly 2004).

social capital as a necessary corollary of 'human capital' (Tikly 2004). Thus the World Bank, as a major international actor, started to take deep interest in providing assistance to social sectors of developing countries.

For that matter, the 1960s was the United Nations' first development decade, which stimulated worldwide concerns over the problem of underdevelopment. The world welfare body like UNESCO and others shifted their main interest to educational aid for the universal provision of fundamental education. Many intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies also started overseas aid to developing countries. As part of these projects and as a means of fund-raising, the aid organizations began public information activities, which later come to be called development education (Fujikane 2003:137). There has been large number of multilateral agencies which aimed for educational development such as UNESCO, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank group including International Development Association (IDA), Inter-American Development Bank, UNICEF, World Food Programme (WFP), other agencies such as the European Development Fund, Organization of American States, Asian Development Bank (ADB), etc. and fund in trusts. The major bilateral sources include the member countries of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and centrally planned and socialist economies, the private non-profit sector comprise charitable foundations, voluntary organizations commercial undertakings, operations of universities or other institutions; indeed it includes any form of aid which does not flow through the bilateral and multilateral official sources e.g. the Ford foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, etc. (Tilak 1988:315). Thus, the international aid community constitutes very complex and large entities itself. According to Tilak (1988) the aid for education is found to be important for the following three reasons.

- a) It is found that the returns to investment made by international agencies like the world Bank in education in less developed countries are higher than the returns to investment in education in developed countries.
- b) It is being increasingly asserted that education contributes to economic growth to alleviation of poverty, to a more equal distribution of income and to an improved social environment. The impact is greater in the case

of developing countries compared to advanced countries. But it requires massive investment in education, which the developing countries cannot afford.

- c) It is being argued that the development of rich nations is a function of the growth of the poor countries.

Thus, it is for these reasons, in the words of Tilak, that the aid for education in developing countries is important and beneficial for the donors as well (1988: 316). Further, it is observed by various research studies that returns to primary education are the highest, followed by the returns to secondary education; and returns to higher education are the least suggesting that mere resources should flow to lower levels of education to which more importance given in terms of aid and assistance from international agencies.

Historically, it was at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, when the economist and Chairman, John Maynard Keynes called to include education in the Bank's operations. However, it was not until the early 1960s that the Bank started to lend towards education (Basu 2006). But, in over all contexts, the international organizations started in the late 1970s and early 1980s to promote education reforms. For instance, in 1980s and early 1990s, the Bihar education project, the Lok Jumbish Programme, Rajasthan and the Andhra Pradesh Primary education programme, are started with the help of UNICEF, SIDA and ODA, and represented the '*Education for All*' ethos. Moreover, it may be noted that the 1991 economic crisis that provided leverage to the World Bank to insist on the developing countries to borrow for primary education and health. As a result, India also began to develop relationships with the World Bank in the area of primary education through the Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Programme, which was started as a pilot project in 10 districts. DPEP has later developed and represented as an enrichment of this relationship, which was started as part of the structural Adjustment programme (SAP) of the Indian economy (Kumar et al 2001:561).

Accepting the aid from the donor agencies has several repercussions for education. Moushmsi Basu (2006) in her paper on '*Negotiating Aid, World Bank and Primary Education in India*' describes the international aid as deceptive in political

terms. According to her, “ restructuring education policies based on reallocation of public spending and introduction of user-charges, creation of a credit market for education, and decentralised education through private and community schools, became the mainstay of the Bank’s strategy”(p: 140). Moreover, these complex projects prescribed by the international organizations ‘promised to increase the number of teachers, improve their qualifications and skill and raise their pay. They sought to generate more revenues by increasing fees and tuitions, including community groups to contract schools and encouraging private sector participation in education. They tried to improve curricula, materials and use mass media and distance learning’ (Vaidya 2005: 20). In that sense, these agencies presented and created certain norms and values to be followed by the users of their aid/donorship.

Moreover, from the perspective of the United Nations (UN) and the Non-aligned Movement (NAM), for example, education was often constructed as a basic human rights and the extension of education was a means for extending a notion of global citizenship (Tikly 2004:189). Further, the right to education is an internationally recognized right under the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Signatory states such as India are under an obligation to respect, protect and fulfil the universal realization of the rights for all communities living within their designed geographical foundries. The state has the positive obligations to facilitate and aid the process of rights fulfilment by undertaking affirmative action that guarantees suitable opportunities, and means for citizens to realize their needs’ (Basu 2006: 150). As a result, the Government of India made various commitments and promises to fulfil these international concerns. It is precisely under this influence that India has committed to the universalisation of elementary education (UEE) with much vigour, gender sensitive environment in the schools, better nutrition and studies on human rights and ecological concerns as well. Moreover secondary education too is not lagging behind from attracting attention from various quarters. There has been the assumptions that, “ the UEE coupled with improved quality of learning would definitely fuel the demand for secondary education in the coming years, especially in the areas which are poorly equipped for this purpose”(Aggarwal 2002:21). Moreover, the changing international economic thinking, global pressures and building conducive

grounds (Mukhopadhyay 2002) may bring secondary education too under the ambit of universalisation process, as elementary is aimed, thereby reshaping the organisation of school education in India

Current Trends in School Education

This section deals with the presentation of data pertaining to various aspects development of school education in India. For instance, it tries to show the patterns of expenditure, the growth of educational institutions, the growth of enrolments, etc to build a case to argue that the post 1990 has indeed witnessed a shift in the trends in comparison to the years before 1990. These trends may thus be interpreted as influenced by the process of globalisation.

To begin with, the imbalances in Indian education system in terms of the expenditure on school education are shown in Table 2. 1. The data shows the government's reluctance to increase expenditure in proportion to the significant growth in the educational intuitions and enrolment ratio is evident (See Tables 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4). For instance, higher secondary schools in 1990-91 were 76796 and after a span of 10 years that is, in 2001, they have increased to 133, 492. The number has almost doubled. However, the government expenditure did not increase with the same pace. It was 0.81% of GDP in secondary education in 1981-82 with some increase in between; it is 0.98% only in 2000-01. Thus, government seems reluctant to spend on education, as much as it is required to.

It may be worthwhile to examine the implications of withdrawal of the state from the school education sector resulting in uncontrolled expansion of privatisation. As one would agree, the system of education in India has gone through significant structural changes over the last decade or so. It is further assumed that some of these changes are still unfolding, and the eventual shape they will take cannot be easily predicted (Kumar et al 2001).

To being with, the educational expansion in post-Independence period has taken place with large public investment in education. Since 1950-51, the government expenditure on education (both plan and non-plan) has steadily increased from 1140 million in 1950-5 to 37, 460 million in 1980-81. However, a major constraint to further

expansion in the 1980s was the inadequacy of financial resources owing to the sluggish economic growth (Patel 1966).

Table –2.1

Public Expenditure on Elementary, Secondary/Higher Secondary Education in India
(As % of GDP)

Year	Elementary	Secondary/higher Secondary	Total Education*	
	% Of GDP	% Of GDP	% Of GDP	% to Total Expt.on all Sectors
1990-91	1.78	1.24	3.84	13.37
1991-92	1.76	1.26	3.80	13.14
1992-93	1.68	1.27	3.72	13.15
1993-94	1.67	1.20	3.62	12.94
1994-95	1.65	1.18	3.56	12.95
1995-96	1.72	1.17	3.56	13.34
1996-97	1.73	1.14	3.53	13.33
199-98	1.73	1.13	3.49	13.09
1998-99	1.89	1.26	3.85	14.00
1999-00	1.93	1.44	4.25	14.60
2000-01	2.06	1.37	4.33	14.42
2000-02	1.91	1.20	3.82	12.89
2000-03	1.86	1.22	3.80	12.60
2000-04	1.74	1.12	3.50	11.98
2004-05	1.89	1.11	3.68	12.76

Source: Selected Educational Statistics (2004-05), MHRD, 2007

*Total education includes elementary, secondary/higher secondary, adult education and university & higher education.

It is in this context that the studies revealed that there was some minor increase in expenditure provided by Union Government between 1990-91 - 1994-95, but in totality its share show a marginal decline. In 1990, the total expenditure of GDP on elementary education was 1.78% out of total expenditure i.e. 3.84% on total education. However with lowest decrease in 1994 (1.65), there was considerable increase in 2000-01(2.01), which spectacularly decreases to 1.89 in 2004-05.

On the other, in the case of state government expenditure, there was a general tendency which has been declining in real per capita expenditure on social sector and education in many states. Given this backdrop, the debate on education persists because of the acute crisis generated by '*skewed educational opportunities*' existing in the country in favour of those who can spend (Kumar 2006). Thus, the issues of organization and ownership of education in sense of equitable educational development and growth become important. Moreover, these issues are also inspired from the inherent systemic concerns (for instance, caste, class, gender, etc.) in the Indian society. Further, it is in this sense of emerging privatisation of education that the issues of organization and ownership and equality become crucially important.

The data shows that there has been a tangible growth in the government-recognized institutions, but those in the private sector have out numbered them in 1993-94 at primary and upper-primary levels (as table no. 2.2 shows it). Even at secondary level, there is a considerable growth for instance it was 5.59% in 1973-74, but it comes to 23.56% that is near to government aided school which is 33.995 in 2001-02. There is considerable increase in government institutions even at secondary level, it was 57.02 in 1973 but it is 33.99% of the total.

Table -2.2

Growth of recognized educational institutions in India (1990-91 to 2001-02)

Year	Primary	Upper primary	Hr. secondary
1990-91	560935	151456	79796
1991-92	566744	156926	82576
1992-93	571248	158458	84608
1993-94	570455	162804	89226
1994-95	586810	168772	94969
1995-96	593410	171445	99274
1996-97	603646	180293	103241
1997-98	619222	185961	107140
1998-99	626737	190166	114387
2000-01	638768	206259	126047
2001-02	664041	219629	133492
2002-03	651382	245274	137207
2003-04	712239	262286	145962
2004-05	767520	274731	152049

Source: selected educational Statistics (2004-05), MHRD 2007

Table –2.3

Growth of Private Schools in India (Percent of total number of schools)

Year	Primary			Upper primary			Secondary		
	Govt. aided	Private unaided	Total	Govt. Aided	Private unaided	Total	Govt. Aided	Private unaided	Total
1973-4	5.01	1.64	6.65	17.75	4.67	22.42	57.02	5.59	62.61
1978-9	4.42	1.59	6.01	16.90	4.66	21.56	57.30	3.55	60.85
1986-7	4.34	2.57	6.91	16.30	8.58	24.88	44.49	9.99	54.78
1993-4	3.78	4.12	7.90	9.53	11.02	20.55	37.78	15.17	52.95
1996-7	3.34	5.00	8.34	10.25	14.20	24.45	36.20	18.10	54.30
2001-2	3.07	6.01	9.08	7.81	15.77	23.58	33.99	23.56	57.55

Source: + India social Development Report 2006.

Table -2.4

Enrolments (sex-wise) by stages / classes Since 1970-2005.

Year	Primary (I-V)			Middle /Upper Primary VI-VIII			Hr. Sec. (IX-XII)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1970-71	35.7	21.3	57.0	9.4	3.9	13.3	5.7	1.9	7.6
1980-81	45.3	28.5	73.8	13.9	6.8	20.7	7.6	3.4	11.0
1990-91	57.0	40.4	97.4	21.5	12.5	34.0	12.	6.3	19.1
1992-93	57.9	41.7	99.6	21.2	12.9	34.1	13.6	3.9	20.5
1993-94	55.1	41.9	97.0	20.6	13.5	34.1	13.2	7.5	20.7
1995-96	60.9	46.2	107.1	22.1	14.3	36.4	14.2	7.9	22.1
1996-97	62.5	47.9	110.4	34.7	16.3	41.0	17.2	9.8	27.0
1998-99	62.7	48.2	110.9	24.0	16.3	40.3	17.03	10.5	27.8
1999-00	64.1	49.5	113.6	25.1	17.0	42.1	17.2	11.00	28.2
2000-01	64.0	49.8	113.8	25.3	17.5	42.8	16.9	10.7	27.6
2001-02*	63.6	50.3	113.9	26.1	18.7	44.8	18.4	12.1	30.5
2002-03*	65.1	57.3	122.4	26.3	20.6	46.9	19.5	13.7	33.2
2003-04*	68.4	59.9	128.3	27.3	21.5	48.7	20.6	14.4	35.7
2004-05*	69.7	61.1	130.8	28.5	22.7	51.2	21.7	15.4	37.1

Source: Economic survey 2002-03 * Selected educational Statistics (2004-05), MHRD
2007

Table 2.5

Drop-out Rates at Primary, Elementary & Secondary Stages

Year	Primary (I-V)			Elementary (I-VIII)			Secondary (I-X)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1980-81	56.2	62.5	58.7	68.0	79.4	72.7	79.8	86.6	82.5
1990-91	40.1	46.0	42.6	59.1	65.1	60.9	67.5	76.9	71.3
2001-02*	39.7	41.9	40.7	50.3	57.7	53.7	66.4	71.5	68.6
2004-05*	31.81	25.42	29.0	50.49	51.28	50.84	60.41	63.88	61.92

*Provisional, Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05 MHRD 2007

Table 2.1 shows the somewhat stagnant spending of expenditure on school education, however, as tables (2.2 and 2.4) indicate the growth of enrolment and recognised educational institutions. There is for instance higher secondary schools in 1990-91 were 79796 and after a span of fifteen years (i.e. in 2005) it almost doubled and the almost same pace of the growth is witnessed in upper-primary schooling. Moreover there is spectacular growth of private institutions especially at primary and upper primary level their number has almost doubled with an exception at secondary level. In addition to it, the dropout rate however it has been in decreasing pace, but still it is threatening (table2.5). This further shows a sustained gender gap over a period of time.

Further, evidence shows that the attendance rates in unrecognised schools are much higher as compared to the government schools. The recent evidence from NSSO and other studies demonstrate that a large proportion of children are attending private unrecognized primary schools. This proportion is highest in Haryana (18.7%) and is

followed by Punjab (15.5%), Uttar Pradesh (10%) and Bihar (9.2%). The all India average share of children enrolled in un-recognized schools at primary stage was 4.8% as compared to 2.6% for upper-primary classes.

The rural urban differentials are striking in almost all the states. At the national level, some decline in Class I enrolment was observed in the last 3-5years. This could be due to the shift of children from formal to non- formal or to other modes of education including unrecognised schools. It is paradoxical that the states with high proportion of children attending unrecognised schools are from both the economically advanced regions of Punjab and Haryana as well as from the economically poor regions of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Some states like Maharashtra have exercised strict controls on the functioning of unrecognised institutions to an exception. But in over all contexts, these ongoing imbalances show a paradigm shift in the ownership responsibility and obligations of the state, where the private stake holders has come up in a big way.

Looking Beyond the State: The Community Participation in Primary Education and Private Initiative in Secondary Education

(a). New Role for the Community and Civil Society Organisations in the Era of Globalisation

In the process of re-orienting the structure and functioning of school education the Government of India started various programme and schemes. In this entire series of efforts the role of community and civil society was given momentum. One of these centrally funded programmes is the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), initiated in 1994 as a collaborative effort between the Government of India and different international aid agencies to tackle educational deprivation in the most backward regions of the country. The objectives of the DPEP were to provide access to school for all children, to lower existing gaps between gender and social groups, and to raise the educational achievements in the educationally backward districts. Today, DPEP continues in form of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) or Education for All, a program that aims at providing elementary education to all children.

Contrary to what everybody was made to believe, DPEP has not achieved its required results. For instance, a comprehensive analysis of enrolment in DPEP in 1997 concluded that the primary stage enrolment in India is witnessing a declining trend in growth rate. In 1980s the rate was about 2.65 percent per annum, whereas between 1994-95 and 1998-99, it declines to about 0.41 percent. This decline was not confined only to boys' enrolment, but was equally serious for girls' enrolment. This has also been accompanied by a decline in share of public expenditure on GDP (Kumar 2006:567). A second problem is that the analysis relies on the assumption that, besides DPEP and the control variables, no substantial changes affecting education, happened. This need not be the case, since State level education initiatives were also introduced in many states in the 1990s. In addition, many states saw an enormous rise in private schools (Kingdon, 2006).

Actually it was also realized that education system in India has developed various contradictions in its institutional structure and process. For example, it is noted that with globalisation, there is more requirement for better education and a more skilled labour force but contrary to the needs of the hour the over all levels of education and skill information continued to be low in India during 1995-99 (Joshi 2006).

Hence, it was amidst various critical debates on financing, managing and ownership of educational development, the GOI took some crucial decisions in term of efficient organization and strengthening its function at grass root level. As a result, the non-governmental and community participation became a major agenda of discussion in the country and it came to be recognized as an important component of the educational reform and change processes (Govinda and Diwan 2003). The National Policy on Education (NPE) 1986 (and revised in 1992) recommended not only promoting participation of the community in primary education but also a movement towards empowering the local community to take major management decisions in this regard (ibid 2003:12).

The *Panchayati Raj Institutions* (PRIs) have also been given an important responsibility to make their contribution to achieve the desired results. The newly adopted Constitutional Amendments (73rd and 74th) have given the major fillip to these ongoing ideas of enriched involvement and interaction of local people at grass root level in educational development. In addition to these various legal or constitutional measures,

voluntary participation from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other agencies have attempted to boost the organizational efficiency of grass root level educational institutions. Though, the ideas of decentralization and community participation are not new (Govinda and Diwan 2003), they are still innovative and important as they are given momentum only very recently in reorganizing the management of education. Hence, the expected fruition is yet to be achieved on the part of the government, and to be debated, observed and analysed by the social scientists as well.

(b). Private Sector as a Parallel Service Provider in School Education

The data clearly shows that the years after 1990 have witnessed a shift in the basic organisation of education system in India. It means that the very organisation of school education which has traditionally been dominated by the government run public institutions has been undergoing change with the speedy spread of private sector as a parallel system of education along with the government. While the state run public institutions have been mostly rural based catering to the poor and marginal sections of the society, the private institutions have been mostly urban based, socially selective, catering to the middle and upper middle classes of the society. Thus, globalisation in terms of its concomitant processes of liberalisation and privatisation, and later neo-liberalism has had significant impact on school education in India.

The advocates of the private initiative in education seek to point out the inadequacies of the public sector education. The dismal state of affairs in the government run educational institutions is no secret. For instance, painting dismal picture of the *Sarva Siksha Abhiyan* (SSA) that was launched in 2001-02 to attain universal elementary education, the Report of the *Comptroller and Auditor General of India* (CAG) stated that while 1.7 lakh children were in Delhi schools which lacked toilet facilities, over 1.67 lakh children attended schools that had no electricity and a lakh did not have even drinking water facilities in their schools. The Report further notes that despite these glaring infrastructural shortcomings, the department took no steps to provide basic facilities in its annual plans and budgets. There was a decreasing trend of enrolment of male students in

innermost parts of Delhi. Thus, the Report shows failures on the part of organization of resources.

A comprehensive analytical study of enrolment in DPEP and non-DPEP areas based on the government statistics, undertaken at the time of mid-term review of DPEP in 1997, concluded that the primary stage enrolment in India is witnessing a declining trend in growth rate. In fact these figures show that at the national level; enrolment growth has almost reached a plateau (Kumar et al 2001) Further, with few exceptions, even though it is very ironical, the achievement studies conducted under DPEP (1997) show that the achievement levels of learners from private schools are generally higher than those from the government schools. These kinds of instances increase the demands for closure of government institutions and give way for the private sector entry in the school education.

The desirability or otherwise of private education has long been a subject of debate in India and the case of Mohini Jain against the private capitation fee colleges has renewed the interest in the issue (Kingdon 1996) and it is the school education which is at the forefront. One of the well established facts is that the private schools in India are seen as elitist and mostly urban (Kingdon 1996), and undemocratic and inconsistent with the ideal of an egalitarian society (Education National Development: Report of the Education Commission 1964: 66-10).

In fact, the problem is relevant at both levels of organization as well as ownership. Firstly, it was the time when 'the long-standing people's aspiration as reflected by the slogans such as "*Nirdhan Ho Ya Dhanwan, Sab Ko Shiksha Ek Saman*" (Poor or rich, all have a right to similar education), are sought to have been addressed by introducing new measures like common school systems. This alone is seen to enable all children irrespective of their social or economic status, to study together under a common roof in neighbourhood schools (Sadgopal 2006). But it is never realized. Even though at various occasions it was felt that the concept of '*common school system*' of Kothari commission (1966) has immense potential to bring the fruition of egalitarianism in Indian education system and in society as well.

Secondly, in terms of ownership and financing, the state never showed much eagerness, especially in the last decade of twentieth century. For instance, Tapas Majumdar Committee Report (November 2005) recommended that the allocation for

education needed to be raised to 6% of GDP by the beginning of the 11th Plan and then continually risen to cross the level of 10% of the GDP by 2010-15. Going beyond 6% is felt to be necessary in order to fill up the cumulative gap that has been building up as a consequence of under-investment year after year since independence (Sadgopal 2006).

Moreover, the state is gradually trying to get rid of itself as a major stakeholder in education. For instance, the provision of public-private partnership (PPP) is set to be brought up for the proposed massive expansion and restructuring of education in the country. While advocating unshackling of the education, to public-private partnership and foreign participation, Sam Pitroda, Chairman of Knowledge Commission, talks of foreign participation would lead to alien control. He says;

“... If an institution wants to come to teach it should be allowed. Every year about 80,000 Indian students are joining foreign universities, spending about 5 billion. Why cannot this money let spent here (The Hindu 2007)”.

The eventual turn of the state is criticized by various social scientists and educationalists. For instance, Gill (2006) argues, with the adoption of a mercantile approach, it is expected that some quality foreign education institutions may provide education services in India but there will always be a tendency to externalise the cost and internalise the benefits inviting unscrupulous elements to exploit the situation. Further, these elements may resort to aggressive marketing without caring for the quality of education and in the process innocent students and their parents will be exploited (Gill 2006). Moreover, government has also failed to actively propagate its satisfactory success in its various flagship programmes in education.

Further, in the context of ownership and organization of resource allocation for educational purposes and their historical misconducts, Dreze and Sen (1995), observed that ‘the lamentable history of post-independence education policy has suffered from diverse kinds of means, existences and contradictions including (a) a confusion of objectives, (b) inconsistencies between stated goals and actual policy, and (c) a specific contradiction between stated goal and resource allocation (for, it is evident in a low teacher-pupil ratio) (Dreze and Sen 1995). Further, the state is observed to be suffered from resource crunch since eighties. In fact, it is what Ravi Kumar (2006) observed in his

work that the spate of liberalization increased in the aftermath of SAPs started the process of state gradually withdrawing from those sectors that were seen as non-profit making. And one of the most noticeable aspects of the post-liberalization phase has been the gradual withdrawal of the state from sectors believed to be a burden for its treasury.

Globalisation and Shifts in the Organisation of Teaching Profession

As mentioned earlier, there has been a significant structural change in the system of school education since 1990s especially in terms of the organisation of the teaching itself. For instance, measures such as ban on the appointment of full time teachers in primary and middle schools for the last few years has created unprecedented crisis in school education in several states. In addition to the ban on new appointment of teachers, retirements and resignations of the old staff have left a lot of vacant posts in schools' (Kumar et al 2001).

As a result, the pupil-teacher ratio in primary schools has also increased. According to the official statistics of the MHRD, it increases from 24 in 1950-1 to 43 in 2001-02. The pupil-teacher ratio in upper primary schools has also increased from 20 to 38 during the same period. The current official norms of pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) are 1:40 in primary schools and 1:35 in upper primary schools (Indian Social Development Report 2006). In secondary education it is 21 in 1950, with an increase of 31 in 1990 then further it increase by one point only and remain almost stagnant by 2004-5(GOI 2007). The sluggish growth of PTR in comparison to the growth of enrolment, as discussed above, shows an inconsistency, which may not be competent enough to maintain and sustained the quality aspect in school education.

Further, the government has also failed to procure the promises made in various policy statements and its plans to provide adequate number of teachers to all schools have not progressed well. For instance, it is also noted by the India Social Development Report (2006) that the Indian education system is identified with the singular features of zero teacher and single teacher schools. Though there was a decline in the total number of single teacher schools between 1986 and 1993, such schools still formed a sizable number (1.12 Lakh), constituting 22 percent of the total number of schools. Moreover, it was also observed that if a single school has been a stigma, a phenomena of teacherless

school, that is, schools without teachers, has been even worse. It was further reported that more than 4000 primary schools in rural areas were without teachers in 1993 (Ibid 2006). It was only a decade later that some marginal improvement was noted. In 2003, there were 8000 primary schools (13 percent) without teachers and 1.1 Lakh (16.4 percent) single teacher schools (NCERT 2005).

Thus, in order to meet the rising levels of teacher-pupil ratios, a need was felt for fully qualified trained teachers on a full scale basis. But, in the light of the changes that have taken place in the post liberalisation era, the government preferred a non-committal contractual appointment for the teaching positions that are vacant.

The recruitment of adhoc teachers began with the entry of foreign funding agencies in the primary education. For instance, it began in Rajasthan in the 1980s when *Shiksha Karmis* were recruited from among the unemployed village youth to act as teachers in the local primary school under the auspices of a program financially assisted by the *Swedish International Development Authority* (SIDA).

The system of appointment of the contractual para-teachers has received impetus with the World Bank sponsored DPEP and Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS). It had different nomenclatures in different states, for instance, *Shiksha Karmies* in Uttar Pradesh, and *Vidhya Sahayaks* in Gujrat, etc. In 2002, there were, in all, 2.8 lakh para-teachers and one lakh part –time teachers in various schools in India (NCERT 2005). The governments, despite various shortcomings, determined to the appointment of these may be to come out of the recurrent financial crunch of 1990's³⁰.

³⁰ It is seen that the certain states due the deployment of the low salaried Para-teachers become able to increase the number of schools even during the financial crisis, see Krishna Kumar (2004) quality of education at the beginning of the 21st century: lessons from India, background paper prepared for the education for all global monitoring report 2005 the quality imperatives.

Table-2.6
Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) By Type Of Schools, 1950-51 to 2004-05

Year	Primary	Upper Primary	Sec./Sr. Secondary
1950-51	24	20	21
1960-61	36	31	25
1970-71	39	32	25
1980-81	38	33	27
1990-91	43	37	31
1995-96	43	37	32
1996-97	43	37	32
1997-98	42	37	32
1998-99	43	36	32
1999-90	43	38	32
2000-01	43	38	32
2001-02	43	34	34
2002-03	42	34	33
2003-04	45	35	33
2004-05	46	35	33

Source: Provisional, Selected educational Statistics (2004-05), MHRD 2007

If one looks at the Table 2.6, one may find the magnitude of para-teachers in different states. In Madhya Pradesh, the number is the highest, followed by Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. It is surprising a considerable number of para teachers in a left wing state of West Bengal. The data pertains to 1994 –

95, around which time the process of recruiting the para teachers has begun. The numbers might have seen an exponential rise over the past decade and a half after the 1994 – 95.

Table –2.7
Para-teachers appointed between 1994-99

States	Numbers of para-teachers appointed
Andhra Pradesh	35,000
Gujarat	2,332
Himachal Pradesh	26,485
Kerala	385
Madhya Pradesh	1,18,000
Orissa	380
Rajasthan	18,269
West Bengal	8,065
Uttar Pradesh	19,758

Source- Kumar et al (2001) The trouble with Para-teachers, frontline 9 November pp: 94

Thus, the post Jomtein operating policy has been to replace the teacher with under-qualified, untrained (or under trained) and under-paid persons appointed on short-term contracts (Sadgopal 2006). This adversely affects the quality aspect of learning and environment in the schools (Kumar 2006, Sadgopal 2006). Even then the policy of para-teachers un-interruptedly extended to secondary and higher education systems as well which clearly facilitate privatisation and commercialization of education. In fact, this drive is realized as an unabashed violation of sections 9.1 to 9.3 of NPE (1980) (as revised in 1992), which calls for raising the status of teachers.

The quality of school education suffered a set back as the para teachers are continuously under the threat of unstable existence and insecurity of livelihoods. For instance, it is observed that low salary, combined with contractual character of job, has been the major source of and lack of motivation among para-teachers (Kumar et al 2001).

It was also reported that the classroom transactions were of poor quality under the para-teachers. For the state, the involvement of educated unemployed rural youth in primary education sounded socially and politically correct as these teachers are locally recruited and are given lower salary as well. To those seeking reforms in the system, along the lines of decentralization, it promised community involvement and local participation. To policy planners and bureaucrats, it suggested an innovative way to spend less money on primary education. And to everybody concerned about the state of education in a vague, generalized sense, it offered an opportunity to show to the full time teacher that he or she was not indispensable (Kumar 2001: 93). Thus, the appointment of para-teachers shows the inherent paradoxes and various dilemmas exist in the policy making and its purpose of implementation.

Equity Concerns in Education

The Government of India since independence has been quite conscious to the educational needs and social upliftment of the marginalized sections of the society. The various provisions, long term as well as short-term goal oriented plans were promised, implemented and achieved with certain exceptions. Further, the primary objective of educational policy in India has been the equalization of educational opportunity among different social groups (Nambissan 1998: 1021). The education system, with various constitutional provisions, policy guidelines, and programmes, at all levels was made open to all - rich, poor, middle classes, men and women, rural and urban population, and backward and non-backward segments of the population. Several articles of the Constitution laid down general principles governing education development of the country. The commitment for equitable and egalitarian society was reiterated.

This spirit was also reflected in the National Policy on Education (1986), which reiterates that the central focus of the educational development has been equalization of Scheduled groups with the non-Scheduled groups at all stages and levels of education (India 1986). The strategy laid down for this is expansion of schooling facilities including hostels, provision of financial assistance especially to indigent groups as well as incentives such as free books, uniforms and so on (India 1986A: 112-114). But the government never honestly tried to achieve its promised goals. It is because of various

inconsistencies on the part of policy making and implementation level. For instance, from 1968 onwards, successive versions of the national policy on education “resolved” to raise the expenditure to 6 per cent, but this target has not been approached to this day (Dreze and Sen 1995).

It is due to the continuance of the relative educational backwardness of the Scheduled Castes that India has not yet achieved the goal of universalisation of elementary education (Aikara 1995). Firstly, poverty has been a major obstacle to the educational development of the Scheduled Castes. Secondly, the lack of easily accessible schooling facility, thirdly, the school system in India is not attractive to the poor in general and the scheduled castes in particular. Fourth, the relative neglect of elementary education in the welfare schemes for the education of scheduled castes has had its own drawbacks in promoting the education of the scheduled castes. Fifth is the age-old practice of untouchability. Finally he observed that another factor accounting for persistence of the educational backwardness of scheduled castes is the inequality of opportunities among the scheduled caste themselves (Aikara 1995:10-13).

One of the recurrent anxieties in various circles about the equity concerns is regarding the privatisation of schools especially at the primary level. Actually, it is based on the assumption that people are willing to pay for their children’s education. But it may be noted that people may be willing to pay but the majority of the country’s population are also those who have no resources to pay. The existing poverty data, which is 27.8%³¹, clearly establishes this truth (Saxena 2006). Further it is in this sense that the educational development and structural reforms have been seen contradictory in their aims and purposes (Tilak 2000). It was realized that with this effect, equity in education will decline rapidly, and education will become a commodity through privatisation. Nambissan (1986) observed that dalit students might avail of schooling facilities provided by government (and local bodies) and non-dalits may get education in the elite private schools. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) 42nd Round indicates that

³¹Cited from economic survey (2006-07), it further clarify, the provisional data of the latest NSS (National Sample Survey) 61st round for the year 2004-05 indicate the poverty ratio at national level was 27.8% if the uniform recall period (URP, in which the consumer expenditure data for all the items are collected from a 30 day recall period) is used, about 22% if the Mixed Recall Period (MRP, in which the consumer expenditure data for five non-food items, namely, clothing, footwear, durable goods, education and institutional medical expenses, are collected from a 365-day recall period, and the consumption data for the remaining items are collected from a 30-day recall period) is used.p:207-08

89.49 percent of all SC students in general education in rural areas are enrolled in the government institutions. Students other than those belonging to the SC and ST are found in relatively greater number in private institutions. For instance, while 20.77 percent of 'other' (Non-SC) students in general education in rural areas are in private institutions, only 10.09 percent of SC students from the similar background are in the private institutions (NSSO 1989).

School enrolment figures suggest that there is relatively a high degree of drop-out among dalit pupils as they proceed through their schooling. It is further noted that 49.6 percent of SC children leave school between classes – I and V, 67.78 percent between class-I and VIII and 79.88 percent fail to reach class X. Moreover, the percentage of drop-out among female children considerably exceeds that among males (Nambissan 1996:1016).

Further, other than the caste factor, as Aikara points out, poverty and insecure livelihoods are noted down as important factors that adversely impact upon the school enrolment and continuation in Schools' (Nambissan 2006: 235). Moreover, gender concern still needs sustained efforts from policy makers. It is seen that 'the disparity among gender is continued. Though, there is growth in enrolment ratio in last few years, but the difference between girls and boys enrolment continued to be around 10% points. The situation is even more disturbing at the upper primary level where the GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) falls below 60% level of girls' (Govinda 2007:33). In addition to it, "the large numbers of out-of-girls are a symptom of systemic failure and of the state's inability to provide this basic human right to them. Socio-cultural biases and the emphasis on domestic role are almost universal, yet their combination with poverty has an extremely detrimental effects on the participation of girls in education"(Chanana 2006:216). Even though various specific programmes and policy attention has been given to strengthen this 'better half' part of society in recent past. But, despite various efforts of the government at various levels, the hurdles and socio-economic constraints remain intact over a period of time. These are major obstacles in the path of achieving equitable educational development in the country.

In the overall context of inadequate public resources for schooling, greater privatisation of quality education for the elite, and the search for non-formal alternatives

for the educationally backward, it is likely that socially and economically disadvantaged groups will suffer greater neglect (Nambissan 1996). As Velaskar (2006) notes that the emergence of post-welfare states provides little comfort for egalitarian hopes. It has made way for the ominous shifts in the state policy of educational equity. Despite the stress on universalisation of elementary education continues, the state has watered down its commitment to mass schooling and opened up the education sector to the private sector, to the NGO sector and accorded increasing space to the elitist interests. The setting is one in which education policy is increasingly dictated by the concurrence of state, global, interest groups, and local powers and that underscores the active restructuring of education to fulfil their economic interests and play more direct roles in the new sectors and hierarchies of production (Velaskar 2006). Thus, the issue of equity in school education is crucially important that needs to be addressed in the context of globalisation.

Summary

The present chapter looked at the emerging trends and concerns in the Indian school education today. It may be noted that the 1990s have been an era of crisis in terms of economic scenario of the country out of which has emerged the need to liberalise, and globalise economy. This inturn has impacted all the sectors of governance, including school education. The first of these impacts are found in the trends on financing of education with the importance given to private participation as well as to the international aid. Moreover with the increase of participation of private sector as major force of education providers and presence of various systemic factors, as details has been given in the chapter, the fate of marginal sections of society are at the stake. The historical concern for equity and quality is being dismantled due to poor conviction of state. With these, other changes in the school education have also emerged. These changes do further pave the way for new concern and trends in school education in India.

CHAPTER –III

EFFECTS OF GLOBALISATION ON ORGANISATION OF LEARNING AND CURRICULUM IN SCHOL EDUCATION

In this context, it is worthwhile, at the outset, to examine the views of different social scientists that stress on different aspects of learning and education. For Avijit Pathak, 'learning should create essentially a new human being. It should enable him or her to relate to the world. It should radiate love and tolerance. It should give the strength to fight all sorts of darkness, brutality, violence and exploitation. It should create a humane/egalitarian harmonic world' (Pathak 1997: 7). While discussing this ideal aspect of education, Pathak doubts whether it would ever be achieved. Perhaps, because the education system is always used as a tool to colonize the minds, to exploit the resources and to rule the masses (Illich 1984; Freire 1971). According to Freire,

“If we do not transcend the idea of education as pure transference of knowledge that merely describes reality, we will prevent critical consciousness from emerging and thus reinforce political emergence and thus reinforce political illiteracy (1985: 104).

For Freire, the education system should create critical thinking. It should not work as a banking system, where students are depositors and the teacher is a depositor. Rather a true education should be based on genuine dialogue between teachers and taught (ibid 1985). Hence, education as a tool is always at the discretion of human beings as to how it should be used. Gandhi (1938), while speaking on this aspect of education asks,

“What is the meaning of education? It simply means a knowledge.....an instrument may be used or abused. The same instrument that may be used to care a patient or to take his life, and so may knowledge of letters. We daily observe that many men abuse it and very few make good use of it, and if this is a correct statement, we have proved that more harm has been done by it than good” (1938: 75-76).

Further, according to George Bereday (1969), an educational system has to respond to four different types of demand:

1. the demand of the individual for the development of his personal potential and for preparation for a career;
2. the demand of the economy, which, as part of national investment, requires a future manpower with highly development skills relevant to economic needs;
3. the demand of the consumer, which may mount high in an affluent and urban society, for mere education as desirable in itself;
4. the demand inherent in social change, extension of equality of opportunity, the function of stabilizing, breaking down, or replacing existing social strata in accordance with politically determined goals (Bereday 1969: 5).

Thus, it is the realization of these needs that necessitate changes in the education system and, in this respect, curriculum change is viewed as the most preferred vehicle for educational reform, involving the development of national curriculum plans or guides for specific subject areas and the delineation of classroom objectives, activities, and their evaluation (Montero-Sieburth 1992). Moreover, the curriculum broadly reflects upon recurrent societal needs and concerns. A curriculum framework has to address educational programmes as well as acquainting society with what the next generation is being taught and why? Thus the content and learning aspect aimed in curriculum becomes the major bone of contention for policy makers, education seekers and various sorts of pressure groups in society. In recent decades, curriculum in Indian schools has faced certain shifts and debates in respect to emerging global trends.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the changing aspects of learning and curriculum and deals with the effects of globalization on the organization of curriculum in the school education³². It tries to broadly outline the changes in curriculum arising out of the labour market reforms, internationalisation of curriculum and commercialization of

³²It primarily covers the analyses of National Curriculum Framework (2000,2005) and respective contemporary issues and debates.

school education in the context of globalization. The chapter also deals with the calls for inclusion of certain international concerns as part of the curriculum of the school education. Further, an attempt will be made to situate the recent debates on the contents of curriculum in the history textbooks as these debates contradict very basis of globalization with the processes of localization or homogenisation through education.

Curriculum Evolution in School Education: The Pre – 1990s

Curriculum can no longer be viewed as a separate entity that operates in isolation, but rather as one feature of an educational process that works in conjunction with a whole series of factors. In the twilight years of the colonial period, Mahatma Gandhi's Wardha Scheme saw education as a tool for social reconstruction, with mother-tongue teaching as central to development of the whole person (Shukla 2002). Indianisation was an integral part of the post-independence educational programme and policy statements. It is in this context that Secondary Education Commission (1952), constituted after independence, laid emphasis on the 'training' of the country's youth to be 'competent' good citizens, who could play their part effectively in the social reconstruction and the economic development of the country. It believed that in the wake of 'undesirable tendencies of provincialism'. There was a need to reorient people's mind in the right direction to develop intellectual, social and moral qualities, habits, attitudes and qualities of character, necessary for a citizen to bear worthy the responsibilities of democratic citizenship (Jain 2005: 1940).

According to Avijit Pathak (2002) there were primarily two components of the nationalist project. First, it attaches great importance to modernity; the vision of a modernized and industrially developed new India. Second, it is deeply concerned with the unity of India as a modern nation. National integration means awareness of unity; recovering all local identities and regional differences; realizing our shared Indianess and strengthening the centrality of the new nation-state (Pathak 2002:94-95). Subsequently, the strong need was felt to make India a secular, democratic and a developed nation in modern times.

The value of science and technology was recognized, of which Nehru was the stern advocate. Further, compatible to these concerns, the need was felt to restructure and

reorient the basic education, according to the socio-economic need and future requirements of the country in the upcoming modern developmental processes. For instance, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India, at the inaugural address of fourteenth meeting of Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) in January 1948 notes as following:

“Great changes have taken place in the country and the education system must also be keeping with them. The entire basic education must be revolutionized...The younger generation is our future hope. The way their faculties were developed and minds moulded would make or mar Indian destiny and their proper education given top priority. Our system of education must not be formed in isolation from our social and economic life of tomorrow different sides of our life and activities must be correlated. The primary aim of system is to create balanced minds, which cannot be misled. We must be strong mentally before we can think of building a nation” (Nehru 1948, cited in Biswas and Agrawal 1971)

In fact, the Mudaliar Commission (1952) set up immediately after independence reiterated "the secondary education is a complete unit by itself and not merely a preparatory stage that at the end of this period the student should be in a position, if he wishes, to enter into responsibilities of life and take up some vocations". It also recommended diversification of the courses at the secondary stage. This resulted in the creation of multipurpose schools. Unfortunately, for various reasons including lack of proper appreciation of the scheme, inadequate preparation in terms of infrastructure and teaching staff and over-emphasis on preparation for university courses, the multipurpose schools were reduced to being shadows of what were intended to develop.

However in its drive towards encouraging the industrial capability of the newly independent nation and some basic academic considerations again compelled the Government to appoint the Education Commission of 1964 under the Chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari to re-examine the entire educational system of the country keeping in view the national goals, improvement of quality and standard of education. The Kothari Commission considered the undesirable effects of uncontrolled admissions to the universities on the one hand and the resulting unemployment problem of the graduates on

the other. It came to the firm conclusion that for majority of the occupations, which the university graduates, seek, the university degrees are not necessary and those jobs can be competently performed by well trained higher secondary students. Therefore, the Commission suggested that at the higher secondary stage there need be two distinctive streams: one preparing students for advanced education in the universities and the professional colleges and the other preparing for a variety of occupations immediately after completion of vocational studies which fit them into those vocations. The National Policy of Education Resolution (1968) agrees with these recommendations of the Education Commission on vocational education. To quote:

"There is need to increase facilities for technical and vocational education at secondary stage. Provisions of facilities for secondary and vocational education should conform particularly to requirements of the developing economy and real employment opportunities. Such linkage is necessary to make technical and vocational education at the secondary stage effectively terminal. The facilities for technical and vocational education should be suitably diversified to cover a large number of fields such as agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, medicine and public health, home management, arts and crafts and secretarial training."

The Central Advisory Board of Education, which is the highest body concerned with educational policy in the country, has also been exercised about this problem. While deliberating at its 37th Session held in November 1974, the Board observed that the amount of Rs. 10 crores provided in the draft Central Plan for the introduction of vocational courses at the higher secondary stage was inadequate and recommended that the provision should be substantially increased. The Board also observed that the new courses should be started after taking into account the existing facilities to meet the demand for middle level persons in the concerned district/State. They also suggested that the National Council of Educational Research and Training might work out model curricula and syllabi for such courses and provide guidelines to the State Governments.

Further, school curriculum, in its manifest function, tries to promote equality and integrity among various sections of the society. It is that which provides a sense equality, integrity and self-respect to all sections of society. Thus in the initial decades after

independence, there were serious efforts to strengthen India, in terms of creating responsible citizens, developing scientific temper to grow industrially in larger global network of nation-states. It is in this spirit only, Kothari Commission stressed national development as the core of mainstream schooling, but the 1975 Framework was the first concrete step "to reorient the content and processes of school education based on a national curriculum" (NCERT, 1988).

In 1986, Rajiv Gandhi announced a new education policy, the National Policy on Education (NPE), which was intended to prepare India for the 21st century. The policy emphasized the need for change: 'Education in India stands at the crossroads today. Neither normal linear expansion nor the existing pace and nature of improvement can meet the needs of the situation.'³³ The changing face of the world was tried to paraphrase by the politicians and policy makers as well. Hence India as a developing nation was also needed to strengthen its inner weaknesses as well. Subsequently, the federal government's National Policy on Education (NPE) - 1986 emphasized nine central aspects of school education: regard to India's composite culture; the interplay of India's secular, scientific and moral values; improvement of publicly funded schooling and reduction of disparities; District Boards of Education and District Institutes of Education are to be established to help rural schools; teaching methods are to be improved; secondary education must incorporate a vocational awareness; a sense of social service is to be fostered among students; a sense of protecting the environment is to be encouraged in the young; educational opportunities need to be improved for disadvantaged groups such as scheduled Castes, scheduled Tribes, women, and handicapped people.

However, Historically, "The National Curriculum for Elementary and Secondary Education; A Framework", 1988, the first document detailing a national curricular framework in schools, was published in response to the desire expressed in the "National Policy on Education", 1986 that the implementation of education policy and emerging trends and concerns in education should be reviewed periodically. It was perhaps due the changing economic trends and accordingly the needs of society, where the tool of retrospect and prospect were essential to prepare state governments and policy makers to deal with upcoming broader changes in 1990's era.

³³ cited in Shukla (1988) p:2

Post 90s Reforms in School Curriculum

The era of 1990's brought in many changes and trends in school curriculum. The two National Curriculum Frameworks developed by NCERT inherently thus reflect these aspects of changing societal needs, concerns and aspirations.

It was after 1988 that a long span of twelve years took for a second review to be carried out by the NCERT and this was entitled "National Curriculum Framework for School Education", 2000. In its preface, the then Director of the NCERT asserted that curriculum development was a device to translate national goals into educational experiences. Both this and the present document "National Curriculum Framework", 2005 (intended to be a review of the earlier one in the light of the report "Learning without Burden", 1993)³⁴ perforce address a number of common themes like language education, medium of instruction, the need for common school system at all stages, of social cohesion, secularism and national integration and the relevance of these issues to the entire educational process.

They both (NCF 2000, 2005) talk of the need for healthy, enjoyable and stress-free early childhood education, sustenance and nurturing of talent and a reduction of the curricular load, of inculcating trust in teachers, of their empowerment by ensuring their participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the curriculum as well as in the development of curricular material. Both documents mention the participation of parents and the community in the educational process and the need to root education in the Indian milieu. However, dramatically both documents developed under two separate governments, which were different on the ground of ideology and political goals. In 2000/01, 'saffronization' of education became a national issue in 2001, when BJP and its allies were in the government.

However, In its over all context, the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 significantly emphasises upon sensitising the pupil on the issues of poverty, illiteracy, child labour, class, caste, gender and other issues relevant to society. NCF (2005)

³⁴ An advisory committee (1993) chaired by Yash Aggarwal appointed in by the MHRD GOI

suggests to articulate local aspirations in order to give a valuable place for local knowledge. The curriculum significantly advocates for child centred learning, for greater participation of local community, which again are offshoots of the globalisation. There is significant shift of changing notion of textbook from instructive to more suggestive, shift from utilitarianism to egalitarianism, change is nomenclature from civics to political science and gender concerns in terms of to take shift from historically exist patriarchal boundaries. However, there is fierce contrast and power contestations over these issues and debates on the very contents of curriculum.

However, in order to understand the impact of market on education, the inherent linkage between the two can be looked under two important heads. First, in terms of privatisation of schools that impacts upon the accessibility and quantity aspects and, secondly, in terms of reorganising the context and processes of school learning under the influence of market, which may impact upon quality of learning and the culture of criticality in education. The first aspect is very much related to policy making and implementation in terms of equity, ownership and organization of schools and has been discussed elaborately in the previous chapter. The latter deals with the culture of learning and philosophical aspects of education. While in the last couple of decades with the upcoming of global trends there is a pressure to create new division of labour and redefining the job markets as well. Consequently it impacts on the learning and imposes new demands and structure on the schools. Krishna Kumar (2006) while observing this chemistry between education and globalisation notes as following:

“Globalisation has accentuated competitive character of modern education and compelled all national systems of education to focus attention on the measurable outcomes of teaching, making earlier norms and priorities, which draw attention to the quality of children’s experience of learning irrelevant and unpopular. The shift of policy emphasis away from experience to outcome driven instruction has blurred the distinction between information and knowledge. This has a serious implication for teaching as a professional activity. It is now easy to reduce a teacher into becoming a ubiquitous knowledge worker who is carrying out a given set of instructions than applying his or her own mind. Teacher also becomes actualised and replaceable by information machines that attract

customers with self-teaching packages. The loss of distinction between information and knowledge also implies a significant cultural change in that the kinds of knowledge which were passed on from generation to generation by the community in tacit ways are now forced to adopt an explicit or informative character in order to survive (Kumar 2006: 4033)".

Further, Avijit Pathak (2001) argues that when marketisation colonises education, the culture of learning deteriorates. For him, what ought to characterise this culture is its seriousness, devotion and life-long commitment to deeper questions. Marketisation, however, means quick / instant / practical results. Whatever cannot generate wealth and that too immediately tends to become marginalized (Pathak 1997). Taking the term from Gramsci (1980), education or our learning processes should have capability to produce "organic intellectuals". Hence the neoliberal tendencies need to be contained, as they only tempt produce "intellectual workers" and not organic intellectual as such (patnaik 2005). Thus there is growing amount of consensus that the true aspect of learning has been dismantled due to the upcoming forces of contemporary global trends.

It is in this context three major changes are observed in the post 1990s calls for reforms in school education. They are (a) labour market reforms, (b) internationalisation of curriculum, and (c) commercialisation.

a. Labour Market Reforms and Curricular Changes in School Education

In terms of the labour market reforms in the context of globalization, governments are under pressure to attract foreign capital and this means a ready supply of skilled labour. Further, the shift from manufacturing to the services sector is an important development in the nineties. Correspondingly, the schools are under pressure to increase the levels of education and expertise of the labour force. Further, consciousness about the quality and excellence has gained currency in order to be compared internationally. This has placed increased emphasis on mathematics, and the science curriculum and techno-scientific areas of knowledge.

Thus, the discourse today is about the skills 'relevant' for employment, technically 'useful' knowledge, 'competence' and 'enterprise'. These dimensions

certainly have some effect on national planning of the labour force, industries, and professions, on the one hand, and on the school education, on the other. One consequence of these changes for the Indian context is that the educational establishments tend to argue that reforms are necessary even within the institutional contexts focusing on a few subject areas and courses of study, and a few areas of knowledge. Though the result of such strategies is beneficial in some respect, as in the case of emphasis on IT Education in India, it may lead to stratification of institutions which are already differentiated in terms of private and public educational institutions.

(b). Demands for Internationalisation of Curriculum

The advocates of globalization today argue for the internationalisation of curriculum. For them, a truly global education today is characterised by its engagement with the process of globalization, its international networks, and its internationalised curricula. The internationalisation of curriculum entails a complex inter-play of history, politics, knowledge production, and its use, as well as teaching and learning targets (Goldstein 2004). All these, however, are influenced by international market conditions and professional orientations. If this is so, the internationalised curriculum involves the development of new skills, attitudes and knowledge among students and teachers alike. It requires creation of new learning practices, spaces, ethos, and cultures. Therefore, internationalisation of curriculum is a dynamic process, which gives the teachers and students an opportunity to own the processes of their own learning and knowledge production.

However, there is a danger in such internationalisation of curriculum. For instance, the internationalisation means the homogenisation of curriculum across all the nations and cultures. This obviously rejects the strengths of the diversity or heterogeneity in each of the society or cultures. The internationalisation of curriculum in the wake of globalisation may create conflicts at the local level, which threaten the social harmony as is evident in some of the South Asian countries. The grass-root movements in the region are an example of these trends. At another level, there have been demands for introduction of local, cultural, national elements into the curriculum as the establishments are increasingly feeling threatened by what they call ‘westernization’ or

‘McDonoldization’, or sometimes, even called ‘secularization’. In this case, the concept of the ‘global’ is sharply contrasted with the ‘local’ and education systems in India do face the dilemma as to which way to move.

(c). Commercialisation and its Impact on the Curricular Change

Earlier, the role of the business sector in education was limited to providing fellowships and loans to deserving students and facilitating internships of the students to enable them comfortably complete the school education or to promote competition and achievement. However, in the context of globalisation, two major developments have taken place. One is the inclusion of members of the business houses on the boards of the public schools in order to enhance the marketability of the school brands. This is expected to ensure the relevance of the contents of the curriculum to the needs of tomorrow. Areas of particular interest to the business sector include accountancy, business studies, engineering and technology based curricula. Obviously, in this case, the private sector has a special interest in what the schools teach their students in prior to their entry into the undergraduate courses or even the higher secondary courses. These areas of curriculum ensure that they can later gain intro into these courses of study. A cursory look at what happened in India after the 1990 reveals that the school curricula placed greater emphasis on strengthening of contents of science and mathematics.

Commercialisation is continually playing its dubious role in the Indian context. It further deepens the existing divisive tendencies in Indian society. Jayati Ghosh notes, “it, combined with the existing economic inequalities, has created systems of skill development that essentially benefited a small minority rather than the society that paid for the process. Human capital formation thus became the privilege of the elite that could access publicly subsidised higher education or afford expensive private provision of it. In recent years, value education became a more dubious concept, with undertones of revanchist and backward looking ideologies that relegated women, minority communities and particular social groups to inferior status and marginal recognition” (Ghosh 2005).

Further it has been argued that apart from the emerging private stakeholders at education distribution level, economic inequalities are also created, simply by ignoring them to relate to textbooks. It is because most of illustrations in textbooks are given of

urban centres. Thus streaming or giving preferences to certain disciplines and upcoming acquisitive instincts of economic kind are some of the offshoots of commercialisation are taking hold through media of curricula itself.

Globalisation and Contestations over the Subject Matter in School Curriculum

Curriculum becomes the major contested terrain for peoples, groups and even social scientists of different viewpoints. In recent times, in the post 1990s, curriculum in Indian schools is interfaced with various sorts of debates on rewriting history, information on sex related issues, inclusion of peace education and re-advocating the issues of equality, quality and equity in education. In this backdrop, this section deals with the emerging debates and issues in contemporary school curriculum. .

Textbooks or school curricula are the major contributors to create a worldview and mental make of the children. Krishna Kumar (2001) talks of the socialization process of the young minds to inculcate the feeling of pride and responsible citizenship whereupon the textbooks of history are of immense importance. According to him, “history taught to the young is always a contemporary concern, and for obvious reasons. Every society worries about how its young will think about the past because knowledge of the past has so much to do with attitude and belief that are important for a society’s survival. As nation-state, modern societies place a heavy responsibility on the historian who writes for the young. Political leaders and the other elite of newly established nation-state tend to perceive education mainly as a means of imparting a strong sense of national identity to the young.”³⁵

(a) Homogenisation through Curriculum and Textbooks

In the last couple of decades, the issue of developing curriculum and textbooks has been major issue of debates and discussion. Most importantly, it witnesses an intense ideological debate on the nature and direction of Indian education system (Yechury and Maurya 2005) particularly between forces of different ideologies, political goals and aims. There have been the attempts to homogenise certain values as universal ones out of

³⁵ See Krishna Kumar (2001) prejudice and pride: school histories of the freedom struggle in India and Pakistan, penguin (pp: 5), where he analyse the history textbooks of schools of India and Pakistan comparatively.

the fear that these values will die, and thus a loss of cultural heritage. The fear of losing one's culture and identity arises due to mainly two factors; one the majority /minority tussle³⁶, and secondly import of western values in the form of globalisation, as it is perceived.

It may be noted that 'globalisation has two fold ways of interaction with local cultures: i) homogenisation and ii) cosmopolitanism. Globalisation either eliminates local elements or incorporates them without acknowledging it. Secondly, it may incorporate and celebrates local community' (Boro 2006: 12). In India, school curricula become the media of the both discourses i.e. homogenisation and cosmopolitanism³⁷.

In as much as there has been a public debate on the NCF, the more widely publicised aspect has been on textbooks in history. This is a predictable continuation of the earlier debate on rewriting history. The BJP, which dominated coalition government from 1998 until 2004, initially came to power with an agenda heavily influenced by Hindutva³⁸. In 2000 - 01, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) issued a National Curriculum Framework for school education under the slogan of 'Indianise, Nationalize and Spiritualize'. The new policy involved a massive textbook revision based on certain ideologies of political parties. The trends show a departure from the ideals of secularism, inculcation of scientific temper, elimination of fanaticism and superstitions (Dev 2005:15). However the issue was supposed to have ended with ouster of BJP-led government, but it is still a most vulnerable one.

Thus, it may be noted that the globalisation, in the form of legitimising the values of secularism and new life styles, also makes the conservative forces insecure and they attempt to enforce their agenda as they are afraid that the globalisation will sweep the local culture, history and heritage.

³⁶ Educational experts, while analysing textbooks of secondary classes in Rajasthan have called for their withdrawal in view of their "objectionable" content -- promoting hatred and prejudices against Dalits and minorities -- and asked the Centre to stop funding the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in the State. Similarly, The experts, who attended a State-level workshop on the State Secondary Education Board's textbooks here over the weekend, felt that the books formed part of the ruling BJP's larger agenda for social mobilisation on communal lines by invoking religious symbols and sentiments (The Hindu, 24 February 2007)

³⁷ Here, in this section, the aim is, only, to include the debate on the discourse on homogenisation, particularly, in the context of recent debates on curriculum.

³⁸ The BJP or Sangh Privar aimed to realise "cultural nationalism" or 'Hindutva' as sole guiding principle. Thus, trying to homogenise their own particular value an Indian national ones.

(b). Debates on Sex education

The other important debate, which has made its presence, is information in the curriculum on health issues, contraception and sexually transmitted diseases. In fact, India has included sex education in its national curriculum since the late 1980s, but earlier course material gave little detail on contraception and sexually transmitted diseases and had no illustrations (Gentlemen 2007). The inclusion of sex education as a part of school curriculum has provoked anger from various fundamentalist forces in the country. As, Indian society is passing through extraordinarily rapid social changes, thus a dispute over the content of a sex education textbook throws a spotlight on the ever-shifting boundaries between cultural acceptability and sexual taboos. However the need for education on sex related problems is felt on various fronts. NCF (2005) while recognizing the need to make awareness about health among children, it note as:

“There is growing realization that the health needs of adolescents, particularly their reproductive and sexual health needs, require to be addressed. Since these needs predominantly relate to sex and sexuality, which is culturally a very sensitive area, they are deprived of opportunities to get the appropriate information. As such, their understanding of reproductive and sexual health and their behaviour in this regard are guided predominantly by myths and misconceptions, making them vulnerable to risky situations, such as drug/substance abuse and HIV/AIDS transmission. Age- appropriate context-specific interventions focused on adolescent reproductive and sexual health concerns, including HIV/AIDS and drug/ substance abuse, therefore, are needed to provide children opportunities to construct knowledge and acquire life skills, so that they cope with concerns related to the process of growing up”(p: 57)

It has recently been witnessed been that One by one, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Rajasthan - some of the largest Indian states - declared that the content of the course was unacceptable for Indian children and announced a suspension of the program (International Herald Tribune 2007, 24 May). Despite the stern opposition of various conservative forces, the voices have been raised from various quarters in favour of including sex education in school curriculum. While responding to a PIL (Public Interest Litigation) by NGO Nari Raksha Samiti in 2003, Supreme Court of India responds as: “The Supreme Court agreed with an NGO pleading that sex education in

school curriculum could play a vital role in reducing the recent spurt in rape cases in the capital, but made it clear that it cannot be given the status of a fundamental right on the same plain as the right to education”.³⁹ It shows how conservative forces in India are battling fiercely to resist the swift pace of change (Lall 2005) or to say increasingly globalized values.

(c). Peace Education

The educational goals, policies and programmes have been spelt out within the framework of the national goals and the principles laid down in the Constitution. Historically, since independence, fundamental thrust of India's role in world affairs has been for the promotion of international peace and cooperation, ending of imperialism, colonialism, and racism and for creating a just world order. The school curriculum is aimed to socialise these values to children. India is a multicultural, multilingual and multi religious country in the world need these values not only strengthen its own internal integrity, but being one of the largest democracy, reflect an example to the outside world

NPE (1986) and POA (1992), however, make a direct reference to the promotion of 'International Cooperation' and 'peaceful co-existence as an important objective of education.. The 1990 World Declaration on Education for All (the Jomtien Declaration) clearly states that basic learning needs comprise not only essential tools such as literacy and numeracy, but also the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required to live and work in dignity and to participate in development. It further states that the satisfaction of those needs implies a responsibility to promote social justice, acceptance of differences, and peace (Inter-Agency Commission, WCEFA, 1990).

³⁹Supreme Court of India (2003) responds to a PIL by NGO Nari Raksha (19 Nov 2005 TNN)

Acting in tandem with, NCF (2000) significantly advocate the elimination of all sort of evils like poverty, ignorance, ill health, corruption and violence, and ensuring equity, health, peace and prosperity. NCF (2005) too reiterate the importance of peace education''. While admitting the ongoing pace of violence, lack of ethical values, welfare and conflict ridden society, it recommend that "the for peace education within the framework of national school curriculum document is compellingly clear in the light of the escalating trends, and taste for, violence globally, nationally and locally (NCF2005: 61). Thus, a large number of institutions, NGOs, and individuals across the country have been working for nurturing values of peace and co-existence.

(d). Representations of caste and gender concerns through school curriculum

Representations of caste and gender are a fundamental issue in the curricula and content, which themselves become critical areas of inquiry and concern, particularly in the very constitution of knowledge itself. Historically, some castes and women has been disadvantage and misrepresented. Thus, the Equity and excellence have given due importance by policy makers and curriculum designer for their upliftment. Special care has to be taken of institutions located in rural, tribal and remote areas to remove the existing disparities

The National Curriculum Framework (2000) aimed at building a cohesive society based on pillars of relevance, equity and excellence. It further advocates for human rights including of including the rights of the child, especially those of the girl child and other disadvantage groups. In over all contexts, curriculum tries to be sensitive to the needs of children who come from disadvantaged sections of society. For instance the National Curriculum Framework (2005) essentially advocates the need to provide for 'equal opportunity to all, not only in access but also in the conditions of success' (Nambissan 2006:1)

The National Curriculum Framework (2005) recommends gender sensitivity with special reference to the awareness among boys regarding the problems faced by girls in present day society and schools. To this effect, it is worthwhile to note, CABE Committee reports (2005) recommends that "Instrumentalist approach i.e. girls'

education for fertility control, better health care, decreased expenses on health care and decreased infant mortality rate etc. needs to be vehemently opposed... It is necessary that the targets to achieve should not be spelt out only in terms of enrolment and retention of girl students, but also in terms of their relative achievement and performance at all levels and in all subjects. It must be realized that the education of girls has to be ensured and supported beyond the elementary level” (GOI 2005:6-7)

On the other, ‘the concerns of scheduled caste and scheduled tribes are raised as they have been deprived and disadvantaged sections’ (Nambissan 2006). Nevertheless, there have been various inconsistencies (Sen and Dreze 2001) in resource allocation and failures (Nambissan 2006) such as despite the fancy claims of curriculum framework, “there is the lack of sensitivity of schools to the economic and social realities that the children experience in their daily lives. The fact that schools have failed to provide adequate academic support to dalits and *adivasi* children, a majority of who come from non-literate and poorly educated homes, is also a factor that is usually ignored. On the other hand, the rapid expansion of para-teacher schools points to the possible institutionalisation of inferior system of education within the formal school system”(2006:9) in this entire process of development. Moreover it has been seen that the exclusion of children’s language and culture from the medium and content of the school knowledge, as well as the message of message of inferiority that are conveyed to them through the hidden curriculum, are critical factors that are likely to adversely affect children’s motivation to learn and their interest in their studies”(Nambissan2006: 9). It is noted that there is need to take a systematic critique of the impact of neo-liberal economics and communal politics on the education system (Sadgopal 2005). Moreover, not giving much heed to equality and social justice than a series of rhetorical replete (Sadgoppal 2005) are some of the serious debacles in procuring the goals and aims in school education.

(e). Environmental Education as an off-shoot of globalization

Environmental scientists and activists reflected the broader societal ideologies and paradigms dominant at a particular period so do environmental educationalists. This is

particularly evident in proposals for curriculum innovation in environmental education whether they are made by influential theorists, powerful pressure groups or authoritative national governments and emerging influential international agencies. For the purposes of this review, this section attempts to take a stock of review of current debates about the nature of curriculum as the context within which environmental education is being developed.

It is obvious that aims and objectives, often in the environmental education literature referred to as goals, are needed to provide a purposeful sense of direction for curriculum development and instruction. Environmental Education, which covers the studies in environmental problems and their solutions, has now become a global issue. The widespread concerns on '*global warming*' have raised the debate all over the world. As a result of the global concern for environment and eco-friendly development programmes, the need for environmental education skills and education have also increased in recent times (Meter and Smaddar 2006). It was NPE (1986 as revised in 1992), which envisaged that the environmental education should form the essential part of the school curricula and the children must be sensitised to environmental hazards. It notes in para 8.5 that, "there is paramount need to create a consciousness of the environment. It must permeate all ages and all sections of society, beginning with the child. Environment consciousness should inform teaching in schools and colleges. This aspect will be integrated in the entire educational process (GOI 1992: 28-29) To rationalise these promises the GOI launched a scheme, 'environmental orientation in school education' in 1988-89. In the year 2004-05 the voluntary organisations were give financial assistance of Rs. 180.68 Lakh to start the innovative and experimental programmes in the field of environmental education (GOI 2007). As a result, school curricula are given an added importance to create environmental awareness about non-renewable resource and ecological balances. National Curriculum Framework (2005), while witnessing the emergence of environmental crisis due changing life styles, use of innovative technologies, reiterates its commitment to preserve and sustain the ecological balance in following words:

“Making children sensitive to the environment and the need for its protection is another important curricular concern. The emergence of new technological choices and living styles witnessed during the last century has led to environmental degradation and vast imbalances between the advantaged and the disadvantaged. It has become imperative now more than ever before to nurture and preserve the environment. Education can provide the necessary perspective on how human life can be reconciled with the crisis of the environment so that survival, growth and development remain possible... Living in harmony within oneself and with one’s natural and social environment is a basic human need. Sound development of an individual’s personality can take place only in an ethos marked by peace. A disturbed natural and psycho-social environment often leads to stress in human relations, triggering intolerance and conflict. We live in an age of unprecedented violence—local, national, regional and global (NCF 2005:6 chapter-1)”

Proceeding with commitments of earlier policy statements and acting in tandem with its own defined goals, NCERT has also introduced a section called environmental science at the class VI level covering 20 marks. In the class IX and X, in the syllabus of science and technology, several important topics like natural resources, our environment, etc have been incorporated. Following are the chief goals of environmental education in India:

1. To improve the quality of environment.
2. To create awareness among the people on environmental problems and conservation; and
3. To create an atmosphere so that people participate in decision –making and develop the abilities to evaluate the eco-friendly developmental programs.

Thus, it was due to these emerging global concerns that the countries like India took initiatives to create awareness on environment. The task of determining organising principles and concepts for the subject knowledge of environmental education has been predicated by the need to provide adequate, balanced and relevant knowledge for the establishment of an environmentally responsible citizenry. Central to this concern is the concept of environmental literacy for judicious use of natural resources and atmosphere.

Summary

Curriculum development essentially is a process of ongoing search for qualitative improvement in response to different changes in society. It leads to an education system that would reduce inequalities and respond to social, cultural and economic concerns of the society and promote excellence. For instance the demand for peace education and inclusion of sex education may be seen in respect to broader spectrum of global concerns. Moreover, the global upsurge of science and technology and commercialisation has brought in other parasitic trends in this sphere of learning and education. The new developments may have impact on the pedagogical practices and orientation of teaching and learning processes. Even though there is growing inclination towards issues like peace education, importance to local knowledge, sex education but contrarily there is growing contestation over there in terms of their implementation and implications. Thus, as a result, serious damage has already been done to education system systematically and ideologically.

CHAPTER-IV

CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to examine the impact of globalisation on the structure and processes of school education in India. The emphasis is mainly on looking at the changes that have occurred in school education in the post 1990s. The decade of 1990's and afterwards has been taken as the state driven policies of economic liberalization have led to a sudden surge in changes in other sectors of governance such as education as well. Though the impact of these policies of globalization have impacted the higher education more directly, its spin-offs are observed in the school education sector as well. The processes of privatisation, marketisation and commercialisation of the education sector have impacted several aspects of organization of school education, its contents, approaches and larger goals in a big way. The study attempts to throw light on some of these effects. It mainly relies on the secondary sources which itself has a limitation particularly as they fail to distinctly recognize the effects of globalization more directly. Therefore, the researcher had to put together the data and the analytical perspectives to understand the implications of the educational changes in the era of globalization.

The study begins with a description of the conceptual and theoretical perspectives on linkages between education and globalisation and the role the state plays in this linkage. The discourse of globalisation is not a new process and it has existed at all phases of human history. The history of the world has full of references to cross-border movements for trade, for colonisation, and for cultural exchanges. However, in recent times, this process of globalisation has been redefined mainly in terms of the way the cross-border movements have arisen primarily out of the necessity of interdependent flows of monetary as well as commodities and people for better management of economies of many countries. This has resulted in a fierce competition between nations to do better and invite the best of technologies, manpower and, more importantly capital.

The state organs are perceived to be of inefficient to meet such sudden turn over of processes that are sweeping the world and therefore the non-governmental and private intervention has been encouraged in a big way. Once the private sector set its position as an alternative, if not a parallel, mechanism to the state within the economy, it had led to

many changes in the basic governance of the society itself. The state is no longer the sole player in the development of a nation and the private sector has been assigned the task of delivery of goods and services to the population. Though the state still remains as a major stakeholder in the governance, its role, in many cases, got restricted to being a provider of welfare services to the society. In some countries, the state has even withdrawn from even this role and largely remained restricted to areas such as defence, internal security, etc. The state's intervention in many other social sectors has remained peripheral and largely restricted to issuing the policy guidelines. The reluctance on the part of the state to directly intervene instead of letting the space for private stakeholders is disturbing as the private sector has its role cut out mainly to earn profits rather than the larger social good.

Such a scenario threatens the very ideals of equity and accessibility of goods and services to a large sections of disadvantaged groups within each society. It also changes the very nature of discourse of a society into a more commercialised and cost-benefit relations, loosing out the human character of social well-being. Some of these trends have also set in the education sector which are sought to be focused in this study. This study is thus an attempt to see the larger trends in the way the process of globalisation has been affecting the policies and practices within the school education in the Indian context. Here, as stated earlier, the component of school education is seen as inclusive of both elementary education as well as the secondary education.

In the first place, India as a developing nation has been confronted with the dilemma whether it should spend adequately on the welfare services or it should cut the existing expenditure as there is the pressure from the ongoing global economic reform especially after the decade of 1990's. The apprehensions that India's continued spending of its large chunk of expenditure on the welfare services would lead to a total breakdown of the economy have given rise to the process of liberalisation in the early 1990s.

However, what remains common to the recent phase of market-oriented reforms in India and the earlier phase of state-led development planning is the failure to ensure access to basic education for the masses. Moreover the major dilemma, which has recently emerged is that on the one hand the government of India has declared education as a fundamental right, but on the other hand it is not quite strong enough to provide all

requisite facilities to education seekers especially to the marginal sections of the society. It is observed the post-liberalization period has actually witnessed a gradual withdrawal of the state from the sphere of education, adversely affecting both the spread as well as the quality of education in the country. The government seems half hearted in its policy making and implementation and fails in providing required infrastructure and facilities to the schools. In addition, there is considerable spread of private educational institutions even at the elementary level notwithstanding the secondary and post-secondary levels. India still have a large chunk of its population below the poverty line, which is 26 percent approximately.

While there has been a rapid increase in the number of educational institutions and the enrolments, the proportion of expenditure remains more or less constant over the years. Such a scenario certainly can't be left to the private sector, which would not be interested to even indulge in it as there are no short-term gains, and the state has to play an active role to bring its more than one third of the total population and more than half of the women into the fold of education. In the absence of such a direct state intervention, the goal of universalisation of elementary education (UEE) in India is a distant prospect in the light of ever increasing gaps between the rich and the poor.

The statistics of this non-achievement are only too well known. There are wide disparities in educational attainments across states and between genders. While the oft-quoted state of Kerala reached near-total literacy, pockets of Rajasthan have female literacy rates as low as 14 percent, posing a serious challenge to the process of social and economic development. Bihar and Rajasthan have the lowest female adult literacy rate of 27 percent. While the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in the country increased to 90 percent in 1997-98, the Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) is only about 60.32 percent. The NER for girls is 48.8 percent, over 22 percent lower than that of boys. The worst gender differential is found in Rajasthan where the NER for girls is 47 percent lower than that of boys. About 35 million children of the age group 6-11 years in the country were out of school in 1997. An average of nearly a quarter of the children enrolled across the primary grades repeat classes. While in Kerala, all children enrolled in Grade I go on to Grade V, at the national level only an average of 56 percent children survive to Grade V. India is thus grappling with serious problems of inadequate access and huge spatial variations in

quality and inefficiency in the schooling system. The gap between the educational levels of male and female, poor and rich, and urban and rural is still the matter of concern. Therefore, the state's withdrawal from the funding which is shown as increasing in real terms in the reports may not be sufficient in the light of the burgeoning number of children seeking to enter the portals of a school in the country.

The post-1990 era has witnessed a significant expansion of the alternative modes of education with the proliferation of unrecognised, for-profit schools even at the primary stage. Between 1986 and 1993, the enrolment in private aided schools (primary classes) increased at a compound growth rate of 9.5% per annum and the corresponding increase in government/local body schools was merely 1.4% per annum. The share of enrolment in private unaided schools in primary classes has increased from 5.1% in 1986 and 8.6% in 1993. The pyramid of coverage of private education is narrow at the bottom and wide at the apex.

Due to the lack of serious policy imperatives, the school education system shows signs of a dual system - one set of schools meant for the poor, mainly in the government sector, and those who are unable to pay for quality education involving high user costs, mainly in the private sector. The studies conducted on levels of achievements of children in both the sectors at the school education level reinforce the reproduction and perpetuation of differential access to quality schooling based on social class as well as caste differences. Thus, the post-globalisation scenario presents a picture of equitable and egalitarian social structure for tomorrow, but one that introduces and reproduces a new structure of social stratification which may not be very different from the traditional stratification system within the Indian society. In other words, the caste stratification gets reinforced as a class based stratification in a much more clearer manner in the era of globalisation. As a result, if the child is a poor girl from either the scheduled caste or tribe living in a remote backward rural region of the country, her inclusion into the process of schooling as well as the larger processes of development are extremely remote. Therefore, if the globalisation is meant to bridge the gaps between the rich and the poor as theory claims, then it must include such categories of children instead of exclude them from benefitting.

The proportion of poor living in the educationally backward states is higher than the national average. The real challenge to the success of educational reforms lies in helping these areas come out of their educational backwardness and ultimately out of their vicious cycle of poverty. The vicious circle of underdevelopment comprises of lack of access to basic services like health, nutrition, education and employment. Where and how to break this vicious cycle is an issue for the development planners. A new path for the development trajectory has to be chartered essentially in the years to come for a better and over all development of the society. Such an effort must, however, make the goal of making education upto the age of 14 years a really a fundamental right and must be enforced in much rigorous ways than the mere sloganeering and rhetoric.

The Supreme Court's judgement in Unnikrishnan's case (1993) and the 93rd Constitutional Amendment which stipulate that all citizens have a fundamental right to education up to the age of 14 years must be made real. Not just that, the education that is imparted in the schools, both primary and secondary, must be of good quality. Only then the competitive advantage the country has gained in the highly skilled knowledge workers can be retained and sustained in the years to come. In the absence of widening the base of our manpower by including the hitherto excluded groups to good quality education may once again put it behind many nations that are quick to gain in the era of globalization. For instance, the Chinese are not far behind in producing English speaking skilled man power for the IT and other emerging technology areas. In this case, India cannot be just relying on a few private institutions catering only to the rich and the middle classes. Therefore, the crux of the argument is that the efforts to globalize must precede the efforts to equalize good quality education at the school level, which itself address the unevenness in the quality higher education in India.

In the primary education sector, the emphasis on decentralised management and community involvement through the micro planning may be envisaged more actively by ensuring these mechanisms do work at the ground level. Such measures cannot be restricted just to the lip-service, rather they are the necessary paths to achieve what has been stated in the foregone discussion. For this, inadequacy in planning, enhancing the capacities for managerial and professional competencies may be tackled at various levels of school education establishment. The contractual appointment of the sub-standard

teachers as para-teachers is a real bane in achieving this goal of good quality education. Therefore, the state must not resort to the adhocism by introducing such temporary and ill-conceived measures in the interest of the larger public as well as national good.

Further, another irony of the effects of globalisation on school education is that the government talking of public-private partnership in education, which only furthers commercialisation, putting both equity as well as quality at stake. This has already happened in the case of higher technical education where today excessive commercialisation has led to the emergence of teaching shops every nook and corner of the country, mainly in the southern states. Some shops had to be closed, as there are no takers to such ill-equipped institutions. The scenario seems to be catching fast even in the school education. Therefore, regulatory mechanisms need to be placed in order to rescue the cause and course of the education itself.

Yet another area, which the study highlighted, is in terms of the curricular changes in the school education. Not only the structure of school education undergoing change in recent times, but the contents and curriculum is also undergoing transformation in recent times. The study focused on the two efforts that have been made, and have been very much contested, to formulate the curricular framework in 2000 and 2005 under two different political ideologies juxtaposing each other. Though there seems to have been a broader consensus over assigning value to the curriculum in science and mathematics as future areas of employment and skill formation for the demands at the global as well as the national level, the social science subjects have become sites of contestation. It is interesting that the same curriculum is differentiated in terms of its relevance to two different geographies, one for the global (science and mathematics) and the other for the local (history, society, polity, and culture). Therefore, these contradictions may be very much part of the very process of globalisation itself, the threats of being swept away by the global culture, through education needs to be addressed.

Thus, the study highlighted some of the trends that are occurring in the Indian school education in the post-1990s that marked the new wave of globalisation. As mentioned in the beginning of the study in the chapter one, the study has its own

limitations, but has promises for an exhaustive and comprehensive study of actual processes and practices at the school as well as societal level at the doctoral stage. Some of the limitations may well be studied in-depth at the advanced levels of research. However, the study has been successful in meeting its initial objective of identifying the broad trends and shifts in school education in the era of globalisation.

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<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0305-0068%281991%2927%3A3%3C325%3AINCPAP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K>

APPENDIX

Table A.i

Drop-out rates among scheduled castes at primary, elementary & secondary stages

Year	Primary (I-V)			Elementary (I-VIII)			Secondary (I-X)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1990-91	46.3	54.0	49.4	64.3		67.8	74.3	83.4	77.7
2001-02*	43.7	47.1	45.2	58.6	63.6	60.7	71.1	74.9	72.7
2004-05*	32.7	36.1	34.2	55.2	60.0	57.3	69.1	74.2	71.3

*Provisional, Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05

Table A .ii

Gross enrolment ratio 2004-05

Classes	All Categories			Scheduled Caste		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
I-V (6-11 years)	110.70	104.67	107.80	123.33	106.62	115.30
VI-VII (11-14years)	74.30	65.13	69.93	77.92	61.50	70.17
I-VIII (6-14 years)	96.91	89.87	93.54	106.54	90.29	98.79
IX-X (14-16 years)	57.39	45.28	51.65	52.20	37.55	45.41
XI-XII (16-18 years)	30.82	24.46	27.82	26.55	19.11	23.15
IX-XII (14-18 years)	44.26	35.05	39.91	39.76	28.73	34.68

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05

Table-A.iii**PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN SCHOOLS, ENROLMENT AND TEACHERS, INDIA**

INDIA	1986-93	1993-2003
Percentage increase in number of schools		
Primary	7.89	14.18
Upper Primary	17.11	50.65
Secondary	24.74	38.43
Higher Secondary	53.00	85.74
Percentage increase in enrolment		
Classes 1-5	12.94	26.15
Classes 6-8	24.93	37.49
Classes 9-10	32.11	43.21
Classes 11-12	55.72	28.73
Percentage increase in number of teachers		
Primary	8.75	17.83
Upper Primary	12.73	40.01
Secondary	14.62	20.09
Higher Secondary	44.30	68.68

Source: 6th All India Educational Survey, 1998 and 7th All India Educational Survey, 2004

Table A.iv

Percentage of Expenditure on education to total budget (1970-2001)

Year	State Govt.	Union Govt.	All India
1970-01	21.4	2.8	14.1
1980-81	20.9	2.0	12.8
1990-91	24.7	3.3	14.0
2000-01	18.5	3.8	11.3

Source: Tilak (2003)

A.v

Trajectory of educational developments in India

A historical outline: 1833-2005

1833 Renewal of the charter and the educational grant rose to...10,00,000, Poona English school

1835 Macaulay's Minute, Bentick's resolution –freedom of press , Elphinstone college Bombay, medical college Calcutta

1836 Calcutta library, Hoogly coolege, Martiniere School Calcutta, Bishop core's grammar school madras

1837 Abolition of Persian as court language, madras Christian college, Braily School

1838 Adams report

1839 Auckland's minute-lord Elphinstone' minute

1840 Board of education Bombay, university board madras

1841 Bengal council of education, lord Eiphinstone's inauguration of Madras University, Decca College, noble college Masulipattam

1842 Pachaiyappa School, madras

1843 Medical college madras, sir Erskine perryas president of board of education, creation of north west provinces

1844 Hardinge's resolution, Hardinge's vernacular school, Hislope college Nagpur

1845 Normal class in Elphinstone institution, grant medical college Bombay, Krishnagar College, Maut's plan for a central university at Calcutta, Martiniere school, lukhnow

1846 st. joseph's college nagapattam—thompson's jagir scheme

1847 madras board of education , Thompson engineering college Roorkee, Calcutta normal school, Lawrence military asylum Sanawar

1849 Thompson's tehsil scheme, Bethune school Calcutta

1851 Halkabandee scheme in the northwest provinces

1852 Notification for grant in aid to superior school Bombay, st. john's college Agra, collegiate department , madras presidency college

1853 Behrampore College Devaton College, Calcutta renewal of charter

1854 Notification of grant in aid for vernacular school Bombay. WOODS DESPATCH

1855 Establishment of provincial department of public instruction, Calcutta Presidency College, madras school of arts.

1856 Engineering college of Calcutta, sir j.j. school of arts Bombay

1857 University of Calcutta Bombay and Madras

1858 Government of India transferred to crown, engineering college, Madras, Gujarat College Ahamdabad

1859 Stanley's despatch

1860 Lahore medical college, St. Xavier's college Calcutta

1861 Tinnevalley college

1862 Patna college

1863 Introduction of local fund cess in Bombay presidency

1864 Forman college Lahore, canning college lukhnow

1865 Institute on Premchand Raichand fellowship Calcutta University

1866 Poona engineering college

1867 Kumbhakonam college

1869 Lahore university college, St Xavier's college Bombay

1870 Chief's college Rajkot

1871 Mayo's decentralising policy

1872 Central (Muir) college Aligarh, mayo school of arts Lahore

1873 Rajamundhary College

1875 Mohammedan's Anglo-oriental college Aligarh, mayo school of arts Lahore

1876 Indian association for the purpose of cultivation of science, Calcutta

1878 Bethune College, imperial forest research institute Dehradune

1879 Vidyasagar College Calcutta

1880 Bengal engineering college Sibpur

1881 Lahore training school

1882 Hunter commission, Punjab veterinary school Lahore St. Stephen's college Delhi
Punjab University.

1883 local self-government acts, Bengal codes for the European School

1884 Ferguson College Poona, Maharashtra female education society Poona.

1885 Ripon College Calcutta, Morris College Nagpur, formation of Indian national congress

1886 MadraS training college, Atchison college Lahore veterinary college Bombay, K.R.
Cama oriental institute Bombay

1887 Allahabad College, d .j. college Karanchi

1888 Madras upper secondary school course

1890agriculture collage, Nagpur

1892 Agriculture collgeg, Kanpur

1894 School final course, Bombay

1898 Central Hindu college Baharas

1899 Training class, kurseong

1900 Bengal engineering clerical and commercial course

1901 Shimla education conference

1902 Indian universities commission , director general ef education for India, imperial library Calcutta, Jalpur training college

1903 Gurukula Haradwar

1904 Indian educational policy, Indian universities act, association for the advancement of Scientific and industrial education of Indians Calcutta

1906 Abolition of result-grant-system, Bombay training college , introduction of compulsory primary education in Baroda state

1908 Pusa agricultural college, David hare training college Calcutta

1909 Patna training college, Marley- Minto reform

1910 Gokhle's resolution for compulsory primary education, Dacca training college, education member in viceroy's executive council

1911 Indian institute of Science, Banglore, Atkinson-Dawson committee for technical education

1912 Islington commission-rejection of Gokhle's resolution for compulsory primary education

1913 Indian education policy, sydenham college of commerce Bombay

1915 Educational commissioner for India, bureau of education

1916 Baharas university, Msore university, Indian women university

1917 Patna university, Bose research institute Calcutta

1918osmania University, compulsory primary education act Bombay

1919 Sadler commission report, Frase commission, recruitment of I.E.Sin India , Montford reform

1920 Aligarh Muslim university, lukhnow university- university training corps, Jamia millia islamia in Aligarh, numbe of vidhyapithas in Poona, Banaras, Patna, Ahmdabad etc

1921 Formation of CAGE (central advisory board of education), boards of seciondary and intermediate education (Dacca and u.p, Prince of Wales military college in Dehradune

1923 Abolition of CAGE

1924 First conference of Indian universities, inter-university board

1927 Agra university, firs conference of education ministers, first all India women's conference on educational reforms

1928 Pickett report

1929 Hartog report, Annamalai University

1931 Lindsay commission, Indian statistical institute Calcutta
1932 Punjab university inquiry committee, Irwin committee on education of Anglo
Indians and Europeans, lady Irwin college Delhi
1934 Spru committee, all India medical council
1935 Revival of C.A.B.E., government of India act
1938 Wardha educational Scheme
1944 Report on post-war educational development in India (sergent Scheme)
1945 All India council for technical education (AICTE)
1947 Independence of India-sind, Rajputana, Guhati and east Punjab universities
1948 Poona, Roorkee and Kashmir universities, Talchand committee report
1949 university education commission report, baroda university
1953 Secondary education commission
1954 Rural higher education committee
1955 All India council for secondary education(AICSE), assessment committee on basic
education system
1956 Formation of university grant commission (UGC), central ministry of education
language commission
1957 Indian ministry of education and scientific research, all council for elementary
education (AICEE)
1956 National Bal Bhawan
1958 National committee on women education
1959 Indian ministry of education, Indian ministry of Scientific research and cultural
affairs, national council for women education
1960 National council of educational research and training (NCERT)
1963 Ministry of education at the centre
1964 Kothari commission
1980 National Population education Project (NPEP)
1986 National policy on education
1988 National Literacy Mission
1989 Mahila Samakhya Programme
1990 Adoption of SAPs by GOI

-----World Conference on Education for All (EFA), Jomtein Thailand
1991 Reddy committee report
1992 Programme of action on national educational policy
-----Lok Jumbish
1993 District primary education Programme (DPEP)
1995 Mid Day Meal scheme
1995 National council for teacher education (NCTE)
2000 movement to educate all
2000 National curriculum framework (NCF 2000) for school education
-----Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojna
2001 Serva Siksha Abhiyan
2002 Modal Right to Education bill, 2006
2003 National programme for education of girls at elementary level (NPEGEL)
2004 Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGVB)
2005 National curriculum framework (NCF 2005) for school education