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Research Report

Education for All: The Contribution of State and Civil Society Based on the Example of Deprived Children in Urban Slum Areas in India

ÖFSE-Forum, No. 31

Provided in Cooperation with:

Austrian Foundation for Development Research (ÖFSE), Vienna

Suggested Citation: Flenner, Michaela (2007) : Education for All: The Contribution of State and Civil Society Based on the Example of Deprived Children in Urban Slum Areas in India, ÖFSE-Forum, No. 31, ISBN 978-3-9502306-1-1, Südwind-Verlag, Wien, <https://www.oefse.at/publikationen/oefse-forum/detail-oefse-forum/publication/show/Publication/Education-for-All/>

This Version is available at:

<https://hdl.handle.net/10419/268113>

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Diplomarbeit

FORUM 31

Michaela Flenner

Education for All

**The Contribution of State and
Civil Society Based on the
Example of Deprived Children
in Urban Slum Areas in India**

Jänner 2007

ÖFSE *F O R U M*



31

Michaela Flenner

EDUCATION FOR ALL

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of Deprived Children in Urban Slum Areas in India**

Jänner 2007

1. Auflage 2007

© Österreichische Forschungsstiftung für Entwicklungshilfe (ÖFSE)

A-1090 Wien, Berggasse 7, Telefon (+43 1) 317 40 10, Fax: (+43 1) 317 40 15

e-mail: office@oefse.at, internet: www.oefse.at

Für den Inhalt verantwortlich: Michaela Flenner

Cover: Grieder Graphik

Druck: Facultas Wien

Südwind-Verlag

ISBN 10: 3-9502306-1-0

ISBN 13: 978-3-9502306-1-1

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

gefördert durch die

Österreichische
■■■ Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

*Education for All - The Contribution of State and Civil Society Based
on the Example of Deprived Children in Urban Slum Areas in India*

Michaela Flenner, Wien 2005

“The child is a soul with a being, a nature and capacities of its own, who must be helped to find them to grow into their maturity, into fullness of physical and vital energy and the utmost breadth, depth and height of its emotional, intellectual and spiritual being; otherwise there cannot be a healthy growth of the nation”
(Lakshmi Kant Pandey v. Union of India. AIR. 1984 Supreme Court 469)

Vorwort

Aus einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Makroperspektive betrachtet, gibt es wohl keinen auch nur annähernd vergleichbaren Faktor im Lebenszyklus des Menschen, der so sehr wie Bildung zum „Gelingen“ individuell-menschlichen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens beiträgt. Dies ist wohl auch der tiefere Grund für die Definition des Zugangs zu Bildung als Menschenrecht. Noch heute, knapp 60 Jahre nach der Erklärung der Menschenrechte durch die Vereinten Nationen, präsentiert sich die globale Realität deutlich anders: Weltweit besuchen mehr als 120 Mio. Kinder keine Schulen - das entspricht in etwa einem Fünftel aller Kinder im schulpflichtigen Alter; mehr als 150 Mio. Kinder verlassen die Schule bevor sie lesen und schreiben können. Weiters gibt es zusammen 862 Mio. Jugendliche und Erwachsene, die weder lesen noch schreiben können.

Menschen den Zugang zur Bildung zu verwehren, heißt, ihnen ein elementares Menschenrecht vorzuenthalten. Ohne Bildung ist menschliche Entwicklung und somit auch gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in der Regel nicht möglich. Fehlende Bildung ist eine der hauptsächlichen Verursachungsfaktoren für lebenslange Armut. Bildung zu fördern, ist deshalb eine wichtige Aufgabe nationaler und internationaler Entwicklungspolitik. In unterschiedlichem Ausmaß treten seit vielen Jahren Staaten, internationale Organisationen und zunehmend NGOs für das Recht auf Bildung von Kindern und Jugendlichen in aller Welt ein und versuchen, Voraussetzungen für die Verbesserung des Bildungsangebotes zu schaffen. Doch diese Arbeit muss in Zukunft noch verstärkt werden, da davon auszugehen ist, dass die Zahl jener Kinder weiter steigen wird, die weltweit in größter Armut leben und sterben.

Kindern bereits in jungem Alter den nötigen Zugang (wenigstens) zum Grundschulunterricht und somit zu grundlegender Bildung zu verschaffen ist nur möglich, wenn eine Gesellschaft bereit und fähig ist, die finanziellen Mittel dafür aufzubringen. Es ist eine traurige Tatsache, dass in vielen Ländern das Geld für den Bau von Schulen, die Anschaffung von Lehrmaterial und die Ausbildung von Lehrkräften fehlt.

„Bildung für alle“ ist das ehrgeizige Ziel der internationalen Gemeinschaft, das auch in den Zielen der oft zitierten Millenniumskonferenz im Jahr 2000 festgeschrieben wurde. Bis 2015 sollen nach Möglichkeit alle Kinder im schulpflichtigen Alter eine Grundschule besuchen und bis dahin soll auch die unterschiedliche Behandlung der Geschlechter auf allen Ebenen des Bildungssystems überwunden sein. Die Zahl der Analphabeten soll, geht es nach den Autoren der Millenniumsziele bis 2015 um die Hälfte reduziert werden. Laut besagten Millenniumszielen - die von den Mitgliedsstaaten der Vereinten Nationen auch beschlossen wurden - soll die Zahl der Analphabeten bis 2015 um die Hälfte reduziert werden.

In der vorliegenden Studie hat es die Autorin, Frau Michaela Flenner, in sehr verdienstvoller Weise unternommen, am Beispiel Indiens aufzuzeigen, wie mittels staatlichen und zivilgesellschaftlichen Beitrags selbst besonders benachteiligte Kinder aus urbanen Slumgegenden Indiens in die Grundschulbildung einbezogen werden können. Ihre Arbeit geht dabei über eine nur strukturelle Darstellung weit hinaus: Die Autorin setzt sich nicht nur mit den gegenwärtigen Um- und Zuständen indischer (Grund-) Schul- und Bildungspolitik in Städten auseinander, sondern

betont und untersucht darüber hinausgehend den grundlegenden Beitrag von Bildung für menschliche und gesellschaftliche Entwicklungsprozesse im Allgemeinen. Die vorliegende Arbeit zeigt, auch hier weit über eine funktional-instrumentelle Analyse hinausgehend, die qualitative Bedeutung von Bildung für eine breite Palette sozio-ökonomischer Dimensionen, wie unter anderen auch die weit gefächerten Bereiche Gesundheit, Wirtschaft und Politik, sowie das Geschlechterverhältnis. Vergleiche mit anderen Staaten wie beispielsweise China werden ebenso angestellt, wie historische Analysen zum besseren Verständnis der gegenwärtigen Lage Indiens unter Einbeziehung der möglich gewordenen Lernprozesse der Vergangenheit.

Meiner ehemaligen Studentin und Diplandarin möchte ich auf diesem Weg zu dieser gelungenen Forschungsarbeit herzlich gratulieren, und sie gleichzeitig ermutigen, den eingeschlagenen Weg der Bearbeitung eines komplexen und komplizierten entwicklungspolitischen Bereiches mit dem erfolgreichen Abschluss des vorliegenden Berichtes nicht wieder ad acta zu legen. Der ÖFSE, ihrem Direktor und seinen MitarbeiterInnen danke ich dafür, dass sie jungen und ambitionierten, aber noch nicht arrivierten SozialwissenschaftlerInnen durch diese Serie die Möglichkeit eröffnen, die Produkte einer meist mehrjährigen und mit viel Anstrengung, Disziplin und tiefen persönlichem Engagement verbundenen Forschungsleistung öffentlich vorzustellen.

Otmar Höll
(Direktor des OIIP und
Mitglied des Vorstands
von Care-Österreich)

Wien, im Januar 2007

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Abbreviation list

DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
EFA	Education for All
EGC	Education Guarantee Centre
FCI	Food Corporation of India
GNP	Gross National Product
GoI	Government of India
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
MDM	Mid Day Meal scheme
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
NIEPA	National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration
NPA	National Plan of Action
NPE	National Policy on Education
PROBE	Public Report on Basic Education
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (“All Schooling Campaign”)
SCs	Scheduled Castes
SKP	Shiksha Karmi Project
STs	Scheduled Tribes
UEE	Universal Elementary Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UTs	Union Territories
WB	World Bank

1 Introduction

The discussion on education being a fundamental right for every human being often misses the significance in the context of development in a certain society and its economy. There are core values of socio-economic development that are related to fundamental human needs. “These core values – sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom – represent common goals sought by all individuals and societies” (Todaro, 2000:16); (i) *Sustenance* include the basic human needs, namely, food, shelter, health and protection. Todaro calls it an absolute underdevelopment, if one of these is missing, and “the realization of the human potential would be not possible”; (ii) *Self-Esteem* is a universal component of good life, “a sense of self worth and self-respect, of not being used as a tool by others for their own ends” (Todaro, 2000:17). The third value (iii) *freedom from servitude* - allows the “emancipation from alienating material conditions of life” and should include components of political freedom, for example, personal safety, legislative measures, freedom of speech, political participation and equality of chances taken. (Todaro, 2000:18) Education plays a crucial role regarding these values for development, which is based on more than economic progression. Furthermore, education plays an ‘enabling role’ allowing human beings to experience the values of *sustenance*, *self-esteem* and *freedom*. Education makes human beings understand their surroundings and allows an individual both to recognise and take choices, and thus, enhances greater self-esteem. This paper aims to analyse basic education in the socio-economic context and further aims to analyse the influence of education on the development of every human being itself; this study is based on the example of the educational situation of India.

After a so-called ‘educational’ crisis in the 1980’s, budgets on education were cut, and several states (both, developing and industrial) had to face drawbacks in their basic educational achievements. This period was followed by a stronger demand on the right to basic education to everybody and has led during the Jomtien-Conference in 1990 to the *World Declaration on Education for All*. The declaration aims at fulfilling everybody’s right to basic education through the universalisation of

access to and the promotion of equity, by reaching both quality and quantity education. This has been achieved through the strengthening of national and international partnerships and the enhancement of the environment for learning through supportive policies and the sufficient mobilisation of resources as well as the strengthening of international partnerships¹.

Originally oriented on the ideas of the declaration, this paper goes beyond the international aim for Education for All and searches for reasons concerning the *necessity* of education and the difference it can make for human beings as part of the socio-economic framework on the example of India. The concept, on which this paper is based, questions the political, legislative and economic mechanisms currently standing in relation to basic education in both India and various parts of the world. In other words, the paper examines the relevance many scientists have given to education for the development of a country as well as the socio-economic, legislative and political and civil aspects that have to be considered in implementing the goal of universal elementary education.

First and foremost, this paper raises the question why there is a need for education; it attempts to analyse socio-economic, health-related and political factors as well as the significance of female education in India's development context. The paper examines the aspect of poverty on the literacy rate of human beings as well as specific poverty groups, *inter alia*, the state of the rural and urban poor, women and ethnic minorities. It further considers comparisons of India and countries with similar development indicators (in terms of indicators of human development), such as China, concerning its population size. Concerning economic development in view of education, the perspective will be on the public expenditure on education and its implications of being both a consumer and an investment good. The expansion of expenditure on education will be discussed under the perspective of planning processes.

¹ See: http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/ed_for_all/background/jomtien_declaration.shtml (30 November 2005, 15:53)

India's situation in particular, will be examined through analysing the historical background of its educational system and the organisation and structure of the system itself as well as statistics and figures concerning India's literates. These aspects are followed by a study of the Indian children's profile and its relation to the 'caste' system. It will describe the concept of privileges, if, and to what extent the education of children in India is still effected by the caste system and how the caste system changes due to the influence of common schools. Furthermore, India's position concerning the aforementioned financing of education will be analysed in depth as well as certain of its legislative measures, policies and programmes. Emphasis will be given both on the role of the teacher and how he is perceived and on the importance of actors in the civil society and the relevance of partnerships between the public sector and voluntary organisations. The analysis will include a description of Prayas, an NGO working in unauthorised urban areas in Delhi and providing, *inter alia*, non-formal education to destitute children. This last part of this paper will be an analysis of the impact of civil society agents in reaching the most disadvantaged children who otherwise would fall through the cracks of the formal education system in India, and thus would not be reached by the activities set by the government authorities for the development of the state.

During my research, I several times have found it difficult to understand certain cultural aspects, which sometimes vary greatly from my own views. I have tried to respect these differences based on culture and hope to have implemented this reverence also in the way I have written this thesis.

2 Why considering Education for All (EFA)?

In a way it seems clear to everybody related to the achievement of Education for All; it is of unchallenged importance for every human being to be educated, at least on an elementary level. Nonetheless, it is necessary to question the importance of elementary education² for each and every level that an individual is connected with.

The overall effect of education should be the development of the child as a human being to its full potential. This includes *inter alia*, (i) aspects of economic outcome considering the human being as human capital, (ii) the application of the child's knowledge of science for its physical well being (health care), (iii) aspects of political thinking for the implementation of the ideas of democracy, (iv) psychological and neurological reasons, including the development of the brainstem that allows continuing associations between different sensations and cognitions and finally, (v) the influence of education as an enabling factor in the society as a whole as well as (vi) aspects of self-confidence with his/her environment that goes hand in hand with educational achievements.

According to the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA, October 2002:8) the:

“achievement of functional literacy implies: (i) self-reliance in 3 Rs³; (ii) becoming aware of the causes of deprivation and moving towards amelioration of their condition by participating in the process of development; (iii) acquiring skills to improve their economic status and general well being; and (iv) imbibing values of national integration, conservation of environment, women's equality, observance of small family norms, etc. Functional literacy once acquired should result in empowerment and a definite improvement in the quality of life.”

Dréze/Sen (2002:17) underline the above mentioned through an exemplification of Kerala [the state with the highest literacy rate in the country] vs. Uttar Pradesh [with one of the lowest literacy rates within India] as such: “Just as Kerala's achievements richly illustrate the enabling roles of widespread literacy, public services, women's agency, cooperative action, adversarial politics, and related

² Elementary education is considered to be as education from 6 up to 14 years; thus implies education from grade I to VIII.

³ The 2 R's imply; reading, writing and arithmetic

factors of social progress, the failures of (say) Uttar Pradesh illustrate the stifling of social opportunities that results from neglecting these enabling factors.”

While Bajpai (2003:371) focuses on the development of the personality by developing greater autonomy, judgement, critical thinking, personal responsibility, memory, reasoning, aesthetic sense, spiritual values, physical capacities and communication skills, to be able to speak for and protect oneself and to make one resilient. Tilak (in: Govinda, 2002:267) sees more general arguments as prevalent: “Its [education] significant effect on reduction in poverty and improvement in income distribution, improvement in health and nutritional status of the population, its negative relationship with fertility and population growth and positive association with adoption of family planning methods, and its positive relationship with general social, political and economic development and overall quality of life are well recognized”. Delors (ed., 1996:80) postulates the objective target as: “Education has other purposes than to provide a skilled workforce for the economy: it should serve to make human beings not the means but the justification of development. Bringing out the talents and aptitudes latent in everyone fulfils, at one and the same time, the fundamentally humanist mission of education, the requirement of equity that should inform all educational policy and the genuine need for an endogenous development that shows regard for the human and natural environment and the diversity of traditions and cultures. More practically, while it is true that lifelong learning is still an essential idea at the end of the twentieth century, it is important that it should move beyond mere adaptation to work, to become part of the broader concept of an education pursued throughout life, seen as the precondition for the harmonious and continuous development of the individual” (Delors ed., 1996:80). The Indian Council for Child Welfare underlines the importance of freedom of speech and expression under Art. 19 of the Constitution of India by saying that these rights are not fully utilised “[...] unless a citizen is educated and is conscious of his individualistic dignity” (Indian Council for Child Welfare, Tamil Nadu, 1998:29)⁴.

⁴ For further examination on the rights of a human being, see: Bhattacharya (2002).

2.1 *Economical reasons*

Elementary education gives the opportunity for the literate individual to break out of certain inequalities he/she is born into. Particularly in Less Developed Countries (LDCs), i.e. in India, these inequalities are predominant throughout the society as a whole. Therefore, education offers a possibility of creating a more productive labour force and endowing it with increased knowledge and skills. Further, this is followed by the creation of employment possibilities as with income-earning opportunities for teachers and other school related workers. In addition, through education, a class of educated leaders will be drawn on for different professional employment opportunities. Todaro concludes the aforementioned benefits with the statement that “an educated and skilled labor force is a necessary condition of sustained economic growth [that] cannot be denied”. (Todaro, 2000:343)

Dréze/Sen consider the “instrumental personal role” that education offers as significant and count, *inter alia*, economic opportunities in this. The authors argue “They [education and health] can, for instance, be important for getting a job and more generally for being able to make use of economic opportunities”. (Dréze/Sen, 2002:39)

More detailed information on the implication of education on human capital and manpower investment will be provided in the chapter 6.3 (Expansion of Expenditure on Education).

2.2 *Hygiene / family / health*

Health care and sanitation are issues strongly related to education. Children are able to receive information on health care issues primarily through school education and related institutions as well as the family, but what if parents do not know about health and sanitation matters? On the other hand, in countries where bad sanitation habits are prevalent, as is the case in most developing countries, school is the only and most direct place that offers the possibility to educate people in these concerns, teach them to become conscious about health safety, illnesses and related health risks such as diarrhoea, other bacteria related diseases, HIV/Aids, etc.

Further, knowledge about hygiene reduces infant mortality rates. The PROBE survey shows that literacy rates are relative to infant mortality rates and exemplifies its argument with the states of Kerala vs. Madhya Pradesh with rates of 14 and 97 deaths per thousand live births, respectively. (PROBE, 1999:4)

Other issues, supposedly taught in elementary schools are preventive action to take concerning physical and mental health, including reproductive and sexual health, health care related services, malnutrition, access to safe drinking water and sanitation for an adequate standard of living and housing. (Bajpai, 2003:375) Women/girls in India have an outstanding relevance in health matters as they care first and foremost for themselves and their family, much more than men do. Bhat/Sharma (2005:19) underlines this:

"For routine decisions, women's involvement in decision-making increases steadily with education. For example, among the least educated women, the decision about going to seek health care is made largely by the husband, whereas among even modestly better educated women, it is made mostly by the wife. [...] In every region – Africa, Asia and Latin America – better educated women are considerably more likely than less educated women to use preventive and curative health services, including pre-natal and post-natal care, and to do so with greater timeliness, to demand a greater quality of care, and to continue treatment with greater persistence and accuracy [...] In case of child sickness, educated women are quicker to take appropriate action and are confident enough to explain symptoms to, and discuss treatment with, service providers. Evidence from rural South India, Punjab, and rural Nigeria suggests that educated women have more frequent and effective interactions with the health system than do less educated women".

As female literacy is regarded as an enabling element that influences many other factors in the overall increase of human development, one of the following chapters, on 'Why female education?' will discuss deeper relevant issues.

2.3 Society

The former caste system⁵ that is still prevalent in independent India in the mindset of the people counts greatly towards privileges that some might have and others might not. Therefore, Bhattacharya (2002:19) considers the possibility of members of former lower castes, such as the Harijans ('farmers'), to gain knowledge and receive a certain amount of education as an opportunity of challenging a prevailing

⁵ "Traditional Indian society had a structure which was highly segmental and hierarchical in character. [...] Hinduism tolerated a plurality of cultures but the price of this was the maintenance of a certain structural distance between people traditionally associated with divergent styles of life, e.g., between vegetarians and non-vegetarians, or between people practising different crafts or worshipping different gods. Social separation between different segments, each pursuing its own style of life, could be kept intact so long as the world was fairly static or the pace of change not very rapid. In the traditional system, mobility – whether vertical or horizontal – was slow and limited. The expansion of transport and communication, the spread

system of inequalities. Thus she underlines “To the extent the previously disprivileged are brought within the ambit of institutionalised education there are three modalities of articulation between the system of privileges and the education system: (a) education reproduces and perpetuates inequalities between the privileged and the disprivileged, or (b) education enables a part of the disprivileged to attain upward social mobility without affecting privileges as a system, or (c) education plays an adversarial and even subversive role, challenging privileges or inequality as a system. The first mode preserves homeostasis, the second subserves homeostasis through the co-optation of the upward mobile, the third proposes metastasis or a subversion of the regime of privileges”. (Bhattacharya, 2002:19)

Very often, these are ways chosen by children and future adults that are unconsciously taken, but do start to change a system of inequality. The school as a place of teaching on the one hand, but equally a place of communication on the other, allows children who would possibly not talk to one another in different circumstances, to interact and overcome social barriers. It is an enabling factor and as such it has the possibility of progressively changing the social order. (Bhattachary, 2002) “This early experience, even when it is short-lived, creates a new sense of confidence among the Harijans which is almost entirely absent in the older generation⁶” (Béteille, 1992:175).

Additionally, next to social order, social needs by less privileged strata of the society will be made a part of public discussion and will be essential for political participation in the country through literacy and first-hand information.

2.4 Political reasons

Besides other reasons, education is an enabling factor in the society; hence, it is also on a political basis. Doubtless, there is an existing hegemonic positioning of certain social groups in a socio-economic and political order. The primary conflict

of education and new economic opportunities, and an increasing degree of political articulation are bringing about fundamental changes in the traditional structure”. (Béteille, 1992:161)

⁶ “When a Harijan tenant has to deliver grain to the Brahmin landowner, he stands at the head of the *agraharam* and calls out until somebody (often a non-Brahmin) is sent to bring the grain. The village school is situated in the same *agramharam*, although at the end. It is attended by a number of Harijan children whose movements within the *agraharam* are now hardly noticed. While children freely come and go, a Harijan elder still considers it an act of daring – perhaps even a little impious – to enter the *agramharam*”.

is therefore to search between those who possess and those who receive power or differently said, between the privileged and the disprivileged. The first group is characterised through a monopoly of relatively key positions (upper castes, 'English educated', professional and occupation groups) who are quite unlikely to favour education facilities for the disprivileged, whereas the latter receive most commonly education at a low level and work rather in the informal sector (Bhattacharya, 2002:7-8).

In the examination of powerful and powerless, or privileged and disprivileged groups we have to take in to consideration the powerful groups who are also possessors of key positions ['decision makers'] in institutions politically and economically important. Thus, the decision maker tries to defend his own position and upholds the social order according to his preferences. The decision maker in power acts in most ways latent to suppress any kind of conflict. Power is therefore also implicated in institutionalized practice, suggesting as such a structural formulation. Power as a mobilization of bias (with its beliefs and values), as Bachrach/Baratz refer to Schnattschneider, this bias is institutionalized and as a result it advantages certain groups. The behaviour of latent or manifest decisions is observable through events and non-events. This phenomenon of non-decisions is a regulation that averts certain topics to reach the agenda. (Isaac, in Wartenberg, ed., 1992:36-38) Dréze/Sen (2002:93-94) are even more detailed with this argument and say "the concentration of political power in the hands of privileged sections of the society has contributed, perhaps more than anything else, to a severe neglect of the basic needs of disadvantaged groups in state and local politics".

Education, subsequently the basic instrument of political decision making processes, provides the ability to play an active part in envisioning the future society. It might be an opportunity for the one or the other for social equality. Based on the concept of structural power, education at least on an elementary level serves as an instrument for social change. Therefore, it also implies "that a short-term structural constraint for a given agent (or sets of agents) could become

a conjunctural opportunity over a longer time horizon or even within the same time horizon if there is a shift in strategy. This in turn implies that agents may be able to pursue different types of alliance strategy and so modify the selective impact upon themselves and others of social structural constraints and opportunities". (Jessop, 1996:124-125) Jessop sees actors in the society as reflexive and strategically calculating subjects. The strategic-relational approach implies that they reflect on their identities and interests, and are able to learn from their experience and by acting in strategically selective constraints and opportunities, can and do transform social structures. As Bhaskar (1979:43; in Hay, 1995:199) states it, "society is both the ever-present *condition* (material cause) and the continually reproduced outcome of human agency".

There is an existence in the creation of new resources, new rules and new knowledge. This implies a re-articulation of constraints and opportunities; education can and does transform social structures, which is in the end the potential creation of new resources, new rules and new knowledge (Jessop, 1996:125).

Concerning the actors in a structured system, education offers opportunity to use the knowledge gained through experience, both theoretical and practical, to participate in communal life and thus be able to change. Hence, the educational system prepares everyone for his/her social role through the instruction of rights and duties, the development of social skills through teamwork, civic education by covering acceptance of values, acquisition of knowledge and learning how to take part in the community. This allows understanding and taking part in public life with a critical sense, independent thoughts and judgement (Dréze/Sen, 2002:90-93; Delors ed., 1996:62).

Kerala, with the highest literacy rate of 90.92 per cent in India is again outstanding in its social infrastructure in comparison to, for examples, Uttar Pradesh with a literacy rate of 57.36 per cent (Census data, 2001). "Kerala's success in improving living conditions at an early stage of economic development can be traced to the role of public action in promoting a range of social opportunities relating *inter alia*,

to elementary education, the role of women in society, and the widespread and equitable provision of health care and other public services. Interestingly, Uttar Pradesh's *failures* can be plausibly attributed to the public *neglect* of the very same opportunities" (Dréze/Sen, 2002:90).

2.5 Why female education?

The aforementioned chapters already referred to the special implications and consequences of female education, not only on a personal level, but also as having an effect on the society in economic terms and on the quality of life as a whole. Acknowledged by many experts, the educational level of women is relevant in correlation with population health, nutritional level and drop in fertility rates. (Delors, 1996:75) In addition, Todaro (2000:334) answers the question of why female education by suggesting two implications, (i) illiteracy among females hinders economic development and (ii) it reinforces social inequality due to the disproportionate burden of poverty women have to bear. Todaro further states that "any significant improvements in their role and status via education can have an important impact on breaking the vicious circle of poverty and inadequate schooling". (Todaro, 2000:334-335)

Ramachandran (in: Govinda, 2002:255) reports:

"Innumerable micro studies and life histories have shown that when the family is on the verge of starvation, women take on the responsibility of ensuring survival. Poor women will tell you that children ask them for food, not their fathers. At another level, evidence has also shown that when the income of women goes up there is immediate improvement in the health, nutrition, and education status of children. This does not always hold true when the income of men goes up. Recent reports and documents on the anti-liquor movement in different parts of the country have drawn attention to male alcoholism and family survival".

Bhat/Sharma (2005:5-29) have undertaken a complementary analysis on the question of female education and its implications. They suggest that due to the participation of female labour force there has been an increase of the economic development, improving national cohesiveness and reducing environmental stress through its effect on fertility and population growth, lowering crime rates, and so forth.

One major observation over the past decades in several developing and industrial countries is the decrease of fertility and the reduction of infant mortality rates. Reasons for this observable fact see Bhat/Sharma as follows:

“(i) Educated women, being themselves somewhat economically independent, do not need many children as an old age support; (ii) Because of education and economic independence, they do not entertain a perception, that more children shall ensure them, a secure position in their husband’s house (iii) The educated women are conscious of the costs involved in the bearing and rearing of more children; and (iv) The educated women do not want more children for the purpose of child labour and as a source of family income. Furthermore, in the case of educated mothers, there occurs a preference shift from quantity to quality of children, on spite of the fact that the latter involves higher economic costs. [...] Educated women are more willing to forsake numbers of children for the improved quality of fewer of them”. (Bhat/Sharma, 2005:7)

Strongly related to the fertility rate is the infant mortality rate that has a decline of 5-10 per cent for every additional year a girl attends school despite a rate differential in urban and rural areas. Causes might be threefold: “(a) the better-educated mother uses a different mix of observable health inputs than does the less-educated mother; (b) she uses these inputs more effectively; and (c) her education is positively correlated with the use of many minor health inputs that are not observed and is credited with the effect of these inputs on child health”. (Bhat/Sharma, 2005:14) Additionally, “educated women are also less fatalistic about illness, more skilled in interpreting symptoms in children, [...] mother’s education enabled her to exploit local public health care more effectively, [...] more knowledgeable about the location of health facilities and more convinced of the value of seeking health care [...] to take immediate action for sick children and more likely to report back to the failure of the treatment [...] more likely to pay attention to personal hygiene and household cleanliness, and are less likely to use contaminated water”. (Bhat/Sharma, 2005:10)

Particularly important for the young girls and the young child up to 24 months is the nutritional status that increases with additional years of schooling of the mother since she is the one mostly responsible for her children. (Bhat/Sharma, 2005:11) In turn, Kerala serves as an example with strong correlations between high life expectancy and high literacy rates above 90 per cent. This is underlined due to Kerala as the state with the highest rate with 92.3 per cent births conducted in institutions vs. an all-India rate of 24.5 per cent for births given in institutions and

24.3 per cent with trained professionals. (Ramachandran, in: Govinda ed., 2002:254)

Additionally, to the aforementioned implications of female literacy, increased freedom and personality development is more enforced due to schooling. The access to knowledge, information and new ideas provide a whole range of new aspects (such as independence from traditional authorities, questioning of passivity and fatalism) in the women's life.

"This enhanced autonomy takes the form of (i) knowledge autonomy and exposure to the outside world; (ii) decision-making autonomy within the home; (iii) physical autonomy in interacting with the outside world; (iv) emotional autonomy – the ability to forge close conjugal bonds; and, (v) economic and social autonomy and self-reliance; These aspects of autonomy are acquired by men, in contrast, irrespective of their formal education, largely as a matter of course by virtue of their gender" (Bhat/Sharma, 2005:15).

3 Poverty and Education

The question, in relation to poverty and education, is basically how does one interact with and influence the other. Are they interdependent, and what effect has the improvement of one indicator on the other? Nabissan/Sedwal (in: Govinda ed., 2002:79) answer these questions on the example of Dalits in India and thus argue that living conditions of families and in households are prevailing concerning children's school attendance. In accordance with the "NSSO data (1993-94) [it is shown] that the proportion of children who do not attend school sharply increases in lower monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) classes" and conclude, hence, the less income, therefore the less education children will be able to receive. Further, they argue, bad living conditions, e.g. irregular income, frequent migration, death or illness of wage earner, put children at a great risk at not being able to attend classes regularly.

Atal (1997:17) on the other hand, points out that " given the fact that many poor in a given sample score zero or low in the scale of literacy cannot *logically* lead to the conclusion that illiteracy is the *cause* of poverty. By the same token, neither can it be said that all illiterate are poor, nor that all poor are illiterate". Commonly it is said that poverty causes unemployment and vice versa and educated human

beings are able to break out of the circle of poverty, but what about the educated unemployed? The relationship between certain indicators is not as easy to tell as this seems at the first sight. Relating to literacy in the relation to poverty it needs to be acknowledged that education only serves as one within a range of indicators that influence the economic state of people. Atal (1997:20) therefore argues:

"Poverty eradication calls for a holistic approach, in place of the sectoral. A clinical approach, treating the visible symptoms, does not take us to the root of the problem. If, for example, illiteracy is caused by poverty, mere eradication of illiteracy will not eradicate poverty. [...] What poverty does to an individual living in poverty is to "disallow" him or her, or to make it difficult for him or her, to become literate: in other words, poverty perpetuates illiteracy, it does not undo literacy. Thus, it is necessary to eradicate poverty in order to promote literacy. Focus on removal of illiteracy is, thus, only indirectly connected with the objective of poverty eradication. Irrespective of the poverty profile, literacy drive would change the literacy profile of an individual or group which would, in turn, facilitate social, psychological and geographical mobility of that unit, and prepare it for devising different survival strategies. But literacy changes only one indicator of poverty. [...] Poverty eradication strategy must attempt to eliminate hunger and malnutrition, provide food security, ensure employment and sustainable livelihoods, increase access to basic services and amenities (health, water, shelter, sanitation and education), and promote participation in political, social and cultural life".

(Atal, 1997:20-21)

Dréze/Sen (2002:36) endorse the aforementioned by arguing:

"Poverty of a life, in this view, lies not merely in the impoverished state in which the person actually lives, but also in the lack of real opportunity – given by social constraints as well as personal circumstances – to choose other types of living. [...] Poverty is, thus, ultimately a matter of 'capability deprivation', and note has to be taken of that basic connection not just at the conceptual level, but also in economic investigations or in social or political analyses. This broader and more foundational view of poverty has to be kept in view while concentrating, as we often would in this monograph, on the deprivation of such basic capabilities as the freedom to lead normal spans of life (without being constrained by illiteracy). While the term 'poverty' will typically not be explicitly invoked in such contexts, the underlying concern is one of deprivation and impoverished lives".

Thus, education can be seen as an investigation in the improvement of life in general. "An educational intervention would change the literacy profile of a given group, and may even prepare the younger population for a better job in the future which may take out the family from the vicious circle of poverty. In that sense, education is an investment; its dividends are however, not immediate". (Atal, 1997:24)

At this point I would like to include the problem of child labour that is causing poverty as well as it being the result of poverty. Mishra (2000) in her book in 'Child Labour in India' discusses the interrelation of child labour, children out of school as

well as their participation in school classes. The author distinguishes 3 schools differently approaching the problem of child labour and thus also different ways of dealing with this phenomenon. (i) The first school considers education as a fundamental human right for the 5-14-year-olds and also every child out of school as a working child. The responsibility is with the state to provide necessary infrastructure and incentives to bring children into school. In this view child labour evokes poverty rather than contrariwise, hence claims the complete prohibition of child labour. (ii) The second school considers first of all, the total resources necessary for the provision of free and compulsory education that would be around US\$ 12 billion annually which is considered as an illusion to procure. It is a gradual way of approach through prohibition and regulation (first the focus on hazardous, then non-hazardous work). (iii) The third school approaches the problem through the acceptance the failure of state and society to make education a fundamental human right, create social infrastructure and essential surroundings, and create a positive and wholesome atmosphere to permit universal enrolment and retention. As a result, the children should decide whether to go to school or not if infrastructure is not provided sufficiently. (Mishra, 2000:18-20)

Allowing a realistic view, education, on the one hand as an enabling factor that offers possibilities, at the same time, causes inequality as education as an investment is easier to afford for the affluent than for the poor. Not only, the affluent's investment in education is relative of a lower percentage of their household income than that of the poorer families, also the children of the latter are more disadvantaged to children living in secure circumstances. The poor are the ones who first drop out of school because of a lack of sleep, notorious malnourishment, and child labour in and outside of the family, etc. There is no evidence of less cognitive skills of the poor in comparison to their economic more advantaged counterparts; it is rather the economic disadvantage itself that is the cause of relatively bad performance in school. The cost of education becomes unaffordable to the poorer section of the society⁷. (Todaro, 2000:344-345)

⁷ More detail on costs and benefits will be provided below under chapter 6 (Cost and benefit side of schooling)

There is no definite patent on the right way how to deal with poverty and inequality within the society as they are somehow determined by it. Certainly, education has a certain empowering nature, so as to act as an instrument of change as discussed in previous chapters. Nonetheless, in the educational planning, the equalisation of possibilities and its implications has to be taken into consideration. This is only possible due to the definition of certain groups more disadvantaged than others. The following provides an overview of some groups that are admitted as disprivileged groups with a high accumulation of poverty among them, e.g. rural poverty, women and poverty, and the indigenous population.

3.1 Poverty groups – definition

In every society certain groups are less privileged than others. Atal (1997:33) defines poverty as “an inability to achieve a standard of living allowing for self-respect, respect of others and full participation in society”. There are certain groups less privileged than others and therefore less reachable for quality education as well. For a move to more equality within a society, e.g. an equalised educational system, the poor have to be identified to be able to focus more on their needs. Some of these sections will be focal point subsequently.

3.1.1 Rural poverty

Rural poverty includes the persons who are mainly occupied in agriculture or connected fields. It is even said that two thirds of the very poor are working in subsistence agriculture. According to Todaro, 80-90 per cent of all target groups concerning poverty eradication are located in rural areas, whereas it is 50 per cent in Latin America (Todaro, 2000:170-171).

3.1.2 Women and poverty

In many industrialised and developing countries it is the case that many women are affected by poverty and its further implications more so than their male counterparts. Women, including their children represent a substantial majority of the poor around the world. Characterised by general deprivation, they face

malnourishment, less access to sanitation and medical centres, drinking water, etc. Further, they are offered less education, informal sector employment and less social security or government programs. Additionally, households with female heads are characterised as the poorest ones, particularly due to the lower income they received compared to their male counterparts. It is not only the female disadvantage concerning salary and earnings that is relevant, but very often the status of the women in the society or region they live in is significant concerning their economic state (Todaro, 2000:172-173).

Dréze/Sen (2002:18-20) try to identify these problems, as they are e.g. highly significant in India, by focussing on women's agency, their political status, women's ownership and education for a social change.⁸

3.1.3 Ethnic minorities, indigenous population

According to Todaro, "some 40% of the world's nation-states have more than five sizeable ethnic populations, one or more of which faces serious economic, political, and social discrimination. In recent years, domestic conflicts and even civil wars have arisen out of ethnic groups' perceptions that they are losing out in the competition for limited resources and dwindling job opportunities [...] most indigenous groups live in extreme poverty and that being indigenous greatly increases the chances that an individual will be malnourished, illiterate, in poor health and unemployed" (Todaro, 2000:175-176).

India is not an exception. Rather, India has a peculiarity that is unique in the way how its societies are structured. The caste system that has been abolished and therefore should not be practiced any more is still prevalent in many minds of the Indian people, particularly in rural and remote areas that are in the majority of cases the poorer sections of the society. The Dalits, ranking below the Hinduism-based caste system are lower than every social order and therefore are seen as polluted and not worthy to touch and communicate. "In the case of Dalits, in addition to economic backwardness, social disabilities such as untouchability become obstacles to their educational development. They are physically segregated, and live in separate hamlets away from the main village of rural India.

⁸ See: Chapter 2.5 (Why female education?)

Many of these hamlets do not have even elementary schools. The social stigma attached to Dalit castes discourages them from attending schools in the main village. The Commissioner for SC/ST reports that untouchability is being practiced in some rural areas even today" (Bhattacharya, 2002:179). For further examination of the problems of Dalits in India as well as other backward classes please see chapter 7.4.2 on 'The caste system and its inequalities | SCs - Dalits' in India.

3.1.4 Urban poverty | slum dwellers

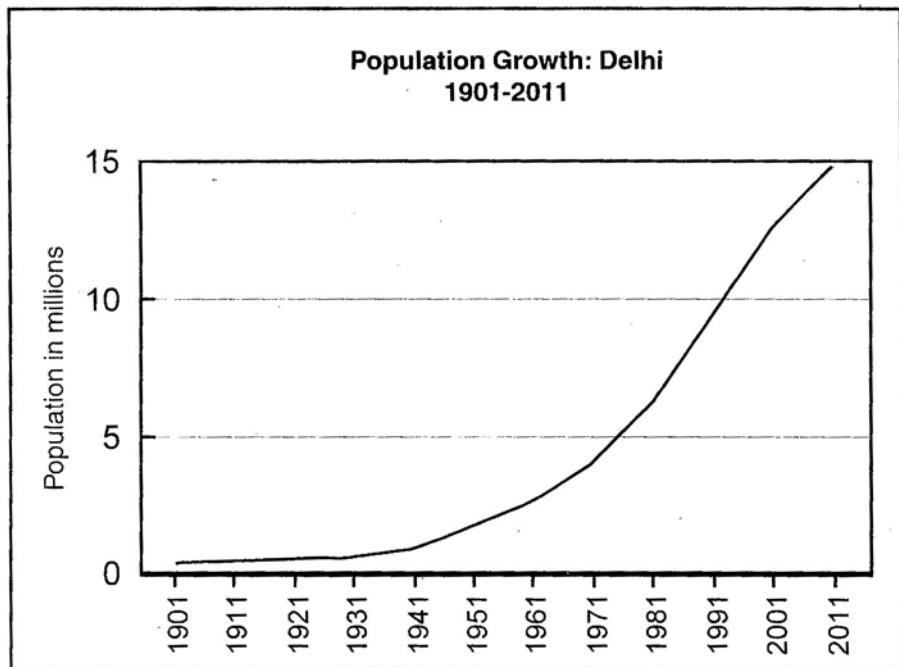
According to the UNDP, it was estimated that by the year 2000, more than half of the world's absolute poor would be living in towns and cities.⁹ Further, there are certain factors that have had a negative impact on the slum dweller's well-being and social security. In contrast with the deprived dwellers from rural areas, urban ones are more exposed to "cash economy and unplanned squatter settlements on the periphery of urban centres. Their lack of legal status make them vulnerable, not least because it is compounded by insecure, low-wage employment [...] the urban poor saw rising food prices, the commercialization of urban land markets, worsening sanitation conditions, unemployment and declines in real wages. In this context, urban men and women is largely dependent on the access to the following assets as sources of their livelihoods: income, labour, housing, health, education and social networks".¹⁰

Considering the case of India, there has been a tremendous shift from rural to urban growth in the last century. According to Chakrabarty (in: Govinda ed., 2002:59) in 1901, only 10.8 per cent of the total population living in urban areas, whereas in 1991, urban population was estimated as being 218 million was (a rate of 25.7 per cent of the total population). This is an eightfold increase within not even a century. The population growth in Delhi is estimated to be at around 15 million by 2011, as can be seen in the following figure.

⁹ http://www.undp.org/sl/Documents/General%20info/Rural_poverty/rural.htm

¹⁰ http://www.undp.org/sl/Documents/General%20info/Rural_poverty/rural.htm

Figure 3-I Population Growth: Delhi 1901-2011



Source: Aggarwal, Yash; NIEPA, New Delhi, November 2000:39

In comparison to their rural counterparts, the urban disadvantaged in cities like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras face problems of hunger, non-access to safe drinking water, and shelter as their first priorities. Most of them are illiterate and unemployed. These migrants come to the cities in the hope to find some work for their living (Aggarwal, 2000:31). Additionally, in considering the issue of an over-crowded city, Aggarwal mentions Delhi not only as a prosperous place for the richer strata, but also that around 28 to 39 per cent of the inhabitants live in slum areas without “the availability and quality of government supported infrastructural facilities like public transport, electricity, water, sanitation, health and primary education [...]” (Aggarwal, 2000:1). Hence, there only exists poor social infrastructure in several parts of the city. Aggarwal further mentions that the Per Capita Income of Delhi that is on an average is the highest among all Indian states/UTs. Nonetheless, there are more than one-third of households living without sanitation facilities and more than 20 per cent living without a proper electricity connection. Thus, the lifestyle of the inhabitants of Delhi varies greatly to an extreme extent (Aggarwal, 2000:5).

4 International Comparison

Many countries were able to achieve great improvements in the universalisation of elementary education during the second half of the last century. These achievements in universalisation of elementary education were very often related to other improvements, such as health and social security matters as well as the reduction of poverty. The following chapter will discuss comparisons on an international basis. First of all, the improvements of India's neighbour China will be analyzed as China has the most comparable indicator concerning population size. After that the focus will be on other countries and regions related to India due to associated human development indicators, i.e. literacy, gender issues, infant mortality and life expectancy.

4.1 *China and India*

China and India do not have much in common but their similar numbers in population with over 1 billion people. In the comparison of these two countries it is particularly interesting to look at how differently their governments have dealt with problems of illiteracy, poverty and other issues related to elementary deprivation.

Weiner (1994:162) presents figures of China in 1949 where only 20 per cent of the Chinese population were able to read and write, in 1982, 93 per cent were already attending primary schools of which 70 per cent completed 6th grade. In India, in the corresponding year 79 per cent were enrolled but only 40 per cent completed 5th grade. Still, India where universal net enrolment was almost achieved by 2003 the percentage of children reaching grade 5 beginning in the year 1999-2000 is only 68 per cent (Human Development Report, 2003).

Particularly during the 80's and 90's China had relatively high economic growth rates, which is argued as the ground for subsequent investment in education. Considering China's development it can be seen that investment in education as well as other social security factors has been introduced much earlier during a time of low growth and relatively high poverty rates in the 1950's. Many school buildings and other facilities were provided already during this time. The actual

expansion of primary and secondary education took place during the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, interesting to mention is the remarkable damage on higher education caused particularly during this period. Nonetheless, the Chinese government looked upon education as a major aim in the development of its country and its people. Therefore, mass education was seen as a connecting link for bridging the elite and the masses. It is probable that China's development in the achievements of education for all was through the fact of seeing educational not only as a political issue but more as a duty to their people (Weiner 1994:163). Dréze/Sen (2002:120) conclude that the essence of the achievements in China's educational development "in this period lies in what it managed to do *despite* poor economic growth, rather than in what it could do *through* high economic growth." This factor of steady educational expansion has to be very much related to the communist ideology and its idea about equality.

As already mentioned these investments in education as well as other social improvements i.e. remarkable reduction in chronic under-nourishment without a huge increase of food availability per person, health care and social security arrangements took place before the economic reforms in the 1970's that were responsible for higher growth rates in the following decades.

Concerning the school structure, as described in Weiner (1994:162), primary schools are mostly financed by local governments whereas urban schools are financed by the central government. The curriculum, usually different between urban and rural areas was basically the same for the primary stage to guarantee a basic education for all at the primary level. Conversely, this was the case for the high-school level, where children were sent to different types of schools. In the course of these changes levels of education necessary for certain types of work were raised, e.g. an ordinary factory worker with no education in the past needed at least to pass junior-high level. As the communist idea did not allow privately owned shops and other goods "the abolition of privately owned shops reduced parental need for child labour" (Weiner, 1994:164).

China has definitely achieved great improvements in raising their people's living standards. As per World Bank's estimates, the rate of people living under the poverty line (with less than US\$1 per person per day) is 18.5 per cent in China, compared to 44.2 per cent in India, today (Dréze/Sen, 2002:123).

The efforts that led to a relatively high literacy rate in China. This has resulted due to a strong political commitment of the communist regime that in comparison to the Indian government as part of a democratic system is much more authoritarian and thus less responsive to opposition. As the example of China has shown these authoritarian measures taken by the communist government and state council were more effective in the implementation of guidelines that actually do exist in India as well. The question usually raised at this point of discussion is about human rights and in which way these are violated considering the enforcement of ideas in an authoritarian system.

Dréze/Sen (2002:44) discuss the factor of the possibility of public discussion. "What is important to recognise here is not just the adverse effect of state abdication in health and education, but also how the lack of opportunity for public debate and criticism on these matters has enabled the Chinese government to go much further in drastically privatizing health and education services than might have been possible in a more democratic country".

4.2 *Other countries*

As already mentioned in the previous paragraphs, concerning the indicator 'population', India in comparison to China is rarely relatable to other development factors in the comparison of a universal (elementary) education system. Other countries like Sri Lanka have shown great improvements in education, health and other social services for all.

Dréze/Sen (2002:65-69) in their comparative analysis on human development in general and the state of education in particular see similarities between India and sub-Saharan Africa. According to the Human Development Index (HDI) 2003, India with a rate of 49.3 and 58.0 per cent ranks in terms of adult literacy (15 years and above) between sub-Saharan Africa with 50.3 and 62.4 per cent, South Asia with a rate of 47.7 and 56.6 per cent, and the Least Developed Countries with 43.7

and 53.3 per cent in 1990 and 2001, respectively. Even so, concerning life expectancy at birth and infant mortality rate (IMR) India with 63 years and 71 per 1000 births is doing better than their corresponding counterpart sub-Saharan Africa with 47 and 92 births, respectively. On the other hand, India is far from doing a better performance in human development, in general. Particularly, in terms of “a common problem of endemic illiteracy and low educational achievements” the numbers are quite similar in both regions. Whereas male literacy is almost equal in India and sub-Saharan Africa with 68 and 69 per cent, this is not the case in female adult literacy with 44 and 53 per cent, respectively; especially considering the female-male ratio (women per 1000 men) of 933 in India in comparison to 1,015 in sub-Saharan Africa.

Further, Dréze/Sen (2002) discuss the aspect of health issues that are deeply related to educational achievements. The proportion (%) of undernourished children, between 1995 and 2000 ('weight-for-age' criterion, aged below 5) is 53 per cent in India compared to only 30 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa. Similar correlations between these two regions can be found in the proportion of low weight babies with 34 per cent in India compared to 15 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa. The proportion of pregnant women with anaemia is disproportionately higher in India with 88 per cent than in sub-Saharan Africa with 45 per cent, as can be seen in figure 4-I below.

Figure 4-I Nutrition related indicators

Nutrition-related indicators	India	Sub-Saharan Africa
Proportion (%) of undernourished children, 1995-2000 ('weight-for-age' criterion, age below 5)	53	30
Proportion (%) of low-birthweight babies, 1995-9	34	15
Proportion (%) of pregnant women with anaemia, 1985-99	88	45

Source: Dréze/Sen (2002:68), India and sub-Saharan Africa: Selected Development Indicators, 1999
 Considering India's per capita income compared to sub-Saharan Africa, the nutritional supply per capita in India should be much higher rather than vice versa. Dréze/Sen believe that the undernutrition derives from the high social and gender inequality in India. “For instance, gender inequality plays a major part in the

persistence of widespread illiteracy, not only by fostering deep neglect of female education, but also by suppressing women's agency roles in bringing about educational advancement (for girls and boys) [...] both gender inequality and educational backwardness are crucial causal antecedents of endemic undernutrition. Indeed, women's education has emerged in many empirical investigations as one of the most powerful determinants of child health" (Dréze/Sen 2002:70).

Figure 4-II Human Development Index 2003 (Literacy and enrolment)

HDI rank		Adult literacy Rate		Youth literacy Rate		Net primary enrolment ratio		Children reaching grade 5 (%) 1999-2000	
		(% age 15 and above)		(% age 15-24)		(%)		a	
		1990	2001	1990	2001	1990-91	2000-01	c	c, d
30	Korea, Rep. Of	95.9	97.9	99.8	99.8	104	99	f	..
74	Thailand	92.4	95.7	98.1	99.0	..	85	f	97 f,i
99	Sri Lanka	88.7	91.9	95.1	96.9	..	97	f,i	..
104	China	78.3	85.8	95.3	97.9	97	93	d,f	..
112	Indonesia	79.5	87.3	95.0	97.9	98	92	f	97 f
127	India	49.3	58.0	64.3	73.3	..	..	68	f,i
139	Bangladesh	34.2	40.6	42.0	49.1	64	89		..
143	Nepal	30.4	42.9	46.6	61.6	..	72		..
144	Pakistan	35.4	44.0	47.4	57.8	..	66		..
	Developing countries	67.2	74.5	81.1	84.8	80	82		..
	Least developed countries	43.7	53.3	56.5	66.3	54	60		..
	South Asia	47.7	56.3	61.7	70.6	73	79		..
	Sub-Saharan Africa	50.3	62.4	67.4	77.9	56	59		..
	Low income	54.8	63.0	68.0	75.9	69	74		..
<p>a. Data refer to the 1990/91 or 2000/01 school years. The net enrolment ratio is the ratio of enrolled children of the official age for the education level indicated to the total population of that age. Net enrolment ratios exceeding 100% reflect discrepancies between these two data sets.h</p> <p>c. Data for some countries may refer to national or UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimates. For details, see http://www.uis.unesco.org/.</p> <p>Because data are from different sources, comparisons across countries should be made with caution.</p> <p>d. Data refer to the 1999/2000 school year.</p> <p>f. Preliminary UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimates, subject to further revision.</p> <p>i. Data refer to the 1998/99 school year.</p>									

Source: Human Development Report, 2003 (table: 'Literacy and enrolment')

Another example of successful development of education for all is Taiwan which introduced compulsory elementary education in 1943. By 1921 the enrolment of children in school-age was as low as 21 per cent but could be increased through the Japanese measurements even before Taiwan was returned to the Chinese in

1945. In Taiwan, the compulsory years of schooling of six years remained until 1968 when the government expanded compulsory schooling to nine years.

[...] the newly independent government was one of the most developed elementary-school systems to be found in former colonial countries [...] the care that went into formulating and executing educational plans was outstanding [...] the bulk of the expenditures were for the lower level of the school system [...] the Japanese did give priority to the training of teachers and physicians." (Weiner 1994:167) The per capita income that increased from \$40 to \$2000 in 1950 and 1980, respectively, concludes Weiner, that as a result of "the presence of a population with at least six years, and by the late 1960s nine years of schooling." (Weiner 1994:167) The result was that by 1980 all six to twelve year olds were enrolled in school. Implementing measures undertaken were e.g. through the "...local Compulsory Education Committee, [which] advised parents to enrol their children, refer family problems to local governments, [...], and issue a formal warning letter if parents continue to keep children out of school" (Weiner 1994:169).

Korea, for example could raise the attendance of children in primary schools through the provision of free lunches and text books, as early as in 1941. By the end of the 1970s, already 99 per cent of all elementary-school-age children in South Korea were in school. This was reached with government expenditure of three per cent of GNP that were expended on education in 1979 (19 per cent of the government budget); this was possible through the sharing of educational costs with parents. At that time elementary education received most of its educational budget, with only a small investment in higher education (Weiner 1994:170-171). Sri Lanka's adult literacy rate rose from 58 per cent in 1946 to 86 per cent in 1984. By 1991 it had reached a level of 88.7; at the time of the last census in 2001 it was 91.9 per cent.

Sri Lanka, in comparison to India has had high literacy rates for some time now but unbalanced "levels of education and unemployment, with the lowest unemployment rate among those with only a primary school education and higher

levels of unemployment among those with secondary school diplomas and university degrees" (Weiner 1994:174).

Figure 4-III Public spending on Education

HDI rank	Public expenditure on education ^a				Public expenditure on education by level (as % of all levels) ^b				
	As % of GDP		As % of total government expenditure		Pre-primary and primary		Secondary		Tertiary
	1990 ^c	1998-2000 ^d	1990 ^c	1998-2000 ^d	1990 ^c	1998-2000 ^d	1998-2000 ^d	1998-2000 ^d	
1 Norway	e	7.1	6.8	14.6	16.2	39.5	..	..	..
5 Netherlands	e	6.0	4.8	14.8	10.7	21.5	..	..	..
16 Austria	e	5.4	5.8	7.6	12.4	23.7	27.3	44.1	26.2
17 France	e	5.4	5.8	...	11.5	27.3	..	..	..
18 Germany	..	4.6	...	9.7	..	..	..	..	..
30 Korea, Rep. of	e	3.5	3.8	22.4	17.4	44.4	..	..	..
74 Thailand	e	3.5	5.4	20.0	31.0	56.2	36.0	27.1	24.1
99 Sri Lanka	2.6	3.1	8.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
104 China	2.3	2.1	12.8	..	..	37.4	32.2	15.6	
112 Indonesia	e	1.0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
127 India	e	3.9	4.1	12.2	12.7	38.9	39.4	f	40.5
139 Bangladesh	1.5	2.5	10.3	15.7	45.6	46.7	f	43.0	f
143 Nepal	2.0	3.7	8.5	14.1	48.2	60.0	i	24.6	11.9
144 Pakistan	2.6	1.8f	f	7.4	7.8	f	..	..	..

a. Data refer to total public expenditure on education, including current and capital expenditure. See the definitions of statistical terms.
 b. Data refer to current public expenditure on education. Data may not be strictly comparable between 1990 and 1998-2000 as a result of methodological changes. Expenditures by level may not sum to 100 as a result of rounding or the omission of the categories expenditures in post secondary and expenditures not allocated by level.
 c. Data may not be comparable between countries as a result of differences in method of data collection.
 d. Data refer to the most recent year available during the period specified.
 e. All 1998-2000 data are preliminary UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimates, subject to further revision.
 f. Data refer to a UNESCO Institute for Statistics estimate where no national estimate is available.
 g. Data refer to the Office of Greek Education only.
 h. Data refer to a national estimate.
 i. Data refer to primary school expenditure only.

Source: *Human Development Report, 2003 (table 9: commitment to education: Public spending)*

Every country needs to find its own way in dealing with common problems based on historical development, foreign sovereignty, climatic difficulties and other calamities, as well as it is possible to learn from other examples, from different ways and achievements. India is unique in its history, culture, political situation as well as other factors as its population size and other aspects.

"Not all economists are agreed as to what requires to be done. They look at various models around the world: European, American, Japanese, east Asia and whatnot and wonder where India fits into all this. The fact is that it does not fit in anywhere. India is different from all other models in that our population is so large that the various attempts at development, such as they are, get defeated by the sheer size of population". Amrik Singh (New Policy on Education: Two years later," *Economic and Political Weekly* (November 1989:2484) in: Weiner (1994:154).

5 International Legislation

In the last century international legislative measures have become more important than ever before. National struggles have demanded common international goals to prevent these problems. The education of the 6 to 14-year-olds is only one concern of global debate that has its input on worldwide declarations, recommendations and conventions by the international community.

Bajpai (2003:198) mentions the importance of legislation in Western countries as indisputably relevant for the elimination of child labour at the beginning of the twentieth century. Besides other relevant factors, the author argues based on the experience of industrialized countries and therefore emphasises, the “undeniable impact far beyond deterrence [that legislation has had]. It set new standards and changed attitudes across society. These in turn provided, and still provide, the best insurance against a return to high levels of child labour in industrialized countries” (Bajpai, 2003:198).

Even though the author was explaining the implications of legislation on the issue of child labour, I am convinced that in order to change certain unequal aspects of societies, such as governments providing only part provision of elementary education, is the same regardless whether this is concerning child labour or the provision of Education for All. Basically, there are three main agents of political development and action. The (i) first ones are the actors at grassroots level, e.g. civil society, NGOs, social workers, and others. (ii) There is the regional/national level on which legislation and policies are decided, and (iii) the international level on which international comparison is possible and a common denominator achievable for sustainable development. These three actors/groups interact with one another and are relevant for the achievement of certain rights and goals in human development. Both, grassroots as well as international achievements are influencing national policies and legal frameworks that are in turn the strongest vehicle to the point of educational change, when accordingly implemented.

The most comprehensive document on Human Rights is probably the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948. Particularly interesting for EFA is Article 26 (1) that says “Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit”. Although the declaration was not binding it had helped future international legislative measures to develop, particularly those concerning the rights of the child.

The *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* (1959) followed with a particular focus on the development, social progress and standard of life, freedoms without any distinction of any kind, legal protection according to special needs of the immature child, and special welfare. The declaration was made on basis of the *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child* (1924) that the child may have a happy childhood and enjoy it for his own good and for the good of society. The guideline of the right on education is set-up under Principle 7¹¹ of the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child*.

This Declaration was following the *Convention of the Rights of the Child* (1989) which for the first time took into consideration a comprehensive approach on the rights of the child that includes *inter alia*, civil, economic, social and cultural rights distinguished into four categories: (i) right to survival¹², (ii) right to protection¹³, (iii)

¹¹ Principle 7: The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture and enable him, on a basis of equal opportunity, to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents. The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote the enjoyment of this right. (<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/25.htm>, 27.09.2005, 16:30).

¹² This includes the right to life, the highest attainable standard of health and nutrition, and adequate standards of living. It also includes the right to a name and nationality.

¹³ This includes freedom from all forms of exploitation, abuse, inhuman or degrading treatment, and neglect, including the right to special protection in situations of emergency and armed conflicts.

right to development¹⁴ and (iv) the right to participation¹⁵ (Bajpai, 2003:17-18) [whereas the latter is only possible to live due to the right of development and vice versa].

The most relevant articles of this legally binding Convention for 192 countries (all countries worldwide, except for Somalia and USA who have not yet ratified the convention yet), concerning education are Article 28¹⁶ and 29¹⁷, whereas the Article 28 says that primary education should be made compulsory and available free to all. The school system in a country should enhance regular attendance and reduce drop-out rates. This can be reached, *inter alia*, through the promotion of international co-operation concerning education. Through the international co-operation, there can be a provision of information on the contents relevant for education, *inter alia*, the promotion of development of the child's personality, development of respect for human rights, their own cultural identity and the preparation of the child for responsible life in a society. Of further importance is the recognition of the rights to physical, mental, spiritual and social development as stated in article 27, and the protection from economic exploitation through, *inter alia*, the subject of child labour considered in article 32 that is very "likely [to] be

¹⁴ This includes the right to education, support for early childhood development and care, social security, and the right to leisure, recreation, and cultural activities.

¹⁵ This includes the respect for the views of the child, freedom of expression, access to appropriate information, and freedom of thought, conscience, and religion

¹⁶ Article 28: 1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

(a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all;
 (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;
 (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;
 (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;
 (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.

3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

¹⁷ Article 29: 1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

(a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
 (b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;
 (c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;
 (d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;

(e) The development of respect for the natural environment.
 2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the

hazardous or [to] interfere with the child's education, or be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development".

In the context of Education for All, the *Minimum Age Convention, No. 138* (1973) and *Convention on the Worst forms of Child Labour, No. 182* (1999) seem only to have had to some extent, made any significant steps for the achievement of EFA. Nonetheless, particularly in India, which is known for the continuing existence of child labour, these two conventions are essential to refer to. India has ratified none of these two aforementioned (<http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp2.htm>, 28.09.2005, 16:19). Chapter 7.5, on Legislation in India discusses the legislative problem of child labour vs. Education for All in more depth.

In 1990, more than 155 nations and NGO-partners met at the Jomtien Conference in Thailand for the adoption of the *World Declaration on Education for All (EFA)*. The declaration emphasised the importance of the "diversity, complexity, and changing nature of the basic learning needs of children, youth, and adults necessitating broadening and constantly redefining the scope of basic education" (Bajpai, 2003:359).

As a result, the participants of the EFA conference have once more emphasised the incontestable issue of education as a fundamental right to everyone regardless of sex, religion or ethnic origin, thus a key to furthering personal and social development relevant for present and coming generations. Further, education builds towards approaching a more social, sustainable and healthier world in relation to cultural advancement and tolerance to one another. Accordingly, the participants of the conference state that the present educational situation worldwide needs special emphasis for change in quantity and in quality terms and that each young individual should receive the education necessary for personal life-long development and a diverse life (Jomtien-Declaration, 1990).

The *Dakar Framework for Action* (2000), based on the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *Child Rights Convention* as well as the *World Declaration on Education for All*, backs up the goal of free and compulsory quality education for all children in every society. Furthermore, it has noted the successes made by many countries, but re-emphasizes the fact that more than 113 million children still remain out of school in the year 2000. Goals have been reviewed with the aim of 100 per cent enrolment and retention by 2015, a special focus on the elimination of the gender gap, providing excellent quality of education, an early childhood care and education and 50 per cent adult literacy improvement due to strong political commitment, both on a national and an international basis and a special target on sustainable and integrative National Plans of Actions to ensure public and civil participation through decentralization have been restated. The Framework points out once more the undeniable relevance of “political will and stronger leadership [...] underpinned by resources”. (Dakar Framework for Action, 2000:9) The Framework, focussing on Asia and the Pacific Region underlines the education of women and girls (and hence the elimination of gender disparities), the education of the poor (puts emphasis on enrolment, and moreover on retention of the children already attending school classes). In addition to that the institutionalisation of Non-Formal Education was a further point, hence quality improvement in relation to the formal sector and therefore leading to equipollent education of the children enrolled in NFE centres.

6 Cost and benefit side of schooling

6.1 *Public expenditure (on Education)*

The adjective ‘public’ before ‘expenditure’ refers to some public entity or authority which incurs costs for societal purpose(s). The authorities implied are the state, its government(s) and as such, its representatives.

The state authorities are required to pay for certain expenses related to state activities, in particular, (i) the maintenance of internal law and order and national security, to provide the state apparatus itself (ii) carrying administrative responsibilities (iii) conferment of direct and indirect welfare related benefits upon

the society, (iv) initiating and subsequent nurturing of development of the society in general and the economy in particular. Prakash/Chowdury (1994) sub-classify public expenditure as (i) maintenance (ii) welfare and (iii) development. The classification is dependent on the activity of expenditure therefore it can be divided into national and international expenditure. Particularly in less developed countries (LDCs), besides governments, also international organisations (UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank, IMF, etc.) contribute to the maintenance (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994). At this point I would like to mention the contributions from organisations like World Bank included very often a certain "conditionality which affected the education sector indirectly, for example, through the freeze on the recruitment of civil servants, on their wages and salaries and subsidies and allowances (which affected teachers and administrative staff in ministries of education and regional offices)" (Delors, ed., 1998:95).

In the historical development of the theory of public expenditure (in industrialised countries) the focus has been shifted from wealth to welfare. Therefore, the state was rather expected to intervene on the side of the weak and the poor and to stop their economic exploitation and initiate measures to ameliorate their condition. Hence, the theory postulated public expenditure to focus on the maximisation of social benefit or advantage, *inter alia*, through minimum wage legislation, regulation of the number of hours of work, conditions of work and the public monopolisation of utilities (including among other things health and education).

Contrary to most industrialized countries the major focus of state policy in developing economies was on economic development as these economies have had neither the physical, capital, the private enterprise, the technology or the human capital for managing the complex process of development. Therefore the state of the developing nation is left with the task of filling in these vital gaps and to overcome its limitations (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994).

All economies in the world have had to face increases in their public expenditures during the last two centuries. Prakash/Chowdury (1994) relate this to the growing responsibility of the state to fulfil its protective function to its people. They describe reasons for the rapid growth of public expenditure such as (i) increasingly costlier

protective functions of state- like maintenance of external defence and internal law and order (ii) an explosive growth of population (iii) rising prices (iv) improvements in the quality of public goods and services resulting from upgraded technology and, (v) a multiplication of administrative apparatus which is necessary to provide an efficient and adequate organizational infrastructure, without which it would not be possible to perform such as socio-economic activities efficiently and welfare and development could not be promoted effectively. The increase of public expenditure is therefore a necessary condition for the development of the progressive state and the promotion of the welfare of its people. Furthermore, the authors in their research mention the growing role of the State in the complex and modern socio-economic structures as the single and most important factor of growth of public expenditure (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994).

6.2 Education as consumer and investment good

Keynes, in the 1930's advocated public expenditure as an instrument of pulling-up deficient effective demand for pushing the economy on to its full employment equilibrium path. The pure theory of public expenditure (on education) is based on the premise that (i) the conventional theory of value is not applicable to the analysis of public expenditure, (ii) the market mechanism does not respond fully to the societal needs as the autonomous market valuation leaves a substantial gap between private and social cost, on the one hand, and private and social benefits on the other (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994). Therefore, supply and demand, or education as a consumer or investment good is influenced by the level and structure of educational expenditure, irrespective if the origin of expenditure is public or private (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:259).

Education, by its very nature, is more intricate and complex than most other general or even merit/public goods/services that normally fall within the scope of either private or public expenditure. "The complexity [...] arises from the fact that education is both, a public and a merit good. Whereas other public goods are accessible for use to all but non can appropriate and acquire the ownership of the public goods, education is such a public and merit good which individuals can

acquire and appropriate to become its owner for life once the accessibility to education has been properly utilised [...] Then, education has both investment and consumption components though in literature education has come to be treated more as a factor of growth, and hence as a producer/capital or investment good rather than as pure consumption good, promoting welfare to users" (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:50).

6.2.1 Education as an Investment good

The following will discuss education treated as an investment good and the basis for human capital on the one hand and manpower production on the other, further aspects of social demand in relation to private demand, as well as the rates of return of education.

6.2.1.1 Investment – Human capital – Manpower production

Based on the social demand theory the approach of maximisation of utility/demand, the capital component is overlooked. The educational sector is therefore seen as a producer of an important capital good, called human capital, resource or manpower. The social demand theory advocates that educational expenditure should be as high as to be able to fully meet the social demand for human capital. Alternative approaches are often based on the application of general investment to educational investment (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994).

"Human resources...constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations, and carry forward national development". (Professor Frederick Harbison of Princeton University, in: Todaro ed., 2000:326)

In the following approach the expenditure on education deals with the investment component but also the direct and indirect impacts of education on economic development. Such as is the case with the utility of goods and services, the utility of education can be measured by the amount the individual or a given society is willing to pay to receive education rather than not to receive education. The expenditure on education is also dependent on the 'capacity to pay' which varies with income (of the state, households or individuals). Hence, this shows income inequalities that influence the capability of investment in education. As education is

a public as well as a merit good it is not possible to measure the cost-benefit ratio or the rates of return in the same manner as the measure of investment. The research in this field is narrow and restrained due to the complexity of influences on the socio-economic development in general and education within the development of a society in particular. Nevertheless, Prakash (1989; and 1993:148, in: Prakash/Chowdury, 1994) estimates that education accounted directly for 2.75 and indirectly for 0.21 per cent of total income of India in 1959-60 whereas this contribution in a state of dynamic growth has been estimated to have increased substantially to 7 per cent in 1969 and 14 per cent in 1979 (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994).

The education industry produces manpower that, in turn, helps and aids the production of a variety of goods and services in the production sectors of the economy in which human capital gets deployed. Hence, the investment theory of educational expenditure needs to factor in derived demand of production sectors of the economy for human capital as its base. As a result the authors see public investment in education pushed up to the point where the manpower requirements are fully satisfied. Based on the manpower production theory of educational investment it is implicitly assumed that educational investment per se cannot be restricted by resource constraints as it is determined by the manpower needs of the economy irrespective of the quantum of resources allocated and required. These explicit specification of equilibrium conditions mentioned above will thus remove these limitations (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:60-62).

This pure approach might give rise to the view that resource constraints do not have to be considered in educational planning and financing, but experience as a whole on the one hand and human capital as the outcome of educational investment as a part of the complex system of educational and economic development on the other revealing the multi-layered considerations needed for educational planning. The fact, that educational development includes components of socio-economic development make the need of differentiated empirical analysis even more complicated than is necessary.

6.2.1.2 Social demand

Social demand theory of public expenditure on education seeks to maximise social welfare. Therefore the social demand approach advocates that educational expenditure should be pushed up to a level at which the educational system is able to fully meet the social demand for human capital in comparison to other approaches in which the concept is based on the demand of educational investment. “In that case [...] education may be measured by the price of education that private individuals and/or society are willing to pay for education rather than go without it. Actual price paid for it may, however, differ from the maximum price that the private users or receivers of education may be willing to pay for it. Expenditure incurred on education both by individuals and society tends to be guided by the ‘capacity to pay’ which varies with income” (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:51).

The private educational demand may be guided largely by the investment component of education whereas social demand for education may also keep in view the short and long run and direct as well as indirect economic benefits that education may possibly confer upon society even if the immediate or direct objective may be the maximisation of utility/welfare (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:53).

Particularly EFA, which means the provision of compulsory elementary education to all children let prevail social demand over private demand. This is especially true in case of out of school children. Hence, public policy interventions such as the free provision of mid-day-meals, as well as books and uniforms, reflecting the perceived public/social demand for education as an instrument for the activation of the dormant private demand for elementary education. Out of school children reflect the necessity of the free provision of basic education for all children; Serge Péano concludes that “private returns to higher education are considerably higher than those to basic education” (in: Delors ed, 1998:99).

Affluent parents might send their children to private schools on their own costs to provide for different quality education. Higher education will be more selective and more related to private demand than this is the case on the elementary level.

Hence, this will be distributed according to manpower needs of the economy or the merit of candidates (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994).

6.2.1.3 Rates of return – Economic return

This concept is based on the theory “at that level at which the marginal social rate of return on educational investment equals the marginal social rate of return on non-educational investment if educational and non-educational uses of investible resources are considered as two distinct and composite goods. Intra- educational allocation pattern will also be determined on the same principle” (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:66).

Moreover the authors see surpluses and shortages as guiding and regulating factors in terms of return. Therefore the shortages or surpluses affect the earning differentials of manpower with different levels and types of education, which are related to unemployment/over-employment in general or particular sectors of the economy. Shortages/surpluses will adjust incentives as well as disincentives, encourage and discourage investment in particular levels and types of education. Further, neither manpower nor the hypothesis of rates of returns to educational investment does consider resource constraints explicitly. This is particularly relevant as developing societies or not-industrialised societies usually need more intensive investment in education as this would be the case of an already developed economy were these market factors can be applied more specific. Thus, the authors suggest to supplement the strengths of each theory rather than to substitute for allocating resources between educational and non-educational sectors of the economy on the one hand and to determine the allocation pattern among sub-sectors of education, on the other (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:67-68).

Education as a good/service consists of two main components (i) socio-cultural and (ii) economic. In developing countries, attainments of individuals can be expedient to raise social status within the community or the society as a whole. This is particularly interesting in terms of India with its scheduled castes and tribes. On that score, attainments because of education may be demanded as a producer good, but the consumption benefits cannot be kept out of sight.

The economic return of first generation students will be only applicable in case of a high saturation level of education within a caste, group or community. This saturation level of the social factor of educational demand will be demonstrated through the average number of completed years of schooling already attained by the caste/group/community. The acquirement of individuals into an educational system will be able to raise the educational development of a country (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:53-54).

Additionally, it should be noted as discussed earlier, the increase of the educational saturation level of a given society will not only raise the educational development, but also other factors concerning welfare, such as health, living conditions, environmental developmental and others.

Therefore compare also Tilak, (in: Govinda ed, 2002) who emphasises the significant effect on the reduction in poverty and improvement in income distribution, improvement in health and nutritional status of the population, its negative relationship with fertility and population growth and positive association with adoption of family planning methods, and its positive relationship with general social, political and economic development and overall quality of life¹⁸.

In terms of education and economic growth, Michael Todaro, in spite of the difficulty of statistical documentation, seems to be clear about the expansion of educational opportunities at all levels as a contribution to aggregate economic growth through the (i) creation of a more productive labour force that is endowed with increased knowledge and skills (ii) the provision of widespread employment and income-earning opportunities for teachers, school and construction workers, textbook and paper printers, school uniform manufacturers, and other related workers and (iii) the creation of a class of educated leaders as well as (iv) the promotion of the kind of training and education that would promote literacy and basic skill while encouraging 'modern' attitudes (or other topics related to social development and health) (Todaro, 2000:343).

¹⁸ See chapter 2 "Why Education for All?"

According to Prakash/Chowdury (1994:54) it may be noted that education for the individual economic return, as it is the case in India, has emerged mainly as the powerful means to acquire an access to 'white-collar' jobs, preferably in government or public sector undertakings, i.e. which acquire such qualifications as at least the passing of high and higher secondary school examination(s) even for the lowest posts except those of menial types. Further they state education less than this level does not confer any directly perceptible income/employment gain on the recipients of education on the job market. The authors argue that this aspect of employment policy renders the acquisition of primary and middle education economically irrelevant as also the parents do not aspire after education higher than primary or elementary education since higher education will rarely be able to prepare children for the kind of jobs that are accessible to their socio-economic strata.

The policy goal of the universalisation of primary or elementary education may represent the social demand for education. But the private demand for education emanating from socio-economically weaker sections, who do not send their children to schools, may remain dormant, and hence, unsatisfied. (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:53) In LDCs, particularly in India, where the minimum level of education is still not met for an extensive part of the society, the social demand approach is prevailing compared to the human capital investment and the rates of return theory as the second and the third theory do not cover the needs of the lowest strata of the society.

6.2.2 Education as consumer good (push-pull factors)

Contrary to the investment in education for reasons such as (i) social demand (ii) investment in human capital and (iii) rates of return, is education considered as a consumer good with a certain factor of demand.

Todaro (2000:336) demonstrates four factors being relevant for the demand of certain years of schooling. He describes the demand of schooling dependent on how the following variables are strongly related to each other:

The wage and income differential:

This differential means the differential in income between jobs in modern sector (white-collar-jobs) and the ones in the traditional sector (family farming, rural and urban self-employment, etc.). In the modern sector, completed years of schooling are relevant whereas the traditional sector lays more emphasis on manual and technical skills that are very often inherited from one generation to another. The greater the income differential between the modern and traditional sectors, the greater is the difference in the quantity of education.

Probability of success in finding modern-sector employment:

Somebody who successfully completes a certain amount of schooling has a higher probability of finding a well-paid job than somebody who does not. A growing problem shows the high unemployment rates among the educated. If urban unemployment rates among the educated are growing or if the supply of secondary school graduates continually exceeds the number of new job openings the actual wage differential needs to be modified.

Direct private costs of education

Direct costs for the education of children become a burden on parents. Generally these direct costs include school fees, books, clothing, and other related costs. These costs are more significant for poorer sections of the society, as it will form a relatively higher amount of the household income than for the richer strata. Furthermore, as statistically shown, more educated people do have fewer children than non-educated parents (whose children are first-generation learners). Todaro states the higher the school fees and associated costs, the lower is the private demand for education, given that all other variables remain equal; thus he describes it as a major burden and real financial constraint.

Indirect or opportunity costs of education

The investment in a child's education is not only related to direct but also to indirect costs. Even so, as it is in India, the first eight years of schooling are free of cost; the families are not without costs. Particularly for the poorer classes a child's education at a higher age means to forego the money income he could expect to earn or the output he could produce had he not felt the obligation to pay for education.

Firstly, these opportunity costs are higher for poor students than for more affluent students in relation to the household budget. Second, expected benefits of primary education are lower for poor students. These components together mean a poor family's rate of return is lower than it is for other families. Other aspects, many of them non-economic (e.g. cultural traditions, gender, social status, education of parents, and size of family) do play a significant role in schooling and certainly influence the amount of education demanded.

6.2.3 Education for Human Development

In spite of the discussion about the socio-economic values of education for the society and the individual it is necessary not to forget the aspect of education as an underlying matter of human development and global responsibility:

“...Education has other purposes than to provide a skilled workforce for the economy: it should serve to make human beings not the means but the justification of development. Bringing out the talents and aptitudes latent in everyone fulfils, at one and the same time the fundamentally humanist mission of education, the requirement of equity that should inform all educational policy and the genuine need for an endogenous development that shows regard for the human and natural environment and the diversity of traditions and cultures”. ... (Jacques Delors, Learning: the treasure within, UNESCO, 1996:80)

The Human Development Report 1990 (HDR) stated that the importance of human welfare “should be considered [as] the goal of development” (Delors, 1998:78). Human welfare includes, *inter alia*, health, diet and nutrition, access to drinking water, education and environmental issues. Education as such is the base for understanding the other aspects of human welfare. Therefore it needs a great understanding to enable mankind to be responsible for their own destiny and development for their progress in society, life and as participants in their community.

Educational expenditure in regard to economic development and population growth are important factors to be looked at in the following.

6.3 Expansion of Expenditure on Education

After Independence in 1947, India faced a period of low economic activity and a highly concentrated but inadequate and limited educational base. The supply of

education was very restrained and only a very low percentage of the population was able to read and write. Economically, education is described as a catalyst for change in socio-economic development.

An overwhelming majority of LDCs, including India, were confronted with these economic constraints. Income was low and human capital was not educated to increase economic development. Why and how expansion of the educational budget was increased will subsequently be discussed. Rostow's theory on economic development will be applied to the theory of expenditure on education (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:209).

6.3.1 Rostow's stage theory

Rostow's stages-of-economic-growth theory describes the transition of an economy from underdevelopment to development in five stages.

“..In achieving development, a country inevitably passes through five stages: (1) the traditional and stagnant low per capita stage, (2) the transitional stage (in which the preconditions for growth are laid down), (3) the takeoff stage (beginning of the economic growth process), (4) the drive-to-maturity stage, and (5) the industrialized, mass production and consumption stage (development stage)” (Todaro, 2000:765).

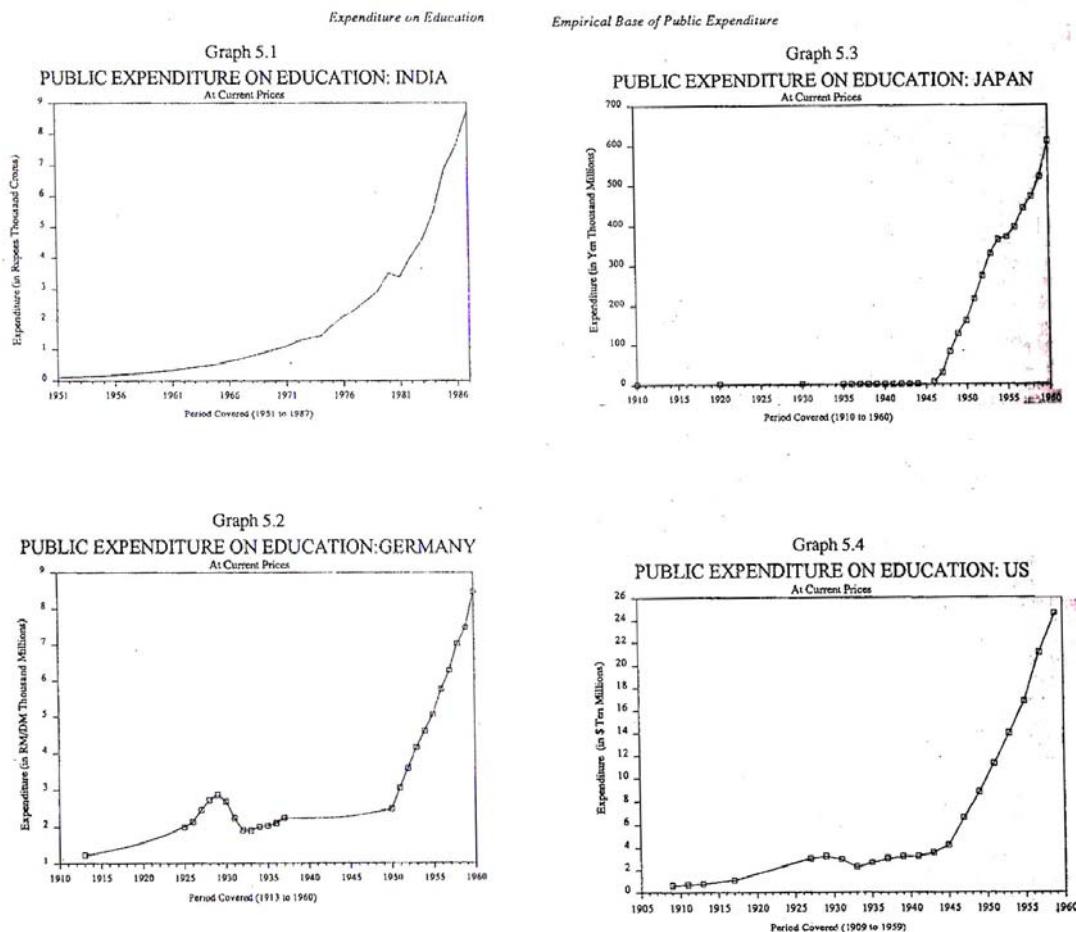
Prakash/Chowdury (1994:73) used Rostow's stage theory as an analytical framework for the description of the educational development of a country as well as the increase of public expenditure on education in India. They suggested the following aspects:

“(i) first is the *primitive stage* of development when enrolment ratios/rates may range from 5 to 15 per cent of age specific population eligible for education, (ii) second stage may be designated as the *pre take-off stage* when enrolment ratios may hover around 15 to 30 per cent of total population in age-groups considered eligible for education, (iii) next the stage of *take-off* when enrolment probabilities/ratios may range from 30 to 50 per cent of eligible age-specific population, (iv) fourth stage may be termed as *advanced stage* when enrolment ratios may tend to hover around 50 to 75 per cent of total population of the country eligible for education, and the (v) final stage may be defined as the *mature stage*

of educational development when enrolment probabilities/rates may centre around 75 to 90 per cent of population of educable ages."

Based on their variation of Rostow's stage theory, Prakash/Chowdury (1994:73) compare India's development between the 1950's and 80's with more advanced economies such as Japan, Germany and the US from the beginning of the 20th century until 1960. In disregard of time, it is recognised that all four countries show similar curves on their public expenditure on education.

Figure 6-1 Public expenditure on education (India, Germany, Japan, US)



Source: Prakash/Chowdury (1994:118)

India was in a pre take-off stage during the 1950's when the average enrolment in this decade was 18.99 per cent of the population eligible for education. At that time only 1.77 per cent of income was spent on education. In the following decades, the sixties, seventies and eighties educational expenditure was raised to 2.66, 2.89

and 2.99 per cent, respectively, which were accompanied by enrolment rates of 29.64, 32.98 and 37.38 per cent, respectively (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:118). According to Tilak (in: Govinda, 2002) between 1990 and 1998, an average of 4.1 per cent was spent with a corresponding net enrolment rate of 85.7 per cent in year 2000 (UNESCO, Global Monitoring Report 2003/04).

6.3.2 Educational expansion

Investment in education is an investment in economic growth; thus, investment needs to be seen as an input that contributes both directly and indirectly to the growth of both, national and per capita income. In this relation between educational, investment and expansion, and employment, the issue of employment possibilities for the educated has been overlooked in many LDCs. The process of quantitative expansion has led to the neglect of quality on the one hand and widened the gap between manpower needs and the expansion of education on the other. In India, these critical issues have led to the ever growing number of educated unemployed as well as incompatibilities and incongruities between the world of learning and the world of work.

Further it is stated that unemployed manpower does not contribute to the growth of an economy. The socio-economic development of a country needs to be sound and strong. Therefore, balanced economic and educational growth is essential. This balance can only be achieved through the optimisation of employment and output growth proportionate to the growth of economy in balance with employment opportunities and population (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:149-150).

Considering the case of India, with a jobless rate of 8 per cent and a steady rising number of people out of work, the country has been forced to face a critical stage in recent years due to a lack of employment opportunities. The Planning Commission registered 40 million people with "employment exchanges" and is expecting another 35 million new workers in 2007, which makes a creation of 75 million jobs within the next 3 years necessary, according to the consultancy McKinsey & Co. otherwise India could face social unrest or similar circumstances (Newsweek, 15 March 2004:29).

These scenarios given by the consultancy can be already confirmed by riots that broke out in Guwahati/Assam. In November 2003, as 500,000 people undertook a railway-recruitment examination: "The presence of the Hindi-speaking "outsiders" angered the Assamese candidates, who perceived them as intruding on employment opportunities that rightfully belonged to their region. They assaulted 50 Bihari candidates and blocked them from taking the test in Guwahati, which unleashed a bitter round of violence and counter-violence in Assam and Bihar." J.P. Chaubey, general secretary of the All India Railwaymen's Federation sees reasons for the riots in the growing frustration and desperation of several unemployed people seeking for a secure job (Frontline Dec. 6-19, 2003).

The argument of population growth needs to be mentioned as India had to face dramatic declines in death rates, without there being commensurate declines in birth rates during the post independence period. This has resulted in an explosive population growth and it caused a significant burden on school education and educational planning in particular. Altogether, these components of education in balance with the growth of economy, employment opportunities, as well as population growth, is seen as essential for the inter-related development between them. The question raised is who will take the responsibility for the financing of educational expenditure?

6.3.3 Financing of education – should it be provided publicly or privately?

Given a society where everyone can read and write, life is easier and less dependent than when only a few are literate e.g. in everyday life, political participation. As already mentioned earlier, to be able to read and write has not only public and social benefits but also private benefits to the individual.

Stiglitz (1999) raises the question whether the demand for education would be as high as the demand for education is with the provision of the government. He argues they would like to invest, even to the point where the private return equals the cost of capital but might lack access to funds to finance their education.

Concerning elementary level, decisions are made by parents on behalf of their children. The investment for their children's education is mostly altruistic and so

they do this as long as the returns to their investment are sufficiently high, but some parents may not. The more unfortunate children are not able to receive sufficient education. Stiglitz further claims that there is a widespread belief that children's access to education should not depend on their parent's financial ability or their sense of altruism. He added that the importance of socialisation through schooling. (Stiglitz, 1999:426) These factors mentioned are again promoting equality as well as opportunity¹⁹.

Now, I would like to bring in the aspect of "positive' liberties in the context of the discussion on market intervention through the government were Dréze/Sen (2002:61-62) describe the governmental role as a "*supportive influence* which actually help[s] a person to do the things that she wants to do". Further the authors emphasise the positive role that the constructive support of the government gives for the citizen to help themselves, for example, by arranging public education. In this respect, very often, the discussion on public intervention is based on the negative aspects of government intervention. Nonetheless, the positive function of public provision of (elementary) education as well as other social security services cannot be denied. Particularly, considering a country where only a little over 10% of the school-going population can afford private schooling; it becomes imperative for the government to provide its growing population with an adequate number of schools (Bajpai, Backgroundpaper for HDR, 2003a:17).

Based on the theory of return this is often used as a critical argument in the discussion on the financing of basic (or elementary) education. In terms of social demand on the one hand and human development as key point for development within a society on the other, basic education needs to be financed by the state in order to guarantee a minimum standard of living (health, nutrition, environment, etc.) that in turn determines the productivity of the state and its citizens.

Péano (in: Delors ed., 1998:99) further emphasises the remaining significance even under conditions of decentralisation and constraints of financing. According

¹⁹ Delors (UNESCO, 1998:99) brings in another aspect about inter-sectoral allocation of the educational expenditures and summarises from a number of country-specific studies that private returns to higher education are considerably higher than those in basic education.

to Péano, public authorities need to fulfil three functions in the context of financing education:

- (i) The elaboration of national educational legislation and its monitoring for the guarantee of its implementation,
- (ii) The provision of actual funds for education, and
- (iii) The management of educational systems (this includes securing the availability of a number of schools, teachers and other necessary equipment).

Moreover he stresses the remaining importance of the role of the central government in times of decentralisation with a delegating function of the central, regional and local responsibilities to lower levels of administration. Decentralisation of administrative matters enables school principals and teachers to adapt educational expenditure more successfully to the needs of schools as they are actively working with children and their families. These aspects apply to public as well as private organisations such as NGOs in the same way (Péano, in: Delors ed., 1998:99-103).

Tilak (January 1998:64) sets the example of socialist and some western European countries where education is provided predominantly (and in some countries also completely) by the public sector. Further he emphasises the dominant role of public financing of the primary and elementary education sector but also the equally important role of financing higher education by the state. Based on this, he argues, “when governments spend liberally on education and provide good quality education and provide it efficiently, households and communities will be willing to enthusiastically complement the public efforts through voluntary contributions to education”.

6.3.4 How much to be spent by the government?

Prakash/Chowdury (1994:253) see three kinds of resources available for the educational sector. (i) Human resources, including staff, academic and non-academic as well as students who fulfil the role as the input of the production of education, (ii) physical resources, comprising (a) natural resources such as land,

(b) capital resources, for example buildings, equipment, books, (iii) financial and monetary resources for the acquisition of human and physical resources.

Social demand will be very much relevant in guiding the need for financial resources to overcome weaknesses and structural gaps. On the other hand, the budgetary allocations finally distributed to meet educational demand reflect the political will to translate the development goals and planning priorities into action. Additionally it should be noted that resource availability and requirements also play an important role in the determination of educational spending. Consequently, education budgets are determined by resource constraints as well as political will by the ruling government. Therefore, "the total expenditure on education is the sum of expenses incurred on inputs used in the production of education. Expenditure represents the outgo or outlay, and hence, payments for either the services rendered or goods delivered to the educational system" (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:255).

Economic development (reflected by per capita income) and the political will of governmental authorities are the underlying factors which determine the amount of educational expenditure spent on the advancement of education among the people of a country.

According to international standards and recommendations as well as Indian commissions and proposals, in particular the Kothari commission in 1966, the amount that should be spent on education by the central and the state government is 6 per cent of total income. This rate has not been achieved so far, despite the raising numbers in the 1990's of one or two percentage points in Indian households, both state and national level.

Factors of quality and quantity are relevant in the achievement of EFA in India, but nonetheless very often, the infrastructure does not allow many achievements. Therefore, solutions have to be provided through the government. Real numbers and ratios concerning India is explained later specifically in the section 7.7.1 on 'Public Planning on Education'.

7 India – Situation (State of the Child in India)

Currently, India is facing a period of transition where there have been great successes in enrolment in the past decade, but at the same time it still faces many obstacles to overcome in the achievement of universal elementary education. Thus, the Indian child and his/her situation concerning the attainment of basic education will be described.

Generally, the legislative situation of the country is quite advanced, but still, the financial resources provided, the attitude and the engagement of main parts of the society and the growth of the population works against the implementation of providing free and compulsory quality elementary education to the Indian people.

As Bajpai (2003) states:

"Basic education consists of a combination of indispensable competencies, knowledge, skills and an attitude that serves as the foundation of any individual's lifelong learning. Although there will be differences in what constitutes 'basic education' from society to society, there are some fundamentals that are common across cultural, social, and political boundaries. Key competencies include reading, writing, and numeracy. Without these competencies it is difficult for an individual to pursue learning in modern times. Knowledge should be both theoretical and practical. An example is the area of basic science. Its content, for instance, is likely to vary according to the particular context, but it must provide learners with the basic scientific concepts and experience that will allow them to function on a daily basis in such areas as food, nutrition, water and sanitation. Skill provides an individual with the ability to use knowledge effectively and easily" (Bajpai, 2003:328).

On the one hand, the Indian Constitution, particularly Article 45²⁰, does take into consideration the basic rights of every individual, whereas on the other hand a decision by the Indian Supreme Court seems to express the opposite:

"This is precisely what the Supreme Court has stated in its judgement in civil writ application No. 465 dated 10 December 1996. According to this judgement, paragraph No. 31 (10), children should be permitted to work 4-6 hours a day in non-hazardous employment while receiving education for two hours a day" (Mishra, 2000:15).

This ambiguity on a legislative basis can be found on several levels concerning the provision of basic education to the Indian people. The following chapters will provide an overview on statistics, facts and numbers concerning the quantity of literates in India, the organisational structure of the educational system, a profile

on the children, legislative measures as well as measures to finance the present and future educational system of India.

7.1 Historical background of the educational system

Due to 'past' colonial power in India, the educational system cannot be described in a gradual way. Different powerful actors tried to take advantage of the alien power ruling the country. Kumar (1990) and Atal (1997) describe the establishment of an educational system by the British rulers as an adduction of future lower administrative Indian staff necessary for ruling the country rather than to the country's needs and in accordance with the socio-economic development. (Kumar, 1990:7; Atal, 1997:36) Bhattacharya (2002:4) even calls this the "knowledge-production functions" where "[...] Indians basically placed the role of 'native informants' in the acquisition of local knowledge [...]" Furthermore, as the English language has been the language of administration, the educated Indians distanced themselves from their native languages, which made it even harder for less educated to overcome the obstacle of going to school, particularly for the already deprived strata of the society (Atal, 1997:36).

Nonetheless, colonial rulers were the ones who introduced first commissions and initiatives for the achievement of mass education, this aim was not fulfilled. The most known is probably the Hunter Commission (1882) that stated "while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be the part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than herebefore" (http://banglapedia.search.com.bd/HT/H_0194.htm, 25.08.2005, 14:23).

In 1944, new plans were made for the 'Post-War Education Development' in India (also known as the Sargent Plan) which "recommended universal, free and compulsory education for all in the age group 6-14 years. The Plan fixed the period of implementation as 40 years. In view of the political developments in the

²⁰ Article 45 – "Provision for free and compulsory education for children - 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" (<http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/fullact1.asp?fnm=00%2057> , 25.8.05, 14:45)

country, the Sargent Plan also remained unimplemented" (Mahajan/Kullar, 2000:52).

After Independence in 1947 the Constitution of India constituted free and compulsory elementary education within 10 years, but the outer circumstances to make this goal become reality were dismal. Literacy rates of 18 per cent for males and 9 per cent for females did not allow great hope for reaching this goal (Govinda ed., 2002:1).

The Education Commission 1964-1966, mostly known as the Kothari Commission surveyed the Indian education system with all its complexities and presented therefore recommendations that lead to the National Policy on Education (NPE) 1968. This policy was the cornerstone for the development of elementary mass education for the following decades. Principles of the NPE 1968 were included measures to ensure free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years. Furthermore, during this time the concept of non-formal education (NFE) was developed which will subsequently be discussed (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:21). In 1986, a newly formulated NPE was drafted and followed by a countrywide debate, which had as its principle the Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE). The difference between the two, except for the NPE 1986 emphasis on retention, lays in the different words that have been chosen.

Maybe, the repeated emphasis on UEE in 1986 has helped the responsible authorities to become once more aware of the unacceptable educational situation in the country. In the modified version 1992 of the 1986, the NPE has put more focus on the quality and decentralization of education (at all levels through Panchayati Raj²¹ institutions), and inclusion of so called 'health camps' and the stronger participation of voluntary organisations (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:54-56).

7.2 Statistics, Facts and Numbers

India probably counts amongst the most extreme concerning statistics and numbers concerning development indicators. Not only that India, together with

²¹ The local self- government consisting of village, block and district level elected bodies (NIEPA and GoI, 2000)

China, is one of the two most populated countries; its numbers concerning poverty and inequality et al. are on extreme ends.

According to the census 2001, India estimates a population size of 1,027 015 247 persons with a sex ratio of 933.11 females per 1000 males (with a constant decline from 1901 on with 972 females per 1000 males). Moreover, a consistent increase and decrease is recognizable in the census numbers from 1971 to 2001 with 930, 933, 927 and 933 females per 1000 males, respectively (Menon-Sen/Kumar, 2001:12). Considering the child sex ratio (0-6 years) for the next census in 2011 there will have to be expected a further decline as from 1961 to 2001 the numbers are 976, 964, 962 and 927, respectively (Menon-Sen/Kumar, 2001:27).

Dréze/Sen (2002:233) point out that:

"It may be argued that the deliberate neglect of female children ought to come under the label of infanticide. There might be a case for this, but the point to recognize is that the social practices that lead to excess female mortality are far more subtle and widespread than the graphic stories of drowning, poisoning, or asphyxiation of female infants that periodically make headlines in the newspapers. This is not to deny that female infanticide, strictly defined, does indeed occur in India today and has done so in the past."

Furthermore, India shows an annual growth rate of 1.8 per cent in enrolment (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/04:300) and a decadal (1991-2001) total growth rate of 21.34 per cent with a percentage of 20.93 for males and 21.79 for females. Population with access to improved sanitation in the year 2000 was 28 per cent. Population with sustainable access to an improved water source in year 2000 was 84 per cent. (Human Development Indicators for India, 2003, 05.05.2004²²) "Over half the children under the age of five years in India are moderately or severely malnourished, 30 per cent of new born children are significantly underweight and nearly 60 per cent of pregnant women are anaemic" (10th Five-year-plan 2002-2007, 2.1.19:18).

Lakshmidhar Mishra derives these conditions from:

"faulty cooking methods, inadequate and improper feeding of infants, neglect of pregnant women and a male dominated and discriminatory society [...] poor sanitation and the indifferent quality of water that causes a high incidence of infection and diarrhoea [...]. The chronic malnutrition among

²² http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2003/indicator/cty_f_IND.html

pre-school children remains disturbing. [...] It is estimated that about 2.5m. children in India are threatened by blindness in early childhood. Over a million children suffer from severe vitamin A deficiency, as a result of which 12,000 to 14,000 children in the 3-6 age group go blind every year. The peak incidence of such blindness is in the age group 1 to 5 years, and three-fourths of the children in this age group have body weights that are 75 per cent below the standard weight of well-nourished children and only 3 per cent can be considered to have normal body weights" (Mishra, 2000:36).

The 90's can be called the watershed decade for basic education. Comparing the census 2001 with earlier ones, the highest increase of 13.17 per cent in the literacy rate since 1951 can be noted. Simultaneously it should be noted that there is still an existing gender gap of 21.69 per cent, which will be discussed later in chapter 7.4.3 'Male – Female ratio'. As the Census 2001 indicates, the literacy rates have increased up to 65.37 per cent, and for the first time, the number of illiterates in absolute terms has decreased by 31.89 million and the number of literates has increased by 203.6 million between 1991 and 2001 (10th Five-year-plan 2002-2007, 2.1.26:19).

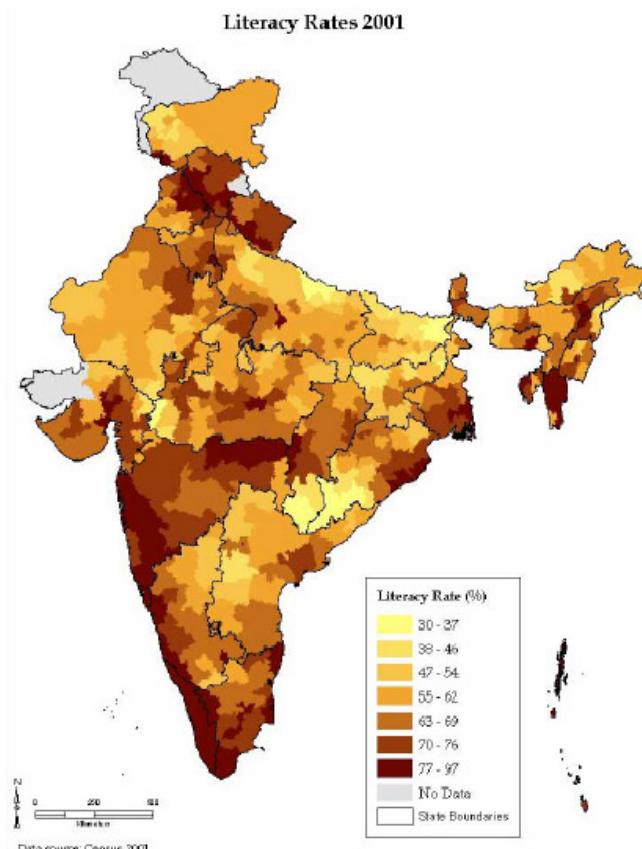
Figure 7-I Literacy rates (%) in India: 1951-2001

Year	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
1951	8.86	27.16	18.33
1961	15.35	40.40	28.30
1971	21.97	45.96	34.45
1981	29.76	56.38	43.57
1991	39.29	64.13	52.21
2001	54.16	75.85	65.38

Source: Census-India: Literacy rates 1951 – 2001

Figure 7-II gives an overview of regional differences and development levels concerning elementary education.

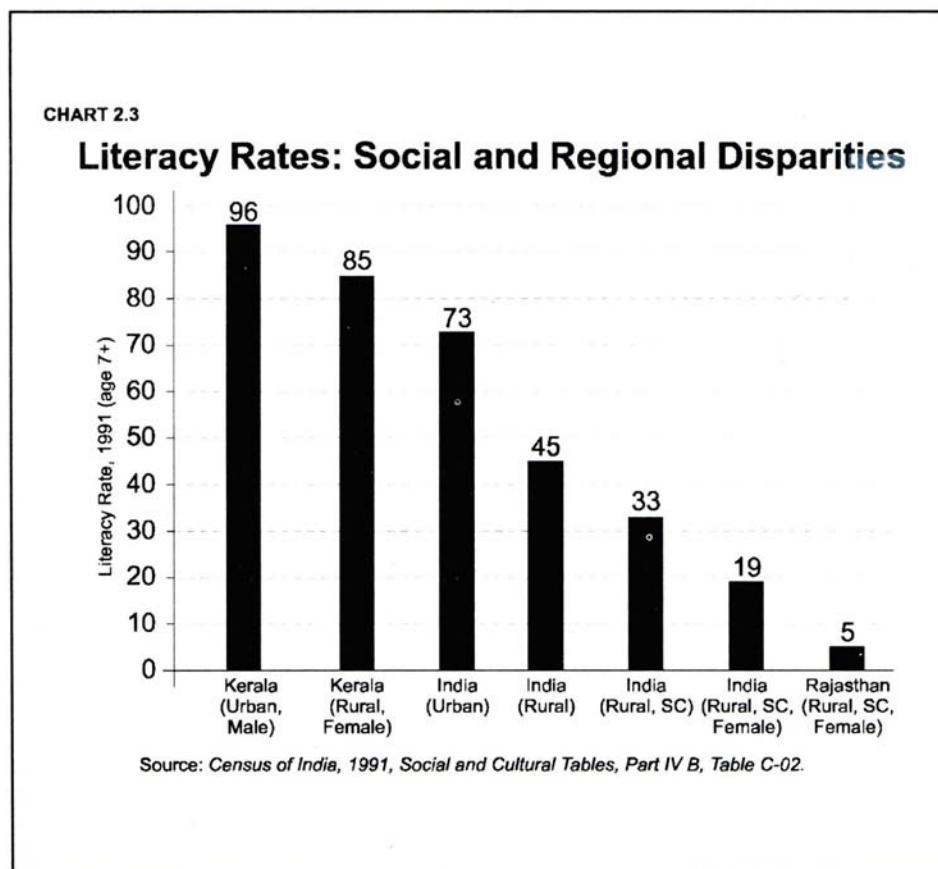
Figure 7-II Literacy Rates 2001 (Regional Differences)



Source: Bajpai, 2003: *HDR Background paper: Appendix*

Moreover, figure 7-III shows more clearly social and regional disparities (census data 1991 in: PROBE in India, 1999:11); the graphic shows particularly the different variables responsible for certain high or low rates. For example, the urban males perform generally much better than rural SC females. Figure 7-IV is only exemplifying for tendencies that are transferable to a more general picture of the countries literates.

Figure 7-III Literacy Rates: Social and Regional Differences



Source: PROBE, 1998: 11 (Chart: 2.3)

The 10th Five-Year-Plan is described to account for 200 million children in the age group of 6-14 years of which 42 million children do not attend school. Some NGOs suppose that there are up to 100 million children out of school. According to international agencies, the realistic number is probably somewhere between 60 to 80 million children that are not able to attend school classes. Mishra (2000) speaks of "over 200 million illiterates which is the single largest illiterate population in the world".

As Figure 7-II and 7-III show, regional differences are enormous, particularly concerning SC/ST and OBCs as well as the female population in general. Seldom are there more female than male literates in a certain region. In a state-wise (including UTs) comparison the female literacy rate is never higher than the male one. A more detailed portrait of the disprivileged strata of the Indian society will be described in the chapter 7.4 on the Indian child and its privileges and disprivileges.

7.2.1 Enrolment ratios and Retention/Out of School children

Mahajan/Khullar (2000) describe India as being the country with the most illiterates in the world; half of the illiterates between 15 and 35 years in the world are Indians. Furthermore, the retention up to class V is only a little over 50 per cent; and the drop-out rate for children in school up to class VIII is around two-thirds (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:11, 53).

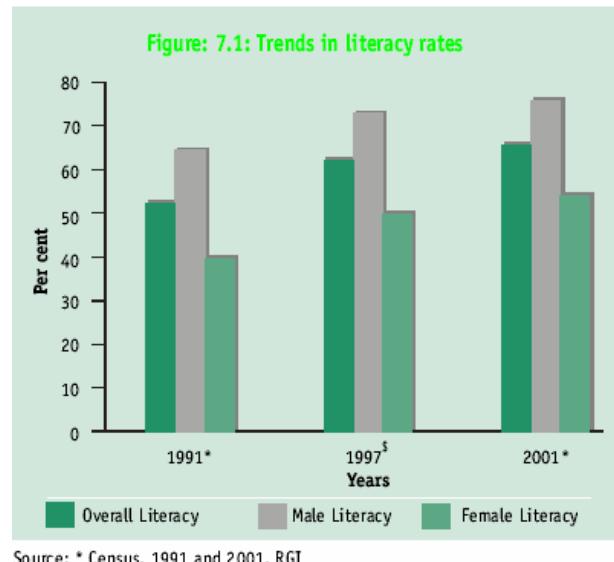
“The *Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)* at the primary (class I-V) when starting school at the age of six years; and upper primary (class VI – VIII) levels improved significantly between 1950-51 and 1999-2000, from 42.6 to 94.9 in the case of primary levels and from 12.7 to 58.79 for upper primary levels. The gap between boys and girls in GER at the primary and upper primary levels has declined significantly from 28.5 and 29.6 percentage points respectively in 1990-91 to 19 and 18 in 1999-2000. The *Net Enrolment Ratios (NER)*, obtained by subtracting the number of underage and overage children enrolled in grades I-V and VI-VIII, were significantly lower than GER in the case of both boys and girls. The NER for boys and girls was 78 per cent and 64 per cent respectively at the primary level in 1997-98. The overall NER at the primary level was 71 per cent, which suggests that at least 29 per cent of children in the age group of 6-10 years continued to remain out of school in 1997-98. Educationally backward states, and, within them, backward districts, have lower NER than the all-India average” (10th Five-Year-Plan, 2002-2007:24).

Concerning SCs there is an apparent strong connection between literacy and social rank. Bhattacharya (2002:273) argues that higher castes and trading castes show higher literacy rates than castes traditionally engaged in agriculture who were at the bottom half of literacy rankings; in a similar way, this was the case with artisan castes. Moreover, it can be recognized that the lowest castes were usually the least literate ones.

Nonetheless, again STs show great variations among different regions. Literacy rates range from 82.27 per cent in Mizoram and 17.16 per cent in Andhra Pradesh. On the district level this picture will be repeated. Govinda (ed., 2002:89) describes therefore:

“Out of a total 414 districts with tribal population, 13 have a tribal literacy rate of 0-10 per cent and in as many as 86 districts, tribal literacy is only 20-30 per cent. A substantial number of districts (240) have a tribal literacy rate of 10-40 per cent. Only three among all the districts of India have 90-100 per cent tribal literacy rate. [...] Gender is now recognized as a more pervasive and distinct category of social stratification. [...] The literacy rate among the tribals is not only low but also shows a high level of gender disparity”.

Figure 7-IV Literacy Trends



Source: (*First Periodic Report 2001:246*)

The reliability of enrolment ratios are discussed in Vasavi/Mehendale (2003:73) and Metha (2003:9). The first argue that enrolment ratios tell very little about actual school attendance or completion of schooling. The latter sees a problem in the reliance of enumeration on a conceptual and methodological basis. Metha suggests checking the census data 2001 on a sample basis. Furthermore, he argues, “Often, when children are reported to be in schools, the enumerators (mostly teachers) unconsciously treat them as literates, which may not always be true. For example, children of grade I and II are treated as literates in 2001 Census. Moreover, a 9 or 10-year old child, if reported as enrolled in school, may not necessarily be treated as literate who has entered the system laterally and is studying in grade I and II”. Nonetheless, statistics have to be taken into consideration as they are a good basis to evaluate certain developments. The necessity is to ensure awareness on possible failures that arise during enumeration. Govinda (ed., 2002:54) assumes that the “Lack of systematic data

on school attendance further confuses the picture, since out-of-school children would effectively be a cumulation of the non-enrolled, the non-attending and the drop outs". As the aforementioned data is the only data currently available, it needs to be used as such, but with a certain awareness of the above mentioned factors in the enumeration process.

The question will be what the reasons are for high drop-outs and non-attendance rates. Jaichandran summarises the socio-economic determinants of school attendance in India as (1) Female workforce plays a crucial role in educating children, as women who are working have an increased say in the intra-household decision making process as well as in the society as a large, (2) Parental education; literate parents are more likely to send their children to school; particularly interesting is the effect of both sexes in the same classroom (3) School accessibility and infrastructure and its availability in school participation; (4) poverty and its inability to afford direct costs of schooling, such as fees, books, stationary, transportation, etc.; (5) Household size has a particular negative influence on the attendance of girls as they need to take care of their younger siblings much earlier than their coeval brothers; (6) interestingly, school attendance rates are no lower in districts with higher proportions of SC/STs than in other districts; (7) gender bias in school tends to decline with higher parental literacy and increase in school accessibility, but rises with household size (Jaichandran, April 2003:194-195).

In the case of high female drop-outs Vasavi/Mehendale (2003) see in their findings in Andhra Pradesh a strong bias against girls. While all boys attended school at least for some years, at least one third of the girls had not been enrolled or if enrolled, never attended school. They see causes in an unequal treatment of girls and boys: girls are rather staying at home due to (1) parental disinterest; (2) financial considerations; (3) domestic responsibilities; (4) migration; (5) child's labour required for the family; (6) illness in the family (7) sudden economic crisis and (8) the large distance to school.

The variables aforementioned are prevalent in the achievement of UEE as these are the factors needed to take into consideration in the planning and implementing process. At this point these non-attendance factors will not be further discussed as this will be more deeply underscored in under chapter 8 and 9 on NGOs and their work in education for the disprivileged strata of the society. Before, in the following chapter, more emphasis will be laid on the organisation and structure of primary education in India.

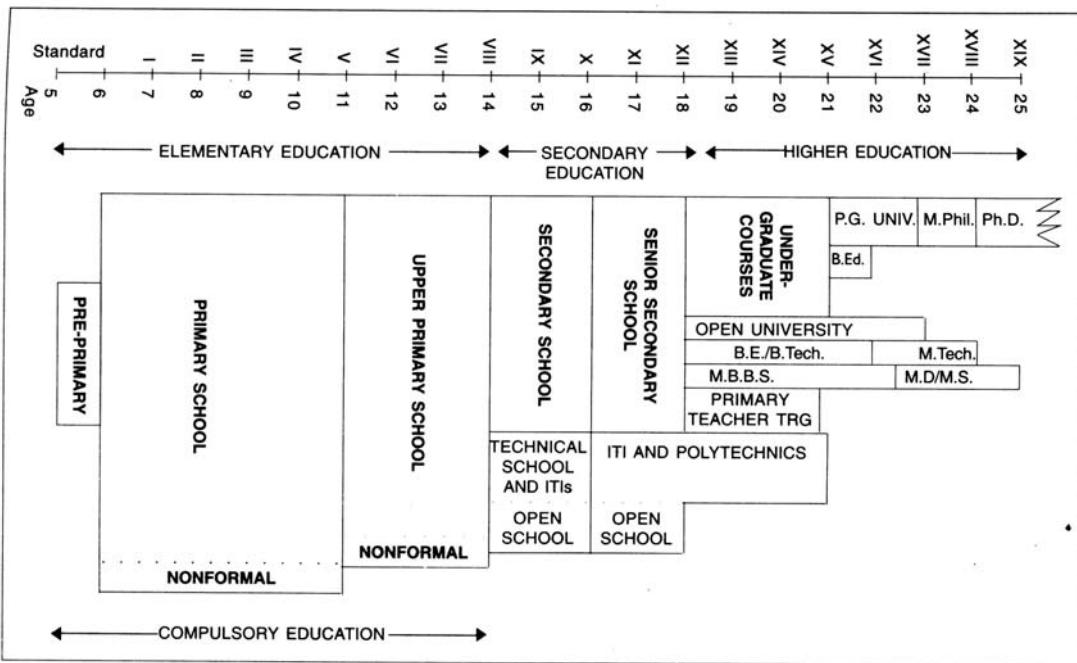
7.3 Organisation and Structure

Generally eight years of elementary education imply a primary stage from class I-V as well as an upper primary stage from class VI-VIII²³. In addition, class XI and X are in most states called secondary education and in few states junior college. Nevertheless, eight years of schooling are compulsory and is seen as one integrated unit. As further mentioned in the legislative part, the integrated unit of elementary education up to 14 years of age is determined in the constitution under article 45 of the directive principles of state policy. The official age to enter class I is generally six years, but in few states the enrolment age is already five years. According to India's National Plan of Action (2003:2), the "initial schooling stage up to class VII and VIII (as is the case in many states/UTs) is generally called 'elementary stage' ".

Figure 7-V Structure of Education in India

²³ Compare figure 7-VI

Figure 1.1: Structure of Education in India



Source : Development of Education : 1986-1988, National Report of India , NIEPA ,1988

Furthermore, “the focus of the curriculum at the primary stage is on development of basic skills of literacy and numeracy, study of environment in terms of physical and social phenomena, participation in activities which would develop productive skills, creative expression and habits of healthy living. In the initial years, the content and methodology are directed to achievement of communication and computational skills with a view to developing the basic tools of learning” (National Plan of Action, 2003:3).

The relevant ministries concerning education in India are the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), Department of Education that is divided into the (1) Department of Elementary Education and Literacy, (2) Secondary Education and (3) Higher Education. In November 1999, a separate Department of Elementary Education and Literacy was established is headed by an independent secretary and holds its responsibilities within the MHRD (Department of Education²⁴, Gol, 30.08.05, 18:41).

²⁴ <http://www.education.nic.in/htmlweb/orga.htm>

7.4 *The children*

7.4.1 Being privileged/underprivileged in the education system

A certain inequality within the educational system is pre-determined. This is mostly through the fact of inequality of opportunity as described in Dréze/Sen (2002:8-10) “In any society, most types of opportunities are enjoyed by some people, but not by others. [Expansion of freedom and education] involves countering this division between haves and have-nots. For example, the expansion of elementary schooling would reduce not only the overall extent of illiteracy, but also the inequality of educational achievements.” Furthermore, it promotes the participation of social change itself, as social inequalities are challenged by the provision of basic educational needs for the privileged and the underprivileged.

Concerning the number of Dalits²⁵ who have been enrolled during the period from 1961 – 1991 Bhattacharya (2002:169) summarises, “the literacy rate rose from 10 per cent to 37 per cent among the SCs, from 8 per cent to 29 per cent among the STs, and from 37 to 57 per cent for the rest of the population. Despite the increase in these general numbers on literacy rates in the country, with it regional and state levels vary greatly.

Education has not only been an imparting factor but carries with it a social or governmental mandate as well. Furthermore, it enables the person receiving education to complete in a certain standard and thus become active in certain economic realm. Additionally, Bhattacharya (2002) describes that colonialism reinforces the inequalities between the privileged (such as upper castes, the ‘English educated’, professional occupation groups) and the less privileged (tribal groups, SCs or Dalits). As inequalities were quite high and were even increased during the colonial system, already very early on certain actions were undertaken to counter inequality, i.e. the Hunter Commission 1882 set up special schools for Dalits, so-called ‘Labour schools’ were introduced under the care of the Labour department as well as authors like Bankimchandra Chatterjee (1838-1894) and Swami Dayanand (1824-1883) wrote about education as a necessity for equity within the society and the reform of compulsory education, respectively.

²⁵ See: chapter 7.4.2 on ‘The caste system and its inequalities | SCs - Dalits

Nonetheless, the richer the strata in the society, the more its members benefited from the 'English education'. Their access was easier manageable than this would have been for the lower strata of the society (Bhattacharya, 2002:2, 7).

The interaction between privileges and the education system is based on three modalities that influence a certain outcome for the people interacting within these two areas: "(a) education reproduces and perpetuates inequalities between the privileged and the disprivileged, or (b) education enables a part of the disprivileged to attain upward social mobility without affecting privileges as a system, or (c) education plays an adversarial and even subversive role, challenging privileges or inequality as a system. The first mode preserves homeostasis, the second subserves homeostasis through the co-optation of the upward mobile, the third proposes metastasis or a subversion of the regime of privileges" (Bhattacharya, 2002:19).

Education therefore does not necessarily change a social order (which is strongly linked to the interconnection of the system of privileges and disprivileges) but as Kathleen Gough is cited in Bhattacharya, (2002:25) to the disprivileged it is an 'enabling factor'.

Concerning Dalits, the social stigma attached to them has generally lead to economic backwardness, social disabilities (i.e. untouchability), physical segregation, such as homes in separate hamlets which very often do not even have elementary school, have discouraged them in their social and economical development, particularly their educational advancement. As commissioners report, untouchability is even nowadays practiced in some rural areas. (Bhattacharya, 2002:179) The feeling of inferiority does play as an important factor in the communicative aspect of the Indian society as a whole. This image Dalits grow up with "makes Dalits feel impure and imbues them with difference, low self-esteem, fear, anxiety and various other negative emotions that obstruct learning. It is this psychology as a result of their social background that works as an obstacle for Dalit success and achievement" (Bhattacharya, 2002:182).

Another problem Bhattacharya (2002) brings up is the ineffectiveness of the poor in contrast to elite schools. The author questions when first-class or elite institutions such as I.I.T.s and I.I.M.s (technical and management schools) run so efficiently and effectively, why is this not the case with colleges which the poor attend. The answer “seems to be a definite design to keep the SCs backward, at the same time mouthing slogans of social justice”.

Dréze/Sen (2002:93-94) emphasise the factor of political power in the achievements of education for certain/all sections of the society with a village in Uttar Pradesh with powerful landlords responsible for the non-existence of elementary schools in their villages. Therefore, they point out “...the concentration of political power in the hands of privileged sections of the society has contributed, perhaps more than anything else, to a severe neglect of the basic needs of disadvantaged groups in state and local politics”.

The tasks to achieve the aim of UEE for SC/STs and all other backward classes in India will be to achieve integration in an equalized society without harming their artistic heritage and to break through the barrier of untouchability as well as to face challenges of poverty, illiteracy and social prejudice (Béteille, 1992:158).

The coming chapters will provide an overview of certain inequalities in India and the groups mainly involved in the inequality on the bottom side of society's scale. First, the caste system will be described as well as inequalities concerning gender relations, in particular the female-male ratio in India.

7.4.2 The caste system and its inequalities | SCs - Dalits

Even though the caste system was abolished due to the enactment of the constitution; rules within the society as well as traditional constraints are in practical terms much stronger and more influencing than any law might be. Particularly as the case of India has shown the implementation of certain rules is not guaranteed as long as the majority of a society is not prepared for a change.

Generally, the caste system is based on “homo hierarchicus”, which deals as the most central element with purity and pollution that is very differing from other social orders, particularly the ones from the west (Bhattacharya ed., 2002: 255).

“...According to Manu²⁶], every individual is born into one of four principal varnas, or large categories, and must remain within that caste until death, although the particular ranking of that caste may vary among different regions in the country and over time. In order of precedence, the Brahmins are the priests and teachers, presiding over knowledge and education; the Kshatriyas are the rulers and soldiers; the Vaishyas, merchants and traders; and the Shudras, the peasants, labourers and artisans. The untouchables fall into a fifth category outside the varna system, and were often assigned tasks too “ritually polluting” to merit inclusion within the traditional varna system [...] caste discrimination was an ideological construct that was deployed by the upper castes to create and maintain their monopoly over cultural capital (knowledge and education), social capital (status and patriarchal domination), political capital (power), and material capital (wealth). ...” (The Courier²⁷, UNESCO, September 2001).

Nambissan/Sedwal summarise the position of the Dalits who fall into the fifth category of the caste system in the traditional Hindu society – namely the untouchables, as such: “These were the most ‘polluted’ of castes that were hereditarily assigned the most defiling of occupations. They could own no productive assets and were completely dependant on higher castes whom they served. A number of norms and taboos restricted mobility of Dalits and proscribed certain kinds of behaviour and patterns of interaction. Access to learning was prohibited and Dalits could not enter indigenous schools that taught elementary skills even to lower castes in pre-British India. Though opportunities for education and new occupations that were untied to caste status were opened to the untouchables for the first time during British rule in the mid-nineteenth century, [...] even in 1961, more than a decade after India’s Independence, barely 10 per cent of the Dalit population was literate” (in: Govinda ed., 2002:72).

“At the tea stalls, we have separate cups to drink from, chipped and caked with dirt, and we’re expected to clean them ourselves. We have to walk for 15 minutes to carry water to our homes, because we’re not allowed to use the taps in the village that the upper castes use. We’re not allowed into temples, and when I attended school, my friends and I were forced to sit just outside

²⁶ Son or grandson of Brahma

²⁷ <http://www.unesco.org/courier/archives/2001uk.htm>

the classroom... the upper caste children would not allow us even to touch the football they played with... we played with stones instead" (The Courier, UNESCO, September 2001).

Béteille (1992:152) defines the very nature of backward classes in India as only understandable in the basic character of Indian society, "namely, its division into a multitude of closed status groups of unequal rank, each associated with a variety of privileges and disabilities supported by traditional sanctions". Furthermore he states, "In reality the Backward Classes are not classes at all but an aggregate of closed status groups. One's economic position is not a determining factor in one's membership of the Backward Classes; rather, membership is determined generally by birth".

"Hinduism tolerated a plurality of cultures but the price of this was the maintenance of a certain structural distance between people traditionally associated with divergent styles of life, e.g. between vegetarians and non-vegetarians, or between people practising different crafts or worshipping different gods" (Béteille, 1992:161).

Therefore, "because of historical factors, the upper castes received certain advantages in the past from the feudal political structure which were denied to the lower castes. In fact, the lower castes were even denied access to educational institutions for centuries. Hence, a person belonging to a higher caste inherits a tradition of education, whereas the members of lower castes have to begin a new chapter" (Bhattacharya, 2002:268).

It is a widespread fact that Dalit children are mostly deprived from education and literacy in addition to the burden of poverty they had and have to bear. These factors do not allow them to attend school; besides that in the past, they were not allowed to do so legally. Now in certain cases, circumstances like the behaviour of teachers and fellow students force Dalit children to leave school. Clearly derived from these traditional norms such children probably enter school less equipped (in terms of language and social, as well as conceptual skills) as their higher-caste counterpart does (Govinda ed., 2002:81).

Nambissan/Sedwal (in: Govinda ed., 2002:79) argue that household experiences are strongly related to the extent which children attend or do not attend school.

They see reasons how long and regularly the children are sent to school in irregular income of the parents, the parent's frequent migration in search of work, or the death or illness of a breadwinner.

Even though, in the past (and to this day), considerable attempts were undertaken to limit these inequalities, history has clearly shown an evidence of the advantage the privileged strata of the Indian society has. After the Hunter Commission the policy of the British rulers was mass education, but only a few children could be reached and mechanisms that would limit the educational and economic inequalities did not bring the expected change. In the course of history, economic circumstances and political structure that privileges upper classes helps them to have advantages concerning education and its access to it. This is typically not the case for the lower strata of the society as their caste status does not inherit the social and economical position for an enrolment and retention in school. Very often, they need to start an entire new chapter and hence, they belong to first-generation learners within a family (Bhattacharya ed., 2002:268).

Nambissan/Sedwal (in: Govinda ed., 2002:81) report that today, teachers in some parts of the country still refuse to touch SC children, these children are special targets of verbal abuse and physical punishment by the teachers, and they are getting beaten by higher caste classmates. In the author's explanation it is the implication that teachers are mainly non-Dalit teachers, so usually from higher castes that teach Dalit children. Once again, it shows the importance of the role of the teacher in classroom and how not only quantity education but also quality influence children in their social and societal development.

7.4.3 Male – Female ratio

The female population displays another major group of disprivileged in the country. Many factors are responsible for this development occurring over centuries. It appears through various factors apparent in the society. "The persistence of sharp gender inequalities in many different forms is one of the most striking aspects of Indian society". (Dréze/Sen, 2002:18) One of the most significant sources to highlight this inequality is probably the census data, particularly the one of 2001, which allows us to have an idea of the female-male ratio at the country-level and

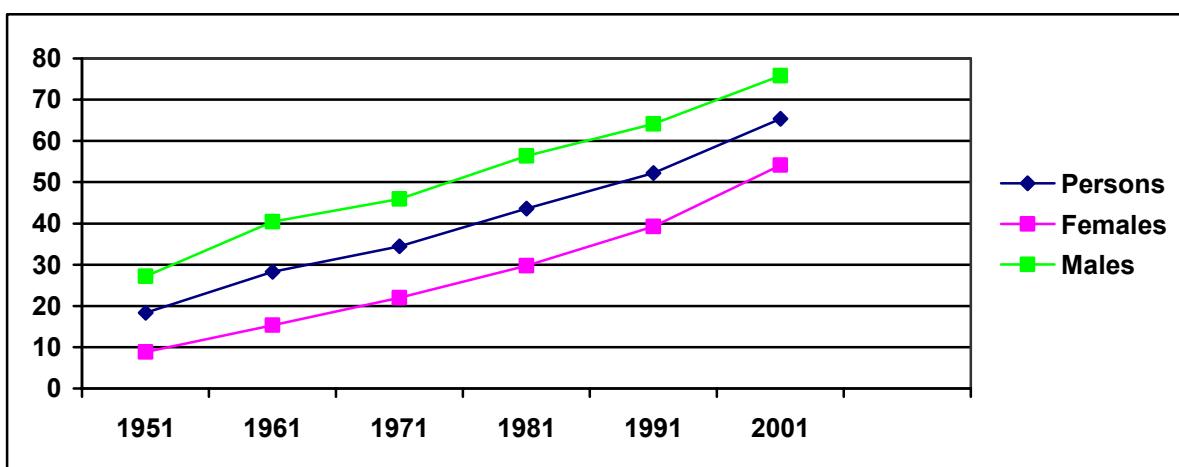
at the regional level. Furthermore, habits and traditions as well as general customs in the society, such as fertility rates, marriage usages, so called 'missing girls' and a general subordination and communalism in the country show the inequality and gender bias in India. The following will provide an overview of the aforementioned on the one hand and the implications of these inequalities of the achievement of UEE on the other.

Figure 7-VI shows a considerable gender gap over decades, even so it has to be acknowledged that the gap between female and male literacy rates has been reduced by some percentage points over time.

At the beginning of the twentieth century female literacy rates were below one per cent in most provinces of British India and every 'native' state, with only a few exception i.e. Coorg, the Andaman and Nicobar islands and areas that are now Kerala but which had 3% literacy rate in 1901 (Dréze/Sen 2002:160).

Considering high growth rates in both female and male literacy, there is still a long way to go to reach UEE. Nonetheless, the 1990's have experienced growth rates higher than ever before, with 13.17 percentage points to 65.38 in all-India in 2001. As can be seen in figure 7-VI, male and female literacy rates show an increase of 11.72 and 14.87 percentage points, respectively. The latter has the largest increase due to a specific literacy campaign for girls and adult females.

Figure 7-VI: Gender disparity in literacy rates (%) in India (1951-2001)



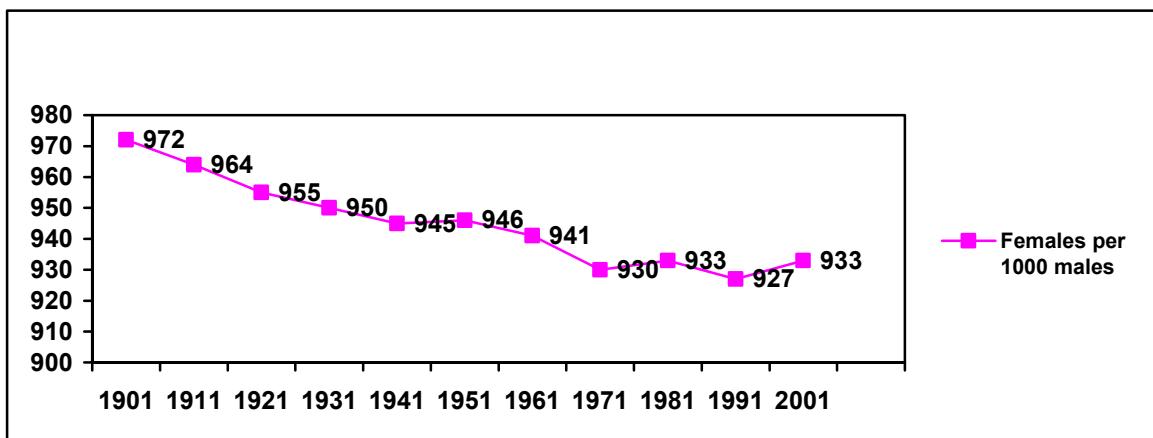
Source: Varshney in: *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration: Inter-State Gender Disparity in Literacy Rates – A Look at Census Data (1991 & 2001)*, Volume XVI No.4, October 2002:539

Concerning the female-male ratio in the country as a whole, it is one of the most unfavourable to women, in general, in the world "mainly reflecting excess female mortality in the younger age groups, itself related to gender discrimination within the family. In this respect, again, India is at the rock bottom of the international scale, together with Pakistan" (Dréze/Sen 2002:69).

In all-India, the overall female-male ratio is quite low with 933 women per 1000 men. Even so, great discrepancies between various states are recognisable. Kerala, for example has even a higher percentage of women than men (1.06) compared to other states with 850 women per 1000 men as is the case in Punjab (Census data: India, 2001).

Particularly interesting in terms of inequality between men and women is the North-western region that has very "low female labour-force participation rates, a large gender gap in literacy rates, extremely restricted female property rights, strong boy preference in fertility decisions, widespread neglect of female children, and drastic separation of a married women from her natal family." The status of women is relatively better in the east and even more in the south of India. (Dréze/Sen 2002:231)

Figure 7-VII: Females per 1000 males (1901 – 2001)



Source: Menon-Sen/Kumar: *Women in India: How free? How equal?*, 2001:12

Over the last century a fall in the female-male ratio was recognisable from 972 in 1901 down to 933 female per 1000 male in 2001. According to Dréze/Sen (2002:238-241) this "decline seems to reflect a combination of the 'mortality decline effect' with an adverse 'changing mortality bias effect', or, at the very least,

a *failure to remove* the anti-female bias [in survival]. [...] in countries where young males and females receive similar treatment in terms of food, health care, and related necessities, females have substantial survival advantages". Particularly recognisable is the decline in the female-male ratio among disadvantaged caste members even today the ratio among SCs is not much lower (922 women per 1000 men) than compared to the rest of India (927 women per 1000 men in 1991). The *female disadvantage* that is especially strong in India is found to be strikingly related to variables directly connected to women's enhancement. These are, *inter alia*, female literacy as well as female labour force participation. Interesting to note, is that the level of development and gender inequalities are deeply related to the variables mentioned but their change works through these, the increase of female literacy on the one hand and female labour participation on the other. Reasons for these causalities can be found, *inter alia*, (i) in the reduced dependency from others, (ii) the educational effects from the outside world rather from the family only, (iii) thus, the raise the status of women as well as their (iv) ability to raise their children (Dréze/Sen, 2002:238).

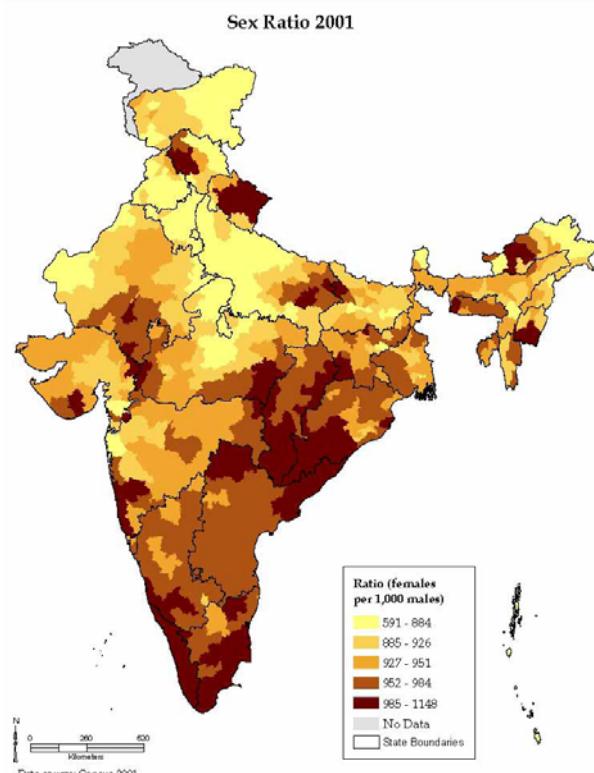
At this point I would like to bring a newly upcoming trend of sex-selective abortion for female foetuses in China, as well as in parts of India as Dréze/Sen (2002:256) illustrate. This contrasts significantly with the state of Kerala that has proved exemplary in its educational policies. "Indeed, in societies where male children are valued more highly than female children, and where it is considered essential to have (say) at least one male child and preferably two, external pressure to limit births can sharply enhance the temptation to abort female foetuses" (Dréze/Sen, 2002:256).

Another major problem aforementioned is "missing girls" as described in Hayward (2000:94). The author discusses what are the reasons for high differences in the sex ratio of India and other countries, e.g. Western Europe has a ratio of 1064 females per 1000 males, that is also the highest ratio in the world. Hayward mentions at this point the analysis of Amartya Sen who concludes that there were 100 million missing women who should have been alive. Sen's special focus is on unintended rather than intended deaths of women and the enormity of this

neglected problem. Reasons for the unintended deaths might be found in the discrimination of women's social, economic and cultural rights. Figure 7-VIII (Sex Ratio 2001) illustrates the existing gender gaps within India on a regional basis. The lighter the areas displayed, the larger is the existing sex ratio with its lowest female – male ratio of 591 in some areas. On the other hand, the darker the colour, the higher is the female-male ratio, partly strongly corresponding to the literacy rates of the region, e.g. Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Early marriage and dowry are still problems existing. In these cases, the girl is sent to his parent's home/village at the time of marriage. Parents therefore see girls' education primarily as a benefit for her future husband's family, and not themselves, or even herself. This view strongly reduces the female participation in education. Another problem the expansion of female literacy has to face is the practice of dowry that influenced many parts of India. Particularly in villages where a low male education is prevalent, parents restrain a girl from proper education, "for fear of being unable to find (or to 'afford') a suitably educated groom" (Dréze/Sen 2002:162).

Figure 7-VIII: Sex Ratio 2001 (Regional Differences)



Source: Bajpai, 2003: HDR Background paper: Appendix

7.5 Legislation

“It is obvious that in a civilized society the importance of child welfare cannot be over-emphasized, because the welfare of the entire community, its growth and development, depend on the health and well-being of its children. Children are a “supremely important national asset” and the future well being of the nation depends on how its children grow up and develop.” (Indian Council of Child Welfare, Tamil Nadu, 1998) The legal framework constitutes the basis for the well-being of a country’s children. In the following, focus is put on India’s legal basis and framework. However, it needs to be emphasised that the legal framework of a country only constitutes the basis on which the state and civil society have to build on their policies and actions.

7.5.1 Constitution/Legislation

Compulsory education in India was discussed first by the Education Commission in 1882. At that time, a bill of universal compulsory education was foreseen, but rejected due to financial and administrative difficulties. In the 1920s and 1930s efforts were made for compulsory education but these laws were not enforced properly due to lack of knowledge, information, technical facilities and political will. (Bajpai, 2003)

The Constitution, which came into effect from 26 January 1950, introduced a comprehensive chapter on the children of India. This included, *inter alia*, regulations on their liberty, livelihood, development of childhood, non-discrimination in educational spheres, compulsory and free education and prohibition of their employment in factories, mines and hazardous employment. (Indian Council of Child Welfare, Tamil Nadu, 1998) “In India, the Census of India defines persons below the age of fourteen as children” (Bajpai, 2003:2).

The rights mentioned above are described overall in *Article 21²⁸*. According to the unprecedented decision in the case *Miss. Mohini Jain v. State of Karnataka and others --- AIR 1992 S.C 1858* the “Right to life” is the compendious expression for

¹ Art. 21 – No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law

all those rights which the Court must enforce because they are basic to the dignified enjoyment of life. [...] The right to education flows directly from right to life. The right to life under Art. 21 and the dignity of an individual are not be assured unless it is accompanied by the right to education.

[...] The fundamental rights guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution of India including the right to freedom of speech and expression and other rights under Art. 19 cannot be appreciated and fully enjoyed unless a citizen is educated and is conscious of his individualistic dignity.

The “right to education” therefore, is concomitant to the fundamental rights enshrined under Part III. of the Constitution. The State is under a constitutional mandate to provide educational institutions at all levels for the benefit of the citizens. The educational institutions must function to the best advantage of the citizens. Opportunity to acquire education cannot be confined to the richer section of the society. [...] Without making “right to education” under *Art.41* of the Constitution a reality the fundamental rights under Chapter III shall remain beyond the reach of large majority which is illiterate (Indian Council for Child Welfare, 1998:28-29).

The case *Unnikrishnan, J.P. and other v. State of Andhra Pradesh and others* – AIR S.C.2178 repeats again the discussion whether the right to life does take in the right to education or not. It does not question if “the right to education flows directly from right to life”, but “how much and what level of education is necessary to make the life meaningful? Does it mean that every citizen of this country can call upon the State to provide him education of his choice? [...] Right to education, understood in the context of *Articles 45²⁹, 46³⁰ and 41³¹*, means:

(a) every child/citizen of this country has a right to free education until he completes the age of fourteen years

and

²⁹ Art.45 – 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.

³⁰ Art.46 – To promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the society, in particular, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and to protect them from all forms of exploitation.

³¹ Art.41 – The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.

(b) after a child/citizen completes 14 years, his right to education is circumscribed by the limits of the economic capacity of the state and its developments. [...]” As such, the Unnikrishnan, J.P. v. State of Andhra Pradesh case does underline the importance of education for all to be implicit in the right to life because of its inherent fundamental importance, but restrains it to children until they complete the age of 14 years. “Thereafter, the obligation of the state to provide education is subject to the limits of its economic capacity and development” (Indian Council for Child Welfare. Tamil Nadu, 1998:30-31).

Thereafter, an amendment of the Constitution Bill provided to make free and compulsory education to all citizens of the age group of 6-14 years, a fundamental right by inserting Article 21A³² in the Constitution. The provisions of the 86th Amendment in 2002 are:

"21A. The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine".

"45. The State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years".

(Art. 51A) It shall be a fundamental duty to parents and guardians to provide opportunities for education to their children or, as the case may be, wards between the age of six and fourteen years.

The controversial aspect on the Amendment (particularly Art. 21A) is that the Indian Government, who ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a child as one up to eighteen years of age. In addition, the formulation “in such manner as the State may, by law, determine” rather dilutes than emphasizes the enforcement of EFA, in contrast to the Unnikrishnan vs. state of Karnataka judgement did in 1993. “This discretion will enable the government to justify cheap, low cost alternatives in the name of education as the enjoyment of this right would depend upon the whims and fancies of the government” (Bajpai, 2003:338).

³² Art.21A - "21A. The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the ages of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine.". <http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/coifiles/amendment.htm> (06.09.2005, 14:45)

Furthermore, Article 24³³ of the Constitution is also related to the right of education. It prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 years in any factory, mine or in any other hazardous occupation; this would include, *inter alia*, glass making, construction, mining and carpet weaving. (Bajpai, 2003:148) Child labour³⁴ can be seen as one of the main reasons why children are not able to attend school-classes. As Vasavi/Mehendale (2003:71) describe, the persistence of “poverty as a cause of child labour and education deprivation is now considered as a consequence. [...] most out-of-school children are considered to be child-labourers [...] Field experiences in India also indicate close linkages between school enrolment and decline in the incidence of child labour”.

Notably relevant is the abolishment of “Untouchability”, in 1978 (44th Amendment). In practice any discriminatory activity arising out of a belief in “Untouchability” is forbidden and punishable in accordance with the law. (Indian Council for Child Welfare, Tamil Nadu, 1998:8) This enactment stands so far away in relation to the right to equal and free education, because the practice of caste-discrimination through higher-caste teachers and fellow students still occurs in schools.

The chapter on India’s international legislation concerning children’s rights in general (and educational ones in particular) will provide an overview and will consider India’s commitment to the following, *inter alia*, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Child’s Rights Convention, World Declaration on Education for All and the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138).

7.5.2 International commitment

India has committed itself to a number of international declarations and conventions related to the implementation of Education for All. First, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is relevant in this matter. Asides from this, a number of conventions, particularly concerning the child and its development are

³³ Article 24 – No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment.

³⁴ Article 39 – The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing [...] (e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength;

significant, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) or the Minimum Age Convention No. 138 (1973), including the Minimum Age Recommendation No. 146 (1973). Of further importance are the No. 182 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (1999)³⁵ and the Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien, 1990) which is the basis of this research.

Concerning the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 192 countries in the world, (which is all except for Somalia and the United States of America) have ratified this treaty. India has done this in December 1992³⁶. The convention is based on the principles of Protection, Provision and Participation and as such involves, inter alia, to a maximum extent possible, the survival and development of the child. Art. 28 - States Parties recognize the right of the child to education and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular: (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all; [...] (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance to schools and the reduction of drop-out rates; [...] Art. 31 - 1 states that parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure.

Although India ratified a number of conventions to battle worst forms of child labour (No. 5, 15), it has not ratified the Minimum Age Convention No. 138³⁷ as well as the international Convention on Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 182. (<http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp2.htm>) 06/08/2005, 17:49)

Considering that work does interfere with the possibility of attending school, according to EFA, it seems that India has not fully accepted this matter of work

(f) that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.

³⁵ See: <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp2.htm>

³⁶ Declaration: "While fully subscribing to the objectives and purposes of the Convention, realising that certain of the rights of the child, namely those pertaining to the economic, social and cultural rights can only be progressively implemented in the developing countries, subject to the extent of available resources and within the framework of international co-operation; recognising that the child has to be protected from exploitation of all forms including economic exploitation; noting that for several reasons children of different ages do work in India; having prescribed minimum ages for employment in hazardous occupations and in certain other areas; having made regulatory provisions regarding hours and conditions of employment; and being aware that it is not practical immediately to prescribe minimum ages for admission to each and every area of employment in India - the Government of India undertakes to take measures to progressively implement the provisions of article 32, particularly paragraph 2 (a), in accordance with its national legislation and relevant international instruments to which it is a State Party."

³⁷ <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp2.htm> 6 September 2005, 17:47

not being in compliance with proper elementary education for the six to fourteen-year-olds³⁸.

Nonetheless, India has focussed on educational needs as it has signed the Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien, 1990). This declaration deals with basic learning needs, the universal access and the promotion of equity, the enhancement of the environment for learning, the strengthening of partnerships as well as developing supportive policies and the mobilization of resources with an overall strengthening of international solidarity. (EFA Declaration, 1990) It seems that India has taken on a great responsibility, considering that the decadal growth of literacy among both children and adult literacy is exceeding all prior decadal measurements.

As much as legislation provides the basis on which democratically elected organs are allowed to implement measures, the legal framework only functions on a theoretical basis. Therefore, policies have to be made that are the conceptual plan of how to change the educational system to the point that every child receives equally to every other child basic education in accordance to its development. Therefore the next chapters will provide an overview of these Indian Policies and Programmes for the achievement of Education for All.

7.6 Policies

An historical review on educational systems around the world show that legislation itself, as already mentioned only provides the basic framework for the further actions needed to be taken by the government. India is no exception in this. Hence, this chapter will provide a summery of the main policies related to the achievement of EFA.

After Independence, certain commissions on further action were established and mostly lead to policies that underline the importance of constitutional and

³⁸ "...any work which interferes with a child's right to education is intolerable and must be eliminated. All best efforts must focus on preventing children from entering work that will impede or prevent their education as well as removing those who

legislative principles. One of these was the National Policy of Education in 1968, which was enhanced by the education commission 1964-66 (better known as 'Kothari Commission'). Kumar (1991) concludes that the outcomes of the educational report of the Kothari commission as "the crucial role of education in national development appears in all its vividness on every page of the report". He also cites the conclusion of the commission's writings as such "We must either build a sound, balanced, effective and imaginative educational system to meet our developing need and respond to our challenging aspirations or be content to be swept aside by the strong currents of history" (in: Kumar, 1991:69).

The NPE 1968, inspired by the commission's recommendations, focused in its content on egalitarian goals and the practical, development-oriented objectives of the Indian society and also called for continuous efforts to expand the system at all stages. Its most important objectives concerning EFA were based on (i) free and compulsory education for all children up to fourteen years, (ii) better employments for teachers, (iii) focus on regional languages, (iv) equalisation of educational opportunity, (v) promotion of every kind of skills and talents of the children as well as production of books and the (vi) structure of 10+2+3³⁹ school system. (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:54-55) Nonetheless, its strong formulation to fulfil the principles of the constitution was not implemented. Mahajan/Khullar (2000:36) believe they see the reasons in problems of access, quality, quantity, utility and financial outlays, accumulated over years.

The second NPE was decided in 1986, and gave its highest priority to universal primary education (UPE) based on the principles of quality, quantity and equity. The need of a new policy formulation was due to the lack of a comprehensive implementing plan of the NPE 1968; and adequate funds were not made available. Thus, new schemes were introduced, particularly, Operation Blackboard, Non-Formal Education and Teacher Programmes; differences to the previous policy were the raising of non-budgetary resources through donations and beneficiary communities (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:22,29). The National Youth Policy (1988) was

are currently working under harmful conditions and ensuring that they are provided with an enabling educational environment". (See <http://www.ilo.org/publi/english/comp/child/conf/oslo/report.htm> in; Vasavi/Mehendale, January 2003:71)

³⁹ Compare figure 7-V 'Educational Structure in India'

dealing likewise with the rights and mobilisation of the youth, particularly “to provide the youth with maximum access to education which, in addition to developing their all-round personality, imparts appropriate professional and vocational training, with a view to enable them to avail of employment and self-employment opportunities” (Mahajan/Kullar, 2000:30).

It should be noted that the difference between the two policies cannot be weighted as too high, as the principles are already given in the NPE 1968 which is based on constitutional principles. The only nameable addition to the NPE 1968 is the focus on (i) quality education, (ii) retention in addition to universal enrolment and on (iii) Early Child Care Education (ECCE) to ensure the most favourable outcome of the child's development and to reduce the burden of the girl child to look after their younger siblings and be therefore able to attend school herself (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:54).

In the 90's, with the participation on the Jomtien Conference for EFA, India has made many efforts, differently than the decades before. In 1992, a revised NPE was adopted and focussed on “free and compulsory education of satisfactory quality to all children up to 14 years of age before we enter the twenty-first century.” The revised NPE lead to a National Plan of Action (NPA) that recommended, *inter alia*, Non-Formal Schooling, creation among parents of needs and benefits, literacy campaigns, decentralisation of educational management, bringing the school to the child through NFE and Open School and the launching of a National Literacy Mission (Revised NPE 1992 in: Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:55).

In the 1990's, significant efforts were made for the achievement of elementary education. The government has made endeavours to establish certain incentive programmes, decentralize educational planning and administration (through panchayati raj institutions), and involve the community at various levels in planning, administration, financing, monitoring, and supervision of the working of the school system (Govinda ed., 2002:285).

7.7 *Financing Education in India*

Post Independence, Five-year-plans and other planning concepts were established to integrate a public sector as a regulating counterpart to the growing economy in a newly developed and independent system.

This public sector had the social objective of providing access to deprived sections for the reduction of inequalities and the distribution of wealth. Education (as did matters of social change) consequently received special emphasis in the plans, as its greater effect is the improvisation of skills of people and thus increasing productivity (Bhattacharya, 2002:169).

7.7.1 **Public planning on education**

The demand for education clearly exists and it derives from the demand for goods and services it produces, which means the (i) demand for knowledge needed for production (ii) knowledge produced through the machines and equipment used for the production and (iii) the human capital that is furnished with certain knowledge above the others. (Prakash/Chowdury 1994:58) This hypothesis offers the basis for the public planning on education which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In the public planning on educational budgets, certain targets have to be fulfilled to guarantee Education for All. As a matter of fact, in the past decade tremendous efforts were made from several developing countries to provide a certain amount of schooling for their children. In spite of the relatively high budgets, the economic outcome expected was not always ensured. Prakash/Chowdury (1994) comment on factors that need to be considered to guarantee the most favourable outcomes for the socio-economic development of a country. Therefore, possible reasons for the restriction of the educational budget as part of public expenditure are:

- the slowing down of growth of the world economy and
- therefore a consequent emergence of unemployment among the educated,
- the accompanied deterioration of quality when quantity is expanded,
- weakening of education – economy relationship,
- tendency to economic inequalities due to education due to uneven spatial and
- social spread of education,

- the neglected importance of research and teaching as a profession in the process of expansion,
- the so-called softness of education as the target of resource squeeze through its reduction in practice as a social service to promote welfare rather a good usable to promote individual wealth and
- Growth as a complimentary.

Finally the authors mention the situation of the past decades that do not prove true to the hypothesis that education contributes positively to economic growth since the actual development performance and experience of educational investment is unequal to the socio-economic growth in several countries of the South (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:8-9).

Some of the factors mentioned above are problems that India has to deal with as one out of several considerations in the elimination of illiteracy, such as i.e. the provision of jobs among the educated. According to a *Newsweek* report from 15 March 2004, India has to deal with 40 million unemployed or currently registered with employment changes to which will be added another 35 million job seekers entering the Indian labour market until 2007.

Increases of educational expenditure have in particular clearly influenced an expansion of the educational system. Prakash/Chowdury state that "expenditure on education may be postulated both as the cause and an effect on growth/development of education. Expansion and/or transformation of an educational system through adjustments and reform cannot be implemented effectively without sustained increase in expenditure". (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:87) Furthermore, they describe it as the leading factor of growth of the educational system.

Additionally mentioned are the multiplier effects applied to the socio-economic process reaching more advanced socio-economic development levels and the expansion of knowledge and information as the base of enhancement of educational demand in all economies of the world.

Educational planners feel obliged to meet ever rising private demand through public provision, which is only to be achieved through incentives provided by public

authorities as education is not only a public but particularly in countries like India, a merit good, as aforementioned. Therefore educational planning; public policy need to focus on policy measures centring on incentives and inducements may be implemented and public authorities need to take their responsibility in being able and willing to provide educational facilities (Prakash/Chowdury, 1994:71-72).

The Kothari Commission in 1964-66 as well as the National Policy on Education 1986 and its revised form from 1992 has recommended 6 per cent of national income for the expansion of the educational budget. Considering the relative enrolment rates, India was very weak in showing political will to gain this goal.

Finally, public expenditure on education is dependent on the (i) development of the economy (reflected by per capita income), (ii) ability and willingness of political authorities (iii) degree of resource mobilisation, (iv) general development needs of the society and (v) population growth. These aspects will lead to the (1) size of government expenditure (2) proportion allocated to education, (3) resources mobilised by private donors and (4) managing of educational institutions which are again lead by considerations of demand and supply constraints.

In the following, financing trends in India will be examined and how the practice can be applied on, as well as how theory and practice are working together.

7.7.2 Financing trends in India – the education budget

In India, the budget on Education is not only covered under one budget category. In fact, the certain educational components have to be looked for in the union budget as well as in the budgets of all states and union territories (UTs). Only through measuring all these budgets together it's possible to gain a comprehensive view on the financing of education. As can be seen in figure 7-IX (Govinda ed., 2002) the percentage of state and central budgets on education varies greatly.

Figure 7-IX % of Education Expenditure on Education to Total Budget

Year	State Government*	Union Government	All India
1967-8	19.8	1.6	11.9
1970-1	21.4	2.8	14.1
1980-1	20.9	2.0	12.8
1990-1	20.8	2.2	10.6
1995-6	19.5	3.1	10.9

Source: in: Govinda ed., India Education Report, 2002:273

*Note: * includes UTs*

During the period 1993-98, out of the total budget expenditure of the states, nearly 20 per cent was spent on education, while out of the total budget expenditure of the Central Government around 2.4-3.4 per cent was spent on education (India, First Periodic Report, 2001).

7.7.2.1 GNP - Expenditures on (Elementary) Education

The standard reflection of national efforts for the measurement of the development in the educational sector is considered to be the percentage of the GNP dedicated to education. In a certain society it reflects the relative priority being accorded to education in the national economy. (Tilak in: Govinda ed., 2002) In both, the National Policy on Education in 1968 and 1986 the target focussed was to spend 6 per cent of national income on education. This target was repeated in 1992, in the revised National Plan on Education, as well as in the 10th Five-Year-Plan, but has not been realized so far.

Even so, compared to the expenditures on Education of 1.2 per cent in 1950-2001, the rates on educational expenditure as per GNP have increased up to 4.1 per cent in 2003 (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003, Table 11). The NPE 1986 states "that the investment on education be gradually increased to reach a level of 6% of the National Income as early as possible". This goal could not be reached more than 15 years later.

As underlined in the India Education Report (Govinda ed., 2002) these financial provisions are insufficient considering (a) the requirements of the education system to provide reasonable levels of quality education to all students presently enrolled (b) the requirements to provide free and universal elementary education of 8 years to every child in the age group of 6-14 years, and consequent growth in secondary and higher education, as UEE in a comprehensive sense includes

universal provision of resources, universal enrolment and universal retention, (c) to the recommendations of the Education Commission (1966), the consequently formulated National Policy on Education (1968), the re-enacted NPE in 1986, revised policy (1992) to invest 6 per cent of GNP in education, (d) the proportion invested in education in many other developing countries, including African countries, (e) and the share of GNP in 1990-01 of 4.9 per cent as this has never been achieved again (Govinda ed., 2002:270).

Dr Manmohan Singh, former Finance Minister, in a speech on 'Availability of Finances for Achieving Universal Elementary Education', New Delhi on 24 April 1998:

"I sincerely believe that money can be found if representatives of the public, that is, Members of Parliament and Members of State Legislature give sufficient importance to this quest for universalizing access to our education" (The Probe Team, 1999: 135).

Figure 7-X Share of Elementary Education in GNP (%)

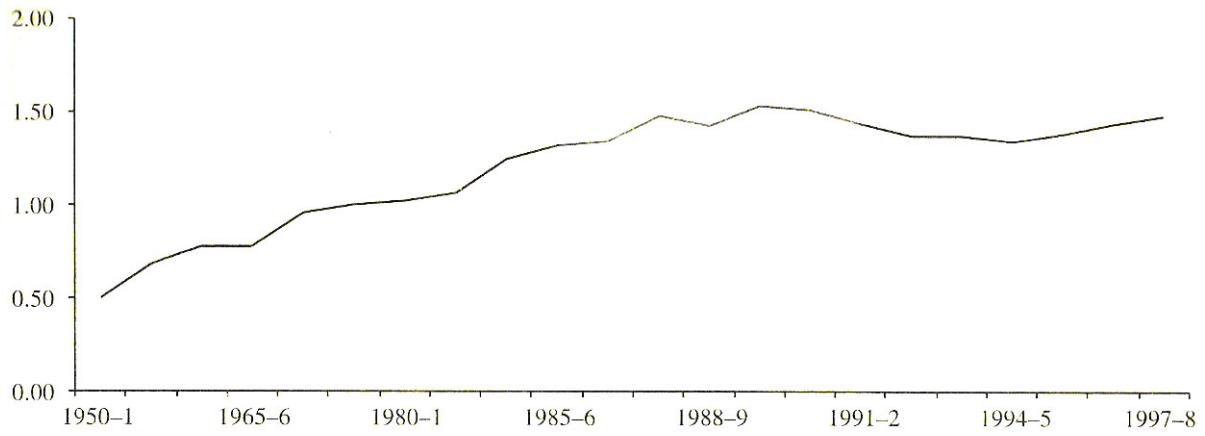
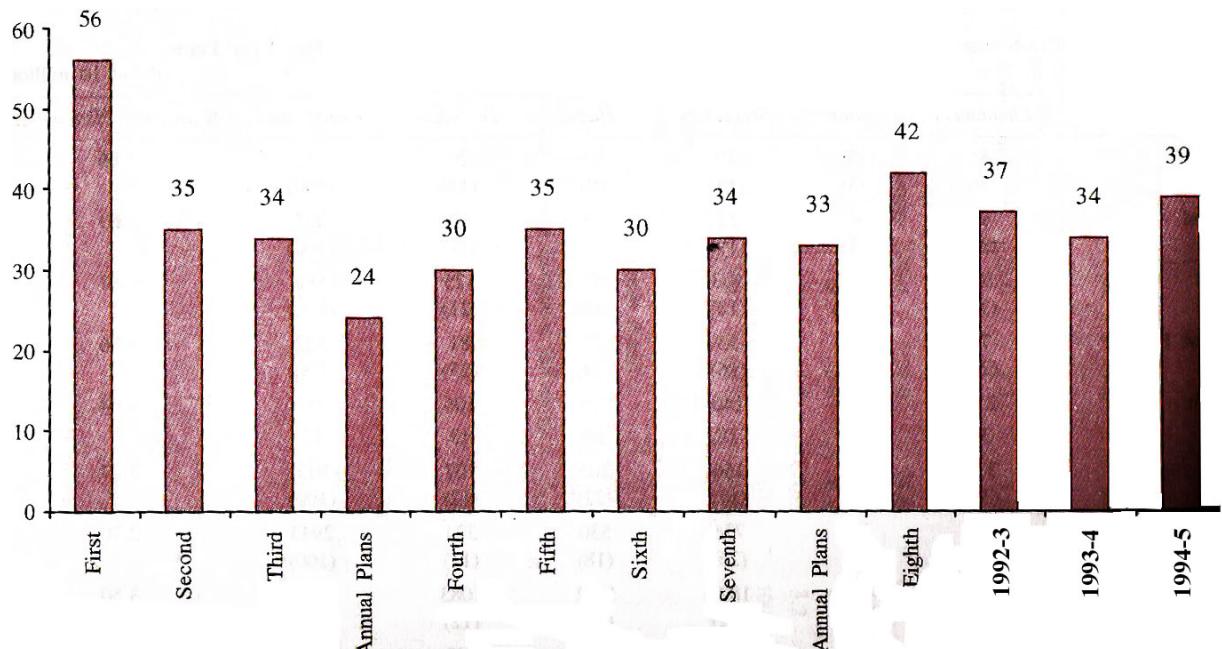


FIGURE 20.8: Share of Elementary Education in GNP (%)

Source: Govinda ed., Fig. 20.8: Share of Elementary Education in GNP (%), 2002:283

Another figure is related to the share of elementary education in education expenditure in the Five Year Plans (%) that is shown in the following graphic. According to this, Tilak (in: Govinda ed, 2002:278) argues that "had the pattern of intra-sectoral allocation of resources in the education sector adopted in the First Five Year Plan continued, UEE would have been an easy task, if not already accomplished by now."

Figure 7-XI Share of Elementary Education in Educational Expenditure in the Five Year Plans (%)



Source: Fig. 20.4 in: Govinda ed., 2002:278

7.7.2.2 Plan and Non-Plan expenditure

Since Independence, India oriented its budget allocation on the example of Russia and its Five-Year Plans. Currently, expenditures are regulated in the 10th Five-year plan which lasts from 2003 to 2007. As planned expenditure on education, including elementary education is relatively small compared to non-planned expenditure, both are equally important. According to the India Education Report (Govinda ed., 2002:278) non-planned expenditure represent the major part of expenditures on elementary education (planned-expenditure is at this point mentioned to be only 12 per cent of total expenditure on elementary education). Nonetheless, plan expenditure has a significant importance due to the fact that the amount of increased plan expenditure determines development activities such as e.g. construction of school buildings, teacher recruitment, implementation of programmes, etc. Hence, the plan expenditures as discussed in the following regulate the non-plan expenditure since non-plan expenditure is responsible for the maintenance of educational expenditure and thus the education system in a wider sense.

During the 90's relatively high increase in plan expenditures could be acknowledged. As stated in the India First Periodic Report (2001) plan expenditures "increased significantly due to (i) the massive Operation Blackboard programme, (ii) provision of incentives, particularly noon-meals to school-children, and (iii) flow of external aid to education, in the form of DPEP and other projects" (Govinda ed., 2002:278).

7.7.2.3 Five-Year-Plans

For the enforcement of the above mentioned legal regulations, the Indian Five-Year-Plans play an important role in the country. As they were introduced to India shortly after Independence, they show both, intention and the final enforcement of it.

According to Bajpai (2003) expenditure on education has shown a great increase since its first Five-Year-Plan but the focus has changed since then. 56 per cent of the total planned resources to education were allocated to elementary education, which has declined to 35% in the second plan and continued in the 30% range since then.

Since 2002 the 10th Five-Year-Plan is being enforced. There, education is called as being the "most important and effective instrument for socio-economic empowerment, high priority is being accorded to improve the educational status of SCs and STs." Furthermore it also states that "the gap between literacy rates of SC/STs and that of the general population unfortunately continues to persist" (10th Five-Year-Plan, 2002:22).

7.7.2.4 Inter-Sector Allocation (focus on Elementary Education)

According to the web page of the Ministry of Human Resources (Department of Education April 2004), in the period 1990-91 to 2001-02 "the expenditure on elementary education was 1.78% of the Indian GDP in 1990-91. The percentage expenditure on elementary education of GDP shows a gradual fall to 1.65% in 1994-95 and then shows a gradual rise to 2.02% in 2001-02. The percentage expenditure of GDP on secondary/higher secondary shows an irregular rise and

fall and it remained between 1.13 to 1.44 percent during 1997- 98 to 1999-2000. The percentage expenditure to GDP on Adult Education was 0.05% during 1990-91 showing a gradual decrease to 0.01% in 2000-2001. It improved slightly to 0.02% during 2001-2002. The percentage expenditure on University and Higher Education to GDP, which was 0.77 % in 1990-91 shows a gradual decrease to 0.62% during 1997-98 and rises to 0.88% in 2000-2001”.

The share of elementary education in education expenditure in the Five-Year plans starts from 56 per cent in the 1st Five-year plan down to 35 per cent in the 2nd Five-year plan and varies then constantly between about 30 and 42 per cent until the 8th Five-year plan which had a total share of 42 per cent (Govinda ed., 2002:278). Whereas, according to the 10th Five-year plan of the GoI (Elementary Education,:32), the expenditure under elementary education in the 8th Five-year plan had a total share of 47 per cent. Furthermore, the National Plan of Action (NPA) on EFA shows a percentage in the current public expenditure on elementary education as share of total current public expenditure on education varying from 45.20 per cent to 50.10 per cent in the years from 1990 to 2000 (National Plan of Action, 2003:89).

7.7.2.5 Foreign Aid for Education

According to Tilak (in: Govinda ed., 2002:286) India has not felt the necessity of foreign aid for the financing of elementary education. He furthermore states that “foreign aid was felt necessary only in case of foreign-exchange-intensive, capital-intensive, and foreign-expertise needed sectors. In general, education in India and primary education in particular, do not belong to either of these categories. In the beginning of the 1990’s a new decade (particularly for primary and elementary education) began and thus the importance of funding of the same had to be noticed. India adopted structural adjustment policies, which were connected with resource constraints, concerning elementary education as well. This has led to a change in the development and therefore to an increase in external financial assistance. Important institutions and organisations in this field as, *inter alia*, UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank, European Union, UNDP and ODA of England,

SIDA from Sweden and NORAG from Norway and country specific aid organisations.

Particularly launched by the GoI and mainly financed by external agencies is the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), as an umbrella programme of international aid programmes (Govinda ed., 2002).

The decision of the GoI to refuse bilateral assistance in 2003 was problematic since it caused many problems for NGOs established in poorer sections of the country, as they were dependent on the donation of foreign agencies.

7.8 *Programmes*

At all levels, programmes have been more or less successfully implemented in the past decades through partnerships with non-governmental organisations as well as with international agencies. After the NPE 1986 and the establishment of the NPA in 1992, a couple of programmes and missions have been introduced that are still active or have been inserted into the overall scheme of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) that has started its implementation in 2000-01. The following will provide an overview of the now established framework of SSA and the exemplification of other schemes relevant in the achievement of UEE.

7.8.1 Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

The SSA mission has been launched to ensure that every child in the 6-14 years age group is either in a school, education guarantee centre, or a back-to-school camp by 2003. It has also been decided to ensure five years of primary schooling for every child in India by 2007 and eight years of elementary schooling by 2010. In order to improve the quality of learning, curricular framework has been reviewed to make it more relevant to life and promote competency-based learning. Work education, value education and activity-based learning are being facilitated in the process of the curricular review. Community ownership and effective monitoring by the elected Panchayati Raj (local self government) and urban local body representatives are being attempted in the SSA (India, First Periodic Report 2001:242).

The programme is both, an independent programme with its own targets, norms and processes on the one hand (in accordance with the NPE 1986 as well as the

commitment to the Dakar Framework of Action 2000 for EFA) and an umbrella programme covering other schemes as Operation Blackboard, DPEP, Lok Jumbish, EGS, etc. on the other hand. Its focus is on quality basic education all over the country with promotion of social justice in partnerships between central, state and local governments (Panchayati Raj institutions), particularly focussing on the bridging of social and gender gaps through a strong involvement of the grass root level in planning and implementation. One other particularity of this umbrella project is the clear time frame it has as well as the expression of political will on the importance of UEE across the country. Basic features of the programme involve (i) institutional reforms, (ii) sustainable financing in partnerships with states (IX Plan 85:15, X Plan 75:25, after X plan 50:50) (iii) decentralisation and community ownership concerning planning, capacity building and monitoring, (iv) quality improvement, (v) mainstreaming gender issues (NPEGEL) and backward classes (KBCV), (vi) consideration of the critical role of a teacher (SSA – Manual for Planning and Appraisal, April 2004:1-3).

7.8.1.1 Operation Blackboard

The task of Operation Blackboard, finally implemented under the umbrella programme SSA, is to provide (i) quality facilities, (ii) additional teachers (preferably women) and (iii) teaching learning facilities (books, maps, charts, blackboards, toys, library, etc.) to all primary schools. The provision of at least two large reasonably all-weather rooms, along with separate toilet facility for boys and girls should be guaranteed as well.

Even though a number of schools have profited by the scheme, the implementation was not entirely successful. According to the PROBE report (1999) in the districts surveyed by the PROBE team the “overall achievements of Operation Blackboard are well below target”. In detail, the effects of OP are a significant decline of single-teacher primary schools and partial equipment of teaching aids and classroom material through the OP on the one hand. Otherwise the programme has some problems occurred in the fulfilment of different components in the same school as the achievement is reliant on inter-dependent implementation. The report exemplifies this problem with schools where, *inter alia*, teachers have received OB training without receiving OB teaching aids or the

school has the toys and teaching kits, but these are kept locked up because only one teacher is available to teach. During the survey cases of corruption that had occurred appeared when “headteachers complained that they were forced to sign for the complete OB kit whether each item was there or not, and whether it was functional or not. Musical instruments in particular were usually received in a broken state. Other schools complain that the original items were non-functional, and could not be replaced or repaired as Operation Blackboard is one-time grant” (PROBE, 1999:87).

Considering the critics in the PROBE report, as an example of the mismanagement of a certain project/programme, it is the question of sustainability of specific ideas that are tried to be implemented. Taking a deeper view on the quality and saying that OB is a “one-time grant”; the actual focus should be on long-term development of quality education in India. It seems this is partly not taking place at the moment. There is more a concentration on stand-up activities that do show advance at the first sight. But maybe this is something to learn from for another project implemented for future planning.

7.8.1.2 DPEP – District Primary Education Programme

In its holistic view, the District Primary Education Programme tries to concentrate on providing access to elementary education to backward districts. Particular focus in this programme is given to the provision of access to all children in a certain age group, the reduction of drop outs to less than 10 per cent, the increase of learning achievements by at least 25 per cent and the diminishment of gender – and social bias to less than 5 per cent. The selection of districts is based on educationally backward districts with a female literacy rate below national level as well as districts with successful Total Literacy Campaigns with a subsequent and increased demand for elementary education. Instruments used are the introduction of additional NFE centres/EGCs, nomination of additional teachers, teacher training and teaching-learning material, special interventions for girls, SC/STs, etc. A particularity concerning this programme is the decentralised planning and management that offers a more regional and need-specific implementation of the project (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:62). As Vaidyanatha Ayyar (2005:52) puts it: “The key strategic element of DPEP is contextuality. DPEP proceeds from the premise

that planning of and implementation for UEE cannot be organized from Delhi or from any State capital, and that only through local level planning and implementation can UEE be realized". Furthermore, he summarises that "universal enrolment has nowhere been achieved; further, the increase in enrolment is concentrated in a few States. The objective of reducing cohort drop-out rates to less than 10 per cent was not achieved in most districts. [...] There was more progress in reduction of gender disparity than in social disparity (between scheduled castes/scheduled tribes and others). In 95% of the districts, gender disparity in enrolment rates was reduced to less than 5%; however few districts, gender disparity in enrolment rates was reduced to less than 5%; however few districts achieved a similar reduction in social disparity" (Vaidyanatha Ayyar, January 2005:51-52).

7.8.1.3 Non-Formal Education | Education Guarantee Scheme

According to the 10th Five Year Plan, the Non-Formal Education, now Education Guarantee Scheme under the Education for All campaign by the Government of India (SSA) was introduced as a pilot project for school-age children from 6-14 years who have persisted outside the schooling system in 1977-78. The programme was covering children with social and economic backwardness or child labourers in urban slums, hilly tribal and desert areas that are not able to attend formal school all day long. (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:57) The aim was the education of the mass on a decentralized level to improve standards of living, the expansion of the benefits of the formal system through informal channels as well as the improvement of the formal system by making it more expandable and forceful (Sankhdher, 1999:163-164).

Even so, the NPE 1986 (in: Mohanty, 1992:112) expounds that "All necessary measures will be taken to ensure that the quality of non-formal education is comparable with formal education", often the reality seems to be different, as both the PROBE report (1999) and Dréze/Sen (2002:170-172) see the outcome of non-formal schooling as less satisfying than originally proposed. Dréze/Sen argue that "While the development of low-cost schooling facilities has helped to expand the reach of elementary education in spite of widespread budgetary crises at the state

level, gaping inadequacies remain (both in quantitative and qualitative terms) in the infrastructure, as the findings mentioned in the preceding section indicate". In addition, they criticize aspects of (i) *quality*, (ii) *equity* and (iii) *sustainability* of the plan. (i) *Quality* concerns occurred due to lack of teacher qualifications as well as infrastructural facilities as they are found often poorer than in regular schools; (ii) *equity* on the basis of 'second track' education that possibly dilutes the right of the underprivileged child to quality education. Non-formal schooling probably does help the children on a short-term basis, but also helps maintaining persisting inequalities in India in the long run due to different educational opportunities of different strata of the society. Finally, leaving the aforementioned out of sight, the (iii) question raised will be the *sustainability* of these second track schooling facilities. As Dréze/Sen argue "Continual use of 'double standards' of employment between regular teachers and informal instructors is often difficult politically, ethically and legally". According to the PROBE report, a number of NFE centres show fundamental mismanagement.

Going in detail, on the one hand, the PROBE team reports NFE-centres where no child accomplished exams so far to be able to a public school afterwards. On the other hand, Prayas, an NGO working in different destitute areas in and around Delhi report a certain percentage of children going to governmental schools after attending school lessons for some time in their NFE-centres. Furthermore, Nambissan/Sedwal (in Govinda ed., 2002:79) put their emphasis on the quality of teaching and infrastructure actually provided. Their criticism lies on the poor quality education of teachers (both pre- and in-service training), lack of infrastructure of the classroom and teaching aids/materials, school surroundings, missing play grounds, etc. for an adequate teaching-learning relation. Both, achievements and the lack of them are recognisable concerning the NFE/EGS programme. Therefore, in the last part of this writing I will describe more about the work of Prayas, there problems, failures and achievements in view of the work of NGOs. The question raised will be about the sustainable development of the educational system in India and its methods of reaching these goals.

7.8.1.4 Mid-Day-Meals

The provision of Mid-Day-Meals has developed worldwide over the past decades. In India, it was introduced successfully in Tamil Nadu first and thus, became a nationwide programme in 1995.

It was recognised that the better the women are educated they will be able to take more responsibility for themselves and their children. As a result, women will have fewer children which in turn will be healthier and better nutritionally supported by their parents, i.e. their mothers. Further observed could be the chronic malnourishment of the children in school which has led to a vicious circle of long- and short-term malnourishment and lack of educational opportunity. It is generally acknowledged that health and nutritional problems reduce human beings' concentration ability and thus the capability to learn and become skilled. Mostly, the children suffer from protein-energy malnutrition, temporary and chronic hunger or parasitic infections. In the worst case, children are even too hungry to go to school. Concerning short-term hunger, children are skipping breakfast; long walking distances to school, reduces the ability to concentrate as well, enhance difficulties in studying and encourages an early drop-out (Meir, 2001:2).

Mid-Day-Meals offer the possibility to make up for missing meals during the day. Meir (2001) sees the role of school feeding in the alleviation of short-term hunger, overcome of the lack of specific nutrients in this age-group, to grasp the attention and thus completion of school for poor and impoverished children which translates into higher enrolment and retention data, increased attendance and completion as well as better school performance in general. Through the two-way distribution of meals by either feeding the children at school or providing food grains for taking them home, the author also sees side effects related. MDM possibly increase community participation in the field of education, does enhance the practical teaching of life-related skills, e.g. nutrition, health, hygiene, agriculture and might be an effective channel for disaster mitigation in, i.e. rural areas. Combined with other incentives as health camps/service, improved sanitation (water and toilets), teacher training, curriculum improvement and the distribution of textbooks, etc will

upgrade school education and increases completion rates effectively (Meir, 2001:2-3).

The PROBE report (1998) brings in “the socialisation argument is simply that sitting together and sharing a meal helps to erode the barriers of class and (especially) caste. The fact that, in some villages, upper-caste parents criticize or even obstruct the provision of school meals is a telling sign that this socialization experience is far from trivial [...] In terms of the nutrition and socialization arguments, dry rations are worthless” (PROBE, 1998:96).

Therefore, as mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, the government of India initiated the centrally sponsored Mid-Day-Meal scheme (MDM) in 1995 and operates through the Food Corporation of India. Through the FCI, it provides food grains free of cost and reimburses transportation cost to the district authorities for moving food grains to schools and villages (Mahajan/Khullar, 2000:60).

Nonetheless, the incentive of MDMs for children does sound successful in its concept and has shown many achievements on the one hand but faces problems in the process of distribution on the other:

- (i) The regular provision of food distribution is low due to a complicated transport system and problems with the reimbursement of costs;
- (ii) Most schools lack adequate food storage and cooking facilities that lead to the loss of food and moreover, the preparation of meals is hygienically unsafe.
- (iii) Often delays occur as a lack of staff (cooks, etc.),
- (iv) Cooking processes occur as too lengthy and
- (v) The quality of meals is quite low.
- (vi) The missing involvement of community participation and the further misunderstanding of the purpose might create serious tensions.
- (vii) Moreover, it is the teacher's duty to organise the distribution of on-site feeding or dry rations which interrupts the educator from his teaching duties. (Meir, 2001:4-5)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See also: Govinda ed., 2002 and PROBE Team Report, 1998

- (viii) PROBE (1998) and Govinda ed. (2002) mention corruption as another major problem in the implementation of the Mid-Day-Meal scheme and see in that possible failure.

Meir (2001) has suggested for the improvement of the school-feeding programme an (i) advanced timing in food distribution, (ii) a combination of Mid-day and morning meal (e.g. a snack to overcome short-time hunger), a (iii) combination of on-site feeding and the provision of dry rations, (iv) community involvement and participation in the distribution of meals (v) and a necessary combination of food conjoint with other health related services without the nutritional and health status of children will not be warrant. For the proper implementation of the scheme the author has emphasised the importance of an in depth situation analysis of the village/region and its specific needs, without which the implementation cannot be ensured⁴¹ (Meir, 2001:6-7).

7.9 *Teachers in Elementary Education*

Within the educational system, the teacher's initiative behaviour plays a vital role defining the extent of educational successes of his students. It is the teacher's education, both on the subject and didactics, his attitude, commitment and ability to serve as a cornerstone in the community to subsequently influence the children's learning achievements.

7.9.1 Teacher Training and Education

Between 1990 und 1995, there has been an increase of teachers from 4 million to 4,3 million, which is a total raise of 7.5 per cent. This increase was due to a structural redefinition over the years. In 1961, the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) was set up to improve teacher training in the country. In 1995, the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) was re-established for the planning and co-ordination of teacher education. On a state level, State Councils of Educational Research and Training (SCERTs) and in several states also State Institutes of Education (SIEs) and below, elementary

⁴¹See more on the structure of the scheme introduced by the GoI under: <http://education.nic.in/htmlweb/mdm/mdm2004.htm>

teacher training institutions were set up and upgraded since 1987 (http://education.nic.in/teacheredu_scheme.asp; 10/11/05, 18:07).

The most common type is a Basic Training Course (BTC) that lasts for 2 years, but most class 1 teachers have received some kind of crash-course, whereas it is difficult to see the impact of such a course. (PROBE, 1999:56) The District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETs), established after the NPE 1986, have the task to provide both, induction and in-service training to elementary school teachers and the staff employed in non-formal and adult education (<http://education.nic.in/htmlweb/mdm/mdm2004.htm>; 10/11/05, 18:07).

With nearly 30,000 teacher educators, India has one of the largest Education Systems in the World. Additionally, India has generated 1200 teacher training schools, 700 colleges or University Departments for Teacher education that have been educating 4.52 million teachers up to 1993. In the years 1986 to 1993 the growth rate was 1.61 per cent annually at a total rate of 11.27 percentage points. For the 10th Plan (2003-2007) the number of teachers added should be around 2.3 million (Seshadri, in: Govinda ed., 2002:202).

“In 1996-7, there were 36.3 million children in the 6-14 age group who were out of school. For taking care of these children, at the rate of 1:40, 907,000 teachers would be required. Also, if the pupil-teacher ratio is to be 1:40, for the 151.4 million children attending school, an additional 735,000 teachers would be required. Thus, 1.642 million new teachers would be required for keeping all children of schoolgoing age in schools. This calculation is based on the projected child population in 1996 being 187,704,000 (see DoE 1998). With the population increasing further, the demands on the system for teacher supply would escalate even further” (Seshadri, in: Govinda ed., 2002:208).

The expansion of the educational system, as aforementioned, has on the one hand improved the numbers of literates in the country tremendously, but has lowered the quality of teaching, on the other hand. As a need, certain projects and programmes have been implemented for the encouragement of illiterates in the country to enrol in school. One of these, to particularly focus on community/village needs in remote areas is a project implemented in Rajasthan since 1987. The Shiksha Karmi Project (SKP), with the assistance from foreign funding agencies, focuses on “qualitative improvement of primary education in remote and socio-economically backward villages in Rajasthan with primary attention to girls. It

identifies teacher absenteeism as a major obstacle in achieving the goal of Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE). It was recognised that a primary school in remote villages, with the teacher not residing there, often tended to become dysfunctional, and parents as well as children failed to relate to such an institution, leading to high drop-out rates. Under SKP, regular teachers are replaced by local teachers who are less qualified but specially trained. The Shiksha Karmi (SK) is a local person with minimum educational qualification of Class VIII for men and Class V for women. To overcome the basic lack of qualification, Shiksha Karmis are given intensive training through induction programme as well as periodic refresher courses".⁴² The relevance of the project concerning the general argumentation of teachers' relevance in the education system will be discussed later in this chapter, as many problems occur due to higher status and caste of teachers in relation to his students.

7.9.2 Role and Attitudes of Teachers

The role of the teacher can be a massive enabling one if the teacher feels committed to his students and the work he is doing. The PROBE report (1999) exemplifies this enabling role on a female teacher close to Baser:

“...school with a single teacher and 69 pupils. The teacher, a young adivasi woman called Anjali, is serious and well-organized; the children waste no time at school. After noting that ‘the teacher handles this difficult situation in a very impressive manner’, the investigator who visited this school added: ‘She walks every day on her won from Kaoli – about 45 minutes each way through the forest; she is the first teacher who served me a glass of water herself, without asking the children to do it; and she is the first teacher to claim that she often leaves the school well after the official closing time, e.g. because the premises need tidying up.’ Half of the pupils are girls, an unusually high ratio” (PROBE, 1999:55).

The problem is that most educators show a deep lack of commitment to the promotion of education and welfare of the community they teach in. The explanation is multifaceted. One major reason might be the social distance between teachers of higher classes or castes and the inhabitants of remote villages where they are sent. This includes both, rural and urban areas. The educators teach somewhere that they do not consider as their own social

⁴² http://education.nic.in/teacheredu_scheme.asp (10/11/05; 18:23)

surrounding and might therefore have prejudices against the lower class/caste villagers. The posts are seen as unwanted, show an inconvenience in commuting, lead to alienation from the villagers, and as the potential might be limited, these remote areas are “seen as infertile ground for a teacher’s efforts” (PROBE, 1999:60). Further, the PROBE reports “of irresponsible teachers keeping a school closed or non-functional for months at a time; a school where the teacher was drunk, while only one-sixth of the children enrolled were present”. Additionally, they report on “a headteacher who comes to school once a week; another headteacher who did not know the name of a single child in the school” (PROBE, 1999:62-62). In other cases, even where the infrastructure was relatively good, there was no teaching activity at the time of inspection. One factor, influencing this phenomenon, is that teachers teaching in rural areas receive less salary than they would get in urban areas.

The major issue of teacher-attitude towards pupils of lower caste causes ignorance, discouragement and sometimes even violence in the direction of the children that in turn legitimate the introduction of Shiksha Karmis in Rajasthan, as aforementioned. Very often Non-Dalit teachers teach Dalit children. “There are few studies that have actually explored teacher attitudes to Dalit children though the fact of social discrimination in classroom processes [...] that teachers tend to reproduce discriminatory attitudes and practices and underlie caste relations in society” (Nambissan/Sedwal in: Govinda ed., 2002:82).

The education system is a reflective system of the larger society, therefore it is important to sensitise teachers concerning discriminatory behavior already during their pre-service training period. The special focus has to be on awareness-raising of social issues as the interrelation of castes, human rights in the curricular and the specific academic support to disprivileged children (Nambissan/Sedwal in: Govinda ed., 2002:84).

7.9.3 Problems Teachers face

There are a number of problems teachers have to face. These are, *inter alia*, a lack of infrastructure, very often not provided sufficiently by responsible authorities, communication difficulties with teachers as well as the deprived background of the

pupils. The most common complaints among teachers are the schools are under-equipped, under-funded, under-staffed and over-crowded (PROBE, 1999:58).

- (i) Criticised is the main focus of educational authorities on enrolment and figures as well as incentive schemes instead of the quality of teaching and necessary measures to succeed quality.
- (ii) Further reviewed has to be the structure of school management not geared towards support of responsible teachers
- (iii) Often textbooks and teaching aids are missing, where teachers either receive the wrong text books, or be given them at the end of the year, or only half of the amount of children sitting in class. This situation of lack of teaching aids is not only reported by the PROBE report, but also by teachers of PRAYAS, an NGO working in Delhi, Gujarat and Bihar that report a lack of funding by financing agencies, such as the government.
- (iv) Additionally reported was a lack of toilets in several schools. Teachers (PRAYAS) working in destitute areas of Delhi, reported absence of toilets for girls, boys and teachers. Besides daily difficulties, that particularly girls and female teachers have to face, some teachers reported they are not drinking during the day even when it is really hot, to avoid the need for using a toilet.
- (v) Not only the situation in the classroom seems difficult, also the communication with parents is quite complicated, because they send their children not very regularly and find bad excuses not to do so. Some committed teachers are even considered as “naggers”, when trying to convince them to change behaviour and attitudes. Even worse, sometimes, teachers have to face thieving of the Mid-Day-Meals rations supposedly for children, by parents to finance the parents own drinking. In another school it is reported the looting of the school building in the PROBE survey. (PROBE, 1999:58)
- (vi) The children, on the other side, do not have an enhancing environment for studying at home. Many of them are first-generation learners without much support from their family. The children are often malnourished and have a poor health status. Further the pupils, particularly the girls, face the burden

of household work, and therefore have irregular attendance in classes. Additionally, important to mention, is the physical work they are exhausted of (PROBE, 1999:60).

As mentioned earlier, many incentives, as the Mid-Day-Meal scheme and Operation Blackboard as well as the teachers coming from the community (under SKP) in which they are teaching. Nonetheless, many incentives have failed or been unsatisfactory implemented. Therefore, the PROBE report suggests incentives possibly changing the raising the manner of teachers. (i) First, they see a need for promotion opportunities not based on seniority, as in most states, but on performance. The incentive should be related to the reputation in the community and the communication between teachers and parents. (ii) Furthermore, school examination should be able to tell how much pupils have been taught. (iii) The Shikha Karmi Project is a well-chosen incentive to overcome social discouragement, but should be seen as a temporary programme, on the other hand. (iv) As above discussed, female education has an important outcome for the entire development of a nation as women are responsible for care-taking factors of themselves and within the family. Female teachers do further enhance female enrolment for various reasons and should therefore be particularly promoted in areas, where female school attendance is quite low, as in the north and north-eastern states.

7.10 Education and the urban disadvantaged children (example of Delhi)

As aforementioned in the chapter on urban poverty (section 3.1.4), children growing up in the deprived areas of Delhi are to a great extent disadvantaged compared to their counterparts from more affluent families. Not only has their household surrounding lacked hygienic and social infrastructure⁴³, even more, educational facilities show deficiencies in contrast to schools in wealthier areas of Delhi. Even though Delhi portrays an image of wealth and prosperity, presently, there is the existence of deprived children, e.g. out-of-school children, working children, malnutrition, unemployment and poverty. One of the few programmes

⁴³ See: urban poverty | slum dwellers (chpt. 3.1.4)

existing to help these children in their lives is the NFE scheme supposed to work as a bridge to formal schooling (Aggarwal, 2000a:31). In Delhi 3.2 million children attend 3600 schools. They account for approximately 28 per cent of Delhi's total population in 1996-97. Children from the lower strata of the society have to face both, economic and social barriers in the classrooms; tending to result in the following problems: (i) lack of adequate quality education into school, (ii) an overload of existing schools, (iii) the inability of organisational units to admit all children in school, (iv) under-utilisation of schools in mostly prosperous areas, (v) ruinous conditions of classrooms, particularly of those which are rented, (vi) lack of funds for these buildings, (vii) failure of the provision of sanitation and water facilities for better hygiene. Very often, these issues are not addressed by the state responsible authorities who in many cases await the government to enact certain policies (Aggarwal, 2000a:34-35).

One example is the Bhatti Mines area in New Delhi where the 1991 census has shown that the female literacy rate was less than 20 per cent. Prayas, a voluntary agency working in this deprived area of Delhi reports that "Bhatti Mines is economically one of the most backward areas of Delhi. There was no drinking water available in the area. Persons from the Bhatti Mines village approached Prayas when the mines shut down and the miners were forced to look elsewhere to earn their living. The children stopped going to the only school in the vicinity and helped their parents load construction material on donkeys."⁴⁴ Prayas activities in this area cover NFE, Vocational training for girls, MDMs, Health Camps and Self-Help Groups for women. Prayas is only one NGO that works in districts where governmental schools do not exist. In the current example "the present capacity of the government primary schools in Delhi is inadequate to meet the escalating demand [for education] especially in areas dominated by the underprivileged" (Aggarwal, 2000a:2). Therefore some schools are privately run. Particularly voluntary agencies/NGOs are quite active in promoting this matter. The following chapter will explain how state and civil society agents are working together in the provision of elementary education for the most deprived.

⁴⁴ http://prayaschildren.org/index_new.php# (21 Nov. 05; 17:37)

8 Partnerships of state and NGOs

Voluntary agencies have always played an important role in the Indian history. In recent years, this partnership between the state and civil society within the entire country has developed even further. Particularly under the aspect of EFA the partnership has become even more interconnected due to the amplitude of the goal of reaching universal elementary education.

Jain/Mathur/Rajgopal/Shah (in: Govinda ed., 2002:56) identify two main reasons for this intense and fruitful relationship between these two sectors (state and NGOs). The two main aspects relevant for the successful implementation of any programme: (i) innovation, and (ii) large scale delivery. The strength of the state is its ability to handle large-scale delivery due to its political and financial force; it does however at the same time have weaknesses as a huge bureaucratic apparatus, rule-governed and functioning while relying upon the codified word rather than personal encounter. At this point the NGO's advantage comes in. The NGO's flexibility and less bureaucratic way of implementing its policies as well as its direct relations of the people allows the NGO to reflect and interact constantly without any bureaucratic obstacle to take. Further, the authors use 3 models describing how the interaction of the public and the private sector is possible: (i) the government invites a high-level NGO to design, create, and implement a certain project with the financial resources of the government. Even though, this is a well-known policy in some way this policy is unpredictable, as it depends on the political will of the government departments as well as the ideology of the NGO involved. (ii) Secondly, the government creates and formulates a certain project and supports the NGO in its implementation of the project policies. The advantage of the NGO concerning implementation advantages is clearly shown: "The NGO serves as a conceptual alternative to decentralization. Its low-key, non-hierarchical mode has advantages since it allows for a more sensitive outreach to people [...] The success of such projects largely depends on the quality of personal leadership at NGO level". (iii) In the third and most recent model the government initiates a project that is created through an autonomous body and co-ordinates different NGOs. This model requires a great amount of "sensitive style of day-to-day functioning" but has on the other hand "the potential to provide the greatest

momentum to a genuine ground-level initiative" (Jain/Mathur/Rajgopal/Shah in: Govinda ed., 2002:56).

In recent years, particularly in the 1990's, interest in NGOs from international agencies has been growing. This phenomenon is due to (i) an increasing interest towards NGOs from international financing institutions, (ii) an increased availability of funds and (iii) a focal point on a leading position of development, in general. In the past, the focus concerning voluntarism was more based on welfare, charity and relief, whereas today the voluntary sector tries to improve the deprived person's social, political and economical status. The dynamics between NGOs and the government can be recognised on national, state and district levels. Further, it also is in the NGOs' interest to be recognised by the government, as the funding by public authorities influences the legitimisation of voluntary organisations quite positively. What is more, the partnership between the two can only be compensative from the organisation's side, as "the magnitude of the problem in the education sector is far too large to be resolved by a single delivery system, be it public or private. The non-governmental sector also realizes and believes that the final and ultimate responsibility of providing education to all its citizens rests on the Indian government, no matter how many profit or non-profit initiatives emerge in between" (Nawani, in: Govinda ed, 2002:127). After Brazil, India with more than 100,000 NGOs, has the second largest voluntary sector worldwide. Over time, this sector has grown enormously and even when considering the country as a whole; however, NGOs will not be able to change a great amount, they are capable more than any other implementing agency able to change the standing of the most disadvantaged and deprived groups in the country (Nawani, in: Govinda ed, 2002:122).

8.1 Role of NGOs in achieving EFA

The NGOs' goal in the education sector is not to act parallel to the public education structure, rather to complement, where incentives and activities of schooling provided by the government are missing. NGOs can be seen as partners of the civil society for the implementation of particular development

programmes; they are able to reach the grassroots-level of the society, mostly in rural areas, and thus represent them in political spheres. NGOs are able to work for the most deprived through their intense activities and due to their knowledge gained about them (Nawani, in: Govinda ed, 2002:121). The effect on the children educated is basically 'empowerment'. The word empowerment suggests, *inter alia*, critical and questioning attitudes towards other people, unequal distribution, gender gap, cultural stereotypes, classroom processes and learning *per se*. Voluntary organisations are active in pre-school education, NFE, in socio-economically disadvantaged sections, with street and working children as well as out-of-school children in general. As seen in chapter 2.6 'Why female education?' all these aspects have a special strong effect on the development of the female (Nawani, in: Govinda ed, 2002:123-4).

Mahajan/Khullar (2000:59) from the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration see the contribution of voluntary agencies to universalise elementary education as:

- Implementing non-formal education programmes and alternative school programmes in more people-friendly and innovative ways in terms of pedagogy, instructional materials, training, organisation and management.
- Providing resource support to teachers, schools and continuing education.
- Training of teachers, local functionaries, Village Education Committee members and others.
- Establishing linkages between education and other social services such as health, nutrition, etc.

As has been reported in Charkrabarty (in:Govinda ed, 2002:65):"Though there has been considerable criticism of NFE programmes for children as being of poor quality, there is no doubt that NFE has provided a large number of children in urban areas access to primary education, particularly through non-governmental organizations. Even if the learning levels are modest, these programmes have helped children from disadvantaged sections improve their self-esteem, confidence and social skills".

In the next chapter I will attempt to provide a picture of 'Prayas', an NGO that provides e.g. NFE to children in destitute areas in Delhi (as well as Gujarat and Bihar; my focus will be on the disadvantaged urban areas within Delhi that I have visited and observed). Chapter 9 will be an illustration of Prayas' work: both, the achievements and the problems that the organisation has to face.

9 PRAYAS | Project on education for the poorest of the poor

For some time it had been presumed that urban areas were wealthier than rural areas, education wise. As a result, the emphasis on educational improvements was more on aspects of education in remote rural areas than in their urban counterparts. According to Chugh (2003) "issues related to access and retention for some groups of population have not received the adequate attention of educational planners and policy makers. Children of urban slum areas belong to one such category whose educational needs have not been addressed seriously and wilfully". Still, many such destitute areas in cities, also known as "slums, resettlement colonies, ghettos, urban villages" do not have basic facilities, for example, education, health-related services, employment and human safety. Further, Chugh implies that special considerations have to be taken for the social and economic development of these districts. Additionally, the rapid urbanization process has caused enormous growth of cities who in turn have not been able to deal with social and economic problems. There might not be natural obstacles or calamities to overcome, but other factors functioning as barriers to overcome for the disadvantaged children to enter school (Chugh, 2003).

Children living in difficult circumstances in unauthorized habitations (due to situations of inequality and urban exploitation) have to face disproportionate allocation of resources as well as ineffective organization of learning programmes that has in turn lead to a tremendous number of out-of-school children. The National Policy on Education (1986) has re-emphasised NFE as an important tool for the integration of out-of-school children in the schooling process. As a result, around 300,000 NFE centres have been established, covering 7.42 million children

in 24 states/UTs in India. “While 238,000 centres have been sanctioned to States/UTs (of which 118,000 centres are exclusively for girls), 58,788 centres are run by 816 voluntary agencies” (Kanth, 2003:4).

In pursuing the aim of universal elementary education, the NGOs’ focus is mainly on the most disadvantaged children “for the uplift of street children at the grassroots” (Kanth, 2003:5). These agencies are financially supported by numerous national and international (part-funding) agencies as well as the Government of India. At present the formal schooling system is not flexible enough and the curriculum is inappropriate for the children’s needs, e.g. for working children, only able to attend classes either in the morning or the afternoon). Chapter 7.8.1.3 (Non Formal Education | Education Guarantee Scheme) explains NFE, which provides more flexibility in teaching and timing compared to the formal education system. Other incentives, for example, the Mid-Day Meal scheme and therefore many NGOs have taken this unconventional way of providing education to extremely disadvantaged children. The overall aim is to mainstream these children into the formal schooling system. The NFE scheme has been revised in line with the SSA initiatives by the government of India to Education Guarantee Scheme & Alternative and Innovative Education in 2000, but I will refer to NFE as this term is generally used.

Prayas is one of the NGOs working with the most disadvantaged children in Delhi. In 1988, Prayas established a centre for juvenile delinquents with a start-up of 25 children in a small room in the Jahangirpuri resettlement colony in Delhi. Soon after, Prayas expanded its activities to neglected children, with a difficult socio-economic surrounding. Prayas’ objectives were to provide psychological support, offer schooling in view of the children’s social and economic situation, provide recreational facilities, install a library, raise awareness about the consequences of drug abuse and communicate a certain sense of social responsibility that the children hold. In the beginning these objectives were tried to reach through recreational programmes, NFE, counselling service by social workers and vocational training programmes (Kanth/Varma, 1993:77-79). Now, Prayas has

upgraded its provision of certain facilities for the neglected people in destitute areas in Delhi. There have been a number of activities added to the above mentioned aiming at being able to provide an integrated approach to the (mostly) children's problems; this approach tries to help children in difficult circumstances and aims at fulfilling their rights:

- (i) *Non Formal Education*: serves to reach the aim of mainstreaming the most disadvantaged children to the formal schooling system and will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.
- (ii) *Vocational training*: in view of providing functional skills that help children and adolescents in their rehabilitation process within their socio-economic sphere to be able to enter gainful wage employment. Prayas is running an estimated 25 vocational training courses lasting between 3 months and 1 year; this includes courses in, for example, computers, house wiring, auto repairing, beauty culture, cutting & tailoring, screen printing, detergent making, etc.
- (iii) *MDMs*: are provided, as aforementioned, to ensure at least 1 full meal per day to malnourished children and to act as an incentive to attend the NFE centres.
- (iv) *Basic health services*: are offered through so-called 'health-camps' in co-operation with teams of medical and para-medical staff that go into slums in various areas of Delhi at least once a week. The focus is on children not covered in any governmental programmes. Services provided are usually general health check-ups as well as special camps according to the communities needs, such as polio or HIV/Aids check-ups. The provision of medicine is an important aspect of providing basic health services, such as, vitamin tablets etc. as well as in promoting awareness for health care among the destitute areas.
- (v) *Shelter*: is provided in three different places around Delhi (2 for boys and 1 for girls). In particular, the home for the girls is a very sensitive project as these girls are generally coming from very difficult backgrounds, including Delhi's red light area. During the interview with Bimla Sen, a NFE teacher in

Kussum Pur Pahari (Project: Naya Prayas), she reported on 2-3 girls that have been abused by their father and are now living in the Prayas headquarter in Thughlakabad Institutional area, where they receive e.g. shelter, NFE, health services and regular meals. According to Prayas, some of them are in state of the complete trauma, yet due to the safe environment they live in and the psychological support through the social workers, they might well be able to overcome their experiences.

- (vi) *Library Project*: funded by various donors; this is based in the headquarters of Prayas as well as in thirteen other NFE centres. There, the children, the girls in the shelter home, as well as people living in the community are able to use this tool for education.
- (vii) *Child line*: 1098 – is a 24 hour freecall number for children in distress and is run by former street children in 5 parts of Delhi. According to the NGO, children call this number in case of accidents, family problems, sexual abuse or if they find themselves in need of medical help. It is based on a concept for children in extreme needs starting in the city of Mumbai in 1996 and now operational in 39 cities in India. It is a well-known number through word-of-mouth advertising by the children themselves.

9.1 Non Formal Education centres

Prayas has established 36 NFE centres in 12 different projects that cover approximately 3000 children annually. According to the NGO, almost 60 per cent were mainstreamed to formal schools in the year 2003. The children who have been reached by Prayas are between 6 and 14 years old. They attend school 2 to 4 hours a day, 6 days a week.

The NFE centres are selected through a situational analysis in the specific areas. Usually, the communities accommodating Prayas' NFE centres are unauthorized by the government, as aforementioned. Hence, rarely government schools are available.

According to Suman Chauhan (the teacher of the 'Tigri Extension' centre belonging to the Prayas head office in Thughlakabad Institutional area), the neighbourhood where he teaches is an unauthorized slum, not recognised by the government. The community has about 500,000 people with around 10,000

children of up to fourteen years of age. The teacher's Kendra (centre) covers 50 children in two shifts each 3 hours (morning and afternoon). The children's background ranges from those who have dropped-out of school, working children and children who have never been to school at all. He reported that when the Kendra was first opened, he and his colleagues were going to each house picking up children who have never been to school before (age groups 6 to 16 years). The parents' reactions varied as they usually have never been to school themselves. As a result, Chauhan holds regular parent's meetings once a month for the "counselling of parents that education is an essential need of life".

Ashima Kapur, from the ILO and former Senior Project Manager of Prayas, sees the greatest challenge in bringing the children in the classroom. Most parents are illiterates and their children, in NFE centres, first-generation learners who seldom have the parent's support for education. The teachers of Prayas reported mostly that the parents' background as coming from the labour-class, working on a daily basis, for example, housemaids, construction workers (cleaning sand), and working in odd jobs. The household income of this labour class on average around 1500, -- Rupees (~30 Euros) per month, varying between 1000 and 2500, -- Rupees per month.

In its centres, Prayas tries to provide a minimum level of infrastructure, e.g. teaching kits in the classrooms, a reasonable salary to the staff teachers and a regular academic assessment. Despite, Prayas making great efforts in the above mentioned areas, teachers still report on very rudimentary conditions that lack basic facilities for the children and teachers due to a lack of grants or very badly calculated funds by the Government of India and other funding agencies, as will be reported below.

9.2 *Situation in the classrooms*

In previous chapters on the overall state of education in India, various problems and achievements were discussed. The example of Prayas, an NGO working with neglected children, should allow a view on the field of work, due to interviews with

the responsible persons (both, teachers and project managers) of the voluntary organisation.

Due to the great lack of awareness among the importance of education, teachers consider it a great success when achieving regular attendance among their students. Additionally relevant to several teachers is the children's interest in studying that could be raised over time; yet this has been possible only due to enormous efforts concerning community activities and involvement of the parents. On the other hand, many problems exist, that the teachers have reported:

- (i) Missing sitting mats, blackboards and books for children were mentioned by various teachers;
- (ii) Several centres do not provide toilets, neither for the children, nor the teachers (making life particularly difficult for all females);
- (iii) The lack of adequate drinking water;
- (iv) Lack of enough space in the classrooms;
- (v) Problems with a drunken father who come to the school centre "to teach the teacher a lesson" (Seema Malik, teacher in NFE centre Kusum Pur Pahari);
- (vi) Conservative parents who prefer to have their daughters married at an early age or rather send them to work (domestic) and to look after their younger siblings than to send them to school;
- (vii) Irregular attendance of children is problematic for their studies.

Most of these problems mentioned by teachers in interviews are due to very short calculated funds. One factor contributing to the children's attendance is the so-called Mid-Day-Meal scheme that acts as a great incentive for the children to come to the centres. Nevertheless, teachers and project managers have to face corruption, for example when food rations are missing that are supposed to be for the pupils enrolled in school. The persons in charge who have to deal with these aspects of the role require enormous enthusiasm and creativity with the children. The motivation of the teaching staff has great relevance for the educational outcome.

9.3 Teacher - a key role in the NFE- centres

In their role as contact person for children and parents in the community, teachers have a crucial role for the enhancement of the educational status among the pupils they teach. As taking care is the case in many other sectors. Prayas must be aware how it allocates its resources, where to place which teacher and what will be the best solution for the community's children. In some cases it has decided to prefer teachers with less education (with no pedagogical background) but belong to the community and thus these individuals will be able to better respond to the neighbourhood's needs. In other cases, Prayas has appointed teachers with higher educational training and thus maybe better educational knowledge. In general, the teachers are responsible for the education in NFE centres, but also other activities are included in their professional life, such as the organisation of health camps, or self-help groups for women, which includes generally more than teaching itself.

Due to the problems teachers have to face (such as the example of the teacher in Kusum Pur Pahari, who had a dispute with a drunken father) and sometimes due to the lack of responsibility among them, it frequently occurs that some of the teachers are not frequently holding the classes. One priority of the project managers is to check that the teachers are in the class during lessons or not. At Prayas 2 to 3 times a week up to every day the project managers make surprise visits to their school-centres. They are aware of the problem of teacher absenteeism, but it needs great efforts to overcome this problem.

In particular, younger teachers with less experience in teaching have expressed the wish for more teacher-training. Project Managers, the immediate supervisors of the teachers at Prayas express the need for more educational staff and more teacher-training as well. Several Project Managers suggested that the training with teaching aids that are missing in the centres as well.

A positive development is the amount of female teachers Prayas has appointed. Unlike the national average, the NGO has a great number of female teachers in

their NFE centres. The PROBE survey underlines the importance of female teachers particularly for the mothers that point out that “the presence of a female teacher makes it easier for mothers to interact with teacher. ‘Female teachers can go from house to house and talk to parents about the importance of education. Because they are female this will be good for both, mothers and daughters’” An adivasi parent in Baniya (Domoh, M.P) PROBE, 1999:55).

Both, the formal schooling system as well as the non-formal schooling centres organised by voluntary agencies face similar problems in providing education and quality to the masses in India.

10 Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to analyse elementary education at three different levels strongly inter-related to each other: namely, the necessity of education for human development in a socio-economic context and in the view of the development of a democracy, the factors contributing to or hindering the implementation of basic education on the example of India, and civil society actors and their contribution to the achievement of education for all for the lowest strata of the society.

The first question deals with the socio-economic impact education has in a given society. Concerning aspects of daily life (such as economical, physical, political and psychological issues) a significant difference can be recognised. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that education can lead to an improvement in an individual's life when he/she begins to be able to understand the social and economic mechanisms around them. This personal enhancement of the educated person brings about greater self-esteem and autonomy, enhanced critical thinking and advanced personal responsibility. All these improved personal skills lead to the general progression of the community, the state and the country, which allows for a better understanding of one's hygiene and sanitation, critical perception of political issues and one's own rights. School is a place where not only academic

skills are taught but moreover, it is a place where the progress of a nation begins to grow.

Particularly relevant are the above mentioned factors of personal enhancement in India, which refers to itself as the greatest democracy in the world. The basic and most fundamental characteristics of a democratic state are the sovereignty of the people, the popular government, the separation of powers, the search for equity, the participation of the people in political processes and the securing of fundamental human rights to everyone. Since the concentration of political powers of the state is supposed to lie in the hands of its people, where does this severe neglect of basic education for certain groups in the society of India come from? What enables the state to function as a democratic state, to be able to guarantee those basic rights, if, for more than 40 years, the Indian constitution considered education a fundamental right for every child up to 14 years of age? Education.

Education is an instrument and a basic right in the production of sovereign participants actively engaged in political decision-making processes, able to understand political activity, and thus, to decide autonomously according to their own needs. Education thus enables social progress, depending on political powers (ruling parties) and how they perceive education as an instrument for social progress.

The policy to transform social structures presumes an understanding of opportunities and mechanisms responsible for social change. Thus, everybody (in a democratic system) must have the possibility to be aware of the democratic process. Knowledge based on education enables people to decide in which way and to which extent one wants to be involved in political processes in a democratic system. Still, in India, 35 per cent of the population (45 per cent females and 25 per cent males) do not have this possibility of gaining a basic understanding of social structures.

Prakash/Chowdury (1994:50) consider education as an enabling factor and as such a public and merit good; thus once it has been acquired, the individual becomes owner for life. Understanding this, education cannot be treated as a pure

consumption good alone anymore, but needs to be seen more as an investment promoting welfare to its consumers.

In developing countries, particularly in India, the 'social demand' theory is (due to its emphasis on the maximisation of social welfare and the reduction of inequalities in a socio-cultural and economic context) considered as the most suitable approach concerning the planning and implementation of basic education. The social demand theory seems most relevant in covering the demand for education for the lowest strata of the Indian society; even so, the demand is latent for weaker sections. Furthermore, the adequate provision of jobs for the future national workforce is not to be kept out of sight, particularly in view of India's population size and the growing demand for labour as the riots have shown in Bihar and Assam in 2003 (concerning employment opportunities for the railway company).

Basic education is necessary and thus it is generally agreed by social commentators that the Indian government must legislate certain rules to provide its people with education, accordingly. In India, constitutional guidelines have been provided to ensure education as a fundamental right to every citizen, soon after the country became independent from colonial rule. In Article 45 of the Indian Constitution, India has declared education free and compulsory for every child up to the age of 14 years. Total implementation has not been reached yet, even though since 1990, when India committed itself to the 'World Declaration on Education for All', the country's enrolment rates have significantly improved. For the first time, it was able to increase literacy rates in absolute numbers in 2001.

Since the beginning of the 1990's, the focus on the expansion process of education for every child has strongly improved. Issues of quality are increasingly relevant. As the PROBE survey, where responsible teachers were questioned, has shown, the implementation of programmes, such as 'Operation Blackboard', is lacking far behind - even though, according to the government, it has been 'fulfilled'. Implementation processes are lacking quality and a long-term view; as the equipment of schools needs more than a one-time grant by the government; it rather needs regular maintenance and provision of infrastructure.

The interdependency of concept and action, or in other words, the legislative rule and implementation strongly depends on the political action and motivation of the ruling government. Bajpai (2003) assumes that legislative measures will not play a positive role as long as social conditions and the awareness about them is not conducive for the implementation of universal elementary education. The author further argues that the lack of political will limits the effectiveness of the rule of law.

A decade ago, a strong commitment to the improvement of the provision of elementary education by the public and the voluntary sector started to be noticed. The government of India recognised that the problem of illiteracy is far too large to be solvable by the state alone and thus engaged in partnerships. These partnerships allow compensation by the voluntary sector, where public provision fails to reach the most neglected children.

I consider awareness and determination of the persons involved in the process to be the motor for development. The persons active in voluntary organisation and related fields are usually the ones able to raise awareness among the population for a change in the enthusiasm and to render progress of a population and a whole country possible. Therefore, the partnership between agents from the public sector and the civil society is subsequently important and relevant as they determine the outcome of development, due to their education and engagement. This has significantly improved in the last decade, especially when compared to previous ones, where political will was missing. Hopefully, this trend continues so that the Indian people will be able to make use of its rights in the democracy they live in.

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