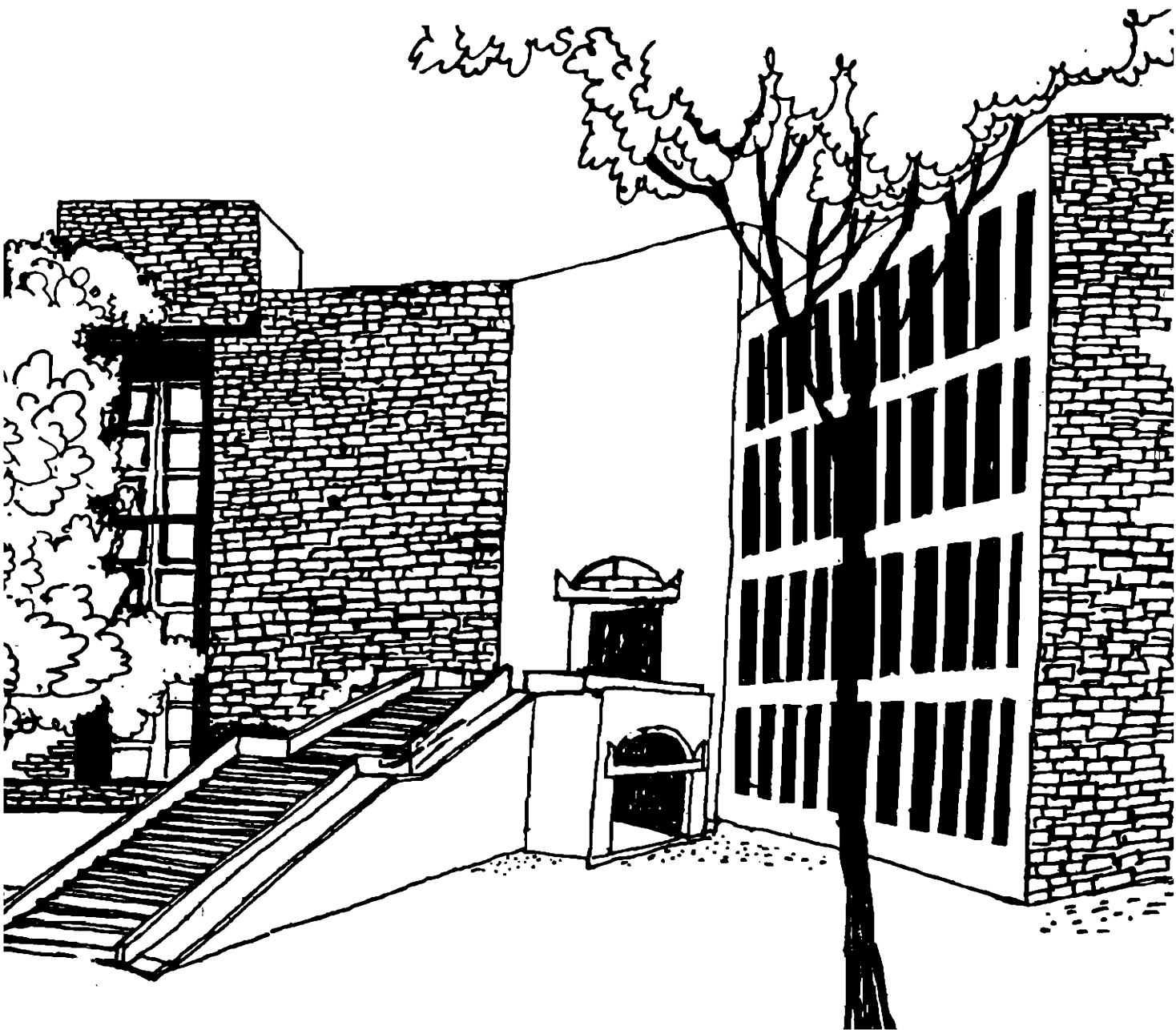




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**DROP OUT, ENROLLMENT AND POVERTY:
POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

By

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DROP OUT, ENROLLMENT AND POVERTY: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

Debate around the factors responsible for the drop-out phenomenon in elementary education focuses largely on two positions: (a) that parents, under economic compulsions, tend to "withdraw" their children from school, (b) that the schools themselves tend to "eliminate" certain kinds of pupils. The first position dominates the debate and tends to focus on factors external to the educational system. It adopts a macro socio-economic perspective and fits in well with the concern over the quantitative performance of the elementary education system. The more critical second position also adopts a macro perspective, reflecting, however, on the system of education itself, its pedagogical practices, content and institutions. It may be argued that the continued focus on quantitative measures like drop out and enrollment is misplaced. Yet, for better focussing of educational reform, a synthesis of both these approaches is called for. Firstly, enrollment and drop-out data can be used to identify micro-locations which are -- educationally speaking -- 'problematic'. Such locations may show high enrollments but poor educational performance and correspond to the ecologically high-risk and bio-diverse pockets. Policy intervention should focus specifically on the 'quality' of schooling in these areas. The paper concludes that the correspondence of poor educational performance with poverty of a particular nature that exists in these environments has to be recognized in order to facilitate a shift of educational planning from centralized and uniform policies towards innovative localized approaches.

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1. Research Fellow and Research Staff, respectively.

Standard policy debates with respect to primary education have focussed around the quantity of schooling in terms of (a) the gross enrollment, that is, the percentage of children of school-going age actually attending school, and (b) the internal efficiency of the educational system as reflected in the concept of 'wastage'.² The latter refers to the phenomena of grade-repetition (percentage repeating a particular grade) and 'drop-out' (percentage of enrollment in Class 1 who do not last the complete cycle of primary education).³ Discussions of the factors responsible for such 'wastage' largely take two positions: (a) parents, under economic compulsions, tend to "withdraw" their children from school, (b) the schools themselves tend to "eliminate" certain kinds of pupils. The first position dominates the debate and tends to focus on factors external to the educational system and fits in well with macro-level concerns over the quantitative

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2. Both the Kothari Commission (1964-66) and the Ramamurti Committee (Committee for Review of National Policy of Education, 'Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society', 1990) have commented extensively on these aspects. See also J.P. Naik (1975a, 1975b). An annotated bibliography by B.R. Patil (1984) listed about 500 studies on the drop-out phenomenon (quoted in Kumar, 1992).
 3. This paper will use only the crude drop-out rate used in official statistics. For instance, drop-out over Class 1 to 5 is defined as Enrollment in Class 1 in Year 1 less Enrollment in Class 5 in Year 5, as a percentage of Enrollment in Class 1 in Year 1. The actual performance of the Year 1 cohort, which has to be studied when we discuss the economics of education (for eg. number of years taken to complete the primary cycle), takes into account the successive repetitions, and the drop-outs, from these sets. This is not considered here. The per-class repetitions average around 3 to 4 percent. Also, in states like Gujarat, there is a now a scheme of promoting children of Classes 1 and 2 if they meet just the attendance requirements.

performance of the educational system in terms of enrollment and drop-out rate. However, these indicators can also be used to define micro-locations which show poor educational performance. In such areas, especially where there is a demand for education, focussing on quality of education will improve educational performance. The first section looks at gross enrollment -- both at an aggregate level and at a decentralized level. The second section examines the drop out phenomenon, again at the macro and micro levels, and links up enrollment and dropping out. The third section reviews the factors behind the drop-out phenomenon. The last section focuses on the quality aspects of education which should be emphasized for improving the educational performance of problem areas.

1.1 Gross Enrollment: A macro picture⁴

Gross enrollment is normally studied as a function of accessibility and availability of schools. The indicators used include the number of primary schools and the availability of primary schools within a specified walkable distance. Greater availability of schools, or in other words, an increased capacity of the education system, is expected to result in increased enrollment.

First, looking at India as a whole, the number of primary schools increased from 2.20 lakhs in 1950 to 5.50 lakhs in 1990 with 94 per cent of the rural population now having a primary

4. Educational resource planning is usually carried out at the Central and state levels. In the context of this paper, these levels are referred to as macro levels and the district and taluka levels as the micro levels.

school within one km. of their dwelling place.⁵ Along with this increase in the number of schools, the gross enrollment has increased from 42.6 per cent in the Class 1 to 5 stage in 1950-51 to 93.6 per cent in 1986 and from 12.9 per cent in the Class 5 to 8 stage to 48.5 per cent over the same period⁶. However, the Ramamurti Committee doubts the validity of such figures⁷ and quotes certain studies based on census data to show that the enrollment of children in the age group 6 to 14 was only 48.72 per cent in 1981. It also contends that, in spite of the rhetoric of universalization of primary education, the inability to provide for education to all children up to the age of 14 ranks as 'the most fundamental problem of our educational system'⁸. Regardless of the validity of the percentage figures, the magnitude of the problem is obvious when it is seen that in absolute terms, about 4.5 crore children or about one-fourth of the school-going age group are engaged in child-labour and completely outside the ambit of primary schooling. Out of a projected population (age-group 6 to 14) of 17.942 crore in 1994-1995,⁹ the

5. Ministry of Human Resources Development, Annual Report 1992.

6. *ibid.* pg 135.

7. See J. Kurrien (1983), pg. 8-26 for a detailed critique of official enrollment data and the corrections to be applied in order to arrive at refined enrollment estimates. This paper will use official estimates for the sake of consistency.

8. Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society, pg 134.

9. *ibid*, pg. 137.

number of children outside the scope of primary education is likely to be in the region of 7 to 8 crores. Added to this poor average figure, is the problem of regional and gender disparities -- the four states of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar have only a third of their 6 to 14 age group in school and also account for 54 per cent of the out-of-school children. In Rajasthan 8 out of 9 girls are outside primary education. Thus, regardless of the conflicting estimates of gross enrollment, it is clear that at the macro-level, while significant progress has been made, there is still a sizable number of children not attending school.

1.2 Enrollment in Gujarat:

Enrollment in Gujarat has shown an annual growth rate of about three per cent over the period 1988 to 1992 (Table 1),¹⁰ with the enrollments increasing from 66,14,603 in 1988 to 73,95,149 in 1992.

The total enrollment in Classes 1 to 7 of 69,89,505 as on 30 September 1990 works out to approximately 64 per cent of the estimated population in the age group of 5 to 14 and the enrollment at the same time of 58,12,159 in Classes 1 to 5 works out to about 105 per cent of the estimated population in the age group of 5 to 9. (See Tables 1a and 1b. The estimates have to be treated with caution. See notes to Table 1b). K.Ramamoorthy (1993) puts the 1992 enrollment in the age-group 6 to 11 at 126.4 per cent. Again, regardless of the validity of the different esti-

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10. All Tables are presented at the end of the paper.

mates, it may be stated that gross enrollment on the whole, at the state level, has made progress. However, the state-level figures mask significant variation between the districts.

1.3 Enrollment: a micro picture

An analysis of the fresh intake into the educational system at Class 1 level (1986-1991) as a percentage of the estimated population (age group 5 to 14)¹¹ (See Table 2) shows that five districts -- Dangs, Ahmedabad, Banaskantha, Panchmahals and Amreli -- are clustered at the top. (Appendix 1 shows the location of these districts in the state). In other words, this may indicate that in comparison with the other districts, demand for primary schooling is higher in these areas. However, good enrollment by itself does not signify successful educational performance. This point will be taken up later in the section on 'Enrollment and Drop-out: a micro picture'.

At the village level, official enrollment figures may be higher than the actual enrollment. A study of Gandhinagar, Surendranagar and Surat districts¹² shows that in rural Surendranagar, in the age group of 6-11, the never-enrolled constitute 25.8 per cent, in rural Surat 14.9 and in Gandhinagar 11.2 per cent. In urban Surendranagar and Surat, the percentages are 9.8 and 8.5, respectively. The study indicates that the category of 'never-enrolled' is an important target for policy action. Official

11. Average intake into Class 1 is used in place of total enrollment in Class 1 to 7 in order to isolate the effects of drop-out. This measure does not take into account direct first-time entrants at other levels of the primary schooling system.

12. Leela Visaria and Gaurang Jani (1993).

statistics tend to conflate the never-enrolled with the drop-outs -- with the result that the high initial enrollment rates result in high drop-out rates. In contrast, local surveys show lower initial enrollment and consequently, lower drop-out rates. The study concludes that the problem of non-enrollment is primarily a problem of rural girls, especially of girls belonging to the Baxi panch (socially and economically backward) castes.

More interestingly, when we consider not just the Class 1 enrollments, but total school attendance in the age group of 5 to 14, the trends in the regional distribution of enrollment indicate a clear bias against dry areas. The percentage of students in the age-group 5 to 14 attending schools has increased in Gujarat by 10.4 percentage points, from 48.3 to 58.7 over 1983 to 1987-88, and by about 7 to 16 percentage points in the rural plains and eastern tribal areas, but the percentage in the dry areas fell by 1.5 percentage points, from 38.6 to 37.1¹³. These dry areas are usually inhabited predominantly by a mix of the Baxi panch caste groups and tribal/ nomadic groups and are -- ecologically speaking -- high risk areas. Such areas are also the ones in which both the market forces and state infrastructure are weak. Lower availability of employment also means higher seasonal migration of males. This results in a larger proportion of female-headed rural households, which again have to face inherent gender biases in policies, for instance, access to credit. To cope with uncertainty, the households have to diversify their

13. Pravin Visaria, Anil Gumber and Leela Visaria (1993), Table 7, pg. 27.

occupational structure and children are forced to work more (Gupta 1981, 1989).

2.1 Dropout and Repetition: A macro picture

The problem of retention has also exercised the various Educational Commissions. According to the Kothari Commission (1964-66) "the problem of wastage and stagnation at the primary stage is frighteningly large". Only about 50 per cent reach Class 4 and about 35 per cent reach Class 7. Close to 50 per cent of the total drop-out within the primary school stage occurs between Classes 1 and 2. At the level of Class 2 to 7, 'wastage is mostly due to economic causes -- a child (and especially a girl) is withdrawn from school as soon as he or she becomes an economic asset and begins to work at home or earn something outside. A system of part-time education should therefore be adopted.. so that the children can earn and learn'.¹⁴ (The suggested system of Nonformal Education was initiated in the Sixth Plan period). Two decades later, a worsening of the situation is highlighted by the Ramamurti Committee which states that about 50 per cent drop out by Class 5 and that about 70 per cent of the children who began education at Class 1 drop out before reaching Class 8.¹⁵ The school drop-out rates in 1980 (Class 1 to 8) were 73.5 per cent for boys and 81.7 per cent for girls¹⁶. With the reference year

14. J.P.Naik, 1969, pg 33.

15. Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society, pg 138.

16. M.Raza, A.Ahmed and S.C. Nuna (1990), pg. 377.

as 1985-86, the drop-out rates over the same range show a reduction:¹⁷

	India	Gujarat
Boys	60.70	65.34
Girls	70.04	72.96
Total	64.42	68.50

For Gujarat, data of the 1984 cohort (Class 1 to 7) indicate a drop out of about 55.9 per cent, with the rate among girls being 58.5 per cent (see Table 3).

Repetition:

Apart from drop-out, the phenomenon of repetition contributes to 'wastage'. India has an average per grade repetition rate of 4.5 per cent (Class 1 to 5, 1986)¹⁸, which compares favourably with those of other Asian countries. The repetition rate in Gujarat state in 1986, Classes 1 to 7 was 21.19 per cent¹⁹ or a per-grade average of about 3.

2.2 Drop-out: A micro picture

Having seen the macro picture, we now turn to the district-level variation in the drop-out pattern. This will help us understand the extent to which the problem is specific to certain areas as mentioned earlier. The district-wise data for Gujarat indicate that the border districts of Dangs (hilly/ tribal),

17. Primary Education Statistics, Gujarat Government, (1990), pg. 42.

18. UNESCO, Aftermath of the World Conference on Education for All, 1992, pg. 136

19. Primary Education Statistics, Gujarat State, 1990, pg. 101.

Banaskantha (hills and deserts/ tribal and non-tribal) and Panchmahals (hilly/ tribal) occupy the first three ranks in the drop-out table. (See Tables 4 and 5). The high figures of Dangs or Banaskantha are more than three times the lowest and more than one and a half times the unweighted average of all districts.

Disaggregating even the district-level²⁰ figure enables us to identify the talukas where the problem is significant. For instance, such an exercise for Banaskantha district²¹ indicates that the talukas of Vav, Dhanera, Santalpur and Kankrej have the most severe problems (see Table 6). These areas also happen to be dry or desert-type regions. A similar exercise for the entire state would reveal pockets where the drop-out problem is more severe. While the problem of drop-out reflects the performance of the educational system, its relationship with initial enrollment, which reflects demand for education,²² needs to be understood in order to identify pockets which are problematic.

2.3 Enrollment and drop out: a micro picture

Earlier, while discussing another study (Visaria and Jani, 1993), it was stated that official statistics on enrollment tend to be higher than actual figures so that ultimately the drop-out rates are also higher. Assuming this tendency to be uniform

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20. Even a district may be too big a unit for educational planning. For instance, the average number of teachers in a district in Gujarat is about 9160 and the number of elementary students on an average is close to 3.8 lakhs per district.
 21. Dangs is a small district of about 300 villages and is not divided into talukas.
 22. As stated earlier, fresh enrollments have been treated as an approximation of demand for schooling. Official enrollment figures may be higher than actual figures, since these are collected just before the academic year starts. Also, when teachers are evaluated on the basis of enrollments, there may be a tendency to include the names of all eligible children as enrolled. Some of these children never turn up.

across all districts, the relationship between Class 1 enrollment as a percentage of the population and drop out may be represented as follows:

		DROP-OUT	
		High	Low
ENROLLMENT	Low	4	3
	High	1	2

Notes:

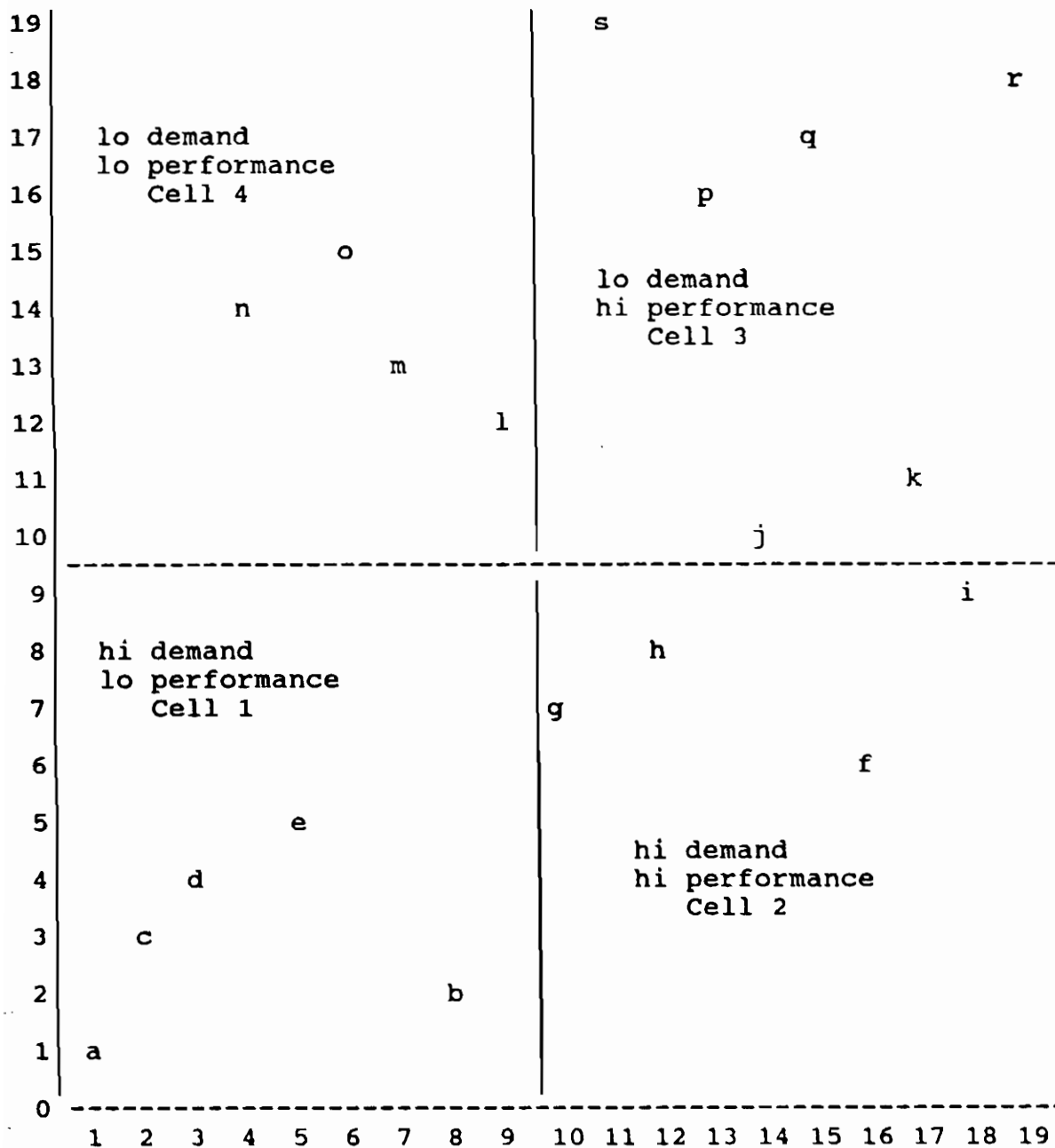
- Cell 1 indicates high demand but poor performance
- Cell 2 indicates high demand and good performance
- Cell 3 indicates poor demand but good performance
- Cell 4 indicates poor demand and poor performance

A ranking of the districts along these two dimensions (Table 7) and a clustering of the districts derived from this ranking (Fig. 1) indicate that Dangs, Panchmahals, Banaskantha, Amreli and Ahmedabad fall into Cell 1. More significantly, the first three districts in this list are clustered at the lower left-hand corner reflecting the close correspondence between high demand and poor performance. It is in such areas where interventions aimed at increasing quality may be successful.²³ This analysis is only indicative and may be further extended to the taluka level. Such an analysis will throw light on the variations within the districts of Cell 4 -- for instance, Kutch, which is a dry area and Bharuch and Valsad, the tribal areas of which border the neighbouring states.

23. Cell 4, which appears to be a more serious category, actually shows that most of the districts, except Bhavnagar, lie towards the middle of the drop-out scale. The reasons for the relatively lower initial enrollment of the population need further research.

**Figure 1:
Clustering of districts along enrollment and drop-out dimensions**

X = Drop out, Y = Enrollment



- Cell 1: (a) Dangs, (c) Banaskantha, (d) Panchmahal, (e) Amreli and (b) Ahmedabad.
 Cell 2: (i) Surat (f) Sabarkantha (h) Rajkot, (g) Jamnagar.
 Cell 3: (r) Junagadh, (k) Gandhinagar, (q) Mehsana, (j) Kheda, (p) Surendranagar and (s) Vadodara.
 Cell 4: (n) Bhavnagar, (o) Valsad, (m) Bharuch and (l) Kutch.

2.4 Why focus on quantitative measures:

R.W. Harbison and E.A. Hanushek (1992, pg.195), while studying the rural Brazilian context, emphasize the importance of paying attention to the quality aspects of schooling -- in fact "improving the quality of schools will lead to better flow efficiency of the schools". The focus on the quantitative aspects of the elementary education system may perhaps have led to an assumed trade-off between quality and quantity. However, as we have seen, new uses for these quantitative measures may be more helpful. In addition to using these measures to see how the educational system is performing at an aggregate level, it is necessary to move towards use of such measures as tools to identify areas or pockets in which policy inputs to enhance quality should be targeted. In other words, areas where demand for education is good, but performance is poor are the areas where the quality and quantity interactions will be most evident.

It also follows that areas with low demand for education may need other kinds of policy inputs, though areas where demand and performance are low, will again be sensitive to inputs to improve quality of schooling. Such a decentralized approach is also necessary to counter the tendency to apply standard policies and resources uniformly across all regions.

Having thus established the need for targeting areas for special attention, we now turn to the reasons which contribute to high drop-out and poor performance.

3.1 Factors behind 'Drop out':

As stated in the introduction, the dominant perspective on the reasons for drop out primarily emphasizes factors external to the school (B.R. Patil, 1984). "With few exceptions, these studies (as reviewed in Patil, 1984) conclude that poverty drives parents to withdraw their children from school";²⁴ that is, the common belief seems to be that "economic pressures on children and parents of 'backward' socio-economic backgrounds are responsible for the high incidence of premature school-leaving".²⁵

The Ramamurti Committee, quoting data collected in the National Sample Survey (Round 42) 1986-87, arrives at the following reasons for dropping out or not enrolling:²⁶ (percentage figures)

Reasons for not entering the school at all or dropping off:

Reasons (for)	Not enrolling	Dropping out
School facilities not available	8-10	-
Not interested	about 30	about 26
Economic compulsions	37-40	about 36
Domestic chores	6-7	6-8
Failure	-	16-20
Other reasons	13-17	10-16

Economic compulsions or in other words, work opportunities, appear to be the single most important category. In an interesting perspective, Weiner (1991) commenting on the gap between the rhetoric of banning child labour and compulsory primary school-

24. Krishna Kumar (1992), pg. 59.

25. *ibid*, pg. 58.

26. Table in Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society (1990) pg. 179 (with a few modifications).

ing, and the actual implementation of these policies, holds a set of beliefs shared by the middle class responsible for the poor performance in universal primary education: "At the core of these beliefs are the Indian view of the social order, notions concerning the roles of upper and lower social strata, the role of education as a means of maintaining differentiations among social classes, and concerns that "excessive" and "inappropriate" education for the poor would disrupt existing social arrangements" (Weiner, 1991: 5). Bordia (Times of India, September 8, 1993), commenting on Weiner's thesis, recognizes the discrepancy between policy statements and the implementation; and doubts the feasibility of implementing compulsory education laws. What is more important, however, is the tension between different state policies, those which ban child labour and those which make the environment conducive to perpetuation of child labour. Making children work when they should be studying and playing cannot be considered a worthy policy goal for any civilized society. Recommendations for nonformal education, calls for harsher compulsory laws, and similar pronouncements only indicate the helplessness on the part of concerned administrators and scholars to influence the macro political economy.

The table, given above, on the reasons for dropping out also indicates 'not interested' (in education) and 'failure' as factors which account for about 45 per cent of the drop outs. While 'not interested' is an imprecise indicator and may cover a host of reasons, these two categories might possibly be induced to complete schooling if learning and performance in school were to be enhanced.

3.2 Micro-perspectives

Several village-level studies conducted in the 1970s²⁷ by students of the Gujarat Vidyapith indicated that the drop out rates were extremely high at the primary level, ranging from 65 to 70 percent. These studies are based on interviews with parents of drop-outs, students and teachers and usually classify the reasons for dropping out under economic, social, educational system and personal heads. However, these are not free from the research convention which asks poor parents why they 'withdraw' their children and which is based on 'culture of poverty' theories (Kumar, 1992, pg. 59). The main reasons identified -- the economic -- include need for labour for agriculture, animal husbandry and household work, and need to supplement family income through work. Social reasons include social customs like low importance to girl-education, child marriage, lack of demand for education from the parents and the phenomenon of migration during part of the year. Factors related to the educational system include lack of schools, unsuitable school-timings, irregularity of teachers and difficult curricula. Very significantly, threatening school atmosphere, unfamiliar language of instruction (in the case of tribal children) and fear of failure are cited as **personal** reasons. Obviously, personal inadequacies are presumed to result in an inability to 'adjust' to school. Personal (or 'family') reasons also include looking after younger siblings, lack of

27. For instance, see Gujarat Vidyapith 'Primary school Drop outs of Geriavav village, Surat district (1974-1975)' (mimeo), 'Drop outs of Sui village, Vav, Banaskantha district (1974-1975)' (mimeo) and R.B. Lal n.d.

parental support, parental illiteracy, and physical handicaps. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social reasons, however, are cited as the most important reasons for dropping out.

A study of the ashram schools²⁸ indicates that the wastage rate is not as high in residential schools as in the regular schools. Though drop-out rates were as high as 65.1 per cent over Classes 1 to 7, with the rate for nomadic tribes being 84.4 per cent²⁹, the study notes that about 30 per cent of the drop outs did so in order to join other schools; hence, the actual percentage who do not continue schooling comes down to about 46 per cent. Of the rest, 35 per cent drop out due to the need to supplement family income or to help out in agriculture and the other 19 per cent indicate 'unwillingness to study' as the reason for drop out. This again, is an imprecise umbrella term which masks the child's perspective on the 'wastage' problem.

Thus, we have seen that both, the studies which look at the factors behind drop-out from an aggregate perspective, and those which study specific locations, have focussed more on the factors external to the school. While the insights from this perspective are no doubt important, a study of the pattern of drop out and examination of the factors internal to schooling -- the quality and practice of schooling may lead to a better understanding of the phenomenon. We first turn to the pattern of drop-out.

28. Directorate of Evaluation, 1987

29. *ibid*, pg. 22.

.3 Class-wise pattern of Drop-out:

The fact that a large proportion of 'dropping out' is during the early stages of primary education has been recognized for quite a long time.³⁰ An analysis of the transition from Class 1 to 2 in Gujarat state, (see Table 8) shows a high drop out of 1.31 per cent. The rate among girls is higher at 22.58 per cent.³¹ Most studies focus on economic compulsions as the most important set of reasons for dropping out. They do not, however, ask how is it that there is a sudden spurt in the economic compulsions between Class 1 and 2, between the ages of five or six and seven years, (Kumar 1992).

Disaggregating the data to the district-level we find that the districts of Banaskantha, Panchmahals and Dangs, in that order, reveal the highest drop out rates. That is, in those districts with high demand and poor performance, most of the poor performance may be accounted for by the early years of lower primary schooling.

To understand this phenomenon further, one has to look into the 'shock' the child experiences during her first year in school. The role of the Class 1 teacher, therefore, is a very

30. See for instance J.P. Naik (1975b). "About half the total wastage occurs in class 1 itself" (pg.6). The Kothari Commission also recognised this factor and suggested a 'pre-registration' year prior to joining class 1.

31. Enrollment data for Class 1 might be inflated since, very often, the estimated enrollment, collected by the teachers through a survey of households in the village during June or July, is treated as actual enrollment. The actual enrollment is less than the estimated. However, this does not take away from the fact that drop out at the end of the first year is quite high. The scheme of automatic promotions in classes 1 and 2, provided the annual attendance is at least 150 days is designed to avoid the stigma attached to 'failure' at such a young age. That this scheme is not popular with a sizable number of teachers - on the grounds that it allows children to proceed to higher classes without attaining certain minimum competencies - is a different issue. "Till October November I have to teach class 3 children what they should have learned in the earlier classes" (Ms. Manjula Upadhyaya, 16 July 1993).

crucial factor in determining dropping out at that stage.³² The tragedy within the community of 'meek dictators' (Kumar 1990), is that Class 1 is perceived to have the least status.³³ This attitude is only one manifestation of what is known as the status hierarchy of the entire teaching system (Kumar 1993). Within the set-up of primary education, ensuring that teachers who can 'induct' children into the school system are in charge at the foundational level, is crucial. Early schooling constitutes a "critical period", especially since the consequences of the "actions taken at this point.. (will).. echo for many years" (D.R. Entwisle and K.L. Alexander, 1989: 50). More specifically, early primary education should be an important policy concern in the problem areas.

4.1 'Quality' of Schooling:

The earlier sections have argued for a better use of quantitative measures like enrollment and drop-out as markers of problem areas at the micro-level. Having carried out such an identification, the question now is what kind of attention should be paid to such areas? The need for attention to the initial years of schooling was highlighted above. For a more detailed answer we refer back to the second perspective on the factors determining drop-out. This perspective, deriving from critical trends in the

32. Davico (1990) pgs. 107-113, in an interesting study, examines the Brazilian experience in this connection.

33. Many primary teachers have emphasised this point; Mr. Ramanlal Gurjar, a best-teacher award winner in Gujarat, has been teaching class 1 for almost 20 years because as he wryly comments "the other teachers consider teaching class 1 beneath their dignity".

sociology of education, looks at 'schooling' in its entirety and its function in relation to reproduction of social structures.³⁴ Illich (1971) argues for 'deschooling' society. R. Meighan³⁵ sees "our chief educational problem ...(as) deschooling school, rather than deschooling society", ie., the school is not the solution, but the problem (Leonard, 1992). Educational reformers can be placed on a continuum ranging from (a) school reformers (b) 'free schoolers' and (c) 'unschoolers' (Lister, 1989). Unschoolers or de-schoolers like Illich have provided a philosophical critique of schooling, but have been dismissed as impractical (Hook, 1974). Freeschoolers like Tagore and J.Krishnamurthi have attempted to provide alternative schooling structures, but on an experimental scale. Meighan's (1988) 'flexischooling' is an attempt to combine school-based learning with learning elsewhere. Dissatisfaction with primary schooling in the West has opened up the possibility of home-based education there.³⁶ But in practice, the most widespread and consistent efforts have come from the school reformers, teachers and administrators, working within the traditional system. In India the various educational commissions and National policy statements have been oriented towards

34. See for instance P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron (1990), R. Ghosh and M. Zachariah (1987).

35. See Foreword in C. Shute (1993), pg. 7.

36. For instance, in the United States, more than 1.5 million families have opted for this kind of 'schooling'. In the United Kingdom, two organisations, Education Otherwise and Children's Home-based Education Association support families opting for this kind of education, (C. Shute 1993, pg. 63).

educational reform.³⁷ A major feature of reform has been the focus on what is known as 'quality' of education.

4.2 Quality: A macro perspective:

In India, the term quality has generally been used as an umbrella concept to include those factors which increase the efficiency of education. These have usually included:

- (a) the availability of infrastructure like buildings,
- (b) availability of trained teachers,
- (c) student to teacher ratios,
- (d) availability of text books,
- (e) gap between the number of teachers in place and the number of sanctioned posts etc.

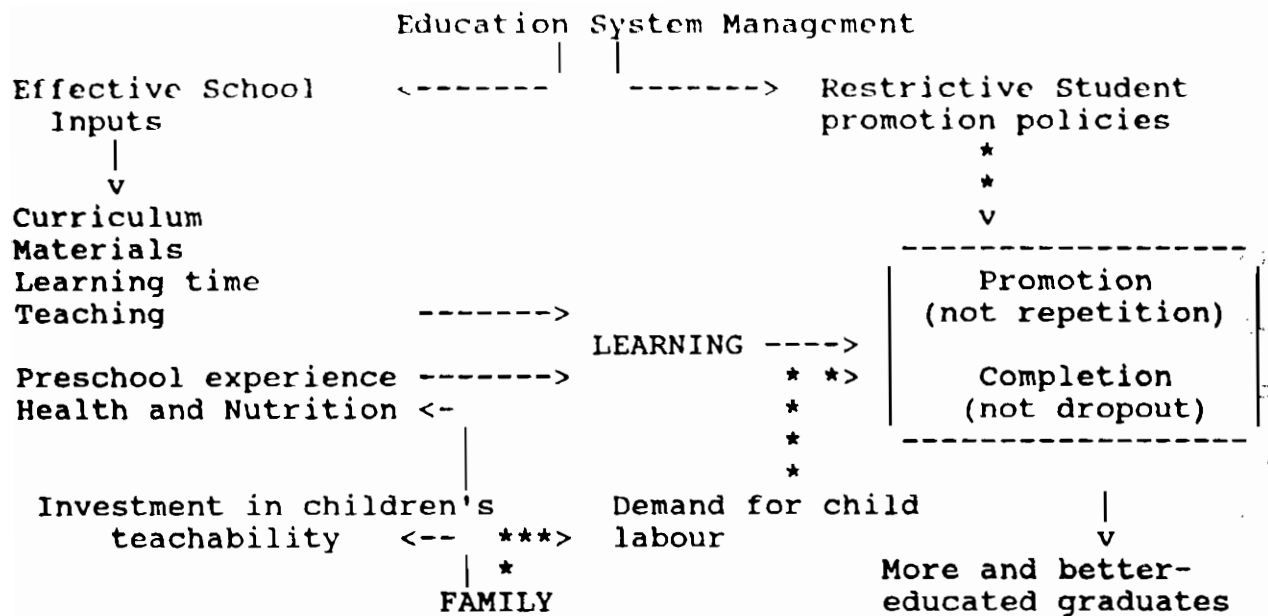
Raza et al. 1990 (pg. 319) while expressing their unhappiness with the quality of education, comment on the lack of basic amenities: 'A little less than 10 per cent primary schools are run in the open...40 per cent.. do not have blackboards... 72 per cent.. do not have libraries (and) 62 per cent.. do not have drinking water facilities'. In order to improve infrastructural arrangements, schemes like 'Operation Blackboard' were launched. This programme, started in 1987-88, aimed to cover the entire country and provide i) building infrastructure, ii) at least two teachers in every school and iii) essential teaching material. More than 75 percent of the schools have been covered already.

37. The document 'A Nation at Risk' (1983) and its sequel, the debate on Professor Allan Bloom's 'The Closing of the American Mind' and the debate on educational reform (see special issues of Educational Administration Quarterly, August and November 1988) reveal the concern for reform in recent American history. For a Chinese case see Keith Lewin and Xu Hui (1989). In India, of course, the most recent expression of concern over "a lot is taught, but little is learnt" is the document Learning without Burden (1993).

Other innovative attempts include the Shiksha Karmi Project in Rajasthan, which aims to substitute the primary school teacher with two local para-teachers; the Minimum Levels of Learning strategy laid down by the R.H. Dave Committee in 1990; and the Restructuring and Reorganisation of Teacher Education scheme which has been in operation since 1988. Nonformal education centres -- as on 31 March 1992 there were about 2.72 lakh centres with an enrollment of about 68 lakhs -- is another innovation designed to supplement formal education.

While infrastructural facilities and teacher-related inputs are equated with quality, a frequently used test of quality is **learner achievement**, ie., the extent to which certain curricular objectives are met. R. Govinda and N.V. Varghese (1992) identify learner achievement with quality of schooling (education); learner achievement is determined by: (a) infrastructural facilities; (b) teacher quality and (c) the teaching-learning process. R.W. Harbison and E.A. Hanushek (1992), studying a Brazilian educational project, postulate that improving the **quality** of schooling or **student achievement**, will also improve the flow efficiency of the schools; that is increased achievement will lead to more promotions. Thus quantity considerations are also taken into account by a focussing on the quality of education.

Lockheed and Verspoor (1991) bring together learning achievement, school-related inputs and the factors related to demand for education in a model which links learning achievement with completion of the primary cycle.



Notes:

-----> Contributing factor

* * * > Inhibiting factor

Source: M.E. Lockheed, A. M. Verspoor and others (1991) pg. 42.

In what follows we shall take up the curriculum first, and then examine the evidence regarding the effect of the other school-related factors affecting the quality of education in order to indicate what inputs should be emphasized in the problem pockets.

4.3 Curriculum:

The curriculum is one aspect which usually figures in the centralization versus decentralization debate, with the arguments usually being for a centralized curriculum. Curricular objectives, almost uniformly across countries, include developing cognitive competence, which encompasses both basic literacy and numeracy and the ability to apply basic skills to new

problems'.³⁸ However, many schools fall short of ensuring the prescribed learning achievement. In addition, almost all developing countries include the same subjects in their curriculum. 'Curricular offerings and the relative emphasis on different subjects.. (across groups of countries).. reveal a high degree of homogeneity and consistency'.³⁹ What this indicates is that, in almost all developing countries, the primary school curriculum is a 'taken-for-granted' matter. While this may be true, it masks the fierce contestation of the specific content of different subjects: witness for instance the debate on recent politically-motivated attempts to rewrite history textbooks in certain states of India.⁴⁰

A common criticism of curriculum formation is that though the basic focus of lower primary education should be on basic competencies, the curriculum usually overloads the child with fact-based content, most of which in any case proves irrelevant to large sections of children. This overloading is usually based on the so-called knowledge-explosion, and is a result of a confusion of provision of knowledge with supply of information.⁴¹ Through such a curriculum, in which we assume out-of-school support for children, children from disadvantaged economic and social backgrounds are put to further disadvantages. The Rama-

38. M.E. Lockheed, A.M. Verspoor and other (1991), pg. 7.

39. Aaron Benavot and David Kamens (1989), pg.48.

40. See special issue of Seminar, No. 400, December 1992. See Kumar (1991, 1992) for critical comments on the evolution of the discourse on the curriculum in India.

41. See 'Learning without Burden' (1993), pg. 24.

murti Commission sums up various lacunae in the curriculum:⁴²

- a) viewing curriculum mostly in the cognitive domain,
- b) inflexible or unresponsive to the local needs and environment,
- c) devoid of the component of skill formation,
- d) lacking in social and cultural inputs from the community,
- e) unrelated to the world of work,
- f) absence of activity-based learning,
- g) discouraging exploration, inquiry and creativity.

Given the uniform curriculum, therefore, innovative efforts to afford recognition to the knowledge systems of children in the problem areas are essential. As stated earlier, these problem areas are often the ecologically high-risk areas in which biodiversity is high. Recognizing the ecological knowledge of the children through bio-diversity contests⁴³ will also have spin-off effects in increasing the self-confidence of the children. This will also demonstrate that children who may perform poorly in some academic fields may not be laggards in all fields of knowledge.

4.4 Other school-related factors

Most of the problem areas are poorly endowed, with fewer opportunities for out-of-school learning than in richer areas; therefore if a value-added concept of teacher effectiveness is used many teachers in the poor areas may actually be performing better (J.B. Oliveira and J.P. Farrell, 1993, pg 9). Having said that, this section will briefly review some of the evidence regarding the usefulness of specific school-related inputs.

R.W. Harbison and E.A. Hanushek (1992) review 96 studies of

.....
42. Towards an Enlightened and Humane Society, (1990) pg.153.

43. The contests held in Banaskantha district, Gujarat in September 1993 will be reported in Gupta et al. (forthcoming).

school achievement in developing countries and conclude that the results "do not make a compelling case for specific input policies (but) indicate that direct school resources might be important in developing countries" (pg. 25). However, they indicate that textbooks and writing material are the most important factors related to achievement. There is no evidence for reducing class size. This goes against the conventional approach which aims to reduce class size, but supports R.V. Parulekar's scheme, put forward in 1934, which argued for larger classes. A 'large class size' is ambiguous -- possibly there is no difference between 40 and 50 children in a class as far as learning is concerned, but there may be a significant difference between a class of 25 and a class of 40. Teachers' length of experience is also not a significant factor.

Lockheed, Verspoor and others (1991) list proven, cost-effective measures (promising avenues) and ineffective measures (blind alleys) to promote learner achievement:

Variable	Promising avenues	Blind alleys
Learning Material	Textbooks/ teacher guides	Computers in classrooms
Teaching time	25 hours per week for core subjects	Reduce class size to 20 from 40
Teaching quality	In-service training	Lengthy pre-service training
Teachability	Interactional media	School lunches
	Pre-schools for disadvantaged,	
	Micro-nutrients/snacks	
	Treatment of parasites	

(Source: Adapted from Table 3.10, M.E. Lockheed, A.M. Verspoor and others, 1991, pg. 87).

J.P. Farrell (1993) reviews the influence of various factors on effective learning and classifies them into best bets, worst

bets and promising bets:

(a) Best bets are: Text books and reading material; library size and activity. Apart from these two important variables homework is important. Pre-service training for teachers is no doubt important, but is not as strongly related to achievement as textbook provision. In-service training is more important than pre-service training.

(b) Among the worst bets are: class size and science laboratories.

(c) The promising bets include: increasing availability of desks, interactional media like radio, improving quality of school buildings and nutrition or feeding programmes.

From the above, specific attention to textbooks and writing material and more focussed in-service training appear to be important factors in promoting achievement. The findings in a way emphasize, though not explicitly, the importance of experiential and continuing learning over pre-service training in the case of teachers, and in the case of disadvantaged children, the importance of pre-school preparation over allurements to attract ill-equipped children.

4.5 Inspection systems

J.B. Oliveira and J.P. Farrell (1993) find "no evidence about the effectiveness of typical formal supervision and school inspection practices" (pg 8). However, in the context of focussing on quality in problem areas, a study of inspection reports prepared by educational inspectors in Gujarat (see Appendix 2) revealed that these reports could be used as valuable tools to generate priorities for action. They could also serve as inputs

in in-service training. In fact, as a forthcoming paper (Redesign through Monitoring) points out, the tragedy is that those who are supposed to process the insights collected through the reports do not organize the information, initiate firm or even experimental action, or monitor the suggestions given in the reports. It is true at the same time that many teachers are unhappy with what they see as superficial inspection. Appointment of young people as inspectors, on the grounds that they possess degrees, is also resented by many of the older teachers, (Proceedings of Workshop for Outstanding Teachers, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, October 29, 1993).

4.6 Learning at school and home

Learning time at school has been stated as crucial for positive learning. However, learning time at home, in which parental education levels and the investments of parents in the 'teachability of children' are important, is a crucial supportive factor in promoting learning achievement at school. While studying schooling in Madhya Pradesh, Govinda and Varghese (1992) find a high positive correlation between homework and achievement; those who do homework regularly, achieve higher. Homework is not a regular feature in rural schools. Regularity of home work and parental educational levels are also related. High achievement is positively correlated with higher educational levels of parents.⁴⁴ While the support children get in their homework assignments does affect achievement, the lack of such support may be one of the factors contributing to dropout. The challenge for

44. R.Govinda and N.V.Varghese 1992 pg.27.

teachers is to provide such support through after-school initiatives or innovative student-peer group teaching.⁴⁵

Conclusions:

This paper has argued for the use of a combination of drop-out and enrollment statistics to identify micro-locations which may be considered educationally problematic. Many of these locations exhibit poor performance, even when the demand for education is there. It is in such areas that specific inputs to improve quality of education will be of maximum benefit. Educational policies do recognize the existence of region or location-specific problems. But when it comes to targeting policy in favour of areas where such problems exist, the intended leap becomes a stumble. One reason for this may be the perception that segmenting for purposes of policy action has high costs. However, it is essential to balance centralized and uniform policies with localized interventions.

In the context of the commonly expressed correlation between poverty in general and poor educational performance, poverty, defined in socio-economic terms, is so widespread that it cannot be said to correspond to regions of poor educational performance. The paper indicates that in order to formulate specific policies, the correspondence of poor educational performance with poverty of a particular nature that exists in ecologically high-risk and bio-diverse environments has to be recognized. This is an issue that may be fruitfully taken up for further exploration.

45. Instances of both were provided by outstanding teachers during workshops held for them at IIMA in July and October 1993.

Table 1: Schools and Enrollment in Gujarat
(Status as on 30 September, figures for 1992 are provisional)

YEAR	# of Schools	% change over previous yr.	Enrollment	% change over previous yr.
1988	29873		66,14,603	
1989	30804	3.1	67,79,603	2.5
1990	31279	1.5	69,89,505	3.1
1991	31782	1.6	71,21,482	1.9
1992	32229	1.4	73,95,149	3.8

Source: Directorate of Primary Education, Gujarat, Gandhinagar.

Table 1a: Enrollment in Gujarat

(See notes after Table 1b)

Enrollments in Classes 1 to 7 as percentage of estimated 5-14 age group

DISTRICT	ENR90	POP91	EST.5-14	ENR90/5-14 (%)
Ahmedabad	882342	4788820	1264248	69.79
Amreli	223080	1251454	330384	67.52
Kachchh	204919	1245967	328935	62.30
Kheda	583451	3437487	907497	64.29
Gandhinagar	72480	393475	103877	69.77
Jamnagar	276409	1545108	407909	67.76
Junagadh	413627	2392372	631586	65.49
Dangs	31049	143490	37881	81.96
Panchmahal	494747	2948489	778401	63.56
Banaskantha	329946	2158378	569812	57.90
Bharuch	256395	1542696	407272	62.95
Bhavnagar	367311	2287751	603966	60.82
Mehsana	453722	2929153	773296	58.67
Rajkot	436148	2509142	662413	65.84
Vadodara	467983	3073357	811366	57.68
Valsad	352372	2172992	573670	61.42
Sabarkantha	329154	1758036	464122	70.92
Surat	614846	3391202	895277	68.68
Surendranagar	199524	1204611	318017	62.74
TOTAL	6989505	41173980	10869931	64.30

Table 1b: Enrollment in Classes 1 to 5 as percentage of estimated 5-9 age group

	ENR90	POPN91	EST5-9	ENR90:5-9 (%)
Ahmedabad	762945	4788820	641702	118.89
Amreli	183202	1251454	167695	109.25
Kutch	170800	1245967	166960	102.30
Kheda	489621	3437487	460623	106.30
Gandhinagar	56829	393475	52726	107.78
Jamnagar	228514	1545108	207044	110.37
Junagadh	322263	2392372	320578	100.53
Dangs	27528	143490	19228	143.17
Panchmahal	419974	2948489	395098	106.30
Banaskantha	287420	2158378	289223	99.38
Bharuch	211608	1542696	206721	102.36
Bhavnagar	308776	2287751	306559	100.72
Mehsana	365790	2929153	392507	93.19
Rajkot	351616	2509142	336225	104.58
Vadodara	379605	3073357	411830	92.18
Valsad	293470	2172992	291181	100.79
Sabarkantha	264096	1758036	235577	112.11
Surat	523205	3391202	454421	115.14
Surendranagar	164897	1204611	161418	102.16
TOTAL	5812159	41173980	5517313	105.34

Notes:

1. The age group estimates have been derived from indications provided by the Statistical Branch, Directorate of Primary Education and supported by data in "Primary Education Statistics, Gujarat State", Directorate of Primary Education, Gandhinagar, 1990 (pg.71). The state-level factors of 26.4 percent of the population as constituting age-group 5-14 and 13.4 percent of the population as constituting age-group 5-9 have been adopted for all districts. This has been done only for indicative purposes, pending more accurate figures from the latest census. Hence, these estimates have to be treated with caution.

2. Age-group 5-11 would be a more specific age-group for classes 1 to 7. However, since 5-14 figures have been used, appropriate corrections may have to be applied.

3. Age-group 5-9 has been adopted as the relevant group for enrollments in classes 1 to 5. The estimates have to be treated with caution, since enrollments in classes 1 to 5 usually correspond to a broader age band.

**Table 2: District-wise average enrollment in Class 1
(Annual average 1986-1991) as % of population (1991)**

	Boys	Girls	Total	Popn. Est.5-14	Enr/Popn	Rank
Dangs	4174	3955	8129	143490	37881	21.46%
Ahmedabad	114420	101346	215766	4788820	1264248	17.07%
Panchmahal	67621	54889	122510	2948489	778401	15.74%
Banaskantha	53658	35372	89030	2158378	569812	15.62%
Amreli	27127	23225	50352	1251454	330384	15.24%
Sabarkantha	35724	33844	69569	1758036	464122	14.99%
Jamnagar	32124	26952	59076	1545108	407909	14.48%
Surat	65625	62460	128085	3391202	895277	14.31%
Rajkot	55717	37757	93475	2509142	662413	14.11%
Gandhinagar	7841	6729	14569	393475	103877	14.03%
Kutch	26519	19581	46100	1245967	328935	14.01%
Valsad	43422	36668	80089	2172992	573670	13.96%
Kheda	67659	57737	125396	3437487	907497	13.82%
Bharuch	31625	24614	56238	1542696	407272	13.81%
Bhavnagar	47874	34534	82408	2287751	603966	13.64%
Surendranagar	23628	18674	42301	1204611	318017	13.30%
Mehsana	54299	43749	98048	2929153	773296	12.68%
Junagadh	42663	36829	79493	2392372	631586	12.59%
Vadodara	57775	43291	101066	3073357	811366	12.46%

Source: Enrollment data from Directorate of Primary Education; population from Government of Gujarat, 'Shikshanik Ankdakiya Mahiti', 1991, pg. 17.

**Table 3: Drop-outs over primary education range - Class 1 to 7
1984-1990**

Year	Enrollment		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1984	758,436	604,910	1,363,346
1985	604,636	465,468	1,070,104
1986	569,366	417,203	986,569
1987	490,378	341,740	832,118
1988	453,016	312,751	765,767
1989	384,000	259,000	643,000
1990	350,000	251,000	601,000

Table 3: (contd.)

DROP OUT RATE:

BOYS	53.9%
GIRLS	58.5%
TOTAL	55.9%

Source: Primary Education Statistics, (in Gujarati), 1991. provided by Directorate of Primary Education).

Table 4: DROP OUT RATES 1986 AND 1987 BATCHES - CLASSES 1 TO 5 (percentages)

	1986		1987		Average		Total	RANK
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total		
Ahmedabad	40.88	46.67	43.78	43.70	46.67	45.19	44.48	8
Amreli	46.89	48.65	47.77	47.39	48.65	48.02	47.89	5
Kutch	37.81	48.56	43.19	41.56	48.56	45.06	44.12	9
Kheda	29.69	49.41	39.55	32.47	49.41	40.94	40.25	14
Gandhinagar	20.77	32.24	26.51	22.20	32.24	27.22	26.86	17
Jamnagar	37.26	45.42	41.34	40.19	45.42	42.81	42.07	10
Junagadh	19.92	27.39	23.65	16.36	27.39	21.87	22.76	19
Dangs	61.86	74.18	68.02	61.77	74.18	67.97	68.00	1
Panchmahal	53.98	67.26	60.62	52.06	67.26	59.66	60.14	3
Banaskantha	62.89	70.10	66.49	59.28	70.10	64.69	65.59	2
Bharuch	35.68	54.64	45.16	35.68	54.64	45.16	45.16	7
Bhavnagar	49.67	55.27	52.47	47.89	55.27	51.58	52.03	4
Mehsana	36.51	42.48	39.49	33.00	42.48	37.74	38.62	15
Rajkot	25.38	55.14	40.26	28.14	55.14	41.64	40.95	12
Vadodara	34.14	48.55	41.35	33.14	48.55	40.85	41.10	11
Valsad	44.55	48.22	46.38	44.42	48.22	46.32	46.35	6
Sabarkantha	33.25	46.26	39.76	27.60	46.26	36.93	38.35	16
Surat	21.89	25.38	23.64	29.78	25.38	27.58	25.61	18
Surendranagar	34.23	46.98	40.61	33.74	46.98	40.36	40.48	13

Table 5: DROP OUT RATES, LOWER PRIMARY LEVEL CLASS 1 TO 4 1986-1988 BATCHES (percentages)

	1986			1987			1988			Average		Total
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	
Ahmedabad	28.75	35.46	32.11	43.84	46.59	45.22	51.45	57.84	54.64	41.35	46.63	43.99
Amreli	49.72	55.38	52.55	47.91	56.33	52.12	37.74	41.98	39.86	45.12	51.23	48.17
Kutch	41.49	49.28	45.39	42.85	54.96	48.91	36.56	48.22	42.39	40.30	50.82	45.56
Kheda	39.24	52.47	45.85	31.81	52.40	42.10	33.13	47.42	40.27	34.72	50.76	42.74
Gandhinagar	31.99	40.21	36.10	22.40	47.78	35.09	31.83	33.23	32.53	28.74	40.41	34.57
Jamnagar	41.25	47.49	44.37	41.05	63.56	52.31	36.76	47.35	42.05	39.69	52.80	46.24
Junagadh	31.78	39.11	35.45	17.05	36.39	26.72	30.92	38.95	34.93	26.58	38.15	32.37
Dangs	50.38	61.87	56.13	62.66	74.78	68.72	54.10	65.40	59.75	55.71	67.35	61.53
Panchmahal	51.72	60.61	56.17	53.65	73.93	63.79	42.46	56.60	49.53	49.27	63.71	56.49
Banaskantha	59.61	66.72	63.17	63.51	82.32	72.91	40.16	48.24	44.20	54.42	65.76	60.09
Bharuch	36.55	58.07	47.31	36.14	49.09	42.61	40.41	45.60	43.00	37.70	50.92	44.31
Bhavnagar	48.29	56.96	52.62	50.56	57.11	53.83	40.13	45.34	42.74	46.33	53.14	49.73
Mehsana	44.55	50.25	47.40	36.49	40.82	38.65	29.51	40.72	35.11	36.85	43.93	40.39
Rajkot	29.37	57.20	43.28	30.48	55.43	42.95	35.76	45.74	40.75	31.87	52.79	42.33
Vadodara	39.29	52.78	46.04	33.89	57.76	45.82	35.98	45.08	40.53	36.39	51.87	44.13
Valsad	40.80	47.02	43.91	44.90	40.92	42.91	44.85	50.65	47.75	43.52	46.20	44.86
Sabarkantha	39.36	44.62	41.99	31.11	51.57	41.34	32.49	53.76	43.12	34.32	49.98	42.15
Surat	30.64	36.67	33.66	29.90	52.50	41.20	34.16	40.89	37.53	31.57	43.35	37.46
Surendranagar	41.95	49.14	45.54	35.40	54.03	44.72	32.17	45.74	38.96	36.51	49.64	43.07

**Table 6: DROP OUT RATES OVER Class 1 to 5 - BANASKANTHA DISTRICT
(1985, 1986, 1987 and 1988 batches)**

	1985	1986	1987	1988	Average	Rank
Palanpur	60.62%	66.07%	61.40%	59.49%	61.90%	9
Deesa	68.05%	62.72%	57.63%	62.75%	62.79%	7
Kankrej	72.96%	77.59%	67.91%	69.62%	72.02%	4
Radhanpur	69.01%	71.90%	49.62%	60.33%	62.71%	8
Santalpur	74.86%	69.17%	72.69%	72.08%	72.20%	3
Tharad	70.22%	66.63%	65.05%	66.89%	67.20%	5
Vav	76.36%	74.95%	73.83%	72.67%	74.45%	1
Diyadher	68.39%	64.21%	67.51%	67.16%	66.82%	6
Vadgam	51.95%	49.90%	44.31%	47.07%	48.31%	11
Danta	63.26%	54.70%	54.77%	66.86%	59.90%	10
Dhanera	75.72%	72.30%	72.99%	70.77%	72.94%	2
District Avg.	68.31%	66.38%	62.52%	65.06%	65.57%	

Source: From data provided by District Primary Education Officer, Palanpur.

Note: Data refer only to the schools run by the District Panchayat. These schools constitute 96 per cent of the total number of schools in the district and account for 93 per cent of the enrollment ("Primary Education Statistics, Gujarat State", 1990, pg. 102-106).

Table 7: Enrollment and Drop-out ranks - Gujarat

Enrollment Rank	District	Drop-out Rank
1	Dangs	1
2	Ahmedabad	8
3	Banaskantha	2
4	Panchmahal	3
5	Amreli	5
6	Sabarkantha	16
7	Jamnagar	10
8	Rajkot	12
9	Surat	18
10	Kheda	14
11	Gandhinagar	17
12	Kutch	9
13	Bharuch	7
14	Bhavnagar	4
15	Valsad	6
16	Surendranagar	13
17	Mehsana	15
18	Junagadh	19
19	Vadodara	11

Source: Tables 2 and 4.

**Table 8: DROP OUT RATES CLASS 1 TO 2 - GUJARAT
(Average performance of 1986 to 1990 batches)**

	Boys	Girls	Total
Ahmedabad	19.70%	23.49%	21.59%
Amreli	23.11%	24.32%	23.71%
Kutch	24.09%	26.44%	25.26%
Kheda	15.22%	17.32%	16.27%
Gandhinagar	17.75%	16.61%	17.18%
Jamnagar	20.05%	23.18%	21.62%
Junagadh	13.84%	14.50%	14.17%
Dangs	25.18%	26.30%	25.74%
Panchmahal	21.61%	30.69%	26.15%
Banaskantha	30.80%	37.10%	33.95%
Bharuch	17.32%	24.41%	20.86%
Bhavnagar	16.38%	19.04%	17.71%
Mehsana	20.89%	24.09%	22.49%
Rajkot	16.25%	24.29%	20.27%
Vadodara	23.00%	20.43%	21.72%
Valsad	21.03%	17.84%	19.43%
Sabarkantha	20.33%	19.98%	20.16%
Surat	17.02%	18.33%	17.67%
Surendranagar	17.14%	20.69%	18.92%
STATE AVERAGE	20.04%	22.58%	21.31%

APPENDIX 1
MAP OF GUJARAT



- 1. Dangs
- 2. Banaskantha
- 3. Panchmahals

- 4. Ahmedabad
- 5. Amreli

APPENDIX 2

Inspection reports: Summary of suggestions made in reports of six schools (1983 to 1991)

The inspection reports are usually filed every year, in some cases, there were inspections twice a year. The reports deal with two kinds of suggestions, general suggestions for the school and class-wise suggestions, for example Standard 1 and 2, Standard 5 etc.:

1. Infrastructure: general suggestions (examples given below)

Walls and building to be repaired,
Planning for garden,
Need for extra classroom(s),
Problem of water stagnation and leaking roof,
Encourage horticulture,
Maintain library better,
blackboard painting needed,
drinking water and lavatory

These suggestions are common to many schools and many of them are also repeated many times, that is, every year the same suggestions are made.

2. Pedagogy and curriculum: These are usually stated class-wise. The most common suggestions include:

Reading skills to be enhanced,
Sentence formation and pronunciation,
Paragraph reading (emphasised repeatedly),
Use of pictures while telling stories,
stories about environmental topics,
Improve teaching of subtraction, use of + and - signs,
Forming of Letters,
Use of maps, teaching aids,
Hindi and English need more attention, especially in upper primary,
Poetry recitation,
use of 0 in maths; decimal system especially in subtraction,
measurement in geometry
Give homework on slates, not on blackboard.

3. Teacher planning and extra-educational work: The most common suggestions include:

Daily planning of teaching to be done,
Completion of syllabus,
Organization of parent associations,
Attend to enrollment,
Increase extent of implementation of previous IR suggestions.

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