CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

“The backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. We may forego material benefits, we may forego material benefits of civilization, but we cannot forego our right and opportunities to reap the benefit of the highest education to the fullest extent. That the importance of this question from the point of view of the backward classes who have just realized that without education their existence is not safe.

- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Conditions of the untouchables were not only deplorable but were disastrously worst. Caste system made them socially outcaste, economically dependable, and politically powerless. This, according to me, can be attributed to several factors; but to my mind, the single most important factor to which their appalling miseries can be attributed is the denial to the untouchables (i.e., Dalits) the right to education. It is in this background that I now propose to deal with the theme viz.,

Education: The Only Key to Dalit Progress.

Education is a very important determinant of employment, income and mobility of the people. This is all the more so in a knowledge driven economy and society. An inclusive educational system with access to students from different socio-economic backgrounds is necessary to tap the diversity of their talents and creativity. Inclusive society with equal opportunities to all is essential for social and economic mobility so vital for a stable society. More importantly, equal access to education, is increasingly viewed as a basic duty of a progressive government and mature society.
“Schumacher¹ is right when he says that development does not start with goods, it starts with people and their education, organization and discipline”.

The term ‘development’, in a value-free understanding, would mean a process of maximizing human potential towards well-being. Similarly, education, in its real meaning, could be understood as a realization of human potential. While education is considered as an important factor in the process of development, advancement in educational status is considered as an important indicator of development itself. However, education in a broader sense would involve the process of acquiring knowledge and skills, appropriate in a particular situation and cultural context, in order to put into its maximum use for productive and creative purposes, in the progress of a particular individual or society. On the other hand, development always implies the progressive expansion of the existing potentialities towards higher outcome.

Thus, development and education have common grounds in the process of making human existence worthy and meaningful. Development means different things to different people. However, in a value-free understanding, it could mean maximizing human potential, progressing towards a better condition, etc., as realized by the insiders who are affected by it. However, the question arises, what is better? It should normally imply better conditions in meeting the physical and biological requirements, realizing increased recognition, enhanced identity, and respectable interaction, higher realization of knowledge potentiality, greater celebration of life, higher intimacy to nature and closer to an aesthetic way of life, thus activating the human treasures of multiple intelligence and potentiality. On the other side, in the

name of development, what could happen is to get into the web of market force, subjecting and subjugating the originality, getting exposed to all kinds of exploitations, becoming enslaved to the evils of civilization, throwing into the clutches of capitalistic masters and power mongers and getting alienated from all ownership and cultural identity. It has to be decided in the first instance what is required or aimed at, when talking of development, before proceeding further.

**THE ROLE OF EDUCATION**

Education has been regarded as one of the most important inputs in any programme for all-round development of backward communities. It is widely held that education opens the door to modernization. It prepares the mind of people for acceptance of developmental programmes. It also encourages their participation in the developmental process. Education also enables people to use the income derived from schemes for economic development in such a way as they can maximize their benefit. It encourages at the same time inculcation of such skills and expertise which has hitherto been unknown. The possession of these skills opens up fresh vistas of employment besides their traditional occupations. The exposure to new ideas helps them raise their level of aspirations. They begin to make efforts for better living and a more prosperous future.

Any education that alienates a member of a society from its culture and tradition is no education at all. It is meaningless to learn the science and arts of an alien society at the betrayal of one’s own tradition and culture. It is also suicidal to impart a kind of education that moulds the learners to become pawns in the hands of a greedy society consisting of global exploiters and power mongers who are bereft of any values except unruly competitions, gross exploitation.
Education, in whatever form, plays an important role in any genuine development of a society. However, it is pertinent to be clear about what kind of development is genuine and worth pursuing. Today there has been a greater awareness about the need to pursue an eco-friendly, humanistic and sustainable development that ensures human dignity and social justice. However, in reality, there are very few people who convincingly extend support to and consciously pursue such kind of development. In a country like India, which houses a large tribal population, even while the government policies and perspectives have been favorably disposed to the interests of these people, their present condition do not vouch for a right kind of development atmosphere. It is in this context that the role of education in mitigating their pathetic conditions and bringing about a desirable development and dignified integration assume significance and relevance. The alternative education pursued by some of the committed personalities and organizations do show some ray of light in this regard. However, it is unfortunate that such efforts are not emulated at a wider scale both within and outside the government circles. Moreover, the present scenario especially with regard to the education of tribal people, does pose certain concerns and issues as the following, which require serious research and immediate attention.

The educational incentives and other privileges of the post-independence period led to considerable educational advance among the Scheduled Caste. With provisions of job-reservations, this also led to geographical and occupational mobility amongst them.

As a matter of fact, education is a powerful and potent instrument of empowerment since by definition; it provides ground and opportunity to the learner to actualize
his/her potentiality under human influence and guidance in an interacting situation. Information, autonomy and acting according to the script or boundary, in fact, comprise the indivisible components of the social process of education. Education empowers human beings by imparting appropriate and relevant information or knowledge because it is the knowledge acquired and assimilated by the people that give them the ability and power to make right choice and decision. In the absence of relevant information an individual is handicapped to discrimination between good and evil, or between right and wrong- People without information cannot act responsibly. Knowledge and thinking must precede performance, like rehearsal before acting in a drama.

Autonomy means having the competence to think for oneself. Boundary acts as a script of a play, and it is like guidelines and structure which are essential in the beginning of the journey to empowerment. Directions are not dictations. They are simply meant to facilitate action and to focus the attention of the actor by suggesting him/her how to proceed with the job. Nothing is static in the empowerment process. The boundaries we are talking about will continue to row. “Boundaries have the capacity to channel energy in certain direction. It is like a river. If you were to take away the banks, the river would not be a river any more. Its momentum and direction would be gone. New boundaries help every one learning to act with responsibility and autonomy”. Empowerment is not giving power to people, rather it is releasing the knowledge, experience and motivation they already have. It is an enabling act that makes people confident to discover and use their own competence, abilities and skills to better their future. In the field of management, it has been found that the empowerment process improved the
quality of production up to 30 to 99%, and the costs have been cut to the extent of 10 to 15%. Empowerment does not simply mean you have freedom to act. It also means you are accountable for results.

In this knowledge driven economy and inquisitive society, information, knowledge and ideas play an increasing part as inputs in almost all the socio-economic, technological and scientific processes. For almost all innovative and enterprising acts, people need new and different ideas. Experts have identified information, autonomy and ‘action within a boundary’ as valuable inputs for facilitating employment of deprived section of the society. These three keys to empowerment are simple and easy to understand, but they are difficult to put in to everyday action. Secondly, the three keys need to be viewed as operating in dynamic interaction with each other. While giving and sharing information is the critical first step, empowering people takes all three keys with a constant shifting in emphasis as needed. Those-who work with the community or people ought to have faith in the dictum that people continue to grow and develop new skills and abilities in an encouraging and motivating environment.

**Expansion of Social Opportunities**

Amartya Sen has perhaps rightly diagnosed the situation beyond the economy-centrism of technocrats. He has advocated that creation of social opportunities requires much more than the ‘freeing’ of markets. He repeatedly emphasized that reforms that are needed in India require not only greater access to economic opportunity, offered by the market and exchange, but also greater ability of common people to make use of these opportunities. He further clarified that fuller use of opportunities opened up by appropriate reform requires commensurate
expansion of social opportunities in the form of more schooling, expansion of basic healthcare, removing gender-discrimination, greater availability of micro-credit and, of course, land reforms. In order to be able to seize the opportunities that market offers, social reform is as important as economic reform, jointly at the same time. This is the way the process of overall reform of the society and the economy can enhance the living conditions and effective freedom of broad masses. It is pertinent to note that in his latest analysis he has underlined that development is a freedom and a human right.

Culture Empowers

According to Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen's (1995)² analysis, poverty is a deficit of power and participation in the social, economic and political space. Various cultural forms and activities can be employed to awaken the poverty-stricken masses from the degrading sub human conditions in which they are enveloped. To a great extent, they are suffering because they are afraid of freedom. They find more security in dependence; their mind-set is badly under the grip of fatalism and survival-mindedness. What is urgently needed is to widen their economic horizon and to inculcate in them a taste for success and self-sufficiency through humanized development, communication and dialogue. By employing adult education strategies and ‘Swadhyay’ type enabling efforts, the poor can be helped to come

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out of the attitudinal prison erected around them by the circumstances of oppression and exploitation. Cultural stimulus and art forms can also be used to make the weak strong and strong just.

To make culture a vehicle of emancipation, a national policy of culture has to be evolved. An adequate public and private financial assistance should also be made available to design and organize a variety of cultural programs to transform the attitudes and outlook of the depressed masses, so that they themselves can organize and agitate for their empowerment and participation in the decision making process. In fact, the downtrodden have valuable indigenous wisdom and traditional knowledge, which is lying dormant and suppressed due to fear psychosis created by the dominant class of the society. Even the intelligentsia has distanced themselves from the culturally and economically deprived masses. Long ago Gandhiji had criticized the intellectuals by saying that “the hard heartedness of the intellectuals appears to be the greatest curse for our country”. The intelligentsia will also be benefited and enriched experientially by entering into an interaction with them. In this context, poet Joan Brossa's\(^3\) following statement that “Culture is the best weapon man has against oppression” is quite assuring and inspiring to all of us.

So far as empowerment is concerned, perhaps the biggest challenge before us is to transform the physical conditions in which the rural-urban people are condemned to live at a sub-human level. The education and health care institutions are also required to be adequately equipped with material and human resources so that

they become fully functioning and whole vigorous organizations. Dullness, monotony and lack of variety in the cultural life of rural-tribal area has impaired the perceptual and mental apparatus of the youth. To promote a smart and vibrant cultural and educational life in deprived areas, huge financial funding is required. If we measure the cost in terms of unfulfilled human aspirations, underdeveloped capabilities and untapped potential for improving the quality of democratic living; any amount of money needed to do the job will be well worth the expenditure.

The disease of civilization is not so much the material poverty of the many as the decay of the freedom and self-confidence. Empowerment of education leading to ‘human renaissance’ is the need of the day, which will surely recover and compensate the losses suffered so far.

POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DALITS

Efforts have been made after independence, to foster the socio-economic and educational development of the Scheduled castes (regarded unconventionally as a minority by applying the criteria of untouchability) and the Scheduled Tribes (regarded as a minority due to their different ethnic origin and cultural specificity).

The Founding Fathers of the Republic and later policy makers were convinced that education would facilitate the process of socio-economic change among them and foster their active participation in the socio-economic development of the country. The reservation policy, also known as the policy of protective discrimination, was evolved for this purpose. Under this policy, a number of welfare and developmental measures (besides those to protect them from social exploitation) have been adopted with major emphasis on their progress in education. The Indian
Government has made it obligatory for institutions imparting higher education to reserve 22.5 percent of their seats (15% for Scheduled Castes and 7.5% for Scheduled Tribes) for students from these categories. This reservation is extended also to other spheres like jobs and representation in the Central Parliament and state legislatures. Other facilities like relaxation in age and minimum educational qualification, exemption from tuition fees, free hostel accommodation etc; are provided to enable them to receive education.

In spite of the above facilities, the level of higher education among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the country is far from satisfactory. In fact, it was only 0.1 percent both for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in 1960-61 as against 1.4 percent for the others and 0.2 percent for the scheduled castes and 0.3 percent for the Scheduled Tribes. In 1970-71 as against 2.1 percent for the others. It is assumed that this low level of admission is because of the process of natural elimination viz. examinations, a heavy drop out rate and stagnation caused by their poor socio-economic background. Even most of those who stay in colleges and universities secure comparatively poor grades in examinations. In reality there are variations in the social adjustment and educational performance of scheduled Caste and Tribe students depending upon variations in their socio-economic background, nature of institutions which they join, and type of courses they opt for. Scheduled Castes (SCs; and 'scheduled Tribes (STs) have been identified as the most depressed and oppressed groups of Indian Society constituting about 15 and 7.5 per cent, respectively, of the total Indian population. In order to safeguard their interests in independent democratic India, specific provisions have been made to improve the status of these people socially and educationally so that they can take their rightful
place in the mainstream of the society. Article 46 of the Constitution states that: “The State shall promote with special care the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of social exploitation”. Therefore, the Central Government has been issuing various instructions from time to time for implementing the Reservation Policy adopted as a part of social justice to improve the socio-economic condition of SCs and STs. The instructions issued by the Government are statutory in nature, as per the judgment of the Hon’able Supreme Court in the case of Indira Sawhney Vs. Union of India & Ors (AIR 1993 SC 447), since these instructions are issued for the purposes of implementing Constitutional [Article 16(4)] provisions. In case of higher education, the policy of the Central Government is that in the Central Universities and Institutions which are deemed to be Universities receiving grants-in-aid from the public exchequer, the percentage of reservation in admissions and reservations in teaching and non-teaching posts is to be 15% for Scheduled Castes and 7.5% for Scheduled Tribes. UGC is an autonomous statutory body under the administrative control of the Ministry of Human Resource Development. In exercise of the powers vested under Section 20 (1) of the University Grants Commission Act, 1956, the Government directs the UGC to ensure effective implementation of the reservation policy in the Central Universities and those of instructions Deemed to be Universities receiving aid from the public funds except in minority institutions under Article 30 (1) of the constitution. Thus, UGC, is responsible for implementation of reservation policy of the central government in the matter of admissions as well as recruitment to the teaching and non-teaching posts in the Central Universities and
Institutions which are Deemed to be Universities; and has been issued the guidelines, circulating orders and instructions/directives received from the Government of India from time to time, reminding the Universities to adhere to the Government of India’s policy regarding the reservation of SCs and STs, in admissions of students as well as for filling up of teaching and non-teaching posts, admissions to hostels, and allotments of staff quarters and appointment of Liaison Officers in the Universities. For instance, UGC vide its letter No.F.1-5/2006 (SCT) dated 25th August, 2006 has issued the guidelines for strict compliance of reservation policy of the government in Universities, Deemed to be Universities, college and other grant-in-aid institutions and centers to adopt these guidelines by appropriate resolution by the respecting governing/Executive bodies/Syndicate/Senate etc. for effective implementation of the guidelines.

THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

After independence and particularly starting from the first five year plan various special developmental measures were initiated in addition to general developmental programmes for the social and economic development of the Dalits. The major objectives of the five year plan have been economic growth with justice. Initially, the state was expected to play an active and crucial role in the process of development. A public sector was set up to control the commanding heights of the economy. This sector not only had the economic objective of maximizing profit but also the social objective of providing access to deprived sections in the process of development and thereby reducing inequalities in the distribution of wealth as the economy grew. Social sectors like education received special attention in the plans as level of education was considered as important components of the development.
index, education not only improves the skills of people. Fifty percent of the welfare fouds meant for the social and economic development of the Dalits went to their education. Literacy rate is an imp indicator of educational development. These are some improvement. In the case of SC/ST women, but here too the gap with the rest of the population has been widening. In higher education the share of the Dalits has improved marginally, but again the discrepancy between SC/STs and the general population has been increasing although these has been substantial expansion of higher education in the past. Independence period in term of universities colleges the total number of teachers and students enrolment. SC/ST representation in certain disciplines was negligible even in 1988-99.

Thus from 1951 to 1999; SC workers have mostly continued to be agricultural laborers. These was some changes in the composition of agricultural labour, however, village level studies have revealed that the percent by switching to casual labour. This is due to the market force unleashed by the green revolution as well as state intervention in the form of anti-poverty programmes in the post-green revolution period.

The failure of land reform is an important reason for the high degree of landlessness among SCs and thereby for the high incidence of poverty. The intermediary land tenure system was abolished. Due to absentee landlordism, no serious measures were taken by the Zamindari system to augment the productivity of land and other institutions. But the abolition of Zamindari system and benefits attributable to it did not percolate down to the vulnerable sections. Land has passed
from a venture class into the hands of dominant peasant castes, which constitute an owner cultivation class, and land concentration persists.

**Higher education, access and equality: Policy framework**

Higher education was entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the constitutional provisions for positive discrimination. The commitment to broaden the student base was reflected in the financial incentives provided to SC/ST students, namely, hostels, post-metric (high school) scholarships, etc. In addition, special cells/administrative units were set up in universities to monitor the entry/progress of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students, staff and teachers. In course to time and as a result of political interventions, the reserved categories have been expanded to include people with disabilities, other backward castes or OBCs. There is no gender-based positive discrimination in education or employment although some provinces or institutions may have made a separate provision for them.

Since higher education was entrusted with the responsibility of promoting social change until 1991 there has been a continuous refrain in most policy documents on education that universities must develop scientific and technical knowledge and encourage its application to eliminate hunger, disease and ignorance. These are the important parameters of ‘social development’ which is being increasingly linked to literacy and primary education. The state owned full responsibility for the growth and development of higher education and kept the private sector out of its purview. Since reform in the social situation of women was central to the movement for independence, the development strategy in independent India in the 1950s included women, especially their education, in the Five Year Plans. The *Report of*
the Committee on the Education of Women, 1959, made extensive recommendations which led to a more focused thrust in the subsequent plans. But disparities in the education of men and women continued. These were substantiated by the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women, 1974. This led to a broader perspective and the Sixth Plan linked education to the participation of women in the development process. There was a shift from a welfare approach to making women active partners in the development process.

The National Policy of Education, 1986 underscored the role of education as an instrument of women’s equality and empowerment. The National Perspective Plan 1988-2000 AD reiterates this point of view and states that women themselves must overcome their handicaps. Thus, there has been a careful articulation of education for equality for women which is reflected in the educational policy discourse in post-independence India.

**Indian Higher Education System**

Higher education has occupied a dominant position in independent India since it was perceived as a promoter of economic growth, technological development and also as an instrument of equal opportunity and upward social mobility. Various commissions and committees have deliberated on its criticality to the social and economic development of the country. The establishment of special institutions of national importance, of the Indian Institutes of Technology and Management all of them make contributions to the increasing significance and excellence of higher education in India’s development.

Simultaneously, the expansion of higher education before 1991 coincided with the centrality of equal opportunities discourses and policies in the public sector
institutions which provided education and employment. This centrality of equal opportunity reflected the social importance of higher education and the concern of the Indian government to ensure the participation of first-generation students. It was also due to the increasing importance of social justice around the issues of caste, tribe, class and gender.

Due to the twin concern with equality and excellence higher education in India was fully supported by the federal and provincial governments. However, in spite of very low fees and ‘reservations’ or the affirmative action the connection between socio-economic status, merit and elite institutions the women and the disadvantaged groups have either been excluded from or had a negligible representation in the best public institutions.

However, since 1991 the policies of the government have dramatically changed seemingly privileged position of higher education. The government began to talk remove public support to higher education and make it self financing while privatizing it. Higher education has also become a non merit good.

As mentioned earlier, until the liberalization of the economy in the early nineties, higher education was publicly funded by the federal/central and provincial/state governments. However, since the early nineties, private autonomous institutions are permitted to be set up on a liberal scale without a clearly defined policy to regulate the private institutions. The link of universities with the private sector is not new in India nor is the nexus between higher education and the economy. What is disconcerting is the nature and speed of change, the motives of those who are establishing the private institutions, the ad hoc approach to the new developments and the lack of a considered response from the Indian government.
The policies of the Indian government since 1991 have involved restructuring of the economic institutions and the educational system. At that time the existing system had become too large and ineffective. It was characterized by a few high-quality institutions at the top while the majority at the bottom were of poor and indifferent quality. It was also not expanding rapidly enough to meet the rising social demand for higher education especially of the skill oriented professional education. The government allowed the private sector to establish fee-paying and self-financing institutions to meet the increasing demand for higher education and for specific courses.

Prior to this in the 1980s the two provinces of Karnataka and Maharashtra allowed the establishment of colleges of engineering and medical education under the direct political patronage of the state politicians. These colleges filled the unfilled demand for engineers and doctors and students from all over India flocked to them. While they were affiliated to the universities of the region and were regulated by their statutes, they were also notorious for charging a large amount of money, over and above the tuition fees etc. fixed by the universities/state governments, for admission. They are widely known as the ‘capitation fee’ colleges. They remained limited in number and, therefore, did not impact on the system as a whole in contrast to current developments.

The private institutions levy hefty tuition fees with/without the approval of the state governments. The state governments and the judiciary has had to intervene in the matter of fixation of fees. Increasingly, these colleges have sought the status of deemed universities in order to be autonomous in matters of curriculum and examination/evaluation. Along with the financial exploitation of the students, the
quality of their education is also suspect and so are their motivations. Another limitation is that since private institutions get land at subsized rates, they are expected to reserve seats for the SC/STs but there is little monitoring of these measures and no statistics are publicly known about reservations.

Simultaneous with the expansion of the private sector, the restructuring of public universities in the post 1991 phase has effectively downsized them which is likely to exacerbate gender inequalities. The provincial universities are affected radically by these changes which are reflecting on the type of academic programmes and subjects introduced by them. In other words, subjects which have a market demand are being introduced. The direct effects of these coupled with scarce public funding are reverberating through the public universities. The new programmes in most public universities are also self funded by the students thereby increasing the individual cost of education. In fact, since the provincial governments are not increasing funding according to the rise in the cost of running the universities and also according to the demand for new academic subjects, self-funded courses have become a regular source of income for the universities.

The Indian higher education system is one of the largest in the world. It consists of colleges, universities, institutions of national importance (such as Indian Institutes of Technology, Indian Institutes of Management and Indian Institutes of Science, etc.), and autonomous institutions with the status of deemed universities. In 2002-03, there were 300 universities; of which 183 were provincial, 18 federal, 71 deemed universities, 5 were established through central and state legislation and 13 institutes of national importance. The enrolment was 9,227,833 (about 7.8% of the relevant age group). There were 436,000 teachers in 2002-03 as against
457,000 in 2000-01. Of these nearly 83% are in the affiliated colleges and 17% in the universities. Gender wise data is not provided by the UGC. However, the 2001-02, MHRD (2001-02) provides information on the women teachers in the 12 open universities which is 18.4% and 21.5% in the institutions offering correspondence courses.

There are two kinds of universities-unitary and affiliating. Unitary universities undertake teaching in the university departments while colleges are affiliated to the latter. In 2002-03, there were 15,343 affiliated colleges. Of these, 1,650 (10.75) are exclusively for women students. Although the number has gone up from 1600 in 2000-01 to 1650, the proportion has reduced from 12.7 % to 10.75 percent. Although the Indian system of higher education is huge in numbers, it remains small. in terms of the coverage of the relevant age group, which is about 7-8 percent.

There is a binary division in higher education between the universities and their constituent colleges, on the one hand, and the affiliating colleges on the other. Of the total enrolment, 89.16% are undergraduates, 9.17 graduates/postgraduates, 0.67% are research students and 1% are enrolled in diploma/certificate courses. 90.13% of the undergraduate and 66.23% of graduate students are enrolled in the affiliated colleges while 19.74% of the research students are enrolled in the universities.

Since 1991, a large number of private colleges on self financing basis are being set up and there number has increased rapidly. Most of these are in the southern and southwestern states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra. Other provinces are following suit. They are quick to respond to the demand for
new programmes though in a limited number of subjects. As a result, their number has increased so much so that they form a majority of the undergraduate colleges in India. For example, in 2002, of 977 undergraduate engineering colleges 764 (78.2%); of 1349 medical colleges, 1028 (76.2%); of 505 management institutions, 324 (64.2%); of 1521 teacher education colleges, 1038 (67.4%) were private.

The growth of private education has contributed to the increasing undergraduate enrolment in higher education mainly in the application oriented science and professional subjects which are being offered in the colleges of arts and sciences. In fact, they offer what are known as the emerging application oriented science and management courses in microbiology, biochemistry, business administration, computers. For example, in Tamil Nadu the number of self financing colleges in arts and science has increased from 54 in 93-94 to 247 in 2000-01 while the government colleges increased only from 56 to 60 and aided colleges from 132 to 133. The proportion of women also increased from 42.89% to 51.07% in the private colleges during this period.

The self financing engineering colleges in Tamil Nadu increased from 71 in 1996-97 to 212 in 2001-02 while the number of government (7) and aided (3) remained the same. The enrolment in the private colleges increased from 20,250 to 55,500.

Even though higher education has been inexpensive or almost free during the first four decades, yet access has not been easy for women. In fact, it has been denied to the disadvantaged groups and especially women from these groups because of social and economic reasons. Therefore, when higher education has become self-financing what is the gendered impact of the higher cost?
The statistics on higher education in India are very poor. The private institutions lack in transparency and do not provide any statistics. Additionally, there is as yet no separate information on private self funded unaided institutions. Again, there is hardly any effort to document systematically either the extent or the shape of the changes that are changing the universities’ work culture or to look at the kind of impact, gendered or otherwise, that the changes may be having on the teachers, staff, and students.

Nevertheless, the private sector has met the unmet demand for specific subjects and increased the intake capacity in the most sought after disciplines though at a cost. Therefore, there has been expansion and the number of students has increased. It is very noticeable in engineering. Women seem to have been the beneficiaries of this expansion, though it is difficult to come to this conclusion without separate gender based enrolment data for private and public institutions and for each and every discipline and academic programme separately. One is reluctant to give credit to private institutions because they are too expensive and parents may be unwilling to spend on the education and the dowries of their daughters.

Moreover, pure sciences, social sciences, arts and humanities remain confined to the public institutions. It seems that the earlier trend of concentration of women in these disciplines is expected to have been reinforced. Additionally, even though women are enrolling in professional education in larger numbers, it is not clear which subjects and specializations do they take up. Which institutions are they joining and in what proportions?
The unbridled and unregulated expansion of expensive private institutes is also disturbing. The problem with most is that they do not offer good quality education and are very expensive – the best institutions are still in the public sector. Unfortunately, the issues of social access and equity or of quality receive little attention in the private sector. Would parents spend on the higher education and dowries for their daughters?

The policy implications of the current situation of women suggests the imperative of creating a broad-based database on higher education which is gender sensitive. At present, the first problem is of a very scanty database and the second is that it is not gender sensitive. It is a sad state of affairs that a country which boasts of very large higher education system should not have considered it necessary to collect data on higher education which will provide information about students, faculty and staff in the public and private institutions. Information on students, namely, their enrolment and outturn by level, discipline, specialization and institution are imperative for any understanding of the system. A framework will have to be evolved to decide what are the questions that need to be answered and what parameters are necessary to provide an understanding of the system and what happens to women who enter it. It would also help in charting out the future course of action and the research policy.

Secondly, research on higher education deserves support so that a quantitative database can be supported by qualitative inputs. For this availability of funds earmarked for research programmes and projects on higher education will go a long way.
Issues of equality, social access, and quality of education have been pushed into the background at a time when only seven percent of the relevant age group have managed to enter the system. The government must have a vision that encompasses the governance of the public and private sectors and keep in focus the gender concerns. The present ad hoc approach without a conceptual framework is fraught with negative implications for women’s access to higher education.

Privatization of Higher Education in India

The private initiative in higher education has not been a new phenomenon in India, for instance, some of the prestigious modern universities in India even established by the efforts of certain dedicated individuals with private financial aid. This, indeed, was a unique in India as a form of public private partnership. The concept of private institution, however, in the initial stage was meant to be sheer arbitrary, and was a relative category to express miscellaneous classes of educational institutions. Such an arbitrary term, without much complexity gained public image from its inception and became a normative language in the domain of philanthropy. Hence, philanthropy was understood by the fact that private institutions were being supported by the public. During British rule, through the directives of East India Company, the policy of grant-in-aid system was executed to encourage private institutions. There were three types of private institutions, for instance, nationalist, sectarians and caste communities, were operational with the support of individual philanthropist and local nobles, before independence. Even, in the post-independent India, private sector was continued to be thrived and become a major domain in shaping the system of higher learning in the backdrop of the constitutional provision. Such
historical patronage, led to the outgrowth of private higher education institutions over the years, and they constitute three-fourth of the total. There were two types of private institutions; aided and unaided. If the former was privately managed and publicly funded, the latter was both privately managed and funded colleges. In this respect, no doubt, the role of private initiative in higher education has been very crucial in the initial stages of independence.

It has been reported that many of the private educational institutions were to be non-viable and mediocre. It was largely due to the poor quality of delivery in their services and inadequate enrolment rates of students. True, private aided educational institutions were to be abided the norms laid down by the statue of the concerned universities. They also used to receive financial aid from the state regularly, therefore, for financial matters; private aided institutions did not have any significant role in sharing the cost of education. In spite of the fact that the state has authority over affiliation, pattern aiding, and regulation of education, it failed to comply with constitutional promises of social justice. In other words, dominant culture has silently been reproduced in the educational institutions as the managements simultaneously enjoyed their local/estate power with knowledge governing power.

As a result, these managements were continued to remain as sectarian and partisan organization of their own locality, community and organs of political parties. Moreover, these very institutions played key role in the local politics to circulate among the party cadres and supporters. Because of their affiliation with local political power structures, these managements used to receive under patronage and partisan prestige. The political elites simultaneously make governing rules of the system flexible. Interaction of local politics with governing power on education institutions, in a way, were benefited reciprocally both parties via nepotism, benefaction and influence. Much relaxed UGC rule, in fact, fuelled the process from bad to worse.
Since most of the private agencies drawn from the elite sections of society, education was yet another domain through which they continued to govern on the state of education. In other words, system of education thrived into half-backed capitalism, from half backed socialism, in the backdrop of mixed economy of India. In addition to that there were 20 fake universities illegally operating throughout India and highest number was found Uttar Pradesh (9) followed by Delhi (5) (UGC, 2006). Its logic is clear as the demands vouch for the creation of new institutions, no matter even for expanding private players in education sector. This trend, perhaps, makes indispensability of the middleclass in the private education sector as they are the only probable group can buy education by paying huge fee. The outgrowth of self-financing institutions, in the post-reform period, with one set of cross-border education system, is shown a paradigmatic shift in higher education sector in India.

This trend, in fact, draws our attention to the complexities of pedagogic practices on the one hand and its wide range of social consequence on the other. The emerging discourses on the privatization of higher education world over, especially among developing societies, indicates the fact that they have commercial intent to reduce education to be a sheer commodity. It is in this context, the state of education in India needs to be critically examined in the light of the political economy in general and education policy adjustments in particular.

**State Minimization for Market Maximization: Changing commitments in education (Tokyo, Japan, 8 - 10 July 1997)**

Recent shift in the Indian economy opened up yet another entry for private universities, both domestically and globally, to enhance qualitative human resources and to contemplate with a new set of requirements in society. The state too has made couple of attempt to rationalize privatization of education. To begin with, while presenting country paper in the UNESCO World

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Conference on Higher Education in 1998⁵, HRD minister of India proclaimed that ‘efforts have been mounted for mobilization of resources and recommended for a firm commitment to higher education, institutions of higher education should make efforts to raise their own resources by raising the fee levels, encouraging private donations and by generating revenues through consultancy and other activities’. Followed by it, the debates on private members Bill for Private Universities in the Parliament in 1995 and the new Act on the Establishment and Maintenance of Standards in Private Universities Regulations, 2008 can be seen in this context. Moreover, a series of Supreme Court verdicts in favour private players in education showed the attitude towards private investments in higher education.

The basic objective of privatization of higher education in India was to reduce the number of public funded colleges and universities, authorize decentralization of academic administration and promote creativity, innovation and higher standard. In addition to that, in the post-reform period, the state, as it was stated earlier, brought about new avenues on how to mobilize alternative resources in the form of raising fee levels up to 20 percent of the annual recurring cost per student, mobilization of internal and external sources such as sale of output, voluntary donations from industry, students loan and consultancy. In other words, establishment of self-financing colleges which had twin advantages in effects. Obviously, it would reduce the burden of the state, but at the same time these colleges get permission to charge high fees and mobilize their own resources as they wish. But the concept of autonomous college and program for their establishment brought severe criticism mainly because of the failure of delivering better education. Moreover, though the proclamation of government was to encourage private funding

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without commercialization, in reality the intention of private agencies was to commercialize education system.

On the other side of the spectrum, industrial entrepreneurs like Mukesh Ambani and Kumarmangalam Birla were invited to prepare Policy Framework for Reforms in Education" for the Prime Minister's Council on Trade and Industry in 2000. This trend, on who would decide the fate of the education policy of the nation, led to a new shift in history of higher education in India. Its logic, in fact, was as simple as to make education as profitable market venture in favour of industrialists. True, at a time when economy, world over, has increasingly been knowledge based, education as it was assumed, opens new avenues for market expansion and competition to hit the market driven economy. This, perhaps the reason behind the entrepreneurial units like APTECH Company began with Aptech University, a peripheral unit of Aptech Education Society order to meet the artificially created market demand of growing IT professions in India. In this context, it is to be noted that albeit we tried to develop self-financing colleges in rural and urban areas to nurture competitive skilled, it will not sustain simply because of the rural poor cannot afford. Moreover, it is sure that these initiatives neither inclusive and nor socially oriented, as against what the policymakers imagined.

Among other things, to attract investment for educational institutions from individuals or corporate bodies, the state for instance, announced tax-free and gave free hands to mobilize resources. In case, institutions were unable to attract donations, then they were allowed to charge high tuition fee from the students. Liberal attitude towards fee structure and compulsory cost recovery from students at the policy level were justified so as to indiscriminately reduce the burden of public financing. In doing so, it was believed that the capitation fee colleges can tap untapped resources for the development of higher education by charging higher fee.
Understandably, UGC devised fee structure for various professional courses, for instance, medicine and BDS for the private unaided colleges and deemed to be universities.

No concrete evidence is available with us to prove that these capitation fee colleges are delivering qualitative education. From the supply side, profit motives and political influences of the private education providers led to the outgrowth of these capitation fee colleges. As the recent reports suggest there were 82 private and deemed universities, 7,964 private colleges and 150 foreign private institutions operational in. However, from the demand side, there was a historically conditioned class of rich and well-to-do people consisting of politicians, top bureaucrats, business executives, small and big industrialists, traders, businessmen, technocrats, professionals and large land holders who are able and are willing to pay high fee rate, it was the pressure from the same group, which pursued for privatization policies. Though private education providers are adherent to legal framework, the state of higher education under the private dispensation, have intrinsic problems of commercialization and therefore, education service can easily become illicit business too. These institutions began to charge huge donations and capitation fees, almost 10 to 20 times greater than the actual fee of any public funded college. To fuel up the process of commercialization, the capitation fee institutions introduced job oriented courses. It has twin advantage, at one level it would attract the students as these courses guarantee quick job opportunities on the other hand the private providers would get freedom to fix the price tag of the course as they wish. In other words, the logic of mobilizing untapped resources for education, in the form of privatization, consequently produce the culture of profit making out of higher education.

**STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM**

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One of the inevitable consequences of globalization is internationalization of higher education as a part of trading education services across borders. Countries in Europe and America, which had heavily invested in creating excellent higher education infrastructure systems in the past are currently in a state of economic crisis owing to demographic transformation in their societies. The native student population in colleges and universities is dwindling and therefore there is an urgent need to mobilize students to sustain their languishing higher education systems. An obvious option in this direction is internationalization of higher education, which has opened doors for overseas students.

Globalization has also helped many developing countries, particularly in the Asian region to economically prosper. The countries in the region, particularly India and China are witnessing remarkable economic surge, which have promoted both economic mobility and social aspirations among different population segments of their societies. To add to this is their relative advantage of demographic composition with ever increasing youth population in their most productive period of life. Thus, the demographic structure coupled with economic and social transformation of these societies has allowed these countries to export their student population to western countries. Under such a situation, movement of young population across borders for purpose of higher education evidently is on the increase, particularly among those sections of population, who in recent times have experienced tremendous economic mobility in the Asian countries. More than anything higher education is increasingly being seen as an economic entity.

**Privatization of Higher Education in India – Case for and Against**
The private initiative in education, especially higher education is not altogether new to India. Some of the leading universities namely, the Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh Muslim University came up with the efforts of certain dedicated individuals and financial support of the community at large. Again, a large number of educational institutions in the country especially those concerned with general and professional higher education have been established on private and voluntary initiative with or without financial subsidy from the Government.

In the context of the current changing social and economic fabric of the country, it appears almost certain to go in for private funding of education. The recent paradigm shift in Indian economic and political philosophy has led to the demand of private universities so as to meet the challenge of contemplated open economy and the demand for qualitative human resources and high level of R & D.

There are views for and against privatization of higher education in India. While some have started criticizing the concept even before it has come to be defined and taken off the ground, others consider it very useful and indeed inevitable. So much so that proposals for setting up private universities affiliating the privately funded institutions are being discussed. For one thing, there is no denying the fact that higher education is comparatively less expensive in India even though under-developed countries like Bangladesh and developed ones like the US, Japan, Australia and many others have successfully switched over to privatization of education without making it a crass. Can India also think on these lines especially if the money earned can be "ploughed back" into the educational sector for its own improvement?
Summing up, a clear cut policy of the Government of India regarding privatization of higher education is unfortunately not available at the present moment. We wonder if there is one at all. At any rate, the move is lacking in transparency. One thing is, however, clear from the occasional official pronouncements that there is a need for supplementing Government measures by the efforts of the non-Government organizations and the institutions themselves to generate resources. This, in a way, does amount to partial privatization calling for caution against, amongst others things the following:

a. resultant commercialization of education,

b. obstacles in merit based admissions,

c. deterioration in academic standards,

d. encroachment in institutions & autonomy,

e. service conditions of teachers, and

f. Education becoming subservient to market logic advanced by the private sector in the country.

Since mid-1991 the Government of India has initiated wide-ranging economic reforms. The main thrust of these reforms is on reducing the role of the ‘State‘ in the economic management and giving more free play to the forces of market. Among other things, this has adverse implications for the welfare role of the state. For instance, in order to reduce the fiscal deficit, the Government is trying to reduce expenditure even on vital social services such as health and education. The major problem of Dalits is poverty superimposed on social discrimination. Dalits, particularly the scheduled castes were denied the right to
property, the right to education and the right to bargaining for wages. 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 a separate hamlets do not have even elementary schools. The social stigma attached to Dalit caste discourages them from attending school in the main villages. The commissioner for SC/ST reports that untouchability is being practiced in some rural areas even today.

The current political climate is sympathetic to the privatization of a broad range of public services. A Council of State Governments report\(^7\) found that 59 percent of state agencies had privatized some function in the past five years and 55 percent thought that privatization would increase in their state in the next five years. The top three reasons cited for increases in privatization were cost savings, increased support from political decision makers, and greater flexibility. This willingness to privatize public functions extends to higher education.

Quality higher education is emerging as a hugely profitable business opportunity. A range of private enterprises, from India's largest, largest-hearted and best-run companies to fly-by-night operators, are making a beeline for the sector.

It is neither feasible nor desirable for the state to stem this tide. Rather, the state's role should be to modulate this enthusiasm to maximize social welfare. The first step should be to dump the fairy tale that education is a sacred mission and cannot be permitted to be a business. Allow companies to run educational institutions as well-run businesses that have transparent accounts and declare dividends.

\(^7\) NIEPA (2005b), Report of the Committee on National Common Minimum Programme’s Commitment of Six Percent of GDP to Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, New Delhi, September
But do so in the full knowledge that there is not even a single for-profit institution among the world’s best universities. Entry of private funds into higher education is not a case for the state to withdraw from the sector. Rather, the state must deepen its involvement and give it a different shape. Higher education is an expensive business. A good part of the cost has to be realized from the students by way of realistic fees.

At the same time, it must be ensured that lack of funds does not kill the college dreams of any deserving high school graduate. A large part of government funding for education must be in the form of liberal scholarships. Securitized student loans with government backing would bring down the cost of education loans and these must be liberally available.

Universal identity codes would facilitate high repayment rates. But the biggest state push for broadening the base of quality higher education should take the form of new and numerous publicly-funded universities. America’s so-called Land Grant universities, set up by state governments with federal funding, are a good way to go. The liberal arts and social sciences are unlikely to receive the attention they deserve in higher education funded entirely by the private sector and must get state funding.

Nation-wide common testing would be essential to determine eligibility for college admission and financial aid as also to measure, on a common scale, the outcome of a diverse graduation system. This could be a federal responsibility, along with a voluntary board of accreditation, whose value could be left to students and employers to judge.
Higher education in India today is riddled with problems which are many and various. Some of the most crucial ones that confront us are somewhat controversial and, at any rate, in need of a thorough scrutiny in the overall interest of the country. The issues are, however, inter-dependent and include: (i) broadening of access in higher education; (ii) ensuring equity in higher education; (iii) the financial crunch, and (iv) the move to privatize higher education as a remedial measure.

The Crucial Questions

There are indications to partially privatize higher education in India as a remedy to most of the problems and issues raised above. The following crucial questions, therefore, need to be consciously raised:

1. What is the rationale for privatizing higher education?
2. What exactly are the issues related to access and equity in higher education and how would privatization tackle them?
3. Will private effort be able to generate the requisite finance for higher education?
4. How has privatization delivered goods in the educational systems abroad?
5. Will private funding of the university system eventually be a substitute to the statutory and constitutional requirement of the State to maintain institutions of higher learning?

6. Will private funding be really available for courses other than those concerned with professional and technical higher education?

7. Will privatization not lead to commercialization?

8. Is commercialization of higher education in national interest?

9. Will privatization not adversely affect interests of the poor and other backward sections of the society?

Access and Equity in Higher Education

India has quite a large system of higher education in as much as we have today 44 Central Universities, 306 State universities, 154 State Universities (Private), 129 Deemed Universities (Public & Private), 700 total degree granting institutions, 35539 Affiliated colleges (public & Private). There are 17456000 (86 percent) graduate students, 2492000 (12 percent) post graduates, 161000 (1 percent) in research (doctoral) and 218000 (1 percent) in Diploma/certificate courses\(^8\). And yet the proportion of the University and College going student population in the relevant age group of 16-23 is dismal 6%. This is quite low even when compared with developing countries, the figure being 20% for both Egypt and Thailand, 10%

\(^8\) www.dreducation.com
for Turkey, 11% for Brazil and 16% for Mexico. In the developed countries, however, access to higher education is to the tune of 40% and more. Thus, though higher education in India has expanded generally, inadequate access continues to cause concern. This issue, therefore, needs critical examination.
On the one hand we are worried about the so called ‘mushroom growth’ of the universities and colleges, and on the other, are unable to provide access to education even at par with most other developing countries in the world. Further, while enrolment of women and those belonging to SC/ST groups and other
backward communities has improved, they are still very much under represented. Thus, the twin issue of access and equity needs to be tackled by adopting alternative strategies. As we all know, providing increased access to education, meeting the challenge of equity and improving the quality of education all entail large investment. It is all the more necessary to ensure continuous inflow of funds needed for implementing and carrying out relevant programmes and activities. But then there does exist the problem of resource crunch. A suggested way out is exploring additional avenues of generating systems own resources instead of being fully dependent on the State exchequer. It is imperative here that the higher education system has to seek participation both of the Government as well as private and voluntary bodies. Some amount of private funding thus appears inevitable for making up the deficit caused by inadequate state funding.

Private Initiative in Education in the USA and UK

In the United States of America the concept of private universities is an integrated part of the political and economic philosophy of consumer sovereignty. The state intervention in education is exerted indirectly by regulating consumer response. In keeping with this view of philosophy, the state regulates its concerns about access and equity by providing funds to institutions of higher learning or establishing institutions under its control. The state also largely finances students directly by paying for their education as consumers. If one has inadequate means to pay for education, the state would provide resources for the same. The so called ‘voucher system’ and various schemes of scholarships and loans come in this category. Thus,
the state indirectly subsidizes education either through educational institutions or through the receiver of education.

Along side state funding, American education is the responsibility of the local Governments, parents, students, alumni and, most importantly, private and voluntary bodies. There are universities which are purely private with no governmental subsidy whatsoever. The universities of Yale, Princeton, Perdue amongst others are the world famous universities known for high quality education available to those who could afford to pay.

Thus, there is a dual system of public and private education with traditional distinctions based primarily on the means of their financing and the nature of control. The United States is committed to preserving this dual system of higher education by maintaining both public as well as private institutions.

The higher education system in the U.K. shares some of its features with those in the USA. Self governing nature of the universities and their administrative and financial autonomy are most important. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which are nearly 800 years old and the Universities of London and Durham founded in the early part of the 19th century, though not strictly private in the American style and manner, are independent and self governing academic bodies. Their funds, except those required for the capital projects come from their own resources such as income from endowments, consultancy income of the faculty, donations, support from industry, voluntary subscriptions from alumni and tuition fees.
After realizing the significance of the topic, a modest attempt is made to review the earlier studies in order to find the aspects covered and gaps if any.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

A modest attempt is made to review the literature in the arena of privatization of higher education and their implications for dalit students. In this chapter firstly review of literature is made followed by identification of gaps.

Ram, Nandu\(^9\) has observed that the varying socio-economic background of the SC/ST students admitted at both the graduation and post-graduation levels in the school of Social Sciences in JNU and found that, as against the general impression about their uniformly poor socio-economic and educational back-ground, the students belong to varying backgrounds. More than 50 per cent of them came from better socio-economic and educational backgrounds, though this may not be as good as that of the general students. Between the Scheduled Caste and Tribe students, the latter have a certain edge over the former because of their earlier

\(^9\) Ram, Nandu, “Socio-structural variants and higher education and tribes”, SOCIAL ACTION, 36(2), 1986(April-June): 166-182
medium of instruction. This is manifested in the form of their over-representation at JNU. Out of 300 and odd SC/ST students admitted during 1978-82 to the School of Social Sciences in the university, the Scheduled caste students came with better educational standards in terms of percentage of marks obtained in their qualifying examinations. But they lagged behind in their performance at JNU since they had their earlier education in Hindi or some other regional languages. Moreover, they had to face more socio-structural constraints than the Scheduled Tribe students both within and outside an institution of higher education. The strategy in the form of reservations for the educational development of the minorities like the SCs/STs has helped them to the extent that there exist variations in their socio-economic status and educational achievement. But at the same time, it has not fully met their expectations and aspirations in the absence of its proper and systematic implementation. Consequently, there has arisen a small section of the SC/ST population who have benefited from this policy and that too imbalanced form. However, benefits of the policy have not yet reached the masses of these castes and they have not witnessed and any substantial change in their educational status though they might have observed some socio-political and economic variants in their life.

Balagopalan Sarada\(^\text{10}\) has opined that it is widely understood that formal school exists as an institution within the modern state to create the desired rational citizen-subjects out of its diverse populations. Within this apparatus it has

\(^{10}\) Balagopalan, Sarada, “Neither suited for the home nor for the fields: Inclusion, formal schooling and the Adivasi child”, IDS BULLETIN, 34(1), 2003(January): 55-62
traditionally been upper-caste teachers who have been deployed to carry out this function of the state. Therefore in some ways schools have always acted as a space that has legitimated and made invisible upper-caste hegemony over marginalized populations. As this project has made clear, we can begin to redress this upper-caste hegemony through understanding the exclusions - in terms of discriminatory practices - that continue to frame the experiences of marginalized children in formal schools. This can be done through discourses of rights, equity, equality, citizenship, etc. that draws the attention of policy makers to the continued disadvantages these populations face within existing state efforts to ensure their greater inclusion. However, this policy approach relies on the mechanisms of state ignoring in large pail the fact that the modernization function of the state as carried out through schooling often generates intrinsic feelings of shame in the self-constructions of these same children. The modern school has therefore functioned as a prior effort to generate civil society through instructing is inhabitants in the ways of ideal citizenship. The social inclusion paradigm being fundamentally premised upon state, as well as civil society mechanisms to realize its ends will have to factor in the irony that this dependence underscores. This can begin through understanding the functioning of Indian modernity not as an incomplete project in which certain civil-social institutions have either failed or require to be generated because this would in great-pan coincide with the modernization project of the state. Instead through analyzing Indian modernity as consisting of the domains of civil society and political society we can begin to question the hegemonic as well as situated workings of power within these domains. And through this, analyse effective local self-generated strategies – which might not necessarily fall within civil-social institutions
or the discourse of rights as currently defined to comprehensively address issues of educational equity.

Karuppaiyan, E and Jothy, K\(^{11}\) have stated that in the post-independence era, the government has spent crores and crores of rupees for the development of the tribals. Education is one of the important development programmes to ameliorate the economic condition of the tribals. Promotion of tribal education has been receiving the top-most priority and attention of the government. In spite of these efforts, the desired results could not be achieved and the literacy level among the tribals has remained lower than the expected. This is due to the low economic standard of the tribals and the lack of infrastructure and administration for the educational inputs. It can be concluded that the government programmes did not percolate to the household level. The incentives given are helpful in increasing the enrollment rates but not for their educational development. It is observed that the administrative structures besides the infrastructural facilities are very poor in all tribal areas. Better educational facilities are needed in all the tribal areas and better teaching methods alone could promote tribal literacy.

Swamy, Raju Narayana\(^{12}\) has opined that the education in Kerala is heavily biased against the scheduled tribes. Although a few ST students do benefit from education, they represent the cream of the community and not the masses. The children of the poor less educated parents with low income occupations are only

\(^{11}\) Karuppaiyan, E and Jothy, K, “Educational facilities for the tribals of Tamil Nadu” SOCIAL CHANGE, 21(2), 1991(June): 32-38

marginally represented. Decentralization of educational management is an aspect that needs special consideration in the context of tribal areas. In fact, considering the geographical terrain and communication problems in tribal areas, it is crucial to restructure the existing system of educational management. The present education system for adivasis is not a well planned one, although the government has succeeded in the enrollment of these people in primary school level. The education system has failed to meet the needs of adivasis. Shortages of trained teachers, reading materials, poor infrastructure facilities etc are the prime causes behind this educational system must suite with the rural and agriculture base-towards a knowledge skill-based economy. Overall, the available data evidence shows that importance to farm/non farm activities in the rural areas can help in reducing poverty. The education system should also be moulded by giving priority to these sectors.

Rani, Sandhya G\textsuperscript{13} has opined that education for women is as essential as for men. It makes women find the right way to development. Even today in most parts of the country, the tribal women remains steeped in superstitions and ignorance with men presiding over their destiny. The main aim of education is to change the cultural norms and patterns of life of tribal women to make them economically independent, to organize themselves to form strong groups so as to analyse their situations and conditions of living, understand their rights and responsibilities and to enable them to participate and contribute to the development of women and the entire society. The population of STs is very high in some states and in some states

\textsuperscript{13} Rani, Sandhya G, “An analysis of tribal women's education in India”, SOCIAL WELFARE, 57(6), 2010(September): 28-31
there are no STs. With regard to the literacy rates, female literacy has raised considerably in the past four decades both in urban as well as rural areas. Moreover the percentage of Schedule Tribe girls in higher education has been gradually increasing. The fact remains that a large number of tribal women in rural areas might have missed educational opportunities at different stages and in order to empower them varieties of skill training programmes have to be designed and organized. The skill could be for coming political leadership or for economic self-reliance or even social transformation.

Peter, S. et.al\textsuperscript{14} studied the problem of school dropouts and the situation prevailing in the corporation schools of Chennai city. Though the sample was small and confined to the state of Tamil Nadu, the study can be considered as an indicator for the whole country. As suggested in the study, some of the SC and ST communities are coming out of their shell gradually and getting involved in other activities apart from those whom they have been following for generations. Now, the major cause for worry is the percentage of dropouts in the schools. The analysis showed that the most important reason for the huge number of dropouts among the SC and ST communities is due to financial and familial problems. These dropouts are generally sent to some unskilled work by their parents in order to improve their livelihood. The discriminant and classification analysis indicate that the maximum number of SC-and ST school dropouts are engaged in unskilled work and their future is bleak. It is suggested that. The educators should think in terms

of providing some opportunities for earning while learning. They also stress upon the need for vocational education and link the bridge between education and occupation. On the whole the 195 school teachers (including 25 headmasters and head mistresses) were concerned about the phenomenon of school dropouts and were of the strong opinion that it should be minimized.

Their other responses are summarized below:

- The problem of school dropouts affected not only the life of the students, but also the teaching communities in many ways. It disturbs the healthy student-teacher relationship, and the teaching-learning process.

- The reasons for the dropping out of school were mainly due to economic and financial problems. They also felt that the illiteracy of the parents, especially the mothers' illiteracy, played an important role in students dropping out.

- The teachers strongly believed that the problem of the school dropouts would be totally eradicated, if only the entire society realized their responsibilities and lent their support both in terms of adequate financial assistance and needed expertise on vocational education.

Folds, Ralph\textsuperscript{15} has observed that with the impetus given to community development by land rights, several institutions which have traditionally been run by non-Aboriginals are coming under increasing pressure. Schools are probably the most important of these in terms of their influence up on the communities. Clearly some Aboriginals believe that schools are not changing rapidly enough in accommodating Aboriginal culture and are making positive moves of their own in

establishing homeland schools. It seems likely that if educators respond to this Aboriginal initiative with the provision of such things as on-site teacher training and material support for local Aboriginals, the willingness of the communities to participate in school will auger well for educational outcomes and community development.

Ghosh, Kishalay\textsuperscript{16} has observed that most of the time our planners appear to have ignored aspects such as the culture and exploitation of the Scheduled Tribes while providing incentives and persuading them to come for formal education. During the First Five Year Plan itself our government realized this, but nothing was done in concrete terms except exempting these students from the payment of tuition fees, relaxing the admission criteria, providing overseas scholarships etc. This has in no way helped the Scheduled Tribes to develop a genuine interest in formal education since it made no efforts to change the exploitative structures that have kept them poor. Besides this, their cultural aspects are also not attended to. No special measures were taken by the Ministry of Education, Planning Commission, the Department of Social Welfare or other Government agencies to develop tribal educational keeping in view their tradition, culture, religion, geographical location and language. Whatever small initiatives are taken, get shattered because of lack of proper implementation. There is a big gulf between planning and implementation and for this most of the time government officials at the implementation level are responsible. From all facts and figures discussed above, one could arrive at a rational conclusion that there should be many changes brought about in the

existing educational system with special reference to the weaker sections particularly the Scheduled Tribes. The Challenge of Education has pointed out many difficulties and constraints that are responsible for ineffectiveness of the present educational system and it has also suggested some solutions (Ministry of Education 1985). But none of them seems to deal with the basic causes which make education inaccessible to the tribals. Studies have mentioned six points which should be taken into consideration while finding out some solutions to tribal education viz. tribal social structures, their economic organization, their accessibility to education, their language, their psychology and proper choice of teachers in schools meant for them. But little has been done in this direction and the new document does not deal with these aspects.

**Gosavi, S.S and Parthasarathy, S**¹⁷ have noted that proper education for the rural masses is the panacea for all rural ailments like poverty, caste wars, poor standard of living, and population growth mass migration to cities and so on. This necessitates a special rural educational technology programme. The programme should view the rural education in its entity and not in a piecemeal manner. The need of the hour in India is “Rural Education Commission” on the lines of atomic energy commission or University Grants Commission which can think and act to eradicate this man made blunder. Of course the educational institutes in rural areas need not wait for the formation of such a body to start with the work. Depending up on their own environments each such institute can build its own model on the parallel lines of the ‘Muktangan’ at Sangamner and can make its contribution in

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imparting education more effectively for the development of surrounding rural areas.

Panigrahi, Sudarsan C \(^{18}\) has observed that though limited in scope to only two villages, the study does bring out that the socio-ecological setting determines the education of women. In this particular setting, the tribal economy becomes the paramount factor affecting the tribal woman’s education. However, the problems of tribal economy have their roots in the larger society, inclusive of geographical location and resources available, the politico-ideological climate, the welfare programmes, proliferation of mass media and the presence of exploitative elements in the society. Unfortunately, it is the economic condition, coupled with traditional life-styles and social norms for women, that define the position and role of women, the skills and occupations and the consequent educational attainment that is expected from them.

The other major issue is the passive acceptance by the tribals of their age old lifestyles. It seems to continue in a cyclic way from generation not only for individuals, but also for the entire group. If qualitative behavioral changes are to be brought about, existing facilities are to be restructured, so that these benefits percolate down to the needy. For example, the facility of agricultural schemes like soil conservation, and horticulture, do not benefit the tribals who do not have any land holdings. Formal schooling and its curriculum, as it exists at present has hardly any relevance to the tribal woman and her life. Neither does it provide the tribal

woman with any alternatives to improve herself economically nor socially. The question that arises pertinently is, “Even if the tribal woman is educated, what would she do?” in such circumstances, it is necessary that education be relevant to the life she is living. A viable alternative would be that education forms a part of an integrated programme that comprises of various dimensions like health and family welfare combined with economic benefits and household technology. Of course, the major steps would be to bring about qualitative changes in the life-style of the tribals. Since a change from within the group is a remote possibility, it is necessary to induct or bring about changes by external inputs, simultaneously curbing the exploitative forces operating in their setting.

Vasdev Talreja and H. C. Yadav\(^\text{19}\) have noted that the UGC has been pro-active and taking several measures to implement Reservation policy of the Government of India, effectively. It has constituted the Standing Committee on SC/ST and monitoring Committee for this purpose. UGC has introduced several schemes for the benefit of SC and ST students like remedial coaching and entering in service. The UGC is also supporting the universities to establish and run the SC/ST Cell as well as equal opportunity Office paying special attention to the difficulties faced by the students, teaching and non-teaching staff belonging to SC and ST Communities. Although UGC is making these efforts, the large number of teaching posts reserved for SC and ST remained unfilled. The performance of some of universities is quite poor. The Central Universities also need to be pro-active in this regard as the reservations for SC and ST flow from the Constitution of India. There are only six

\(^{19}\) Vasdev Talreja and H. C. Yadav, “Reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Central Universities of India: A Stocktaking”, University News, 48(22) May 31 to June 06, 2010.
and three per cent teachers belonging to SC and ST categories respectively at level of Lecturer (Assistant professor) in 24 Central Universities covered in the present study. In view of this the universities have to make efforts to attract suitable SC and ST candidates at all the three levels i.e. Assistant Professor, Associate professor and professor so as to increase their percentage in teaching posts. The situation in admissions and recruitment in non teaching posts are slightly better compared to teaching posts, but still far below the required percentage of 15% and 7.5% for SCs and STs respectively. Apart from this, universities should also effectively implement various UGC schemes introduced for the benefit of the SC and ST Communities.

Pimpley, P.N. and Kapoor, Bhushan Lal\(^{20}\) have opined that in most of the SC households education of male members is given priority over that of the females. This phenomenon is, however, not necessarily in economically depressed sections of SCs but practically in all of the castes. It is not considered proper that women should be educated. The scheduled caste is not a homogenous group but consists of many subgroups and values attached to female education vary from subgroup to subgroup. We have considered different subgroups to know whether or not due importance is given to female education. Caste wise, we find that in same of the castes more importance is given to female education than in other castes. Adharmis and to some extent Balmikis also Pay greater attention to the education of boys than to that of girls. Amongst Chamars/Ramdasias and Mazhbis, the condition of female education is not as bad as that of male education. Also we find that

occupation plays a dominant role in making one liberal towards female education, female education, in comparison with male education, is more backward in families which still have tradition based occupations. Among those who have switched over to town based non-traditional occupations, relatively more females are sent to educational institutions. Also we find that education of parents is very important for sending their female children to educational institutions. Female education is relatively more in families where parents are educated. About 27 Percent female students and 31 Percent of the male students do not have proper place at home to study. However, this problem gets extenuated for a number of male students as they generally go somewhere else to study. However, all the girl students, who do not have proper place at home to study, have to study at home only as they do not find any other place to go to. Looking at the non-availability of proper place at home to study, we find that hostel have special significance for female SC students. However, hostels have yet to attract them as we find that there are only 2 female SC students, in our sample, who are hostellers. The females appear to be better students than the males. There does not seem to be any significant difference in the ages of female-SC students and the ages of their class-fellows. However male SC students are comparatively older by about one and a half years in average. There are more instances of failures amongst male students than amongst female students, Number of female scholars having no difficulty in understanding lectures and number of female scholars who do not need private coaching are comparable with the corresponding figures in the case of male students. Added to this, the finding that female students are very well adjusted with their classmates, that is, their SC status does not affect the behavior of their classmates towards them, we
find that given a chance females tend to show very promising results. The major problem is that of giving them a chance, changing the social structure of SC and social values which discourage female education.

Thus the need is not simply that of giving more educational facilities to SCs, but it is also of ascertaining that all of the facilities and special privileges being given to SCs, do not get channelized towards males only. Some legislative and administrative measures to improve the educational status of SC women have been suggested below.

(1) The importance of female education should be propagated through various media to the general masses.

(2) Due importance should be paid to adult education. This will help in bringing more females in the school system.

(3) We urge that a certain proportion of seats in educational institutions be reserved for female SC students and extra incentives be provided to them.

(4) There is a low representation of female students among families of farmers/farm laborers and of other village based traditional occupations. As these occupations are mostly in rural areas, so special attention should be paid in rural areas to change their attitude towards female education.

(5) Libraries and reading rooms, wherever these are not there, should be provided in the localities of SC concentration. This will, in particular, help those SC female students who do not have congenial atmosphere and proper place at home to study.

(6) The strength of hostels will have to be enhanced. It is desirable that a women's
hostel should be attached with every women’s and co-educational college where sufficient seats should be reserved for SC students. In order to attract them sufficient facilities like scholarships to cover their board and lodging changes be given to those staying in hostels.

Prasad, R.N. and Singh, S.N\textsuperscript{21} has stated that as the degree of education, maturity and knowledge increased, unreasonable belief patterns and caste prejudice subsided, and impact of education was not at par in urban and rural areas. It has induced lesser amount of social change in rural areas. Masilamani, S\textsuperscript{22} has observed the educational backwardness of scheduled caste population in village and found that it is closely related to various forms of inequality that exist in the village. These observations hold good regarding the educational backwardness of the scheduled castes in most parts of the country. To break the vicious circle of poverty and educational backwardness, appropriate policies should be evolved to improve the economic condition of the scheduled caste and a suitable organizational framework should be evolved to motivate the scheduled castes to make use of existing protective measures.

Lal, Sheo Kumar and Nahar, Umed Raj\textsuperscript{23} have observed that the college students of scheduled castes receiving education in Rajasthan are predominantly


\textsuperscript{22}Masilamani, S, “Educational achievement of a scheduled caste: sex bias and a case study of `Chakkiliyars' of Chinnathadagam village”, SOCIAL ACTION, 36(2), 1986(April-June): 149-165

\textsuperscript{23}Lal, Sheo Kumar and Nahar, Umed Raj, “Social background of scheduled castes students”, TRIBE, 10(3), 1977(December): 28-37
boys. Their average age is 19.8 years. The major caste groups are represented in the sample. Except a few, they follow Hinduism. Students are mostly married. Levels of education are low in regard to the education of fathers of students and still lower in case of mothers. Compared to fathers, rate of illiteracy among the mothers of the students is very high. The students are the most highly educated persons in their family looking to the education attained by their siblings. While fathers of the students are generally engaged in economic activities and most of them work in the villages for their livelihood, mothers generally seem to be housewives. The students’ come from the families mostly with less prestigious occupation. Only a few students are enjoying a comfortable economic status otherwise it is difficult according to a majority of the students.

BOSE, A.B\textsuperscript{24} has opined that it is necessary to consider measures to accelerate the pace of educational development among the scheduled castes taking in to account the differential needs of castes and the levels of their educational development. The Education Commission (1964-66) which considered the problems of educational development of both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes felt that in so far as the scheduled castes are concerned, the existing programmes should be continued and expanded. It emphasized the importance of universal provision, universal enrolment and universal retention. It pointed out that while school facilities at primary stage exist, at the higher, primary stage there is some inadequacy. It further emphasized that ‘the most important program to be implemented at the primary stage during the next ten years is to improve the quality of education and

\textsuperscript{24} BOSE, A.B, “Educational Development Among Scheduled Caste”, MAN IN INDIA, 50(3), 1970(July-September): 209-239
to reduce stagnation and wastage to the minimum. In fact, the task of universal education begins when children are enrolled in class VII. In this overall program the reduction of wastage and stagnation in class I is obviously the most important element. For increasing the effectiveness of measures of promoting higher education, pre metric education needs to be strengthened so that a strong foundation is laid, hostel facilities is increased, new courses included for award of post metric scholarships, book grants given and administrative and other delays minimized. It is also worth examining at what stage some form of graded merit test is applied so that the brighter students are given greater assistance in their academic pursuits.

There are two parts to this section. Part A pertains to recommendations which IIT Bombay can implement only with the help of the Ministry of Education. Part B refers more specifically to the solutions that IIT Bombay can implement from within and should do so at the earliest.

(1) Because of the numerous academic problems faced by SC/ST students admitted in to IIT through reservation (outlined already in the preceding section), it is recommended that an attempt should be made to train bright SC,/ST students for competitive setups such as IITS at the school level itself. There could also be special coaching at the post-school level, but prior to their entry in to IIT. Special coaching after entering IIT overburdens and isolates them. It would be advisable to screen SC/ST students right at the eighth or ninth standard using aptitude tests such s the Differential Aptitude Test (DAT) and coaching them up accordingly.

(2) While admitting SC/ST students into IIT economically poor bright SC/ST students should be given preference because rich SC/ST students have the same
background as rich non-SC/STs and they can compete and enter IIT on merit.

(3) All second generation SC/ST learners should be considered ineligible for entry through the reserved quota. Recommendations (2) and (3) are absolutely essential in order to reduce check and eventually to eliminate the growing resentment among non-SC/ST students against concessionary entry (are not in need of upliftment).

(4) SC/ST students admitted to IIT Bombay but who cannot stay on in the institute (because they fail to fulfill the performance requirements and are asked to leave or who leave on their own after being put on probation) should be rehabilitated. They should be helped to get into some less demanding vocational stream or get admission into some college, otherwise they might end up as 'rejects' for life.

(1) The Panikar Committee recommended that admission forms should be sent by IIT on its own to various schools to be given to bright SC/ST students for applying for JEE. It had also recommended that information such as standards expected in the IITs and the pattern of education here should be sent to all potentially capable students. These recommendations were made in order to get better qualified SC/ST students, as well as to prepare them for the rigors of IIT education. They have been implemented since. Both these practices, however, must be reviewed for their success and if beneficial in getting a reasonable number of SC/ST students into IIT, continued. If not, then the process of locating bright, deserving SC/ST candidates would have to be made more rigorous.

(2) A well-established counseling cell should be run to eclectically counsel SC/ST students, especially at the beginning of the B.Tech programme. Its job would be:

(a) To familiarize students with the IIT pattern and its expectations.

(b) To help them choose those branches for which their academic background is
more suited.

**Gaps in the earlier studies**

1. No serious research work is undertaken about the current status of Dalit students in higher education.
2. No empirical work is done on the effects of privatization of higher education on dalit students as viewed by Dalit elite.
3. Dalit students’ views on the effects of privatization of higher education are not analyzed.

To fill the said gaps, the present study entitled “Privatization of Higher Education and its Impact on Dalit Students in Telangana State” is initiated with the objectives and hypotheses as mentioned.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

1. To analyze the current status of Dalit students in higher education.
2. To assess the effects of privatization of higher education on dalit students as viewed by Dalit elite.
3. To analyze the effects of privatization of higher education as perceived by Dalit students.
4. To suggest measures to counter the adverse effects of privatization of higher education in a manner to the benefit of Dalit students.

**HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY**
1. Dalit students are still lagging behind the students of socially advanced communities in the arena of higher education.

2. In the wake of mounting out of pocket costs, higher education became a severe burden for Dalit students.

**METHODOLOGY**

Towards the end of the objectives and hypotheses, the following methodology is adopted.

**SAMPLE DESIGN**

In Andhra Pradesh state there were three regions namely Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana. Of all three regions mentioned, Coastal Andhra region stands first in terms of overall indicators of development which include political, educational and economic factors followed by Telangana and Rayalaseema regions respectively. The same hierarchy of development is reflected in case of education of Dalit students. The Dalit students of Andhra region have had their share disproportionate to their population in both higher education and employment. The number of IAS, IRS and other central services from Coastal Andhra region outweigh the Dalit of Telangana and Rayalaseema. Thus, the Dalit students of Telangana are put to lot of injustice. Added to this, the process of privatization of higher education in India has aggravated the economic woes of Telangana Dalit students as both the Telangana region and Telangana Dalit students are mostly economically backward. Since, Coastal Andhra and some parts of Rayalaseema region were under British rule; the Dalit students of the said regions have derived lot of benefits attributable to higher education at the expense of Dalit students of Telangana. The opportunities arise out of the privatization higher education in Andhra Pradesh have
been mopped by the Dalit students of Andhra and Rayalaseema regions where as Dalit students of Telangana region lagged behind since it is beyond their affordability. It will be both academic and policy formulation purposes very useful to study the preparedness of Dalit students of Telangana to join the process of higher education and to identify the problems and prospects associated with privatization of higher education in Telangana region. Thus, the present study is confined to privatization of higher education and implications for the Dalit students of Telangana region since they are the victims of lopsided development which favored the developed regions and their people at the expense of backward Telangana region and people especially the downtrodden and the dalits. Towards the end of the study, the data were obtained from 200 students positioned in higher education from Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, Mahabubnagar, Rangareddy and Hyderabad districts. The data were also obtained from 120 Dalit elite who occupy the prominent positions in different walks of life and who also know mostly the in and out of the dynamics of Dalit development.

**SOURCES OF DATA**

The present study made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. The sources of secondary data included the reports of ministry of social justice and MHRD and The department of Higher education Government of Andhra Pradesh. The primary data are collected directly from the respondents by administering a pre designed questionnaire/ schedules.
PERIOD OF THE STUDY

The present study considered the 2000-13 as the year for the collection of data from the respondents.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The present study confines itself to assess the impact of privatization on higher education, not on all the students, but only on the Dalit students Telangana region.

TECHINQUES OF ANALYSIS

The present study made use of interview method to collect the primary data. Simple percentages, frequencies, and other relevant techniques are used.