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Reach and Role of Private Schools in India

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Acronyms

ABL	Activity Based Learning
AID	Acquired Immuno Deficiency
B.Ed	Bachelor of Education.
BPL	Below Poverty Line
BRC	Block Resource Centre
BSTC	Basic School Teaching Course
BTC	Basic Training Certificate
BTT	Basic Teacher Training
CABE	Central Advisory Board of Education
CBSE	Central Board of Secondary Education
CRC	Cluster Resource Centre
DFID	Department for International Development
DISE	District Information System for Education
DPEP	District Primary Education Programme
DPSP	Directive Principles of State Policy
EWS	Economically Weaker Section
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICSE	Indian Certificate of Secondary Education
JRC	Junior Red Cross
KGBV	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya
LEAPS	Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools
LFPS	Low Fee Private School
M.Ed	Master of Education
M.Phil	Master of Philosophy
MDM	Mid-Day Meal
MIS	Management Information Systems
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEP	National Education Policy
NMMS	National Merit-cum-Means Scholarship
NPE	National Policy on Education
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
NTC	Nursery Training Course
OBC	Other Backward Caste
RBSE	Rajasthan Board of Secondary Education
RTE	Right to Education Act
SABL	Simplified Activity Based Learning
SC	Schedule Caste
SDMCs	School Development and Management Committee
SEDGs	Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Groups
SHGs	Self Help Groups
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
ST	Schedule Tribe
TCH	Teacher Certificate Higher
TLMs	Teaching Learning Materials
U-DISE	Unified District Information System for Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

Elementary education in India has entered into a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, there is a constitutional commitment to provide free and compulsory universal education to 6-14 year children. On the other hand, the government has been stealthily walking out of the responsibility by way of (a) inadequate allocation of financial resources, (b) weak implementation of the Right to Education Act (RTE Act), (c) closure of government schools in large number in various states, especially in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and (d) encouraging private players to share the responsibility that is constitutionally assigned to the state.

The Constitution of India originally provided for non-justiciable right to education¹ under the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). The Constitution makers were of the view that though the state should take the responsibility, the nascent state should not be constitutionally bound to meet it immediately, as there were competing claims of pressing necessities over limited resources. This position prevailed for more than forty years.

In 1993, the Supreme Court of India altered this position in *Unnikrishnan versus State of Andhra Pradesh* and laid down that, every citizen of the country has a fundamental right to education that forms part of Article 21 of our Constitution. Subsequently, the 86th Constitutional Amendment Act, 2002, inserted Article 21(A) into the Constitution that elevated the right to education of 6-14 year children to a fundamental right. In pursuance of the Constitutional mandate, the Parliament of India enacted the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, to provide free and compulsory education to 6 to 14 year children that came into force on April 1, 2010.

However, despite the Constitutional mandate and the subsequent enactment of the RTE Act, there has been the declining role of government in providing free and compulsory universal education. There is decreasing share of government in total elementary schools and declining enrolment in government schools.

¹ Article 41 directs the state “to make effective provision for securing the right to education”. Article 45 provides for “free and compulsory education for all children until they complete fourteen years of age”. Article 46 directs the state to promote the educational interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Table 1.1: Changing share of Government and Private Schools (In %)							
States	2009-10	2019-20	Change over the decade	States	2009-2010	2019-20	Change over the decade
	Government Schools^	Government Schools^			Private Schools*	Private Schools*	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	82.24	81.54	-0.7	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	17.76	18.46	0.70
Andhra Pradesh	80.97	81.38	0.41	Andhra Pradesh	19.03	18.62	-0.41
Arunachal Pradesh	95.31	86.41	-8.9	Arunachal Pradesh	4.69	13.59	8.90
Assam	96.18	82.55	-13.63	Assam	3.82	17.45	13.63
Bihar	99.99	82.26	-17.73	Bihar	0.01	17.74	
Chandigarh	67.62	34.43	-33.19	Chandigarh	32.38	65.57	33.19
Chhattisgarh	91.85	89.73	-2.12	Chhattisgarh	8.15	10.27	2.12
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	95.95	90.64	-5.31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	4.05	9.36	5.31
Daman & Diu	87.81	91.01	3.2	Daman & Diu	12.19	8.99	-3.20
Delhi	60.43	49.39	-11.04	Delhi	39.57	50.61	11.04
Goa	96.31	88.76	-7.55	Goa	3.69	11.24	7.55
Gujarat	85.96	80.1	-5.86	Gujarat	14.04	19.90	5.86
Haryana	83.78	72.38	-11.4	Haryana	16.22	27.62	11.40
Himachal Pradesh	86.89	89.99	3.1	Himachal Pradesh	13.11	10.01	-3.10
Jammu & Kashmir	81.66	84.08	2.42	Jammu & Kashmir	18.34	15.92	-2.42
Jharkhand	97.67	83.7	-13.97	Jharkhand	2.33	16.30	13.97
Karnataka	84.11	82.32	-1.79	Karnataka	15.89	17.68	1.79
Kerala	95.46	80.55	-14.91	Kerala	4.54	19.45	14.91
Ladakh	NA	90.99		Ladakh	NA	9.01	
Lakshadweep	100	100	0	Lakshadweep	0	0.00	0.00
Madhya Pradesh	83.5	78.14	-5.36	Madhya Pradesh	16.5	21.86	5.36
Maharashtra	91.15	86.85	-4.3	Maharashtra	8.85	13.15	4.30
Manipur	78.55	83.87	5.32	Manipur	21.45	16.13	-5.32
Meghalaya	90.96	86.08	-4.88	Meghalaya	9.04	13.92	4.88
Mizoram	85.07	75.94	-9.13	Mizoram	14.93	24.06	9.13
Nagaland	74.14	85.35	11.21	Nagaland	25.86	14.65	
Odisha	96.68	89.37	-7.31	Odisha	3.32	10.63	7.31
Puducherry	67.49	79.83	12.34	Puducherry	32.51	20.17	-12.34
Punjab	87.95	82.12	-5.83	Punjab	12.05	17.88	5.83
Rajasthan	77.36	69.84	-7.52	Rajasthan	22.64	30.16	7.52
Sikkim	80	63.47	-16.53	Sikkim	20	36.53	16.53
Tamil Nadu	80.92	84.12	3.2	Tamil Nadu	19.08	15.88	-3.20
Telangana	NA	83.37		Telangana	NA	16.63	
Tripura	97.4	86.64	-10.76	Tripura	2.6	13.36	10.76
Uttar Pradesh	79.35	62.22	-17.13	Uttar Pradesh	20.65	37.78	17.13
Uttarakhand	80.71	74.79	-5.92	Uttarakhand	19.29	25.21	5.92
West Bengal	88.01	86.83	-1.18	West Bengal	11.99	13.17	1.18
All India	85.96	78.59	-7.37	All India	14.04	21.41	7.37

Source: Flash Statistics 2009-10, DISE available at <http://www.dise.in/downloads/publications/publications%202009-10/flash%20statistics%202009-10.pdf> U-DISE + 2019-2020, Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Education, Government of India, available at https://dashboard.udiseplus.gov.in/assets/images/pdf/UDISE+2019_20_Booklet.pdf

Note: ^ includes government and aided schools; * includes unaided private schools and does not cover madaras and other unrecognised schools.

Table 1.2: Changing share of Enrolment in Government and Private Schools between 2009-10 and 2019-2020 (In %)							
States	2009-10	2019-20	Change over the decade	States	2009-10	2019-20	Change over the decade
	Government Schools^	Government Schools^			Private Schools*	Private Schools*	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	85.32	68.9	-16.42	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	14.68	31.10	16.42
Andhra Pradesh	63.07	54.01	-9.06	Andhra Pradesh	36.93	45.99	9.06
Arunachal Pradesh	89.01	66.59	-22.42	Arunachal Pradesh	10.99	33.41	22.42
Assam	94.92	74.85	-20.07	Assam	5.08	25.15	20.07
Bihar	99.99	80.93	-19.06	Bihar	0.01	19.07	19.06
Chandigarh	71.75	62.6	-9.15	Chandigarh	28.25	37.40	9.15
Chhattisgarh	84.95	69.71	-15.24	Chhattisgarh	15.05	30.29	15.24
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	87.12	70.46	-16.66	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	12.88	29.57	16.69
Daman & Diu	75.92	61.97	-13.95	Daman & Diu	24.08	38.03	13.95
Delhi	66.55	55.14	-11.41	Delhi	33.45	44.86	11.41
Goa	92.27	84.11	-8.16	Goa	7.73	15.89	8.16
Gujarat	78.48	60.76	-17.72	Gujarat	21.52	39.24	17.72
Haryana	73.07	36.84	-36.23	Haryana	26.93	63.16	36.23
Himachal Pradesh	75.6	55.04	-20.56	Himachal Pradesh	24.4	44.96	20.56
Jammu & Kashmir	63.53	50.32	-13.21	Jammu & Kashmir	36.47	49.68	13.21
Jharkhand	93.65	69.67	-23.98	Jharkhand	6.35	30.33	23.98
Karnataka	71.91	55.03	-16.88	Karnataka	28.09	44.97	16.88
Kerala	93.47	64.97	-28.5	Kerala	6.53	35.03	28.50
Ladakh	NA	43.83		Ladakh	NA	56.17	
Lakshadweep	100	100	0	Lakshadweep	0	0.00	0.00
Madhya Pradesh	68.89	56.65	-12.24	Madhya Pradesh	31.11	43.35	12.24
Maharashtra	86.4	69.63	-16.77	Maharashtra	13.6	30.37	16.77
Manipur	51.16	35.61	-15.55	Manipur	48.84	64.39	15.55
Meghalaya	89.05	77.33	-11.72	Meghalaya	10.95	22.67	11.72
Mizoram	75.62	49.51	-26.11	Mizoram	24.38	50.49	26.11
Nagaland	44.66	37.88	-6.78	Nagaland	55.34	62.12	6.78
Odisha	94.38	79.49	-14.89	Odisha	5.62	20.51	14.89
Puducherry	56.26	39.63	-16.63	Puducherry	43.74	60.37	16.63
Punjab	75.67	44.96	-30.71	Punjab	24.33	55.04	30.71
Rajasthan	62.86	49.88	-12.98	Rajasthan	37.14	50.12	12.98
Sikkim	86.59	62.19	-24.4	Sikkim	13.41	37.81	24.40
Tamil Nadu	68.68	51.76	-16.92	Tamil Nadu	31.32	48.24	16.92
Telangana	NA	43.57		Telangana	NA	56.43	
Tripura	93.43	81.21	-12.22	Tripura	6.57	18.79	12.22
Uttar Pradesh	69.16	52.06	-17.1	Uttar Pradesh	30.84	47.94	17.10
Uttarakhand	67.97	40.89	-27.08	Uttarakhand	32.03	59.11	27.08
West Bengal	91.31	84.72	-6.59	West Bengal	8.69	15.28	6.59
All India	78.61	61.67	-16.94	All India	21.39	38.24	16.85

Source: Flash statistics 2009-10, DISE available at <http://www.dise.in/downloads/publications/publications%202009-10/flash%20statistics%202009-10.pdf> U-DISE + 2019-2020, Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Education, Government of India, available at https://dashboard.udiseplus.gov.in/assets/images/pdf/UDISE+2019_20_Booklet.pdf

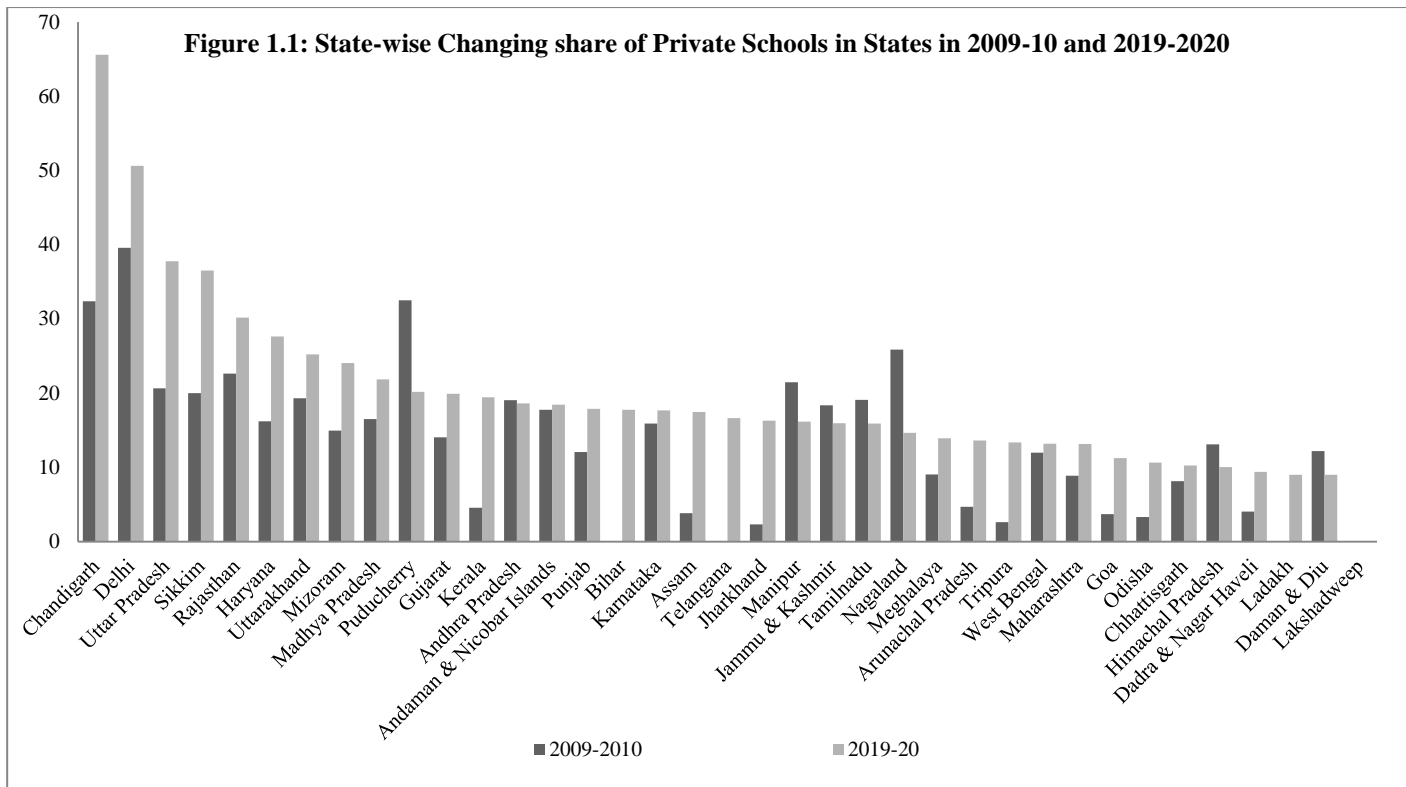
Note: Note: ^ includes enrolment in government and aided schools; * includes enrolment in unaided private schools and does not cover madaras and other unrecognised schools.

For example, in 2009-10, the year of the enactment of the RTE Act, 85.96 per cent of the total elementary schools were government, including private-aided, that came down to 78.59 per cent in 2019-20, a decline of 7.37 point percentage in 10 years. The decline was greater in enrolment ratio. In 2009-10, 78.61 per cent of the total elementary school children were in government schools that came down to 61.67 per cent in 2019-20, a decline of 16.94 point percentage. The decline in enrolment was double the decline in the number of government schools.

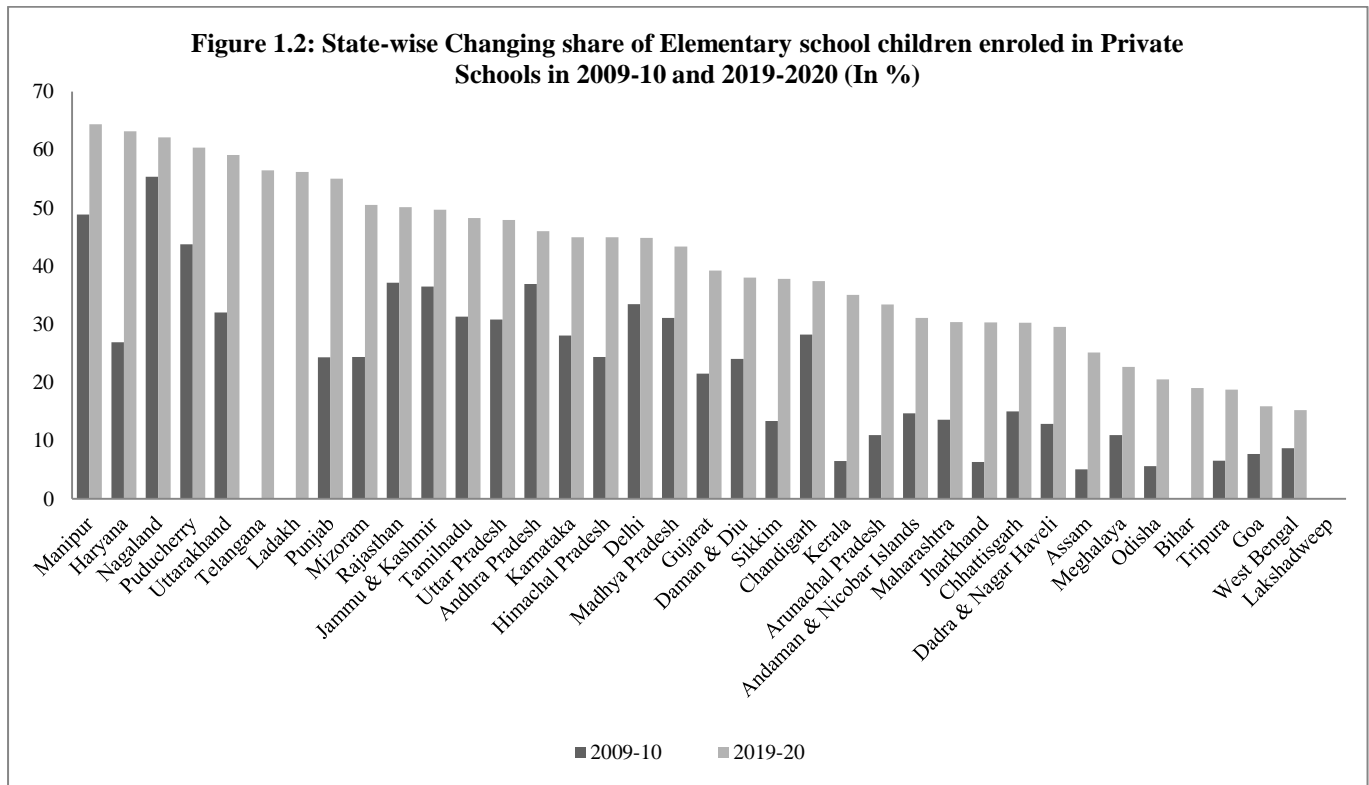
Private schools constituted 14.04 per cent of the total elementary schools in 2009-10 that increased to 21.41 per cent in 2019-20. The share of private elementary schools increased in greater proportion in some states. It increased in Chandigarh from 32.38 per cent to 65.57 per cent, in Delhi, from 39.57 per cent to 50.61 per cent, in Goa, from 3.69 per cent to 11.24 per cent, in Gujarat from 14.04 per cent to 19.9 per cent, in Haryana from 16.22 per cent to 27.62 per cent, in Kerala from 4.54 per cent to 19.45 per cent, in Madhya Pradesh from 16.50 to 21.86 per cent, in Maharashtra from 8.85 to 13.15 per cent, in Mizoram from 14.93 to 24.06 per cent, in Punjab from 12.05 to 17.88 per cent, in Rajasthan from 22.64 to 30.16 per cent, in Sikkim from 20.00 to 36.53 per cent, in Uttar Pradesh from 20.65 to 37.78 per cent and in Uttarakhand from 19.29 to 25.21 per cent. The increase was the highest in Chandigarh (33.19 %) followed by Sikkim (16.53 %) and Uttar Pradesh (17.13 %).

Private schools made much greater inroad in terms of the share of students enrolled. In 2009-10, private schools enrolled 21.39 per cent of the total elementary school children that increased to 38.24 per cent by 2019-20. While private schools increased their numbers by less than one per cent per annum over the decade of 2009-10 to 2019-20, they increased their share in the enrolment of elementary school children by two per cent per annum.

Against the all India figure of 38.24 per cent of the total elementary children enrolled in private schools, there were some states with much higher enrolment ratio. The figure was higher for states like Manipur (64.39%), Haryana (63.16%), Nagaland (62.12%), Uttarakhand (59.11%), Punjab (55.04%), Mizoram (50.49%), Rajasthan (50.12%), and Jammu & Kashmir (49.68 %).



Source: Flash Statistics 2009-10, DISE available at <http://www.dise.in/downloads/publications/publications%202009-10/flash%20statistics%202009-10.pdf> U-DISE + 2019-2020, Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Education, Government of India, available at https://dashboard.udiseplus.gov.in/assets/images/pdf/UDISE+2019_20_Booklet.pdf



Source: Flash statistics 2009-10, DISE available at <http://www.dise.in/downloads/publications/publications%202009-10/flash%20statistics%202009-10.pdf> U-DISE + 2019-2020, Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Education, Government of India, available at https://dashboard.udiseplus.gov.in/assets/images/pdf/UDISE+2019_20_Booklet.pdf

The increasing role of private players in school education has been fostered by various factors. Firstly, the number of government schools has not increased in proportion to the growth rate in child population entering into school education. This has created a supply side gap. In many places, as it has been shown later, private schools came up because there were no government schools in the village or locality. Though, private schools in such places have come up to fill the gap, yet most of them are driven by commercial interest. Secondly, growing dissatisfaction with the performance of government schools has accelerated the demand for private schools (Baird, 2009), which have been successful in building a perception among the people that they are invariably better than government schools in providing quality education (Härmä, 2009; Johnson & Bowles, 2010; Baird, 2009). This perception has been re-enforced by various surveys², which show that the learning level is better in private schools (Srivastava, 2008). High publicity given by private schools to their claims of providing quality education adds to this influence. Thirdly, private schools adopt various tactics to woo parents who are influenced by their publicity gimmicks that carefully promise to fulfill parental aspirations.

The declining role of public funded elementary education and its gradual replacement by new forms of private schooling is of great concern for achieving the goal of universalisation of elementary education (Baltodano, 2012). Moreover, because of privatisation, the right to education is being crippled by aggravating marginalisation and exclusion in education (Singh, 2014). That has been further pushed by business for profit-making schools (Singh, 2014).

This study examines the increasing role of private schools and its implications for achieving the goal of universal elementary education. It argues that increasing privatisation of school education has serious implication for equity and justice. Differential access to government and private schools and differential education systems for different sections of the society would create an unequal society. While government schools are available free of cost and hence, affordable to all, private schools are not affordable by a sizeable section of the population. Decline of government role and increasing dependence on private schools might deprive the poor of their right to education whose long-term socio-economic consequences would be grave.

² ASER is important among them.

Education and Socio-economic Development

Tilak (2017) has emphasised the role of education as a great equaliser though Velaskar has a different perspective (Velaskar, 1990)³. Béteille (2008) adds that education has provided social and economic mobility to the deprived sections of the society, and has been a major agent of social change. Education provides socio-economic mobility to an individual, and also increases his/ her bargaining power in economic domain. In addition, universalisation of education reduces disparity between the schooled and the un-schooled (Béteille, 2008).

Education improves the condition of the marginalised communities by enhancing their decision-making power. Further, education not only provides an opportunity for equal participation in social, political and economic domains, but also gives them ability to overcome or resist cultural biases and norms (Amin 1996; Mukhopadhyay and Garimella 1998).

Schultz (1971) and Sen (1990) have underlined the role of education in promoting economic growth and development. Schultz (1971) has examined the role of human capital in economic growth, and established a positive correlation between high human capital formation and high growth rate in GDP. He argues that knowledge and skills that come through education are a form of capital, and demonstrated that it has been critical to gain high growth rate. Sen (1990) has emphasised the role of education in “capability enhancement” of an individual that increases his/her opportunities and widens choices; which he defines as development. Dreze and Sen (2002) have elaborated five distinct ways through which education plays an important role in the socio-economic development of an individual and society, which they describe as follows:

- a) *Intrinsic Importance*: Being educated is a valuable achievement in itself that can help an individual in fulfilment of aspirations and self-improvement;
- b) *Instrumental Personal Role*: Being educated can help in deriving additional benefits such as getting secured job and becoming economically sound;
- c) *Instrumental Social Roles*: Education gives opportunity to take active part in issues related to the society;
- d) *Process Roles*: The process of schooling in itself is helpful in widening the horizons of students; and
- e) *Empowerment Roles*: Education helps individuals coming from a disadvantaged background to resist oppression, which is helpful in reducing inequalities.

³ Velaskar (1990) argues that education reproduces the structure of social inequality through the forms and content of knowledge transfer. She elaborates that the structure of school education systems perpetuate and reproduce inequality.

Various education policies in India have underlined the role of education in society. The Education Commission of 1966, popularly known as the Kothari Commission, has emphasised the social goals of education that provides socio-economic mobility to the backward and marginalised population. It states that “the social objective of education is to equalise opportunity and enable the backward or underprivileged classes and individuals to use education as a lever for the improvement of their conditions” (Government of India, 1966: 97). Later on, the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1968, reiterated the point emphasised by the Kothari Commission that is, education provides socio-economic mobility. Further, the NPE, 1968, aimed at achieving equalisation of educational opportunity in addressing the issues of regional imbalances in provision of educational facilities. It further emphasised promotion of education of girls, backward classes, tribal population and the handicapped as an important goal of the NPE (Government of India, 1968).

Like the NPE, the National Education Policy (NEP), 1986, and the subsequent Plan of Action, 1992, reasserted the social goal of education. It emphasised promotion of education of the marginalised population and laid down a roadmap to address the educational needs of the SCs/STs, minorities, girls, backward sections and children with special needs.⁴ It went on to highlight the role of education in contributing to the all-round development of individuals, and in developing manpower for different levels of the economy. It raised high goals of education in promoting socialism, secularism and democracy (Government of India, 1986).

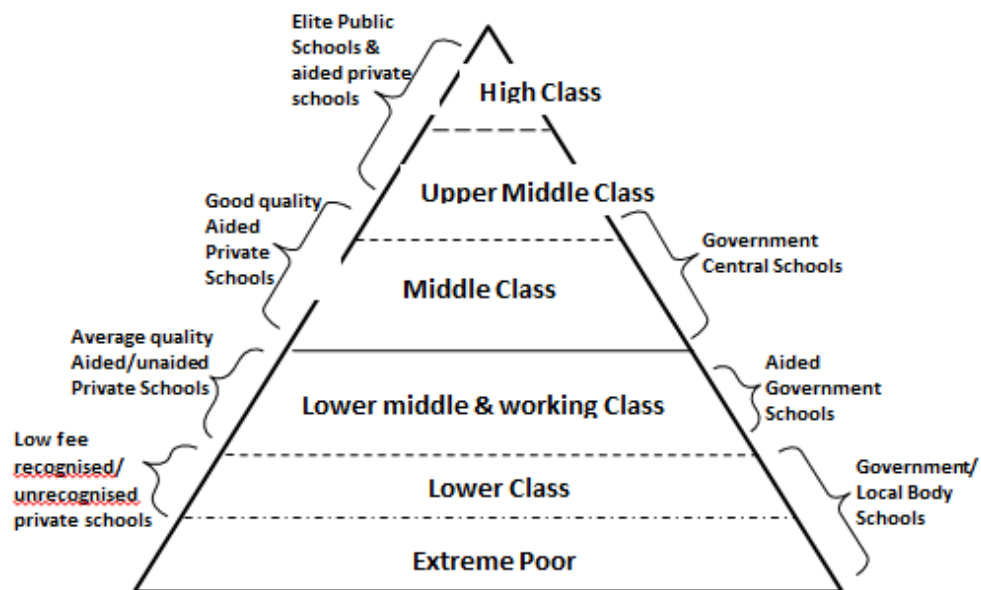
The new National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 too regards education as a great leveller, and an important tool for achieving economic and social mobility, inclusion and equality. It states that all schools be provided quality education, with particular focus on historically marginalised, disadvantaged, and under-represented groups (Government of India, 2020: 4). The Policy also reflects on how prejudices and biases, based on gender, social and economic status, and disabilities affect people’s capacity to benefit from the education system, and compound social cleavages (Ibid: 23). It identifies ‘Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs)’, which is defined on the basis of gender, socio-cultural, geographical identities, disabilities and socio-economic conditions (viz., children of migrants, children from low income households, children in vulnerable situations, victims of or children of victims of trafficking, orphans including child beggars in urban areas and the urban poor), and then gave special emphasis on promotion of their education.

⁴ This was however, not backed by adequate financial support to implement it.

While the role of education in socio-economic development is important, access to education is not universal. There is differential access to education based on different levels of earnings of the people, as Schultz (1971) has shown in the context of some of the Western Countries. In India, data suggest that children of the rich and the elite have access to good quality private schools, whereas children of the vast majority of the poor, including the Muslim minority and marginalised groups, go to government schools (Mitra & Poornima, 2015). Similarly, Velaskar shows socio-economic class-wise access to various types of schools in India:

- a) Exclusive public schools and unaided private schools, catering to the elite;
- b) Government central schools and good quality private aided schools, catering to the upper middle and middle classes;
- c) Aided or unaided private schools of average quality, catering to the middle and lower middle classes; and
- d) Government/local body schools catering to the poorer segments.

Figure 1.3: Socio-economic Class-wise Access to Various Types of Schools



Source: Adapted from Nambissan, 2012; Velaskar, 1990.

Béteille (2008) adds that in the Indian context, access to education remains restricted not only due to severe economic inequalities, but also because of strong and deeply rooted social prejudices, especially against women and lower castes. Privatisation of school education is likely to increase caste-class cleavages in access to education.

In contrast to the above positions, there are protagonists of the role of private players in providing school education in India. They argue that private players are helpful in meeting increasing demand for different kinds of schools by the different sections of the society. To them, private schools supplement government's efforts and resources (James, 1987; Tilak and Sudarshan, 2007; Muralidharan & Kremer, 2007; Tooley, 2009).

French and Kingdon (2010) have explained the phenomenon of increasing demand for private schools, as a response to dissatisfaction with the performance of government schools. They are joined by others to show that better performance of private vis-à-vis government schools has increased the demand for private schools (Kingdon, 2017; French & Kingdon, 2010; Chudgar & Quin, 2012; Goyal & Pandey, 2010).

A major disadvantage of private schools, which is overlooked by its protagonists, is that entry into private schools is not free from barriers. Private schools fix selection criteria at the entry level that include social and economic backgrounds of parents and scholastic achievements of parents, and sometimes of their children. The seeds of inequality are sown at the entry point, which spread to the entire education system, and thereby, finally in the society (Tilak, 2017).

A segregated education system creates an unequal and segregated society. Different types of education systems result in differential quality, standards, teaching and learning methods (Velaskar, 1990). It also creates social segregation by separating children into two categories, viz. private school-educated and public school-educated. Nambissan (2012) argues that the low fee/budget/affordable private schools, which are also being pushed by certain quarters as a solution for the declining role of government schools, are inherently unjust and against the rights of children. Moreover, it has been observed that those who can afford private school often desert public schools (Levin, 2013). Thus the children of only poor parents remain in public schools that lead to ghettoisation.

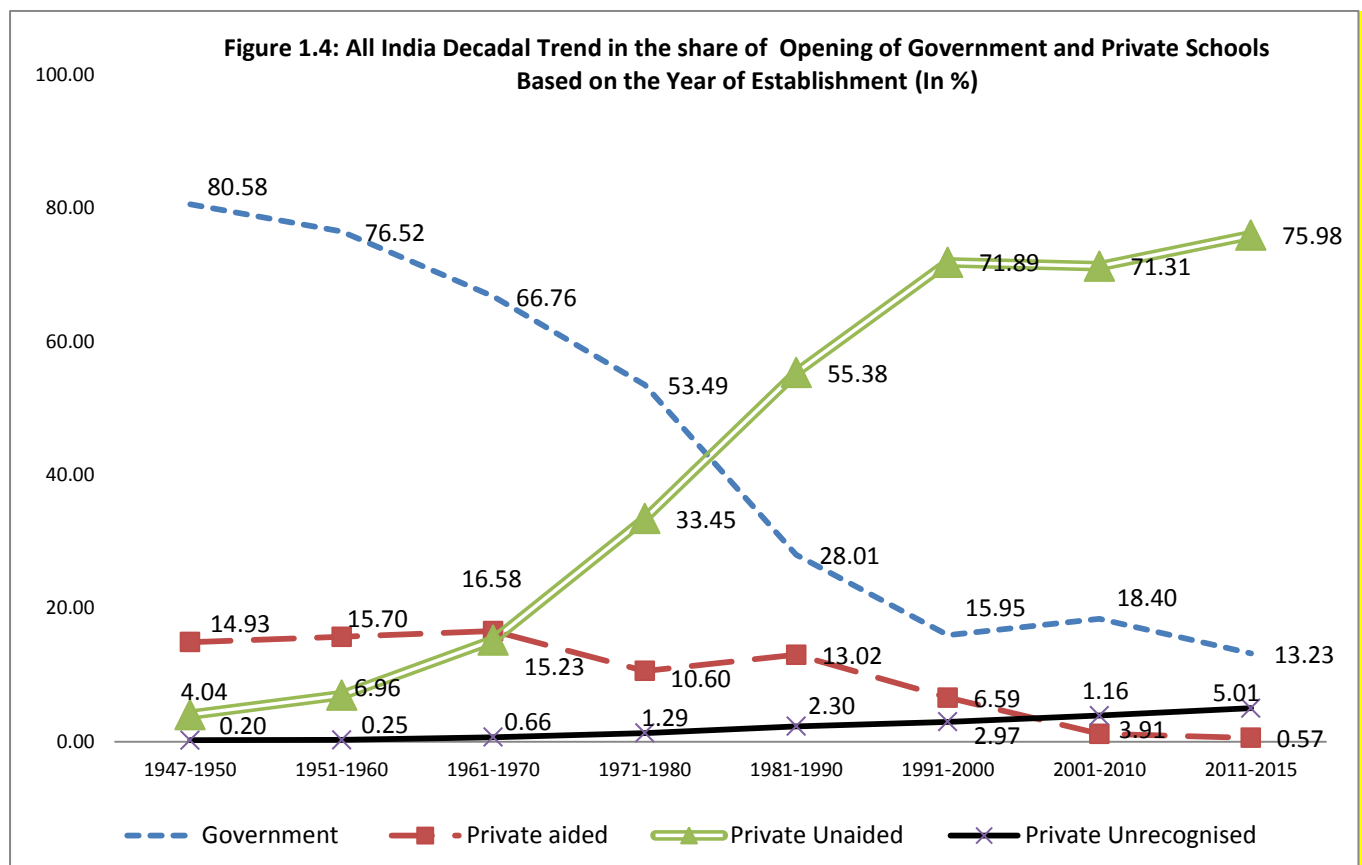
Shifting Role of Government and Private Schools in India

For decades after Independence, the government played a dominant role in providing school education in India. The role of private players was limited, mostly in the form of philanthropy. This was the scenario largely upto the 1980s that has, however, changed since then.

From the mid-1990s onwards, privatisation has been encouraged in the social sectors, including education. Private players have increased their presence, especially in elementary

education. Many of them have tactically targeted and tapped both economically better off and poor as well by promising to provide quality education to the children of the former and doing service to the children of the latter (Singh, 2015).

Immediately after Independence, the government took the responsibility of providing school education and played the key role in establishing new schools. Figure 1.4 shows the decadal trend in the share of government and private schools based on the year of establishment since independence.



Source: Computed based on U-DISE 2014-15.

At the time of independence, more than 80 per cent of the schools were established by government that declined to 76.52 per cent in the 1950s, 66.76 per cent in the 1960s, and further, to 53.49 per cent in the 1970s. For the first time, the share of new government schools came down to less than fifty per cent in the 1970s. In other words, for the first time, the number of schools opened by the government constituted only half of the total new schools. The share of government in newly opened schools declined further to 28 per cent in the 1980s and 15.95 per cent in the 1990s. In the decade of 2000s, there was a slight reversal of the trend from the previous decades, as for the first time since Independence, the share of government opened new schools increased to 18.40 per cent in the decade. This was mainly

due to the launch of the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). Thus, the share of government in establishing new school has declined in all decades since Independence, barring the 2000s, when there was a slight increase in the share of government schools. The flagship programme of SSA and later on the enactment of the Right to Education (RTE) Act played an important role in increasing the number of government schools in this period. While the share of government in newly opened schools declined in all decades, barring 2000s, since Independence, the share of private unaided new schools was almost constant upto 1970 that, however, declined in the decade of the 1970s. After a slight increase in the 1980s, its share has constantly fallen. In the decade of the 2000s, only one per cent of the newly established schools were private aided.

In contrast, the share of private unaided schools that constituted 4.04 per cent of the newly opened schools at the time of Independence (1947-50), increased to 6.96 per cent in the 1950s, and further, to 16.58 per cent in the 1960s. Since then, the share of private schools in the newly opened schools has increased exponentially. Its share increased to 16.58 per cent in the 1960s, 33.45 per cent in the 1970s, 55.38 per cent in the 1980s, 71.89 per cent in the 1990s and has been more than 70 per cent since then. In fact, in the 1970s mid, the share of government in newly opened schools declined to half of the total new schools whereas the share of private unaided schools increased to almost fifty per cent of the total. Though the trend in the decline of government share in the opening of new schools declined dramatically in the 1970s and that of private unaided schools increased, liberalisation added to the decline in the share of government schools.

Change in the commitment of government towards providing school education was justified by some. Ramachandran (2003) argued that the government did not have the capacity to work simultaneously on several fronts— access, quality and relevance. UNESCO (2000) emphasised on the role of private players for better governance of education systems in terms of efficiency, accountability, transparency and flexibility, so that it can respond more effectively to the diverse and continuously changing needs of the learners.

In fact, some elementary seeds of privatisation were found in the NEP 1986 that adopted a participatory approach and suggested decentralised management structure to ensure popular participation in education (Rao, 2002). There was also a change in the way in which government programmes related to promotion of educations were financed and implemented. For example, Lok Jumbish and District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) in the 1980s

and 1990s were pursued based on the financial aid from the community and the World Bank respectively. Such approaches created an environment for declining role of government.

Five Year Plans and School Education

The shift in government approach towards withdrawal from social sectors, including education, was also reflected in five year plans. The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002), invited private players in social sector development, viz. providing basic services, such as education, health, drinking water, etc. The Approach Paper to the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) acknowledged that “public sector is much less dominant than it used to be in many sectors and its relative position is likely to decline further...” (Government of India, 2002: 2). The Tenth Plan opened the door for public private partnership, and emphasised the role of private players for mobilising resources and for effective management of public services.

The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012) was more candid. It categorically stated that privatisation would be a preferred strategy for promoting education. It asserted that “in the liberalised global economy where there is a pursuit for achieving excellence, the legitimate role of private providers of quality education not only needs to be recognised, but also encouraged” (Government of India, 2008: 8).

The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) went one step further and prescribed that, “the current licensing and regulatory restrictions be eased and a single window approach be adopted, so that the process of opening new schools by private providers is streamlined” (Government of India, 2013: 64). The Three Year Action Agenda (2018-2020) of the NITI Aayog has gone much ahead in pushing privatisation of school education and recommended handing over of the non-performing government schools to private players. The Action Agenda has also suggested exploring other avenues such as education voucher and local government-led purchasing of schooling services, in order to deal with what it calls “hollowing” of state-run schools (Government of India, 2017: 138).

Access, Functioning and Implications of Privately Funded School Education

Experiences from the different parts of the world show that the issue of public versus private provisioning of school education is much debated. There are strong protagonists of private schools. There are die-hard champions of government schools. Tooley (2009) reports that the low-fee private schools (LFPS) meet equity considerations, as it provide low cost education to children who cannot afford high cost private schools. He further argues that since the low-

fee private schools are mostly located within poor settlements, it facilitates their increased access to schools. Muralidharan and Kremer (2007) have argued that private schools are able to hire more number of teachers at low pay. In other words, cost per teacher is lower in private schools, compared to government schools (Muralidharan & Kremer, 2007).

However, such arguments in favour of private schools are weak and out of context as well. If government schools are established everywhere, equity consideration, as argued by Tooley, does not arise. Similarly, Muralidharan and Kremer's argument hides the fact that private schools have poor retention rates of such low paid teachers that adversely affects education of the children. In contrast, government school teachers are professionally qualified, and they are more stable because of the nature of their appointment. Since government school teachers are stable, they invest in their carrier. In contrast, most of the low-fee private schools are able to hire mostly untrained teachers. Also, there is a high level of attrition of teachers in private schools, as they don't see a career in teaching. Such teachers get into teaching, as a time gap arrangement, till they get into a career of their choice.

Many argue that teacher's absenteeism in government schools is much higher (Muralidharan & Kremer, 2007). However, absence of teachers in government schools has less to do with any delinquency on their part and more to do with the systemic issues that often require them to undertake various kinds of administrative duties, like population census, preparation of electoral roll, etc. (Azim Premji University Research Group, 2017). Furthermore, this is an issue of governance and not a demerit of government schools *per se*.

While various advantages of private schools are cited, such advantages reach only to the affluent sections of the society who have access to good quality private schools. The vast majority of population get access to only poor quality private schools. Thus, private schools tend to stratify the society and the education system. Private school system inculcates the value of inequalities that finally spreads to the society.

While access to government schools is gender-neutral, access to private schools is not. Evidences from India and Pakistan show that private schools are not equally accessed by boys and girls (Pal and Kingdon, 2010; Härmä, 2011; Aslam, 2009). Maitra et al. (2011) have shown that gender gap in private school enrolment in India is twice as large as that in public schools. Further, there were significant inter-state variations in the degree of male-female unequal access with respect to private schools. Large northern states have significantly higher levels of male-female inequality than in southern states. Similarly, Johnson and Bowles

(2010), based on an analysis of private secondary schools in Madhya Pradesh, report clear enrolment bias in favour of boys.

As against the above, Srivastava (2008), in her study of low-fee private schools in Lucknow, finds an equal chance of girls and boys attending such schools. A similar study of private schools in rural Pakistan shows that the share of girls' enrolment in private schools is 3-5 per cent higher than in government schools (Andrabi et al., 2008; Ashley, et al., 2014). These findings are, however, against the general trend.

Some of the proponents of private schools argue that they have increasingly become accessible to the poor. This does not hold good, as only a small proportion of children from the poor families access private schools. Financial constraints are the key factors that prevent them from getting into private schools. Heyneman and Stern (2013) have found that in Jamaica 10–11 per cent of students were in private schools from the two lowest economic quintiles in Jamaica, and 10 per cent of the poorest households in Pakistan (data from 2007 and 2000, respectively) (Ashley, et al., 2014). Akaguri (2013) here adds cautionary note in relation to his research in rural Ghana stating that “the fact that some poor households enrol their children in low fee private schools (LFPS) is not to be taken as an indication that they can readily afford the costs” (p.158) (cited in Ashley, et al, 2014). Härmä (2011) reports that poverty stricken households resort to “selection bias towards boys”. When due to poverty, parents cannot afford to send all children to private schools, they prefer to send boys rather than girls to private schools.

Singh and Sarkar (2012) in their study in Andhra Pradesh find that parents with children in government schools expressed helplessness in not being able to afford to send their children to private schools. They continue to send their children to government schools which serve the large majority of economically marginalised children (cited in Ashley, et al, 2014). Härmä (2011) confirms this trend of rich-poor divide and finds that the majority of those who access private schools are from better-off households. A child's chance of attending private school increases with the third income quintile (Ashley, et al., 2014). Härmä (2009) in her study of India finds an average-sized family in the poorest quintile requires 30 per cent of its total income to access a low-fee-private school (LFPS) that is only 3.9 per cent for government schools. In this study, 64 per cent of parents who were sending their wards to LFPS indicated that they had made savings by cutting expenditure in items such as clothing, healthcare and other basic necessities, in order to pay for private school fees.

Heavy borrowing to pay fees is also a concern, as indicated by Akaguri's (2013) study in Ghana. He estimates that the enrolment of just one child in a LFPS by a household in the poorest income quintile requires about a third (29.8%) of the total household income. Based on interviews with a small sub-sample of LFPS dropouts, the study finds that over half of them dropped out because of fee arrears, and a significant number of them were suspended or punished for non-payment of fees (Ashley, et al., 2014).

Andrabi et al. (2008) in their analysis of the Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools (LEAPS) have documented increasing reach of private schools in the rural areas of Pakistan, though the disparity between the rural and urban areas has been narrowed down with the increased access of private schools in rural areas. A study commissioned by Department for International Development (DFID) shows that LFPS are mainly confined to urban areas, where the market conditions are likely to be more viable in terms of the willingness and ability of parents to pay (Ashley, et al., 2014).

Given the significance of universal education, Singh (2015), the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Right to Education, has rightly stated: "Education is not a privilege of the rich and well-to-do, it is an inalienable right of every person. The State is both guarantor and regulator of education. The provision of basic education, free of cost, is not only a core obligation of States, it is also a moral imperative (Singh, 2015: p.8)." He is critical of government facilitating private players. He observes that "instead of controlling the growth of privatised, for-profit education, Governments often support private providers through subsidies and tax incentives, thus divesting themselves of their primary public function. As a result, rather than supplementing government efforts, private providers are supplanting public education, and commercialising education in the process" (p.9).

Singh (2015) also examines the implications of private schools in terms of equality of opportunity and argues that inequalities in opportunities of education will be exacerbated by the growth of unregulated private providers of education that will make wealth or property the main determinant in access to education. While discussing the issues of equity and social justice, Singh (2015) further argues that LFPS "not only constrain social justice in education, favouring access for some over others, but also social justice through education" as their *raison d'être* is "monetising access" to education. This aggravates inequality through the structural exclusion of certain groups, entrenching a neo-liberal vision of society. Though Singh (2015) is critical of the privatisation of education, yet he supports philanthropy in

education, as he is of the view that not-for-profit driven approach promotes education as a public good (Singh, 2015).

Dubey (2010) pleads for common school education system and is critical of the RTE Act for endorsing discriminatory access to schools by legalising the currently operating four categories of schools in the country viz., (i) government schools, (ii) aided private schools, (iii) special category schools, and (iv) non-aided private schools. He further argues that the provision of 25 per cent reservation to EWS category in private schools, apart from perpetuating the present multi-layer system, also violates Article 21A of the Constitution, by not providing free and compulsory education to 75 per cent children. He suggests that if private schools are allowed at all, they should provide free education to all children in the 6-14 years age group (Ibid, 2010).

While there are different position on public versus private provisioning of school education, it is critical to examine as to whether public or private provisioning of school education leads to universalisation of education, non-discriminatory access, equality of opportunity and promotion of social justice and equity. Privatisation of school education in India is likely to affect universalisation and equalisation of education adversely. Balakrishnan et al. (2008) assert that private schooling system creates unequal access, and involves huge costs, forcing the poor parents to make great sacrifices to send their children to private schools. This is despite the fact that while private schools maintain an appearance of efficiency and discipline, the teaching standard in many of these schools are not better than that of government schools (Balakrishnan, Dubey, & Jha, 2008). Nambissan (2012) has another concern, that is “the failure to enforce and monitor the regulatory framework within which private schools is to function has left the educational landscape open to corrupt practices and manipulation” (p.54).

Dreze and Sen (2013) have shown that a substantial proportion of the fee charged by private schools goes as profits to the school. Private schools are money making machines, with modest educational offerings. Dreze (2017) further observes that many of the LFPSs are not very different from the poor performing government schools. More importantly, selection of private schools by parents is made not on the basis of the quality or teaching standards, but the ignorance of the parents. Moreover, educational opportunities in private schools depend on one’s ability to pay, which is inherently, inequitable due to different socio-economic

conditions of different section of population. Increasing privatisation of school education in India may defeat the purpose of achieving the goal of equal society.

Tilak (2019) argues that privatisation of school education is a matter of policy crisis, as the government lets the education system evolve under the dictates of the market forces, forgetting the public good nature of education. This has led to a situation, wherein schooling has become a lucrative business proposition, with rapid commoditisation of education. Thus, as emphasised by Dubey and Mitra (2019), rather than handing over the school system to the private operators, common school system should be the apt framework to promote equity, quality; ensure inculcation of constitutional and democratic values; and thereby achieve universalisation of quality education.

Objectives of the Study

The key objectives of this study are to examine:

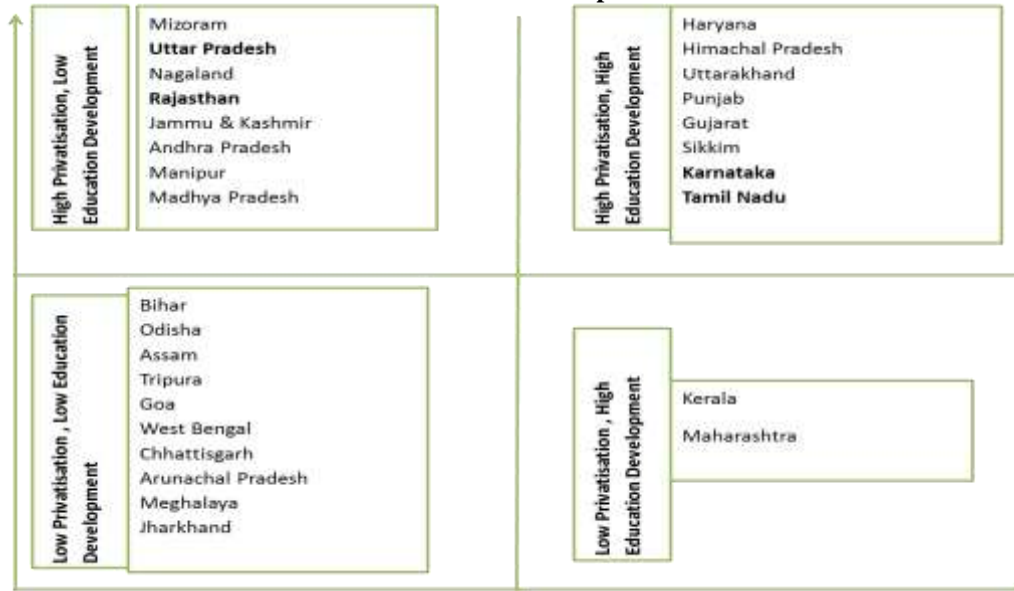
1. Reach of private schools: What proportion of elementary schools in India is private and what proportion of children enrolled at elementary level is in private schools?
2. Reasons for preferring private schools.
3. Socio-economic backgrounds of the households sending their children to government and private schools.
4. Financing of private school expenditure by parents, and its impact on their economic conditions, including any debts, if incurred for paying school fees.
5. Quality of education provided in private schools, participation and reality.
6. Fee structures and facilities available in private schools.
7. Implications of increasing role of private schools; the concern of equity and justice.

Methodology

This study is based on survey method. It uses both the primary and secondary data sources. The available secondary data have been analysed to examine the reach of private schools across the states. The main sources of the secondary data, used for this study, include U-DISE, 71st round of NSSO and other statistics from the Ministry of Human Resource Development. A primary survey was conducted in four states to examine the reach of private schools, views and perception of parents, teachers and children. The primary survey also

collected data on fee structure, infrastructural facilities and learning levels of students. The primary survey was conducted both in government and private schools.

Figure 1.5: Sample Selection based on Classification of States as per the Level of Privatisation and Educational Development



Source: Prepared by the authors

First of all privatisation index of states was computed using the U-DISE data on the total numbers of government and private schools and the proportion of children enrolled in these schools. A composite index was constructed using the privatisation index, prepared by us and the education development index, prepared by the NUEPA, which measures the level of educational development of various states on key indicators. Based on the composite index, four States were selected. States were grouped into four categories, viz. (a) high privatisation and low educational development (b) high privatisation and high educational development (c) low privatisation and low educational development; and (d) low privatisation and high educational development. Two States were selected from the group of States with high privatisation and low educational development. Another two States were selected from the group of high privatisation and high educational development. While selecting the States, efforts were made to give representation to North and South India. Thus, primary survey was conducted in the four states, viz. Karnataka, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh.

Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan were selected as states with high privatisation (higher proportion of private schools and higher proportion of children attending private schools) and low educational development. Karnataka and Tamil Nadu were selected as the States with high privatisation and high educational development. One district from each State with high

proportion of private schools and high enrolment in private schools was selected. Accordingly, Ghazipur from Uttar Pradesh, Sikar from Rajasthan, Bellary from Karnataka and Kanyakumari from Tamil Nadu were selected. Again from each District, one Block based on high proportion of private schools and enrolment of children in them was selected. Thus, Manihari block in Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh, Madhopur block in Sikar District of Rajasthan, Bellary West block in Bellary District of Karnataka and Munchirai block in Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu were chosen for the study.

S.No.	States	District	Block	Village	Households	Schools
1.	Karnataka	Bellary	East Bellary	Badanahatti Genikehal Kurugod Kolur Kudithini	20*5 =100	15 Private 5 Government
2.	Rajasthan	Sikar	Sri Madhopur	Ajeethgarh Bharni Haspur Jalpali Mundru	20*5 =100	15 Private 5 Government
3.	Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	Munchirai	Mankadu Methukummal Munchirai Painkulam, Thengaipattinam Thoothoor	20*5 =100	15 Private 5 Government
4.	Uttar Pradesh	Ghazipur	Manihari	Bishunpur Tandwa Kharbadih Lalpurhari Manihari Pahadpur Khurda	20*5 =100	15 Private 5 Government
Total	4	4	4	20	400	80

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Samples

From each selected District, 15 private and 5 government schools were chosen for the study. A school schedule was canvassed to each school. One teacher from each school was also interviewed. From each Block, five villages were selected. From each village, 10 students and 20 parents were interviewed. A total of 50 students, 20 teachers and 100 parents were interviewed from each selected District. Thus 80 schools, 200 students, 80 teachers and 400 households (parents) were interviewed from the four selected states. Table 1.4 shows social category-wise sample households.

State	District	SC	ST	OBC	General	Total
No. of households						
Karnataka	Bellary	10	16	51	23	100
Rajasthan	Sikar	36	0	53	11	100
Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	3	2	83	12	100
Uttar Pradesh	Ghazipur	15	0	60	25	100
Total		64	18	247	71	400

Source: Survey

The sample of 400 households was randomly selected from 35462 households listed in 20 villages. The village listing was conducted to collect information about households sending children to government and private schools. Thus, a total of 35462 households were listed to know their socio-economic conditions and status of their children whether going to private or government schools. Table 1.5 shows social category-wise distribution of the universe households.

State	District	SC	ST	OBC	General	Others	Total
Karnataka	Bellary	2350	3361	3734	826	57	10328
Uttar Pradesh	Ghazipur	714	7	1220	495	7	2443
Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	455	178	12579	867	37	14116
Rajasthan	Sikar	1409	369	5762	963	72	8575
	Total	4928	3915	23295	3151	136	35462

Source: Survey

Tools

School Schedule: A structured school schedule was canvassed to collect a detailed profile of each selected school. It collected information related to student-teacher ratio, qualification of teachers, curriculum, teaching methods, management of the school, affiliation, fees and salary structure and financial management, etc. The school schedule also captured data relating to compliance with the RTE Act, especially relating to infrastructure facilities, number and qualifications of teachers.

Teacher Schedule: A teacher schedule was canvassed with selected number of teachers from each school. An attempt was made to collect information on teachers' qualifications, their professional training, workload, teaching method used or experimented by them, salary and other conditions of their service, and mechanism available for redressal of their grievances.

Student Schedule: A student schedule was canvassed to 200 students of selected schools to collect information on their learning and achievements, their level of satisfaction with the teaching and their perception and aspirations.

Parents Schedule: A parent schedule was canvassed to collect data about their socio-economic backgrounds, their occupation and incomes, their sources of financing, especially education of their children and their aspirations and expectations.

Focus Group Discussion: A few focus group discussions (FGDs) were also conducted with the parents and teachers to know their views and perception on government and private schools. The preference of parents for the choice of school based on their paying capacities, motivation and liking of the children for facilities offered by schools and the education were also examined through FGDs.

Chapters

The next chapter shows the reach of private and government schools by the different sections of the population. It analyses the available sources, mainly U–DISE and the survey data to show access to government and private schools. This chapter also examines caste-class and gender wise access to government and private schools and shows differential access based on caste-class and gender.

Chapter three examines parental preference for government and private schools. While there is a clear caste-class division in preference for private schools, the differential preference is more due to economic conditions than to social position. There is a general craze for private schools, largely built on perception that children of private schools have better prospects in life.

Chapter four examines costs of education in government and private schools. It also shows that due to the general craze for private schools, often perception driven, a large number of poor parents send their children to private schools. There is not only an opportunity cost of expenditure, incurred on private schools, but many of the poor parents borrow money, mortgage and sell their assets to pay for private schools.

Chapter five examines infrastructural facilities in private and government schools, the quality of teachers and teaching and learning environment. It shows that except for a few elite private schools, most of the low-fee-private schools are no better than government schools in

infrastructure, quality of teachers and other facilities. But private schools attract the attention of the parents by various publicity measures. They also spend a good amount on advertisement and publicity, an image-building exercise.

Chapter Six summarises the main findings of the study and recommends policy suggestion. It concludes by raising equity concerns of increasing privatisation of school education in India.

Chapter 2

Reach of Private Schools in India

Introduction

Private schools are not new to India. It has been there since the pre-Independence period. The colonial government had promoted private schools, first, through philanthropic organisations, and then, through grants-in-aid. While in the initial decades of the post-Independence period, private schools were not given much encouragement, the scenario has changed since the 1980s, and more specifically, in the 1990s. Private schools have not only increased their presence, but the nature and role of private schools have also changed from largely philanthropy-driven to business-driven that has serious implications for equal access.

Growth of Private Schools

An examination of the trend in the number of elementary government and private schools in pre-Independence India shows that a greater proportion of them were in the private domain, though a large number of them were government aided. The second largest category consisted of district and municipal board managed schools, which were also government funded. The third was private unaided schools.

The trend between 1901-02 and 1936-37 shows a shift from unaided to aided and from aided to municipal and district board schools. Thus, while there was a decline in the share of government managed schools during this period, there was a substantive increase in the share of municipal and district board elementary schools from 22.8 per cent of the total in 1901-02 to 52.6 per cent in 1936-37. On the other hand, the share of private aided schools declined from 56.1 per cent in 1901-02 to 36.8 per cent in 1936-37, and that of government schools declined from 7 per cent to 2.8 per cent. During this period, a large number of private aided and government schools were transferred to the District and Municipal Boards, as a part of shift in policy to run elementary schools through the institutions of local-self-government, following the recommendation of the Hunter Commission, 1882. Table 2.1 shows the shares of different types of elementary schools in India from 1901-02 to 1936-37.

Year	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	District + Municipal Boards	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Total
1901-02	4.05	0.00	0.00	17.17	60.32	18.46	100.00
1906-07	3.41	0.00	0.00	20.46	62.68	13.45	100.00
1911-12	3.54	0.00	0.00	22.57	60.26	13.63	100.00
1916-17	1.06	0.00	0.00	27.36	59.93	11.65	100.00
1921-22	1.22	0.00	0.00	31.51	58.21	9.06	100.00
1926-27	1.49	30.63	2.93	33.56	57.05	7.91	100.00
1931-32	1.43	33.40	3.14	36.54	55.40	6.63	100.00
1936-37	1.43	34.12	3.40	37.51	54.80	6.26	100.00

Source: The Indian Year Book of Education 1964 (Second Year Book, Elementary Education) National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi

The pre-Independence trend of promoting District and Municipal board schools continued in the immediate decades after Independence. Consequently, the share of Municipal and District Board-run elementary schools increased from 41.9 per cent of the total in 1949-50 to 55.44 per cent in 1960-61. On the other hand, the share of government run elementary schools decreased from 24.3 per cent in 1949-50 to 21.8 per cent in 1960-61. The share of aided private schools declined from 30.6 per cent in 1949-50 to 20.9 per cent in 1960-61, and that of unaided private schools from 3.2 per cent in 1949-50 to merely 1.9 per cent in 1960-61. Thus, between 1949-50 and 1960-61, the share of Municipal and District board-run schools increased whereas that of government, government aided and unaided schools declined.

Year	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	District + Municipal Boards	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Total
1949-50	24.31	38.06	3.83	41.89	30.55	3.25	100.00
1950-51	20.29	44.87	3.93	48.80	28.43	2.47	100.00
1951-52	20.89	44.44	3.90	48.34	27.94	2.83	100.00
1952-53	21.09	44.64	3.85	48.49	27.44	2.98	100.00
1953-54	22.27	45.34	3.60	48.94	26.08	2.72	100.00
1954-55	22.74	45.87	3.39	49.26	25.87	2.13	100.00
1955-56	23.27	47.15	3.27	50.42	24.24	2.07	100.00
1956-57	22.21	49.05	3.20	52.25	23.49	2.05	100.00
1957-58	25.75	45.55	2.95	48.50	22.78	2.97	100.00
1958-59	26.16	46.54	3.03	49.57	22.39	1.87	100.00
1959-60	21.56	52.41	3.17	55.57	20.95	1.92	100.00
1960-61	21.84	52.29	3.12	55.41	20.88	1.86	100.00

Source: The Indian Year Book of Education 1964 (Second Year Book, Elementary Education) National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi

The policy of promoting local bodies-run schools continued well upto the 1960s. After the declaration of the NPE, 1968, that emphasised government role in promoting universal elementary school education, the number of government schools started increasing in the 1970s and the trend continued in the 1980s. Government schools constituted 21.61 per cent of the total elementary schools in 1961-62 that increased to 38.29 per cent in 1984-85, 40.79

per cent in 1989-90, and further to 49.82 per cent in 1998-90. On the other hand, the share of local bodies-run schools that had increased from 56.24 per cent in 1961-62 to 62.71 per cent in 1968-69, declined from 60.61 per cent in 1970-71 to 40.07 per cent in 1999-2000. The share of private aided schools also declined from 16.17 per cent in 1970-71 to 7.44 per cent in 1984-85, and further, to 4.56 per cent in 1999-2000 (Table 2.3). During this period, a large number of private aided schools were taken over by the government.

The share of private unaided schools started increasing in the 1980s. Private unaided schools constituted 2.54 per cent of the total elementary schools in 1984-85 that increased to 5.09 per cent in 1991-92, and further, to 8.56 per cent in 1999-2000. Another important development of this period was substantive increase in the overall number of elementary schools in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s.

Table 2.3: Distribution of Elementary Schools in India according to the Types of Management from 1961-62 to 1999-2000 (in %)

Years	Government	Local Bodies	Private Aided	Pvt Unaided	Total
1961-62	21.61	56.24	NA	NA	100.00
1962-63	19.49	58.51	NA	NA	100.00
1962-63	20.75	57.42	NA	NA	100.00
1964-65	19.47	63.28	15.53	1.72	100.00
1965-66	19.55	63.00	15.70	1.75	100.00
1966-67	19.91*	62.69	15.69	1.71	100.00
1967-68	19.95*	62.57	15.84	1.64	100.00
1968-69	20.03	62.71	15.55	1.71	100.00
1970-71	21.46	60.61	16.17	1.76	100.00
1984-85	38.29	51.73	7.44	2.54	100.00
1985-86	38.12	51.54	6.94	3.39	100.00
1986-87	38.09	51.14	6.89	3.89	100.00
1987-88	41.69	47.09	7.14	4.08	100.00
1988-89	41.76	47.05	7.04	4.15	100.00
1989-90	40.79	47.86	7.02	4.32	100.00
1990-91	41.28	46.77	7.11	4.83	100.00
1991-92	41.07	46.62	7.23	5.09	100.00
1992-93	47.12	42.08	5.59	5.21	100.00
1993-94	48.24	41.05	5.07	5.64	100.00
1994-95	46.34	41.75	5.59	6.31	100.00
1995-96	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1996-97	47.47	40.52	4.92	7.10	100.00
1997-98	47.56	39.51	5.15	7.79	100.00
1998-99	47.82	39.42	4.65	8.11	100.00
1999-2000	46.81	40.07	4.56	8.56	100.00

Note: * Includes 1 School run by a university

Source: Education in India, Various Reports of the Education and Youth Services later on Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India

While the number of private unaided schools had started growing in the 1980s, it was in the 1990s that the share of private unaided schools increased significantly from 5.09 per cent in

1991-92 to 8.56 per cent in 1999-2000. On the other hand, the share of government schools, including that of local bodies- run and private aided decreased during this decade.

The growth of private unaided schools accelerated in the decades of 2000s and 2010s. They constituted 11.03 per cent of the total elementary schools in 2002-03 that increased to 14.59 per cent in 2010-11, 19.04 per cent in 2010-11, and further, to 19.04 per cent in 2016-17. Moreover, during the decade of the 2010s, the share of Madarsa and other types of schools, mostly unrecognised, also increased from 2.41 per cent in 2011-12 to 3.10 per cent in 2016-17 (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: All India Distribution of Elementary Schools in India as per the Types of Management from 2001-02 to 2016-17 (in%)

Years	Government	Private Aided	Private Unaided	Others	Total
2000-01	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2001-02*	87.32	4.25	8.44	NA	100.00
2002-03*	84.32	4.65	11.03	NA	100.00
2003-04*	85.73	3.88	10.39	NA	100.00
2004-05*	85.46	3.57	10.97	NA	100.00
2005-06*	84.46	3.92	11.62	NA	100.00
2006-07	80.83	5.81	13.05	0.32	100.00
2007-08	80.18	5.65	13.85	0.32	100.00
2008-09	80.52	5.67	13.77	0.04	100.00
2009-10	80.38	5.46	14.04	0.12	100.00
2010-11	80.07	5.33	14.59	0.01	100.00
2011-12	76.38	5.16	16.04	2.41	100.00
2012-13	75.90	4.76	16.75	2.58	100.00
2013-14	75.51	4.69	17.40	2.40	100.00
2014-15	74.75	4.61	18.13	2.50	100.00
2015-16	74.32	4.59	18.50	2.60	100.00
2016-17	73.10	4.76	19.04	3.10	100.00
2017-18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Note: *2001-06 converted from percentage to the actual numbers and decimals have been rounded off.

Source: 1. (2001-06) Statistics of School Education (2011-12), Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.
2. (2006-17), Analytical Tables, Multiple Year Reports on Elementary Education in India, NIEPA (<http://udise.in/AR.htm>); Statistics of School Education, 2007-08

As a whole, from 1990 onwards, the share of government schools, including aided, declined and that of private unaided, including Madarsa and unrecognised, increased, though the trend in the growth of private unaided schools had started in the 1980s itself. The increasing share of private players in the 1990s was also facilitated by the World Bank aided DPEP and community-centric Lok Jumbish Project.

Decadal Trend in the Establishment of new Schools

This section examines the trend in the number of new government and private schools based on the year of establishment, as reported in Unified District Information System for Education (U-DISE) data. It shows that of the total elementary schools established since pre-Independence period, a huge number of them were opened in the decades of the 1950s, 1990s and 2000s.

Table 2.5: Decade-wise number of schools established by management in India

School Management	1801-1950	1951-60	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90	1991-00	2001-10	2010-17	Total
No. of school by management in India									
Rural									
Government	134058	150077	120103	107878	83005	144240	209528	40600	989489
Aided	10838	4910	6970	5664	12618	13405	2713	547	57665
Unaided	517	437	1425	4760	15222	45547	77578	36341	181827
Unrecognised	29	25	110	2086	4581	4087	5486	4041	20445
Others	396	391	717	986	926	1715	5855	3492	14478
Total	145838	155840	129325	121374	116352	208994	301160	85021	1263904
Urban									
Government	19223	12083	12243	10093	7769	6643	9060	2649	79763
Aided	6755	2693	3593	2564	4741	3887	867	260	25360
Unaided	1283	1030	2538	5747	13610	29200	36059	17699	107166
Unrecognised	34	32	130	255	649	1322	2067	1231	5720
Others	170	91	157	223	363	1124	3251	1607	6986
Total	27465	15929	18661	18882	27132	42176	51304	23446	224995
All India									
Government	153281	162160	132346	117971	90774	150883	218588	43249	1069252
Aided	17593	7603	10563	8228	17359	17292	3580	807	83025
Unaided	1800	1467	3963	10507	28832	74747	113637	54040	288993
Unrecognised	63	57	240	2341	5230	5409	7553	5272	26165
Others	566	482	874	1209	1289	2839	9106	5099	21464
Total	173303	171769	147986	140256	143484	251170	352464	108467	1488899
Percentage distribution of school by management									
Rural									
Government	91.92	96.30	92.87	88.88	71.34	69.02	69.57	47.75	78.29
Aided	7.43	3.15	5.39	4.67	10.84	6.41	0.90	0.64	4.56
Unaided	0.35	0.28	1.10	3.92	13.08	21.79	25.76	42.74	14.39
Unrecognised	0.02	0.02	0.09	1.72	3.94	1.96	1.82	4.75	1.62
Others	0.27	0.25	0.55	0.81	0.80	0.82	1.94	4.11	1.15
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Urban									
Government	69.99	75.86	65.61	53.45	28.63	15.75	17.66	11.30	35.45
Aided	24.59	16.91	19.25	13.58	17.47	9.22	1.69	1.11	11.27
Unaided	4.67	6.47	13.60	30.44	50.16	69.23	70.28	75.49	47.63
Unrecognised	0.12	0.20	0.70	1.35	2.39	3.13	4.03	5.25	2.54
Others	0.62	0.57	0.84	1.18	1.34	2.67	6.34	6.85	3.10
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
All India									
Government	88.45	94.41	89.43	84.11	63.26	60.07	62.02	39.87	71.81
Aided	10.15	4.43	7.14	5.87	12.10	6.88	1.02	0.74	5.58
Unaided	1.04	0.85	2.68	7.49	20.09	29.76	32.24	49.82	19.41
Unrecognised	0.04	0.03	0.16	1.67	3.65	2.15	2.14	4.86	1.76
Others	0.33	0.28	0.59	0.86	0.90	1.13	2.58	4.70	1.44
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Unit Data U-DISE 2016-17.

The 1950s was the most significant decade, as the number of schools established in one decade of the 1950s was equal to the total number of schools established between 1801 and 1950, in one hundred and fifty years. In other words, the number of elementary schools established in 10 years immediately after Independence was equal to the total number of schools established in one hundred and fifty years of colonial rule. However, the momentum of the 1950s was not maintained in the later decades. After the massive increase in the number of schools in the 1950s, there was a lull in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The total number of schools established in each of the above decades was less than the total number of schools established in the 1950s. The lull was broken in the 1990s, with a sudden spurt in the opening of new schools and the trend continued in the 2000s.

As against 143484 schools established in the 1980s, 251170 schools were established in the 1990s and 352464 in the 2000s. This huge increase in the number of schools in the 2000s was largely due to the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), the flagship programme of the Government of India. The number of new schools opened, however, declined in the 2010s, as many of the states had reached saturation level and some of them had even started the process of merger and closer.

Table 2.5 shows decade-wise absolute number of schools by the types of management in rural and urban at all India level. Till the 1960s, the proportion of private unaided schools in the total elementary schools, established during the period, was only a miniscule proportion that was 1.04 per cent upto 1950 and 0.85 per cent till 1960.

Immediately after independence, more than 95 per cent of the total elementary schools were established either by the government or with the support of the government. Only a small number of them were established by the private players, mostly by charitable trusts or educational societies, with largely philanthropic motive. From 1960 onwards, the number of schools established in the private sector increased and the number of schools established by the government, including those with the support of government declined, although in terms of absolute numbers and proportion, private schools were still in small number.

Whereas the number of new private schools increased in the 1990s and 2000s, the number of new government schools, declined rather sharply in the 1980s and 1990s. The trend was slightly reversed in the 2000s. There was a little increase in the number of new government schools in the decade of 2000s, largely due to the flagship programme of the SSA that was launched in 2001.

Reach of Private Schools

As shown in the previous section, private schools have increased their numbers since the 1990s. This section examines the share of government and private schools based on U-DISE data of 2016-17.

In 2016-17, 19.52 per cent of the total elementary schools were private. The proportion of private schools was higher in urban (47.85%) than in rural (14.45%) areas. The proportion of private schools was the highest in Delhi (46.80%), followed by Puducherry (37.99%), Chandigarh (36.32%). Of course, these three union territories (UTs) are largely urban. But even in states with largely rural population, the share of private schools increased significantly. For example, there was a high proportion of private schools in Rajasthan (33.14%), Uttar Pradesh (31.37%), Haryana (31.32%) among the States of Hindi heartland. The proportion of private schools was also high in some of the north-east States like Sikkim (33.33%), Mizoram (25.94%) and Nagaland (25.93%).

Private schools were more in urban than in rural areas. They constituted more than 50 per cent of the total elementary schools in urban areas of Rajasthan (73.92%), Sikkim (71.43%), Uttar Pradesh (64.95%), Uttarakhand (60.02%), Haryana (59.42%), Nagaland (58.92%), Gujarat (58.59%), Madhya Pradesh (56.01%), Karnataka (52.23%), Andhra Pradesh (55.46%), and Himachal Pradesh (51.90%). In contrast, government schools dominate in numbers in rural areas in states, except Delhi (36.44%), Puducherry (35.99%), which have a small rural population. But even in rural areas, private schools constituted more than one-fourth of the total elementary schools in Sikkim (30.03%), Uttar Pradesh (26.95%), Rajasthan (24.87%) and Haryana (23.57%).

State	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Government*	Private	Others**	Government*	Private	Others**	Government*	Private	Others**
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	87.64	12.36		57.63	42.37		83.37	16.63	
Andhra Pradesh	84.42	15.05	0.53	41.66	55.46	2.88	76.26	22.76	0.98
Arunachal Pradesh	90.33	8.90	0.77	56.95	39.41	3.64	86.72	12.20	1.08
Assam	81.80	5.72	12.49	72.47	22.08	5.45	81.27	6.64	12.09
Bihar	91.14	3.77	5.09	61.88	18.89	19.23	88.46	5.16	6.39
Chandigarh\$	100.00			57.84	39.46	2.70	61.19	36.32	2.49
Chhattisgarh	91.95	7.86	0.19	54.11	43.44	2.45	87.82	11.75	0.44
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	92.58	6.77	0.65	64.86	32.43	2.70	89.63	9.51	0.86
Daman & Diu	88.89	11.11		76.09	23.91		84.83	15.17	
Delhi	63.56	36.44		52.69	47.22	0.09	53.11	46.80	0.09
Goa	93.25	6.75		79.77	20.23		90.20	9.80	
Gujarat	86.24	13.58	0.18	41.32	58.59	0.09	76.38	23.46	0.16
Haryana	73.13	23.57	3.29	33.22	59.42	7.37	64.50	31.32	4.17
Himachal Pradesh	86.68	13.31	0.01	48.10	51.90		85.07	14.93	0.01
Jammu & Kashmir	85.02	14.97	0.01	52.90	47.10		81.61	18.38	0.01
Jharkhand	89.48	2.28	8.24	54.59	13.75	31.65	86.67	3.20	10.12
Karnataka	85.51	14.45	0.04	47.51	52.23	0.25	75.24	24.66	0.10
Kerala	73.23	17.40	9.37	65.48	25.62	8.90	71.70	19.02	9.28
Lakshadweep\$	100.00			100.00			100.00		
Madhya Pradesh	88.68	11.03	0.30	38.09	56.01	5.90	81.06	17.80	1.14
Maharashtra	88.91	10.72	0.37	61.58	36.85	1.57	82.72	16.64	0.64
Manipur	81.68	15.84	2.48	60.60	35.56	3.84	78.71	18.62	2.67
Meghalaya	83.23	15.21	1.56	72.84	25.78	1.37	82.50	15.95	1.55
Mizoram	62.49	19.82	17.70	54.42	38.29	7.29	59.81	25.94	14.25
Nagaland	80.76	19.16	0.09	41.08	58.92		74.00	25.93	0.07
Odisha	92.52	4.54	2.94	65.44	21.70	12.86	90.41	5.87	3.72
Puducherry	64.01	35.99		59.77	40.23		62.01	37.99	
Punjab	78.69	17.63	3.68	36.07	47.11	16.82	69.05	24.30	6.65
Rajasthan	73.53	24.87	1.59	18.99	73.92	7.09	64.34	33.14	2.52
Sikkim	68.89	30.03	1.07	27.62	71.43	0.95	65.60	33.33	1.06
Tamil Nadu	86.23	12.79	0.98	61.12	36.84	2.04	80.04	18.72	1.24
Tripura	91.03	5.16	3.81	75.62	16.92	7.46	89.76	6.13	4.11
Uttar Pradesh	69.64	26.95	3.41	26.27	64.95	8.78	64.60	31.37	4.03
Uttarakhand	80.81	17.82	1.38	34.63	60.02	5.35	76.29	21.95	1.77
West Bengal	87.81	9.21	2.98	75.72	20.03	4.25	86.19	10.66	3.15
All India	82.76	14.45	2.79	46.49	47.85	5.66	77.25	19.52	3.22

Source: U-DISE, 2016-17; Note: * Government includes private aided by government; ** Unrecognised, madarasas and others; \$ Due to low number of schools in rural areas, the figure is 100 per cent

Table 2.7: State-wise Enrolment of School-going Children by Types of Schools in Rural and Urban Areas in 2016-17(In %)

State	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Government*	Private	Others**	Government*	Private	Others**	Government*	Private	Others**
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	88.57	11.43		67.96	32.04		80.08	19.92	
Andhra Pradesh	71.84	27.79	0.37	31.04	67.79	1.18	58.43	40.94	0.63
Arunachal Pradesh	81.60	17.56	0.84	73.77	25.29	0.93	79.03	20.10	0.87
Assam	82.81	10.81	6.39	62.31	35.35	2.34	80.11	14.03	5.85
Bihar	93.60	3.50	2.90	76.89	15.87	7.24	91.90	4.76	3.34
Chandigarh \$	100.00			64.67	35.06	0.28	67.99	31.76	0.25
Chhattisgarh	85.10	14.79	0.11	42.43	56.83	0.74	74.93	24.81	0.26
Dadar& Nagar Haveli	83.56	16.25	0.19	60.59	39.13	0.28	75.83	23.95	0.22
Daman & Diu	62.00	38.00		81.98	18.02		70.81	29.19	
Delhi	50.55	49.45		62.17	37.71	0.12	61.93	37.95	0.12
Goa	92.33	7.67		86.25	13.75		89.80	10.20	
Gujarat	81.23	18.68	0.09	39.81	60.15	0.04	65.47	34.46	0.07
Haryana	52.85	45.19	1.96	27.78	70.09	2.14	43.36	54.62	2.03
Himachal Pradesh	70.96	29.04	0.00	34.67	65.33		65.66	34.34	0.00
Jammu & Kashmir	68.75	31.24	0.01	32.74	67.26		59.97	40.03	0.00
Jharkhand	82.55	8.83	8.62	46.07	36.56	17.37	76.08	13.75	10.17
Karnataka	78.00	22.00	0.01	40.33	59.58	0.09	62.11	37.84	0.04
Kerala	73.07	23.37	3.55	61.84	35.83	2.33	70.13	26.64	3.23
Lakshadweep \$	100.00			100.00			100.00		
Madhya Pradesh	77.63	22.12	0.25	30.28	67.87	1.85	61.72	37.50	0.78
Maharashtra	85.17	14.59	0.23	66.00	33.48	0.53	76.13	23.49	0.37
Manipur	43.32	54.32	2.36	25.82	71.82	2.36	38.85	58.79	2.36
Meghalaya	81.64	16.86	1.50	67.82	31.48	0.70	79.21	19.43	1.36
Mizoram	58.48	30.30	11.22	41.18	55.76	3.06	49.99	42.79	7.22
Nagaland	54.43	45.32	0.24	22.09	77.91		40.34	59.52	0.14
Odisha	89.17	7.91	2.92	52.63	36.99	10.38	83.43	12.48	4.09
Puducherry	47.12	52.88		42.94	57.06		44.70	55.30	
Punjab	59.98	32.74	7.28	34.52	48.39	17.10	49.45	39.21	11.34
Rajasthan	61.67	37.65	0.68	18.22	79.11	2.67	50.35	48.45	1.20
Sikkim	78.94	20.81	0.25	62.42	37.56	0.02	75.59	24.21	0.20
Tamil Nadu	73.66	25.57	0.77	59.43	39.49	1.09	67.36	31.73	0.91
Tripura	88.52	9.19	2.29	81.37	17.03	1.60	87.03	10.82	2.15
Uttar Pradesh	50.04	46.39	3.57	27.75	66.41	5.84	46.15	49.88	3.97
Uttarakhand	58.92	39.16	1.92	33.87	62.83	3.31	52.74	45.00	2.26
West Bengal	89.95	5.43	4.62	89.75	8.04	2.21	89.92	5.89	4.20
All India	73.09	24.34	2.57	47.38	49.66	2.96	65.95	31.37	2.68

Source: U-DISE 2016-17; *Note:* * Government includes private aided by government; ** Unrecognised, madaras and others; \$ Due to low number of schools in rural areas, the figure is 100 per cent.

Private schools enrol greater proportion of students than their share in the total number of elementary schools. While private schools constituted 19.52 per cent of the total elementary schools at all India level, they enrolled 31.37 per cent of the total elementary school children. In contrast, government schools constituted 77.25 per cent of the total elementary schools, but enrolled 65.95 per cent of the total children.

The disparity in enrolment is higher in rural than in urban areas. In urban areas, government schools constituted 46.49 per cent of the total and enrolled 47.38 per cent of the total children; private schools constituted 47.85 per cent and enrolled 49.66 per cent of the total children. In rural areas, the difference in the share of private in total schools and the share of children enrolled in private schools is significant. In rural areas, private schools constituted 14.45 per cent of the total and enrolled 24.34 per cent of the total elementary school children. In other words, every one out of four rural child was attending a private school, and every second child in urban area was attending a private school.

There are pronounced state-wise variations in the proportion of children enrolled in government and private schools. In states like Puducherry, Haryana, Nagaland and Manipur, more than 50 per cent of the total elementary school children were in private schools. The percentage of children enrolled in private schools was 49.88 per cent in Uttar Pradesh, 48.45 per cent in Rajasthan, 45 per cent in Uttarakhand, 42 per cent in Mizoram, 40.03 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir, 40.94 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, 39.21 per cent in Punjab, 37.95 per cent in Delhi, 37.84 per cent in Karnataka, 37.50 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and 31.73 per cent in Tamil Nadu.

In eleven states, more than 60 per cent of the children in urban areas were enrolled in private schools. There were four states in which 50-60 per cent of the children were enrolled in private schools. Altogether, there were 15 states (50% of the States in India) where more than 50 per cent of the children in urban areas were enrolled in private schools.

In the rural areas of Manipur and Puducherry, more than 50 per cent of the elementary school children were enrolled in private schools. The proportion of children enrolled in private schools was quite high in states like Uttar Pradesh (46.39%), Delhi (49.45%), Haryana (45%), Nagaland (45.32%), Uttarakhand (39.16%) and Rajasthan (37.65%).

Caste and Gender-wise Access to Government and Private Schools

Caste and gender-wise access to government and private schools varies. While a greater proportion of upper caste and male children go to private schools, a greater proportion of low caste and girl children attend government schools. In 2016-17, against 76.39 per cent of the SC and 84.89 per cent of the ST, only 45.43 per cent of the upper caste children were enrolled in government schools. While 69.07 per cent of the girls were enrolled in government schools, 63.06 per cent of the boys were enrolled in government schools.

Table 2.8 shows differential access to government and private schools. A relatively greater proportion of boys than girls across castes and rural and urban areas were enrolled in private schools. At all India level, 34.23 per cent of the boys were attending private schools whereas 28.28 per cent of the girls were attending private schools. In urban areas, 53.08 per cent of the boys and 45.82 per cent of the girls and in rural areas 26.80 per cent of the boys and 21.71 per cent of the girls were attending private schools.

Management Type		Rural			Urban			Total		
		Govt*	Private	Others**	Govt*	Private	Others**	Govt*	Private	Others**
SC	Boys	78.59	20.45	0.97	57.32	41.08	1.6	73.76	25.13	1.11
	Girls	82.34	16.83	0.84	63.93	34.68	1.39	78.19	20.85	0.96
	Total	81.3	17.77	0.94	58.52	39.84	1.63	76.39	22.52	1.09
ST	Boys	86.83	11.8	1.37	54.33	43.76	1.91	82.71	15.85	1.44
	Girls	89.67	9.12	1.21	61.47	36.88	1.65	86.22	12.52	1.26
	Total	88.56	10.13	1.31	56.07	41.92	2.02	84.89	13.72	1.39
OBC	Boys	69.64	27.74	2.62	44.02	52.91	3.06	63.24	34.03	2.73
	Girls	75.31	22.14	2.55	51.93	45.07	3.01	69.68	27.67	2.66
	Total	73.4	23.89	2.71	45.49	51.12	3.39	66.83	30.3	2.87
General	Boys	50.63	43.87	5.5	36.65	59.61	3.74	43.99	51.35	4.67
	Girls	57.07	36.84	6.08	43.38	53.04	3.57	50.79	44.28	4.93
	Total	52.71	41	6.29	36.96	59.02	4.02	45.43	49.33	5.24
Total	Boys	70.62	26.80	2.58	43.89	53.08	3.03	63.06	34.23	2.7
	Girls	75.72	21.71	2.57	51.31	45.82	2.87	69.07	28.28	2.66
	Total	73.94	23.38	2.68	45.07	51.67	3.26	66.28	30.88	2.84

Source: U-DISE, 2016-17.

Note: * Government includes private aided by government; ** Unrecognised and others

Both in rural and urban areas, lower caste girls were more disadvantaged in accessing private schools. In rural areas, against 20.45 per cent of SC boys, and 11.80 per cent of ST boys, only 16.83 per cent of SC girls and 9.12 per cent of ST girls were attending private schools. Against 27.74 per cent of OBC boys, only 22.14 per cent of OBC girls were attending private

schools. Though, the gap between rural boys and girls attending private schools was higher in upper caste, yet compared to SC, ST and OBC girls, a much greater proportion of upper caste girls (36.84%) were attending private schools. In other words, in rural areas gender differentiated access to private schools was more pronounced in upper than in lower caste.

In urban areas, the proportion of girls attending private schools was higher across the caste categories, yet lower caste girls were more disadvantaged in accessing private schools. Compared to 53.04 per cent of upper caste girls, only 34.68 per cent of SC, 36.88 per cent of ST and 45.07 per cent of OBC girls were attending private schools.

The phenomenon of relatively greater proportion of boys attending private and girls attending government schools was found across rural and urban areas in most of the States. In rural areas, a very large proportion of boys (70.62%) and girls (75.72%) were still enrolled in government schools, of which the proportion of SC and ST boys and girls was much higher. For instance, 78.59 per cent of the SC boys and 86.83 per cent of the ST boys in contrast to only 50.63 per cent of the upper caste boys were enrolled in government schools.

In urban areas, 43.89 per cent of boys and 51.31 per cent of girls were enrolled in government schools that varied across caste and gender categories. Caste and gender category-wise, again more of SC, ST and girls were enrolled in government schools. 59.02 per cent of upper caste and 51.12 per cent of OBC students were enrolled in private schools whereas only 39.84 per cent of SC and 41.92 per cent of ST students were enrolled in private schools.

The phenomenon of greater proportion of boys attending private and girls attending government schools was found across the states. Interestingly, it was found even in those states, which have relatively higher level of gender development. For example, in Kerala, 25.72 per cent of girls against 27.54 per cent of boys were attending private schools. Table 2.9 shows state-wise proportion of boys and girls enrolled in government and private schools in rural and urban areas.

State	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
A & N Islands	11.50	11.36	11.43	32.87	31.18	32.04	20.29	19.54	19.92
Andhra Pradesh	31.47	23.84	27.79	71.81	63.19	67.79	44.98	36.51	40.94
Arunachal Pradesh	20.14	14.88	17.56	27.64	22.93	25.29	22.58	17.55	20.10
Assam	12.32	9.32	10.81	37.86	32.79	35.35	15.74	12.35	14.03
Bihar	4.07	2.94	3.50	18.84	12.74	15.87	5.61	3.91	4.76
Chandigarh	NA	NA	NA	36.24	33.60	35.06	33.04	30.21	31.76
Chhattisgarh	16.52	13.04	14.79	61.26	52.29	56.83	27.23	22.35	24.81
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	18.49	13.71	16.25	42.13	35.60	39.13	26.53	20.98	23.95
Daman & Diu	42.64	32.77	38.00	19.29	16.60	18.02	32.37	25.63	29.19
Delhi	53.97	43.31	49.45	42.88	31.92	37.71	43.13	32.13	37.95
Goa	7.93	7.40	7.67	14.84	12.58	13.75	10.79	9.57	10.20
Gujarat	21.56	15.33	18.68	63.05	56.52	60.15	37.64	30.64	34.46
Haryana	50.71	38.53	45.19	73.94	65.13	70.09	59.66	48.38	54.62
Himachal Pradesh	31.72	26.09	29.04	68.59	61.39	65.33	37.32	31.02	34.34
Jammu & Kashmir	34.37	27.72	31.24	69.85	64.30	67.26	43.06	36.60	40.03
Jharkhand	9.87	7.76	8.83	40.37	32.26	36.56	15.50	11.92	13.75
Karnataka	24.95	18.77	22.00	62.86	56.04	59.58	40.91	34.51	37.84
Kerala	24.01	22.70	23.37	37.99	33.78	35.83	27.54	25.72	26.64
Lakshadweep	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Madhya Pradesh	25.53	18.43	22.12	72.29	62.58	67.87	41.74	32.74	37.50
Maharashtra	16.39	12.53	14.59	35.85	30.73	33.48	25.57	21.10	23.49
Manipur	55.40	53.20	54.32	73.59	69.95	71.82	60.08	57.44	58.79
Meghalaya	16.56	17.16	16.86	34.48	28.83	31.48	19.56	19.31	19.43
Mizoram	30.12	30.50	30.30	56.57	54.95	55.76	42.76	42.83	42.79
Nagaland	47.42	43.14	45.32	79.65	76.11	77.91	61.44	57.54	59.52
Odisha	8.90	6.87	7.91	39.66	34.10	36.99	13.78	11.11	12.48
Puducherry	56.90	48.55	52.88	63.81	50.20	57.06	60.86	49.52	55.30
Punjab	34.45	30.63	32.74	50.75	45.51	48.39	41.18	36.80	39.21
Rajasthan	42.87	31.58	37.65	82.28	74.87	79.11	53.61	42.22	48.45
Sikkim	22.43	19.20	20.81	40.88	34.16	37.56	26.21	22.21	24.21
Tamil Nadu	27.85	23.14	25.57	42.60	36.44	39.49	34.23	29.17	31.73
Tripura	10.44	7.88	9.19	18.03	16.02	17.03	12.00	9.60	10.82
Uttar Pradesh	48.86	43.77	46.39	68.15	64.51	66.41	52.26	47.33	49.88
Uttarakhand	43.52	34.39	39.16	67.40	57.64	62.83	49.49	40.04	45.00
West Bengal	6.28	4.60	5.43	8.67	7.43	8.04	6.70	5.09	5.89
All India	26.80	21.71	24.34	53.08	45.82	49.66	34.23	28.28	31.37

Source: Calculated on the basis of Unit Level Data, U-DISE- 2016-17.

Access to Government and Private Schools (Based on Village Listing Data)

In this section, access to government and private schools has been examined based on the data collected through a census of 35462 households from 20 villages of the four selected Districts, viz. Bellary (Karnataka), Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh), Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu) and

Sikar (Rajasthan). The survey was conducted in 2016 and 2017. A total of 20 villages and 35462 households were surveyed. The households consisted of OBCs (65.69 per cent), SCs (13.90 per cent), STs (11.04 per cent) and general (8.89 per cent). Table 2.10 shows distribution of the surveyed households.

District	SC		ST		OBC		General		NR		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bellary	2350	22.75	3361	32.54	3734	36.15	826	8.00	57	0.55	10328	100
Ghazipur	714	29.23	7	0.29	1220	49.94	495	20.26	7	0.29	2443	100
Kanyakumari	455	3.22	178	1.26	12579	89.11	867	6.14	37	0.26	14116	100
Sikar	1409	16.43	369	4.30	5762	67.20	963	11.23	72	0.84	8575	100
Total	4928	13.90	3915	11.04	23295	65.69	3151	8.89	136	0.49	35462	100

Source: Survey, 2017.

Note: NR: No response

Access to private schools was generally high in the survey regions: 57.92 per cent of the boys and 54.32 per cent of the girls were attending private schools. Except Bellary, the majority of boys and girls in other three districts were attending private schools. In Ghazipur, higher proportion of both boys and girls (73.24 per cent of boys and 68.15 per cent of girls) were attending private schools, followed by in Kanyakumari and Sikar. The proportion of boys and girls attending private schools varied, but relatively greater proportions of boys than girls were attending private schools in all the surveyed Districts, except Kanyakumari where almost equal proportion of both boys and girls were attending private schools. The main reason for equal proportion of boys and girls attending private schools in Kanyakumari was higher level of education of the mothers of the children who asserted that girls should also attend private schools.

Table 2.11: Gender-wise Differential Access to Government and Private Schools (In No. and %)

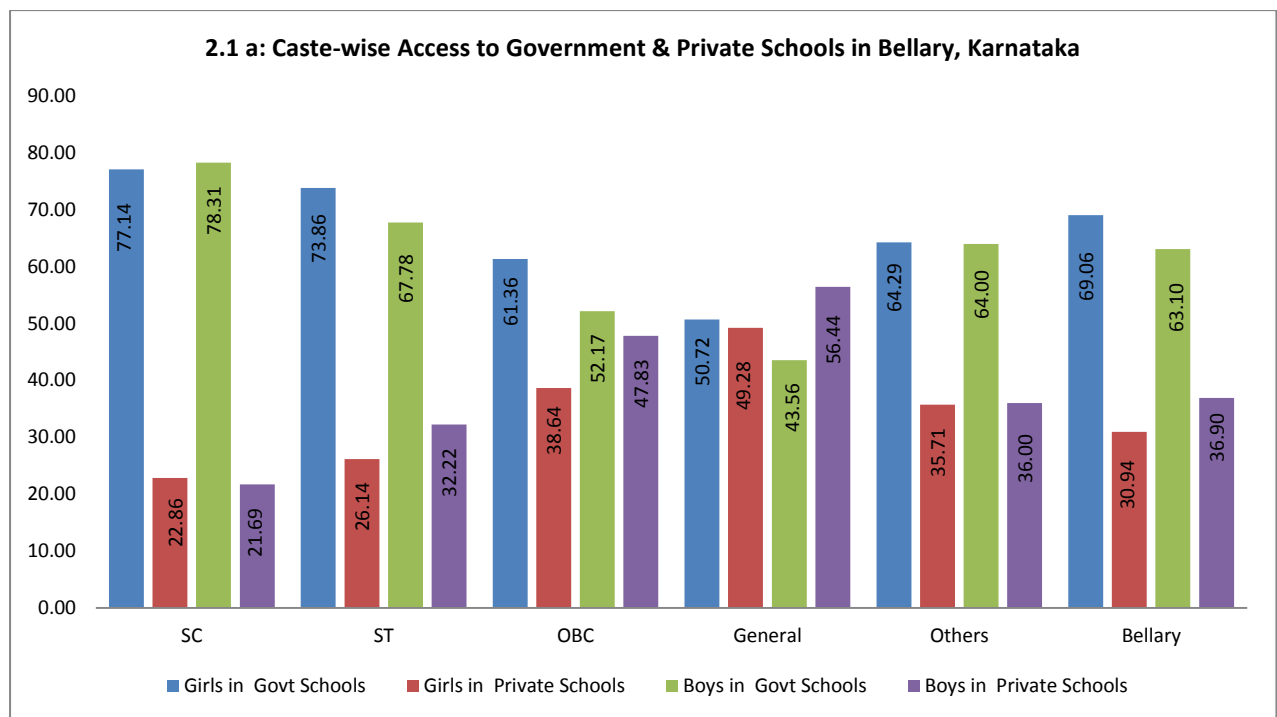
Districts	Girls					Boys				
	Govt. Schools		Private Schools		Total	Govt. Schools		Private Schools		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Bellary	3390	69.06	1519	30.94	4909	3076	63.10	1799	36.90	4875
Ghazipur	603	31.85	1290	68.15	1893	571	26.76	1563	73.24	2134
Kanyakumari	3057	35.18	5633	64.82	8690	2841	35.59	5141	64.41	7982
Sikar	1832	46.38	2118	53.62	3950	1677	38.02	2734	61.98	4411
Total	8882	45.68	10560	54.32	19442	8165	42.08	11237	57.92	19402

Source: Survey, 2017.

In the other three districts, it was observed that education of girls was not given much importance. A greater proportion of girls were found enrolled mostly in government schools. Some of the parents told that spending on the education of girls in private schools was a waste of money, as they would anyway leave their house after their marriage. This was stated

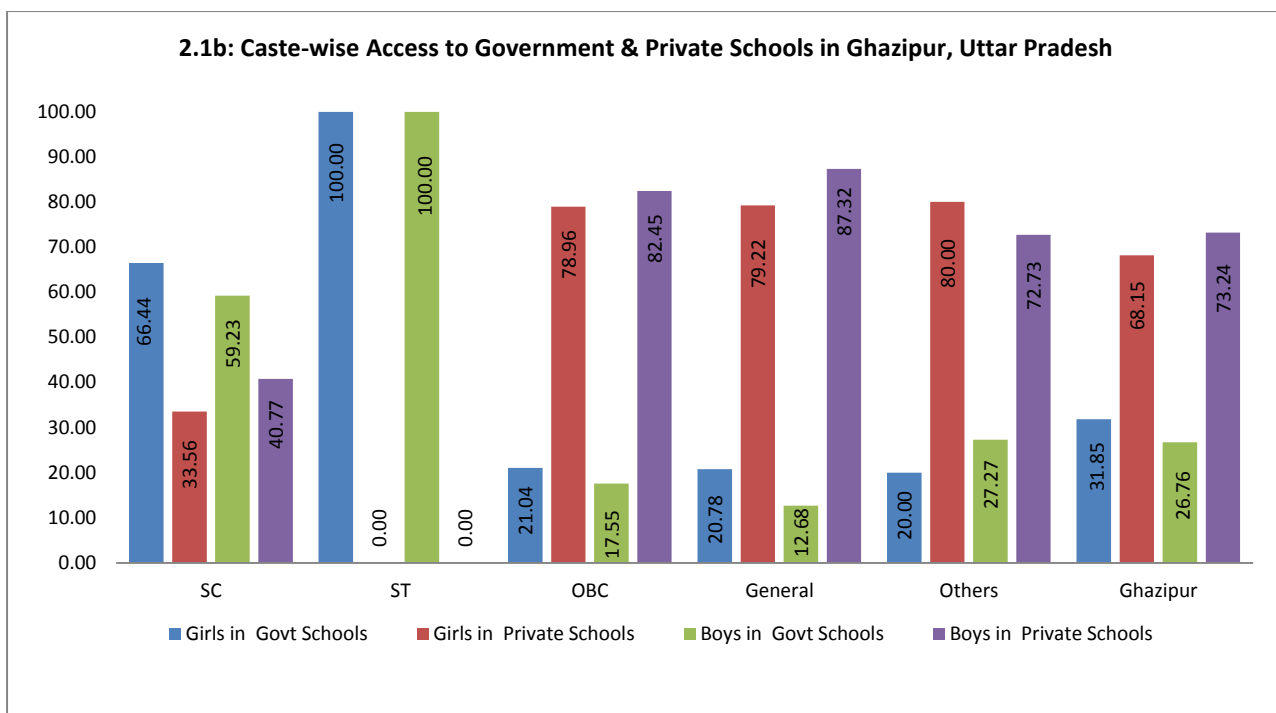
by several parents, particularly in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. In addition, girls are also considered as helping hand to meet the household chores and taking care of siblings, due to which their education is not given much importance. Social category-wise access to government and private schools shows that a very large proportion of both boys and girls of OBCs and upper castes were attending private schools. In contrast to that, only a small proportion of SC and ST both boys and girls were attending private schools. The differential access to private schools by caste groups was found across all the four surveyed places. Parents of upper caste children attending private schools were better educated, with higher learning levels. On the other hand, the majority of parents of SC and ST children had lower levels of education who were mostly engaged in daily wage occupation. They were sending their children to government schools. In Rajasthan, some of the upper caste parents, conscious of their status, preferred exclusive peer group for their children, which they felt were found only in private schools.

Figure 2.1: Social Category wise Access to Government and Private Schools in Sample Districts (In %)



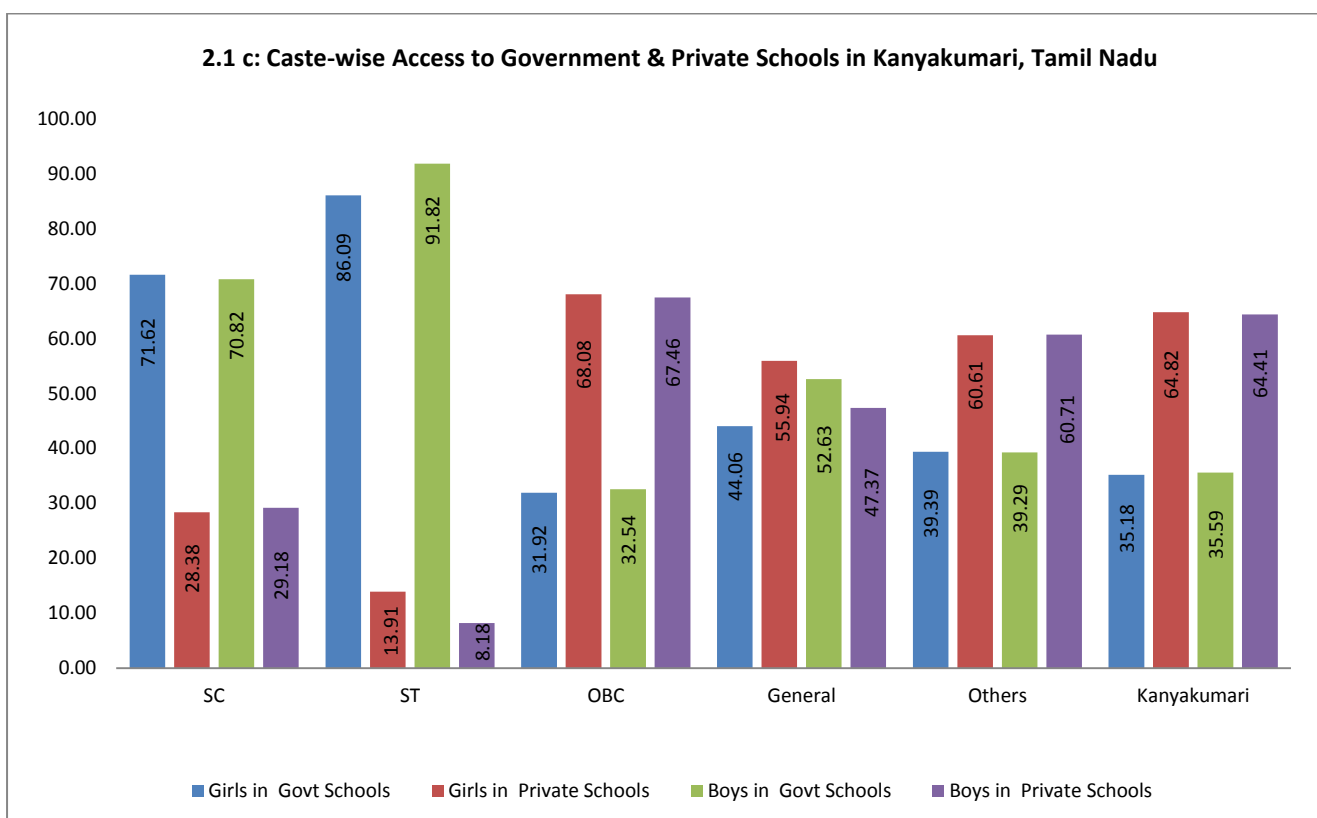
Survey, 2017.

Note: Others include households that did not respond to the question on caste status



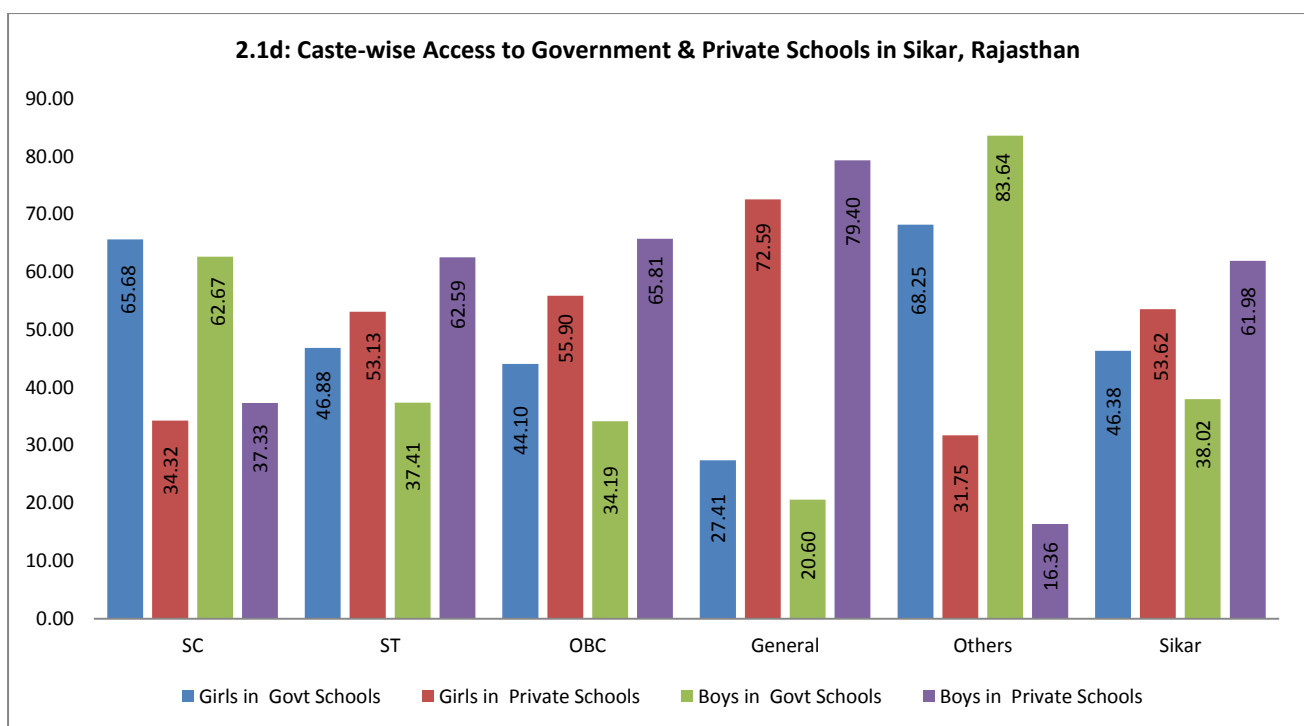
Source: Survey, 2017.

Note: Others include households that did not respond to the question on caste status



Survey, 2017.

Note: Others include households that did not respond to the question on caste status



Source: Survey, 2017.

Note: Others include households that did not respond to the question on caste status

Table 2.12: Caste, Religion and Income Category-wise Access to Government and Private Schools (In No. and %)

Categories		Girls					Boys				
		Govt. Schools		Private Schools		Total	Govt. Schools		Private Schools		Total
		Nos.	%	Nos.	%		Nos.	%	Nos.	%	
Caste	SC	1948	71.75	767	28.25	2715	1902	69.70	827	30.30	2729
	ST	1518	72.70	570	27.30	2088	1252	66.99	617	33.01	1869
	OBC	4761	37.07	8081	62.93	12842	4408	34.12	8513	65.88	12921
	General	580	34.77	1088	65.23	1668	527	29.88	1237	70.12	1764
	Others	75	58.14	54	41.86	129	76	63.87	43	36.13	119
	Total	8882	45.68	10560	54.32	19442	8165	42.08	11237	57.92	19402
Religion	Hindu	6919	49.01	7199	50.99	14118	6278	43.38	8195	56.62	14473
	Muslim	471	56.95	356	43.05	827	443	53.31	388	46.69	831
	Christian	1480	33.27	2969	66.73	4449	1432	35.31	2624	64.69	4056
	Others	12	25.00	36	75.00	48	12	28.57	30	71.43	42
	Total	8882	45.68	10560	54.32	19442	8165	42.08	11237	57.92	19402
Income	Less than Rs. 50,000	4729	54.43	3959	45.57	8688	4321	50.49	4237	49.51	8558
	Rs. 50,000 to 1 Lakh	3359	42.12	4615	57.88	7974	3155	40.10	4712	59.90	7867
	1 to 2 Lakhs	505	28.02	1297	71.98	1802	451	23.53	1466	76.47	1917
	2 to 4 Lakhs	105	18.36	467	81.64	572	74	12.35	525	87.65	599
	Above 4 Lakhs	26	20.16	103	79.84	129	16	10.46	137	89.54	153
	Total	8724	45.52	10441	54.48	19165	8017	41.99	11077	58.01	19094

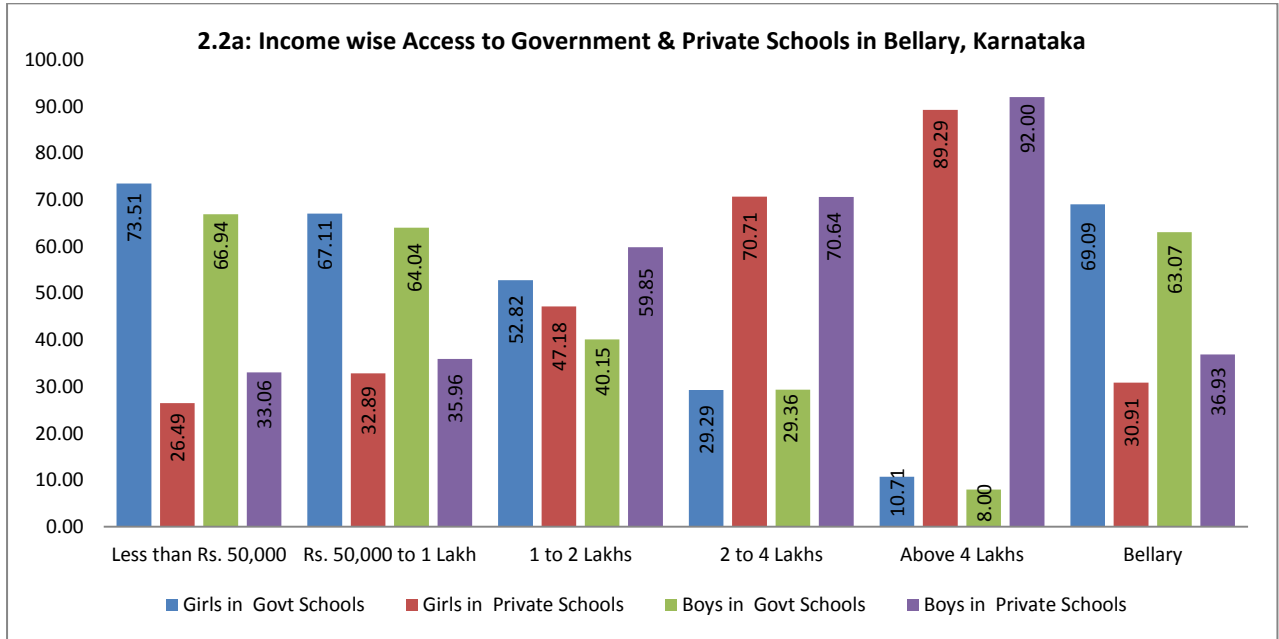
Source: Survey, 2017.

Religion-wise, relatively greater proportions of Christian and Hindu both boys and girls were attending private schools. While 66.73 per cent of Christian girls and 64.69 per cent of Christian boys were attending private schools, only 43.05 per cent of Muslim girls and 46.69 per cent of Muslim boys were attending private schools. The proportion of Hindu boys and girls attending private schools was 56.62 and 50.99 per cent respectively.

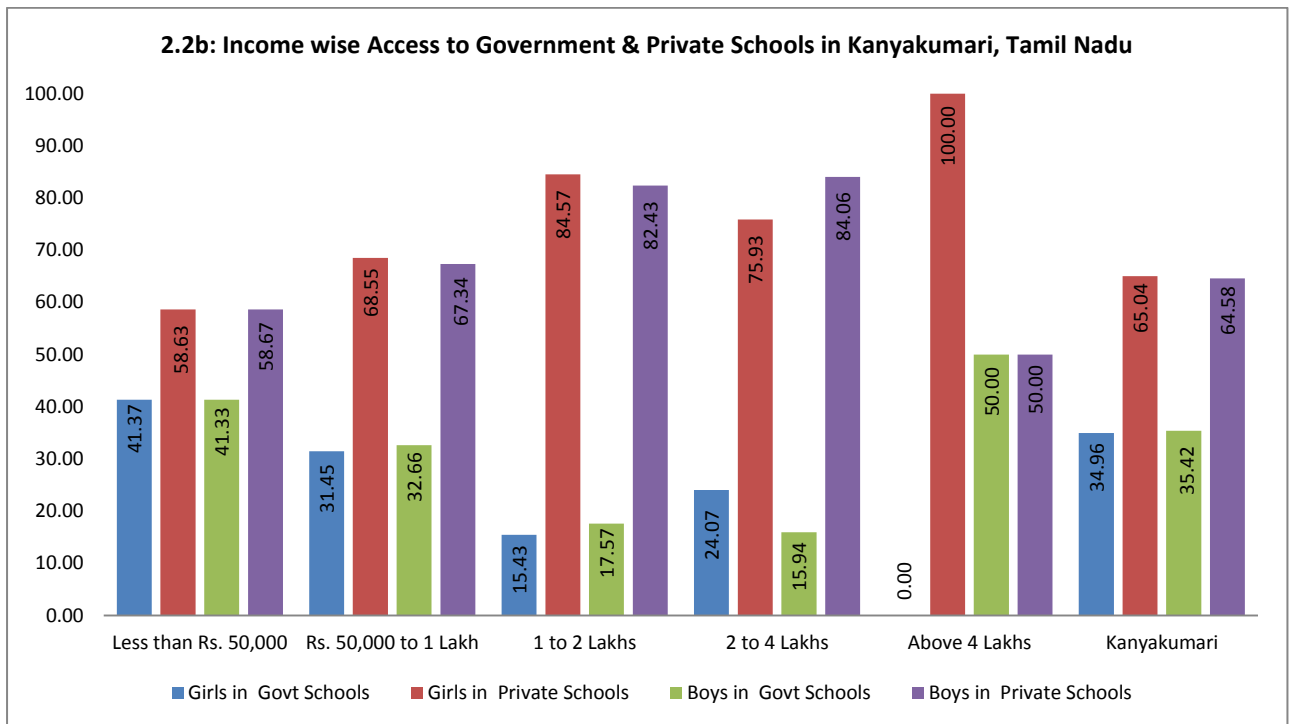
Income category-wise, a clear correlation between income level and access to private school was found across the surveyed Districts. With the rise in income there was a tendency to send both boys and girls to private schools. For example, 79.84 per cent of the girls and 89.54 per cent of the boys, who were attending private schools, were from the households having per annum income level of rupees 4 lakhs and above. In contrast to that, 45.57 per cent of the girls and 49.51 per cent of the boys, who were attending private schools, belonged to the lowest income group.

Children from different income groups had access to different kinds of private schools. High income group children had access to private schools with smart classrooms, swimming pools, extra-curricular activities, like karate, yoga, dance, project work, etc. Children from middle income group had access to private schools with basic infrastructure, transportation facilities, etc. Children from low income group had access to only low-fee-private schools or government schools. Some of these low-fee-private schools attract children from low income group in the name of providing English medium education, but in reality these schools do not have proper trained teachers to teach English. Parents with income level below rupees one lakh were generally sending their children to government schools and those with an income above 2 lakhs to private schools.

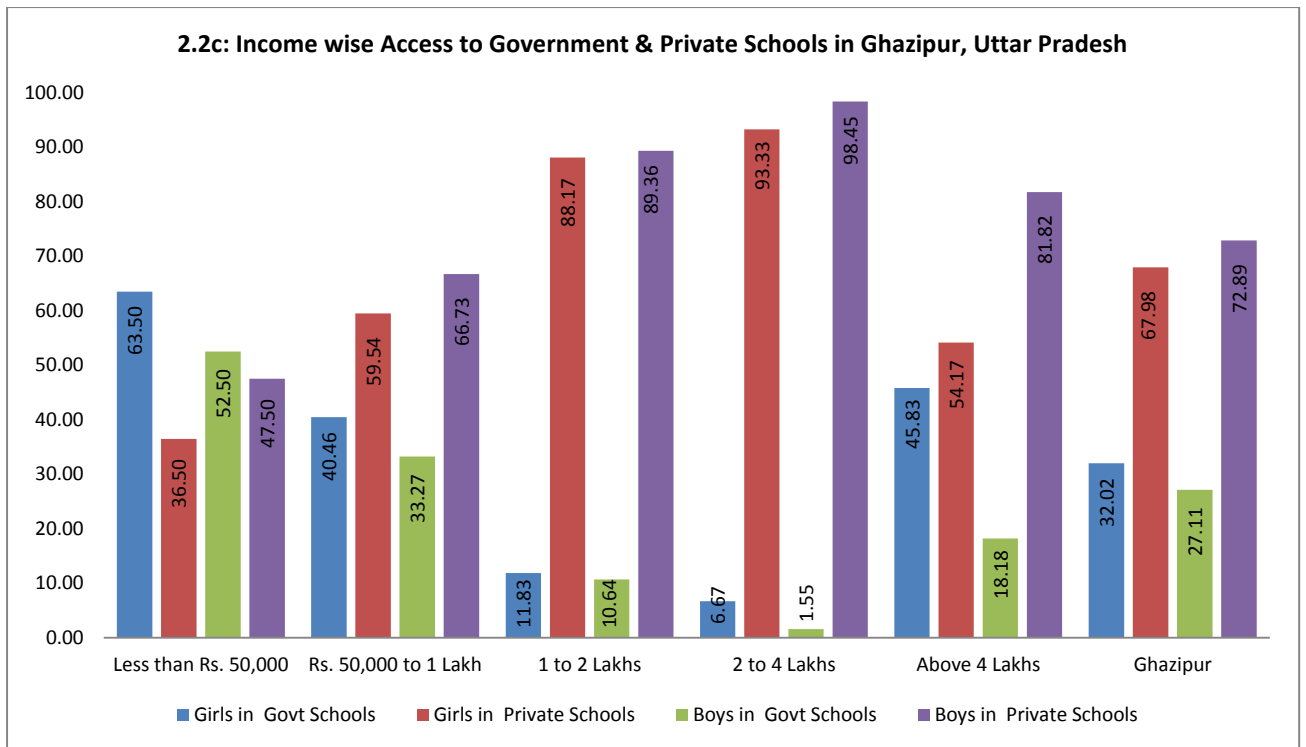
Figure 2.2: Income wise Access to Government and Private Schools in Sample Districts



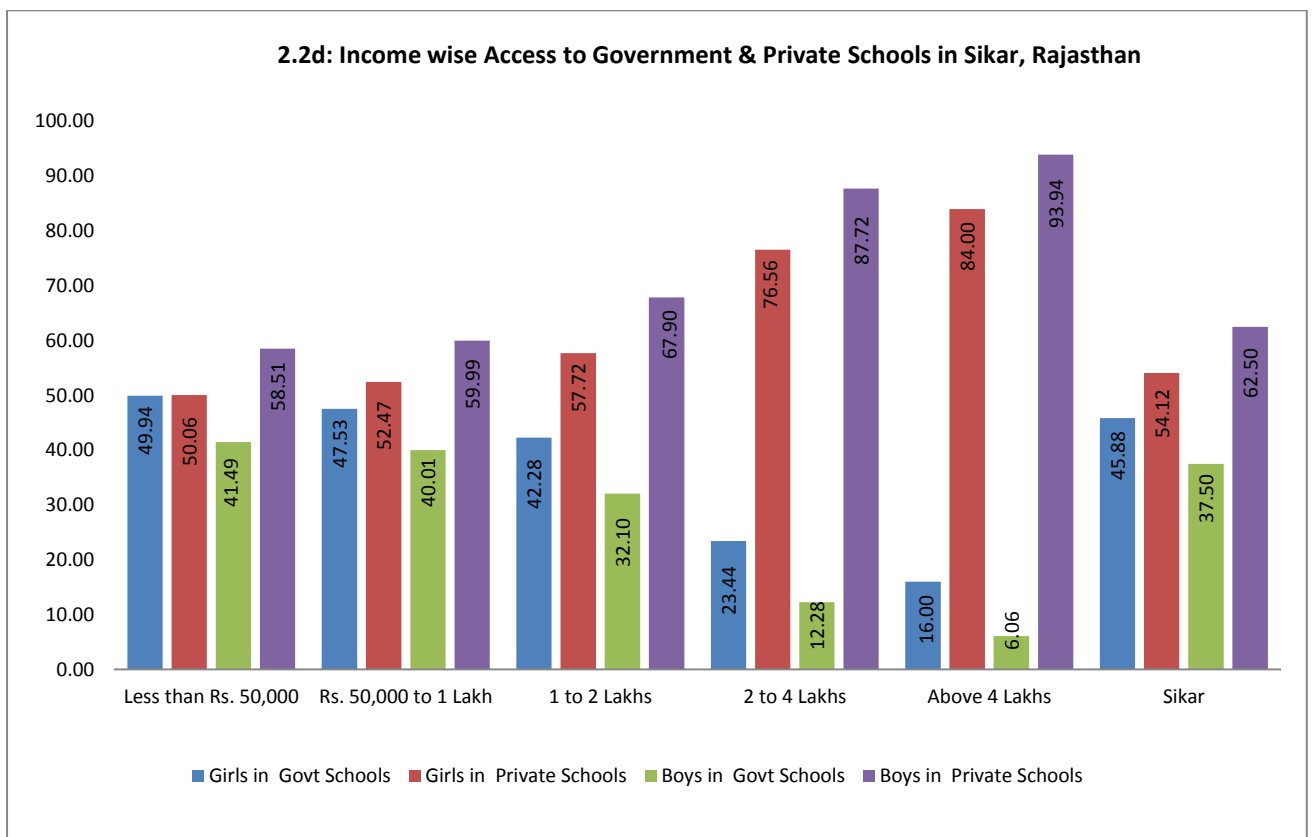
Survey, 2017.



Source: Survey, 2017.



Survey, 2017.



Source: Survey, 2017.

Thus, both the secondary data and survey findings establish that there is differential access to government and private schools that is more pronounced in rural India. Socio-economic backgrounds of the parents are the main determinants of access to government and private schools. While the majority of SC and ST parents, who invariably belong to low income groups, send their children to government schools, a large number of upper caste and OBC parents send their children to private schools. Upper and OBC caste parents, who were sending their children to private schools, were having high earning capacity, while the SC & ST parents, who were sending their children mostly to government schools and low-fee-private schools, were mostly daily wagers with low level of education. This was the scenario in Ghazipur, Sikar and Bellary Districts. The only exception to this trend was Kanyakumari where much greater proportion of parents with low income level was sending their children to private schools. In Kanyakumari some of the poor parents with income level even below Rs.50,000 were also sending their children to private schools. Income-wise graded access to different types of private schools was noticed sharply in Kanyakumari. Parents with an income level of Rs.50,000 to 2 lakhs were sending their children to low cost private schools, and parents with an income level of 2 to 4 lakhs were sending their children to Christian missionary or Hindu temple run private schools, which were better than low-fee-private schools. Parents earning above rupees 4 lakhs were sending their children to CBSE and ICSE schools.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that there is caste, class, gender, education, and occupation based differential access to private schools. While, there is a general craze for private schools. The phenomenon of differential access to government and private schools, based on caste, class and gender positions, was found across all the four surveyed Districts. The chance of boys, irrespective of caste-class positions, and the chance of upper caste and upper class children, and those whose parents are more educated attending private schools is higher. Occupation categories of the parents have some bearing on the chance of children attending private schools.

While the above mentioned general trend was found across all the four surveyed Districts, there were some local level saliences. For example, in Kanyakumari, there was a religion-based access to some of the private schools, run by Christian missionaries and Hindu temples. An office-bearer of a private school run by a Hindu temple stated that since Christian

missionaries do not treat Hindu children properly and ask them to remove sacred thread and ash from forehead, they started a private school only for Hindu children. Villagers called a meeting of the gram sabha that passed a resolution to establish a school meant only for Hindu children. However, these religious trust run schools provide scholarships to needy and minorities children. For example, the Christian missionary school in Munchirai village provides scholarship to about 20 children. Similarly, private schools run by the local temple in Thengaipattinam and Munchirai villages, provided scholarships to about 10 to 20 mostly orphanage children. They also provided some scholarships to children belonging to the minority community.

Private schools create entry level barriers. Merit of the children, assessed on some kind of entrance test, was adopted as the criteria, in some of the private schools. In some other private schools, education and income levels of parents were given consideration for admission. In Thoothoor village, Tamil Nadu, a parent stated of writing entrance test herself that was required to prove that she is educated and can teach her child. Some of the schools were conducting grammar classes for the parents, so that they are able to teach correct English to their wards at home. Such practices of private schools restrict the access of children coming from the parents of low educational background. In Mundru and Jalpali villages of Sikar District of Rajasthan, most of the parents were clear in their gender preference. A washerman parent from Genikehal village of Bellary district, Karnataka, stated:

“My son studies in a private English medium school and the daughter in a government school. I do not have much money to admit my daughter too in a private school. It is not necessary either, as she will get married after class X and there is no point in spending for her education in English medium school education. Since I am a widower, my daughter, who is in class V, cooks food for the family and takes care of other household work. Look at my sister; she studied till M.A., and yet is a house wife. Hence, there is a no point in spending money on girl’s education. So I don’t want to spend much for my daughter’s education”.

A parent in Jalpali village of Sikar district of Rajasthan, who is employed in Delhi police, did not want to spend, much for the private school education of his girl child. The main reason for the unwillingness of the parents to invest in girl’s education is their perception about the role of women in society. They see women as housewives, whether educated or uneducated. Thus, gender preference for private schools is also rooted in social values. Regarding the education of her girl child, a parent from Methukummal village of Kanyakumari, stated that,

“since education is free till class VIII, I am able to send her to school upto class VIII. If the government gives free education till 12th standard, I would continue her education further. Otherwise, it is difficult for us to afford private school education for her”.

In some places, absence of government schools was a reason for parents sending their children to private schools. For example, a parent from Bharni village of Sikar, Rajasthan, stated that the private school in their locality is the only option he has. Similarly, another parent of Jalpali village of Sikar, Rajasthan, mentioned that there is no upper primary government school in his village. Therefore, parents have no choice, but to send their wards to private schools for upper primary and above classes, even though the private schools do not have proper facilities.

Income level of parents played an important role in determining the choice of school for their children in all the four surveyed Districts. Parents of different income levels had access to different kinds of private schools. In Tamil Nadu, parents with income above rupees 4 lakh were found to be accessing CBSE and ICSE schools, while parents with average and low income were sending their wards to missionary-run schools and low cost private schools. In Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu, there was a clear correlation between the level of income and access to types of private schools. Most of the parents with high and middle-income levels were able to access good private schools, with English medium instruction, and having facilities such as smart boards, extra-curricular activities, yoga, computer-aided learning, sports (volley ball, football, cricket), swimming, games, project work, robotics classes, etc. There were parents who opted for government schools, because of their inability to pay the fees and other expenses charged by private schools. Parents in Munchirai village of Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, revealed that many households had shifted their wards from private to government schools because of their inability to meet the expenses of the private schools. This trend of parents shifting their wards from private to government schools was found in Karnataka, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh as well.

Some of the parents with even low income levels are sending their children to private schools, but with a great deal of hardship and opportunity cost. Many of them borrow money, mortgage jewellery and other precious items to pay for school fees. Reputed private schools restrict entry of children on economic conditions of the parents. A parent of Jalpali village of Sikar District, Rajasthan, stated, “We want to send our children to Radiant Academy, which is a good private school in our locality; but the principal says that children belonging to poor

family cannot study in this school”. When the research team visited this school, the principal reiterated that “no child from a middle or low income group can cope with the level of education of our school. Hence, we do not give admission to them”.

The RTE Act provides free seats to EWS category children in private schools, but some of the private schools were not adhering to this provision. A politician who runs a private school in Karbadih village of Ghazipur District, Uttar Pradesh, proudly stated that, “selection in his school is based on entrance test and interview. We do not implement EWS provision. We are aware of the law, but we do not follow it”. In contrast, in Somasamudra village of Bellary District, Karnataka, one of the private schools stated of giving free education to some children, based on their financial and social backgrounds, apart from giving seats to EWS category under the RTE Act.

It is apprehended that with the declining number of government and increasing number of private schools, a large number of SC and ST and girls would be dropped out of school. Perhaps, it may lead to a situation like that of Haiti, Ghana and other countries where high level of privatisation and high fees charged by private schools have driven a large number of children out of schools. Singh (2015) has highlighted this phenomenon with respect to Ghana and Eckert (2014) with respect to Haiti. In Haiti, the majority of primary level aged children have no school to go, simply because of lack of means to pay for private schools. Finally, it may lead to a situation of increasing educational inequality in society that may trigger social and economic inequality as well. Education is not only an agent of socio-economic mobility, but also a great leveller in many respects.

Chapter 3

Parental Preferences and School Choices

Introduction

It is the parent of the children who decide as to whether to send them to a government or a private school. Parental preference, in turn, is determined by various factors like their socio-economic conditions, schooling experiences, occupational backgrounds, peer and neighbourhood pressure, and their perceptions and value preferences that is pronounced in the case of girl child. In addition to parental backgrounds, the availability of different types of schools in the neighbourhood, information about available schools, the level of aspiration for education of their children, and finally, constraints and limitations, particularly the ability to pay for private schools also play a role in deciding the types of schools.

The previous chapter has shown that in rural areas preference for private school is positively correlated to caste status and income conditions of the parents. Higher castes and high income groups are more likely to send their children to private schools, whereas lower castes and low income groups are more likely to send their children to government schools. In some cases, invariably in lower income groups, there is a gender preference in selection of the school type. Male child is sent to government school and female child to private school. The trend is found across rural and urban areas, but more pronounced in the former.

Private schools influence parental preference through various propaganda and blitzkrieg of publicity that have helped them in building perception in the society that they are superior to private schools and provide better and quality education.

This chapter examines various determinants of parental preference for private schools, based on interviews of 400 parents, 100 each from Bellary (Karnataka), Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh), Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu) and Sikar (Rajasthan). Social category-wise, the sample consisted of 247 OBC parents, 64 SCs, 18 STs and 71 upper castes.

Factors Influencing School Choice of Parents

(1) Social Status and Economic Conditions of Parents

The socio-economic conditions of parents are a key determinant of the parental preference for the types of schools for their children. Hill, Samson & Dasgupta (2011) rightly assert that schooling is mediated by the socio-economic conditions of the household that means access is a *priori* determined. This study confirms the trend and shows that social status, education, occupation and income levels of the parents are key determinants of their choice of school for their children. It further shows that preference for private schools is socially graded.

The proportion of parents sending their children to private schools is the highest in upper castes, followed by OBCs, SCs and STs in that order. In contrast, the proportion of parents sending their children to government schools is the highest in STs, followed by SCs, OBCs and upper castes. The proportion of parents who send their children only to government schools was the highest in the STs, followed by SCs and OBCs. It was the lowest in the upper castes. On the other hand, the proportion of parents, sending their children only to private schools, was the highest in the upper castes and the lowest in the STs. OBCs were close to upper castes in sending their children to private schools. The SCs were slightly below the OBCs.

Social Category-wise Preference for Private Schools

Out of the total sample of 400 parents, 268 (67%) were sending their children to private unaided schools, 63 (15.75%) to private aided schools, 47 (11.75%) to government schools and 22 (5.50%) to other types, mainly Madarsa and unrecognised, etc. Of the upper caste households, 70.42 per cent were sending their children to private aided, 9.86 per cent to government and 4.23 per cent to others. The OBCs closely followed the upper castes in sending their children to private schools. Of the total OBC parents, 70.40 per cent were sending their children to private unaided, 12.40 per cent to private aided, 11.20 per cent to government and 4.23 per cent to others. The SCs were next to the OBCs in terms of sending their children to private schools. Of the total SC parents, 57.14 per cent were sending their children to private unaided, 25.40 per cent to private aided, 14.29 per cent to government and 3.17 per cent to others. The STs were the least privileged in sending their children to private schools. Of the total ST parents, 37.50 per cent were sending their children to private schools

and another 31.25 per cent to private unaided. Close to 19 per cent were sending their children to government schools and another 12.50 per cent to other types.

District-wise preference for private schools reveals only slight variations. In other words, spatial variation in parental preference was insignificant. The overall proportion of parents sending their children to private schools was 71.1 per cent in Ghazipur, 72 per cent in Kanyakumari and 73 per cent in Sikar. It was slightly lower in Bellary (52 %).

Caste-wise trend was similar across all the four surveyed Districts. A greater proportion of upper caste parents were sending their children to private schools in Ghazipur (84 %), Kanyakumari (83.3 %) and Sikar (72.73 %). It was lower in Bellary (47.83 %). Similarly, a greater proportion of OBC parents were sending their children to private schools in Kanyakumari (72.94 %), Sikar (75.47 %), and Ghazipur (67.21 %). A greater proportion of SC parents were sending their children to private schools in Sikar (69.44 %) and Ghazipur (64.29 %). ST parents included in the sample were mostly from the Bellary District. They were sending their children to private aided and unaided schools in almost equal proportion.

There were some parents who were sending their children either only to government or to private schools. Of the sample parents, five per cent in Ghazipur District and two per cent in Sikar were sending their children only to government schools. In contrast to that, 21 per cent of the parents in Kanyakumari and 19 per cent in Bellary were sending their children only to government schools. A major factor why parents were sending their children only to government schools was their inability to meet the expenses of private schools. In Bellary and Kanyakumari Districts, relatively greater proportion of parents were sending their children only to government schools reportedly, due to quality of education, reputation of teachers, accessibility, English medium, among other factors.

Religion-wise, a greater proportion of the Christian and Hindu than Muslim parents were sending their children to private schools. Out of the total sample Christian parents, 71.74 per cent were sending their children to aided private schools and another 10.87 per cent to private unaided. Similarly, of the sample Hindu parents, 67.45 per cent were sending their children to private aided and 16.42 per cent to private unaided. The proportion of parents sending their children to private schools was the lowest in Muslims. Only 38.46 per cent of them were sending their children to private schools. On the other hand, the proportion of parents sending their children to government schools was the highest among the Muslims, followed by the Christians.

In Kanyakumari District, there was a noticeable preference for schools run by their own religion groups. Madarasas, Christian-missionaries and Hindu temples-run schools were preferred by Muslim, Christian and Hindu parents respectively. Parents were of the view that their children would know about their religion and will also imbibe values and principles of their society. On the flipside, schools run by religion groups were found giving preferential treatment to children of their own religion. For instance, in Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu, Christian missionary schools gave preference to Christian children, and Hindu temple-run schools to Hindu children. Missionary schools forbade Hindu children from wearing sacred threads, and applying holy ash on forehead that discouraged them in seeking admission in such schools. Because of that, Hindu parents were found reluctant to send their wards to missionary schools, and preferred the ones run by Hindu temples.

Economic Category-wise Preference for Private Schools

The preference for private schools has a rich-poor divide as well. Poor parents are less likely to send their children to private schools than their better off counterparts. Out of the total BPL parents, 53.39 per cent were sending their children to unaided private schools and another 16.10 per cent to aided. About 22 per cent of the BPL parents were sending their children to government schools. The proportion of BPL parents sending their children to government schools was the highest in Kanyakumari (38.89%), followed by in Bellary (23.29%). About eight per cent of the BPL parents were sending their children both to government and private schools; invariably boys to private schools and girls to government schools.

Though the RTE Act provided for economically weaker section to get free seats in private schools, yet there are various barriers. Firstly, many of the EWS parents are not aware of the provision of the RTE Act that allow their children free seats in private schools. Secondly, in places of high level of awareness leading, the number of application for admission often outnumber the seats reserved under EWS category. As a result of that, many schools practice lottery system, or some other ways of shortlisting of the EWS children. Thirdly, many poor parents who manage to get their wards admitted into private schools, face difficulties in meeting various expenses charged by these schools, though they do not charge tuition fee that is free. Unable to pay such charges, they withdraw their wards from such schools and often shift them to government schools. Fourthly, many locally elite private schools do not

encourage EWS children. These schools are conscious of their elite reputation and their value in the market is based on its projection of elite character.

Educational Background of Parents and School Preference

There is a positive correlation between the higher level of education of parents and their greater preference for private schools: Parents with higher level of education are more likely to send their children to private schools and parents with low level of education are more likely to send their children to government schools. About 72 per cent of the parents, who were sending their children to government schools, were either illiterate, or primary or upper-primary pass. Interestingly, 63 per cent of the parents who were sending their children to private schools were also either illiterate or primary or upper primary pass. The aspiration for private schools was equally high in parents with low level of education. The only thing is that some of the illiterate parents, who were not sending their children to private schools, was due to their poor economic conditions. This trend was found across all the four surveyed Districts that in a way suggests that the craze for private schools is wide-spread.

Does education level of mothers make any difference to the choice of school? The survey shows that except for the Kanyakumari District, in other places the education level of mother does not have any independent influence on the choice of schools for their children. It indicates that notwithstanding the educational achievements of mothers, it is the father or other male members of the household who take the decision on the choice of school for their children. This was particularly noted in Sikar District of Rajasthan.

Occupational Background of Parents and Schools Preference

Agriculturalists – self-employed and casual labour – are more likely to send their wards to government schools than their other occupational counterparts. The proportion of parents sending their children to private schools was higher among self-employed in non-agriculture, followed by salaried classes and then casual labour. In the self-employed category, 78.87 per cent of the parents were sending their children to unaided private schools and another 12.68 per cent to private aided. Only 5.63 per cent of them were sending their children to government schools. In the salaried category, 71.59 per cent of the parents were sending their children to private schools and 19.32 per cent to private aided. Among the casual labour parents, 65 per cent of them were sending their children to private unaided schools and 14.72

per cent to aided. As compared to other occupational categories, relatively small proportion of the self-employed in agriculture (48.15 %) were sending their children to private schools.

Occupation-wise, a greater proportion of parents self-employed in agriculture (20.37 %) and casual labour (14.72 %) were sending their children to government schools. In contrast, only a small proportion of parents self-employed in non-agriculture (5.63 %) and salaried (2.27 %) were sending their children to government schools.

There is a caste and class preference for private schools. Relatively much greater proportion of upper castes and upper class parents are sending their children to private schools. In contrast, relatively greater proportion of ST and SCs in caste categories, Muslims and Christians in religion categories, BPL in income categories, low-educated parents in educational categories and casual labour in agriculture and self-employed in agriculture in occupational categories were sending their children to private schools.

Government schools are preferred mostly by those who are not in a position to afford the expenses of private schools, though they also aspire to do so. While the opportunity cost of money spent on private school education may not be so high for the relatively better off, it is certainly high for the poor parents and those who earn their livelihoods, mainly through casual labour. Parents from low economic strata are sending their children to private schools, driven by high aspiration and entrenched perception that these schools are providers of better and quality education.

There is a gender preference in sending children to private schools. Parents with low income levels, if they are not in a position to afford private schools for both male and female children, go for private schools for male child and government schools for female child. This gender preference is socially and culturally rooted as well. Parents sending their girl child to private schools justify it on the ground that after her marriage she will become part of another family. Hence, investment in her education will not have any return for the parental household. Some of them also justify it on the stereotype fixing of gender role. They say that after all a girl has to take care of household affairs. Whether she gets education or not does not make any difference.

Private schools are hierarchical. They are elite, middle level and low-fee-private schools. Elite private schools are accessed by only 3 to 4 households in a village. Parents with low levels of income and education, and those engaged as casual labour chose only the low-fee-

private schools. The salaried and other households with better economic conditions send their children to middle level private schools. Thus, as noted by Kar and Sinha (2021), there is a hierarchy in the affordability of education that is along the line of socio-economic hierarchy.

(2) Perception about Government and Private Schools

Parental preference for government and private schools is also influenced by their perception about the functioning of government and private schools. Literature show that there are favourable preference for private schools, based on favourable perception about the functioning of private schools (Srivastava, 2007; Goldring & Phillips, 2008; De, Khera, Samson, & Kumar, 2011; Chudgar & Quin, 2012). Our field findings corroborate this. However, government schools have not lost out completely. There are some parents who still hold favourable perception about government schools. In general, those parents who prefer private schools have low level of trust in government schools. They hold poor view of government school functioning, including infrastructure. They are of view that private schools are able to ensure discipline in children and punctuality of teachers. For example, a parent from Pahadpur village of Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh stated:

My child was studying in a government school. But the child was not punctual. He used to go to school any time; sometime at 8 in the morning, and sometime at 11am, or even 12pm. Only 2 teachers were present there to take care of all children. Since proper discipline was not ensured in the school, I shifted my child from the government to a private school.

There is a sense of pride in sending children to private schools. Some of the parents also feel that education received based on payment has higher value. For instance, in Jalpali village of Rajasthan, a parent said, “when we pay money the school treats us with respect”.

The majority of parents expressed their preference for private schools because they claim to be English medium schools. Some of the parents from Kolor village in Bellary District of Karnataka and Hanspur village in Sikar District of Rajasthan took pride in saying that their children were studying in English medium private schools. They proudly stated that their children were good in English, but rather poor in their mother tongues. In Rajasthan, English medium was an important attraction for private schools, but with gender preference: boys for English medium private schools and girls for Hindi medium government schools. However, there were some parents, who given the option of English medium government schools, would have preferred government schools, as they were cheaper. A parent from Thoothoor village in Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu, who send their son to a private school, stated

that if the government can provide English medium education, they would be happy to send their child to the government school. Many of the parents had a sense of gratification by seeing their wards neatly dressed up in school uniforms and going to schools by school buses. Some parents also believed that their children would acquire greater knowledge, good values and habits in private schools, and hence, would have a much better life after being educated in private schools. This was a general perception in Hanspur village of Sri Madhopur Block of Sikar District of Rajasthan.

Government schools were also preferred because they provide free education, free midday meal and free text books and uniforms. Parents in Jalpali and Bharni villages of Rajasthan stated that they were very much satisfied with the government schools, as education is free and good as well. Overall, the general perception of parents is favourable towards private schools, though there are still some who vouchsafe for government schools.

(3) Information gathering about features and facilities in School

Srivastava (2007) notes that before taking a decision, parents collect information about schools, their location, fees, quality of teachers, facilities, school environment, results, medium of instruction, pass percentage, etc. Such information is mostly obtained through social networks. Goldring & Phillips (2008) assert that social networks of parents play a major role in determining the school choice. They show that there are two types of networks. They are social and interpersonal and formal. While the former is neighbours and social groups such as friends, family and co-workers, the latter is mainly school brochures, pamphlets, display of test scores, etc. (p.214). In general, parents collect the first level of information through interpersonal communication. They get to know about the different kinds of schools available in their locality, and accordingly, they make their choice. While social networks of parents provide the first level of information, the types of social networks vary depending on their high and low socio-economic status. The high income group or parents with better occupational or educational backgrounds, collect information mainly about the nature of a school like whether affiliated to an international board or CBSE or state board. They also collect information about whether the school has some elitist touch and offers various other learning facilities, such as horse riding, robotics classes, personality development workshop, etc. Some of the parents in Tamil Nadu have preference for international schools for the above factors only. On the other hand, parents belonging to low social status, collect information mostly about low fee private schools that offer education at

lower cost. They also collect information about the school where they can apply under the EWS quota. In all the four surveyed Districts, informal networks played an important role in information gathering in the high social status groups whereas formal source of information was the main source for low income and low social status group.

Parents from low socio-economic status depended mostly on formal networks like school brochures, pamphlets, hoardings and posters distributed and pasted around the villages. Formal networks were found playing an important role in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. In these two places, selection of the school was influenced by huge hoardings, pamphlets distributed, or posters pasted on prominent places of the village. Parents from low social status were not very discrete in collecting information about the quality of teachers and education provided in schools. In some of the cases, though parents were well informed about the various choices, yet they settled down for less preferred choices due to unaffordability. In such cases, rationality was applied in selecting a school matching the paying ability. Such parents opt for private schools that offer scholarship and provide admission under the EWS quota.

David et.al (1997) consider parental choice as the rational thinking process that is applied for selection of school. Possibilities are explored and information acquired on various options is evaluated against one another (p.399). In India's context, Srivastava (2007) shows that schooling preference of disadvantaged parents lacks serious engagement of such rational choices (p.9). Our findings from the field confirm this observation.

Private schools display hoardings and posters in prominent public places to attract the attention of parents who are often influenced by such publicities. On the other hand, government schools are not able to propagate their achievements and strengths. In the surveyed government schools of Rajasthan, many children had cleared the National Merit-cum-Means Scholarship (NMMS). One government school has produced state level players in Khokho (Jalpali village, Sikar district). But none of them were able to give publicity to their achievements.

Location of schools is also a factor in the parental choice of school. Parents mostly preferred those schools that are in close vicinity to their residences. Sometimes, non-availability of government school in neighbourhood also compels parents to opt for private school. For example, in some villages of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, parents were forced to send their wards to private schools, due to non-availability of government schools in the village. In

Bharni village, Sikar district of Rajasthan, a parent stated that they don't have any choice, as the private school in their locality is the only option they have. On the other hand, there were some parents who preferred private schools even at a long distance, despite having government schools in the vicinity. Another parent in the same village of Rajasthan preferred sending their children to a private school that was 20 kilometres away from the village. They felt that the local schools were not of good quality. They would spoil their children. They apprehended that their children would get bad peer groups if they were sent to the local school.

(4) Value of Education

Most of the parents value education as provider of socio-economic mobility. This has important bearing on their preference for private schools. In general, parents equate private school with quality education and link the future of their children with the quality of education. Most of the parents, who send their children to private schools in almost all the four surveyed places, stated that private education would help their children to acquire better knowledge and good values that would place them better in their life. Many of the poor parents believed that they were making an investment in education as it would take their family out of poverty. Some others believed that education would give their children better job prospects and secured future.

A parent in Manihari village of Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh provided private school education to her daughter on the consideration that it would ensure better marriage prospect for her. Some of the parents in the same village stated that good education from a private school would uplift their children from the occupation in which they are struck. They said that they would not like their children to engage in low menial jobs⁵ in which they were engaged for generations.

A parent from Munchirai village in Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu said, "education would give my children self-sufficiency. Parents cannot be with the children throughout the life. If they provide good education, that would be the most important thing for the child". Some of the parents in other villages of Kanyakumari District said that education would provide the required skills to their children, so that they would be able to cope with the changing conditions of time.

⁵ They call it "gobar" work, and relate it to work like making cow dung cake used for cooking.

While most of the parents value education for future prospects such as bright career, secured job, marriage prospects, high income, etc. there were a few in Bellary district of Karnataka and Manihari village of Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh who valued education for making their children a good human being.

(5) Parental Aspiration for Children

Parents have their own aspirations for career and life of their children. Parental aspirations are determined by their own positions, their current and past experiences, and the kind of information that they have about various aspects of life (Gutman & Akerman, 2008). In all the surveyed places, parental aspiration played a key role in the choice of schools.

While parental aspirations for their children are mostly common (Box 3.1), the choice of government and private schools is based on the parental assessment of these schools. Affordability to pay for private schools is also a consideration in case of preference for private schools.

Box 3.1: Aspiration levels of Parents towards School Choice	
Government School	Professional Aspiration: Police, Teacher, Doctor, Lawyer, Engineer, Bank Manager, Army Life Aspirations: Marriage, Government Job
Private School	Professional Aspiration: Police, Teacher, Doctor, Nurse, Lawyer, Engineer, Bank Manager, Army, IAS Officer, Air hostess Life Aspirations: Government Job, Good Job, Good future, Earn more money, Marriage, Ability to get out of poverty, English speaking ability

Source: Survey.

While most of the parents were articulate about their aspirations for their children, including the profession of their choice, some of them would leave it for their children to decide. In Uttar Pradesh, many parents aspired that their children should become doctors, engineers, police and civilian officers etc. In Tamil Nadu, parents added other professions like teachers, military officers, IAS officers, air hostess, etc. In Karnataka, aspiration to become lawyers, bank officers, etc. were also expressed by some parents. Based on their life experiences, some parents preferred white collar professional jobs for their children and for that matter preferred private schools, as they thought, private schools would help in achieving the professional aspirations of their children. Parents, who were into self-agriculture, felt that such traditional occupations would not provide a decent life for their children. A parent from Genikehal village in Bellary district of Karnataka said, “I suffered a lot as a farmer. My son should not undergo the same sufferings. He should get a good job. I see him as a doctor and the current school (private) will help him getting into medical”. The same was also affirmed by a parent

in Uttar Pradesh who stated that private school would provide better education and improve the prospect of their children to move out of agriculture. Similarly, a parent from Thoothoor village of Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu, who sends her son to a private school, stated that, “we did not have the opportunity to study. At least our children should get good education and settle down well in life”. She further added that if the government school can provide English medium education, she would be happy to send her child to the government school.

In addition to professional aspirations, parents also have aspirations related to the life prospects for their children. According to Gutman & Akerman (2008), such life aspirations include having decent job, a nice home, and lots of money (p.3). A secured job, good marital life, decent earning, ability to come out of poverty, fluency in English were some other life aspirations of parents in the surveyed Districts. A parent from Jalpali village of Sikar District of Rajasthan stated, “Children have poor prospect of job if they are not fluent in English. Hence, I want to give good education to my children, and that is the reason I preferred private school”. In Lalpurhari village of Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh, some of the parent aspired that their children should progress well in life. They should stand on their own and take care of themselves. A parent in Badanahatti village of Bellary District of Karnataka and Bishunpur village of Uttar Pradesh stated that their children should have a better life than their parents.

Many of the parents lamented that they did not have resources to provide education in private schools that would fulfil their aspirations. In Uttar Pradesh, some of the parents stated that, “we don’t have much aspiration for our children, as it all depends upon the availability of money required now-a-days for providing good education”. A parent in Methukummal village of Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu stated that they send their daughter to government school but they were not sure about providing her education post-elementary level. If the government extends free education till 12th, she would continue, otherwise she would drop out after completing class 10.

(6) Constraints of Parents

Many of the parents were not able to translate their aspiration about school choice due to various constraints. Such constraints are mostly related to economic background of the parents; their inability to pay for school fees and other expenses charged by private schools (Srivastava, 2007). In general, parents with income level below one lakh per annum were

sending their children to government schools whereas parents with an annual income level above 2 lakhs were sending their wards to private schools. This was the scenario across all the 3 states. Tamil Nadu was an exception where parents with income level below Rs.50,000 were also sending their children to private schools.

There is another level of grading. Parents with an income level of Rs.50,000 to 2 lakhs were sending their children to low cost private schools, and parents with an income of 2 to 4 lakhs were sending their children to missionary or trust-run private schools. Parents with income level above 4 lakhs were sending their children to CBSE and ICSE schools. In general, parents with income below Rs. 50,000 per annum or with income level of 50,000 to 2 lakh were sending their children to government schools.

Affordability consideration of private schools also includes other expenditure charged by such schools. Apart from fees, additional expenditure includes transportation cost, sports activities charges, annual day charges, and exam fees, etc. Private tuition further adds to the financial burden of parents. Many parents reportedly shifted their wards from private to government schools, because of their inability to meet such additional expenditure of private schools. For example, in Kalyanpur village of Sikar district of Rajasthan, some parents shifted their children from one to another private school, and finally to government school, because of their inability to meet the expenses of private schools. They stated that private schools increase their fees every year that makes it increasingly difficult for them to continue their wards there.

Sometime parents also shift their children from one to another school due to dissatisfaction with the learning of their children. A girl child of class V in Hanspur village of Sikar district of Rajasthan stated: "I was in a different private school earlier. My teachers used to scold and give punishment. Because of the fear of punishment, I discontinued my study there. I did not like the school. Later on, my parent shifted me to a different private school where I am very happy". In Thengaipattinam village of Kanyakumari District, a parent reported that when fees are not paid on time, private schools punish children. Sometimes they make them to stand in the sun the whole day. Because of such humiliation faced by the children, they are shifted to other schools.

Children of migrant workers have different problems. In Ajeethgarh, Sikar district of Rajasthan, workers migrate to places such as Mumbai, Delhi, etc. Children go along with them. When they come back, sometimes they join the same school, sometimes different

school. In Kurugodu village, Bellary district, Karnataka, there is an NGO that runs a residential facility for 3 months, meant for the children of migrant workers. They are provided with food and stay arrangement free of cost. Because of such support, children of migrant parents were able to continue in the same school. However, such facilities were not available everywhere.

Preference for Government Schools

Various factors influence the decision of the parents in their choice of government or private schools. Parental choice is influenced by factors like quality education, English medium instruction, affordability, non-educational benefits, etc. (Streuli, Vennam, & Woodhead, 2011; Hill, Samson, & Dasgupta, 2011; Härmä, 2010; Lahoti & Mukhopadhyay, 2019). These factors were found in the surveyed places.

Reasons for preferred schools varied for government, private aided and unaided schools. Government schools were mostly preferred for free and quality education. In Rajasthan, government schools were also preferred for good teachers who were professionally qualified. In Karnataka, about 22 per cent of the respondents stated of preferring government schools for English medium, followed by Tamil Nadu (12 per cent) and Uttar Pradesh (6 per cent). Due to the increasing demand of parents for English medium education, many of the government schools in various states are now offering instruction in English medium. In Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, some of the parents opted for government schools because of free education. The other reasons for which government schools were preferred include low fees, easy accessibility, better infrastructure (Rajasthan), provision of mid-day meals, and other incentives like free text books, uniforms, etc.

Those who preferred government schools were of three types. First, there were parents, who couldn't manage the exorbitant fees and other expenses of private schools, and hence, preferred government schools. Second, there were another set of parents, who after trying the low fee private schools, found the quality of education to be the same in both the government and private schools, and hence, later on shifted to government schools. There was a third category, who preferred government schools ab initio because of free education, qualified teachers, midday meal and various other incentives such as uniforms, books, stationeries, school bags, scholarships, etc. One of the parents in Pahadpur village of Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh stated of sending their children to government schools, as they get free education and free books. Some of the parents from Mundru village of Sikar District of

Rajasthan expressed their preference for government schools, as they felt that the private schools charge exorbitant fees. They were also concerned about the unqualified or low qualified teachers in private schools. A parent from Bharni village of Sikar District of Rajasthan stated that she was very much satisfied with the government school in which her children were continuing.

District	Bellary (Karnataka)			Ghaziपुर (Uttar Pradesh)			Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)			Sikar (Rajasthan)		
	Govt	Aided	Unaided	Govt	Aided	Unaided	Govt	Aided	Unaided	Govt	Aided	Unaided
Good quality	22	22	39	35	33	48	31	58	38	45	25	55
English medium	22	56	33	6	27	17	12	25	31	0	11	12
Low fee	13	5	3	0	9	5	0	0	12	0	0	2
Better infrastructure	0	0	3	0	7	7	0	0	6	5	19	3
Qualified teachers	9	0	2	0	7	9	6	0	4	23	11	8
Free education	26	5	3	53	0	0	46	0	2	9	0	1
Easy accessibility	6	0	9	0	13	13	0	0	5	9	17	9
Good reputation	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	5
Discipline & moral values	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	9	1
Others	2	12	7	6	4	1	6	17	2	5	2	3

Source: Survey.

Note: Others included reasons such as healthy peer groups, extra-curricular activities, EWS quota, suggestion of neighbours, popularity for private school in the locality, scholarship, staff child, free incentives (books, uniforms, bags, etc.), midday meal, etc. This is multiple answers.

Preference for Private Schools: Private schools were preferred mostly for English medium and reportedly for quality education. In Karnataka, the most important factor for preferring private school was English medium instruction. Other reasons included quality education, easy accessibility of schools, free education due to EWS quota, and suggestions made by neighbours/friends, etc. In the other three states, the most important factor was quality of education, followed by English medium instruction, easy accessibility, qualified teachers, etc. In general, infrastructure is an important reason for considering private schools. However, in Rajasthan, about 20 per cent of the parents preferred private schools for this reason, while in other states, only a meagre proportion of parents stated school infrastructure as important factor. In Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, a substantial proportion of parents preferred private schools for quality teachers. Enforcement of discipline is also a reason for preferring private schools. This was particularly found in Rajasthan. There were very few parents who preferred government schools for discipline and moral values.

Parents preferred private schools, also due to their lack of trust in government schools. This emerged from the focus group discussion (FGD) with parents in Hanspur village of Sri Madhopur Block of Sikar District of Rajasthan. Further, sending children to private school

was a status symbol for many of the parents. A parent in Rajasthan stated of sending his child to a private school in Bharni, where admission is not easy and recommendation of big shots is required to get admission there. In this school, there are five teachers for every 28 children. The school increases its fee by Rs. 500 every year.

Shift from Private to Government and Government to Private Schools

In the surveyed places, parents were found shifting their wards from one to another school government to private and private to government. The section below examines this phenomenon.

Table 3.2 shows that in total, about 26 children of the sample parents had shifted from private to government school in the previous year. The shift was found to be high in the Sikar District of Rajasthan and Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh. The main reasons for leaving private schools were long distance, poor teaching quality and heavy financial burden.

Type of School	Bellary	Sikar	Kanyakumari	Ghazipur	Reasons for Shifting previous school	Reasons for current school choice
Children Shifted from Private to Government School	1	15	0	10	Till Primary level, Distance, poor Teaching, Financial Burden, High Fees	Good Quality, free Education, Less Distance, Good Infrastructure
Children Shifted from Government to Private School	8	0	3	3	Distance, poor infrastructure, poor teaching , Migrated, Irregular, Teacher Absenteeism, Only till primary	English Medium, Good quality, Good Infrastructure, Good Teachers, Less Distance
Children Shifted from private to private school	2	2	2	2	Poor Teaching, Shifted Home	English medium, Good quality

Source: Survey.

Government schools were chosen for good quality, free education, accessibility and good infrastructure. About 14 children had shifted from government to private schools. The main reasons for leaving government schools included distance, poor infrastructure, poor teaching, irregular classes, teacher absenteeism, migration of parents, etc. Private schools were preferred for reasons such as English medium, good quality of education, good, infrastructure, etc. Sometimes parents were not satisfied with the one private school and shifted their wards to another private school. For example, about eight children had shifted from one to another private school in the previous year.

Compared to the southern states, in the northern states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, there were frequent shifting of children from one to another school. The chief reasons include long distance, punishment to the children given in the school, lack of infrastructure, non-availability of qualified teachers, dissatisfaction with the quality of education etc.

However, the majority of the sample children were continuing in the same school. Those who preferred to continue in the government school stated that they were satisfied with the school, because of good quality of teachers, free education and other benefits provided in the school. Parents preferred to stay back in private schools for the reason of good quality of education, English medium, good teachers, and strict discipline, etc.

Hill, Samson & Dasgupta (2011) in their qualitative study in Rasola village of Rajasthan highlighted that parents had to choose between two options; both are less-than-optimum, rather than one good and one bad. This was visible in some of the surveyed villages where parents had to choose between two options, none were good.

Some of the students changed their school from private to government, because the English teacher in the private school was not good. A parent of Hanspur village of Sikar District of Rajasthan stated that, “earlier my daughter was studying in a government school. We shifted her to a private school for English medium. But there was no proper English teacher in the school and the fees was also very high. So we shifted her again to the government school as we get free education and mid-day meal. When the standard of both the schools are the same, why to pay high fees in private schools?”

Again a parent from Hanspur village stated that, “I shifted my child to a private school last year. In the current school, there is no focus on the development of the children. The school lacks basic facilities like electricity, fan, light, water, etc. Only tin shed is there as roof of the building. I am planning to shift my child back to the government school next year.” Another parent from the same village stated that, “Two of my children studied in a government school earlier. Since education was not proper in the school, I shifted my children to a private school. This school lacks basic facilities like light, water, fan, etc. and there are limited numbers of teachers. Still we have enrolled here, with the expectation that my children will learn something”.

Thus, parents shifted their wards from one to another school, often in search of better option. Main reasons for shifting from a private to a government school or from one private to

another private school were the inability to pay the fees and meet other expenses charged by a private school and dissatisfaction with the school. When parents were not able to see any improvement in the learning levels of their children, they tend to shift them to other private schools or government schools. Again the reasons for shifting from government to private schools were lack of trust in government schools, poor infrastructure, teacher absenteeism, lack of discipline, poor teaching, lack of English medium instruction, etc.

Strategies used by Parents in Exercising Choice

Parents adopt various strategies to continue in private schools. They include: staying, fee-bargaining, fee-jumping and exiting (Srivastava, 2007). Such strategies were applied by the parents in the surveyed places too.

Staying: Those parents who send their children to a private school make assessment as to whether it is worthwhile continuing. Srivastava (2007) explains that such assessment is based on various factors like result of the child, affordable fees, disciplinary practices of school, good infrastructure, child's satisfaction, etc. When parents were able to see positive change in the learning levels of their children, they preferred to continue them in the same school. This strategy was followed equally for continuing in private and government schools. Close proximity of schools, lack of other schooling options in their locality, a kind of loyalty to the current school, fear of disrupting the schooling of children, etc. acted as other important reasons for continuing in the same school.

Fee-Bargaining: Fee-bargaining was a strategy that was used by many parents when they were not in a position to pay the fees amount. This practice of fee-bargaining was found in all the surveyed places. It was found mostly in parents belonging to low income groups and who send their children to low-fee private schools. Farmers or daily wages labourers who were not able to meet the fees and other expenses of private schools, mostly due to low and unstable income adopted this strategy.

Based on the negotiation with the school owner or principal, parents were able to bargain lower fees. Sometimes, parents were not able to pay the fees for several months and used to clear the dues after harvesting. Some of the schools were found giving exemption from fee payment to poor parents, and some of them also used to negotiate fees based on the paying capacity of the parents. But in general private schools were strict in collecting fees.

Exiting: This was a common strategy used by the parents in the places where there were multiple options of schools. Exit option was used for reasons like inability to pay fees, dissatisfaction with the school, lack of infrastructure, lack of qualified teachers, migration to other states, shifting of residence, etc.

Fee-Jumping: Fee-jumping was another strategy used by some of the parents. It was found in all the surveyed places. Parents pay a token amount as fees in the beginning of an academic year and continue the ward in the same school, till they are forced to clear the arrear or leave the school. Once they reach a state, where they are not able to continue without paying the fees including arrear, they exit the school and join another private or government school. Such fee-jumping option is exercised anytime of the academic year, or sometimes even after the completion of an academic year.

Conclusion

The parental preference for the types of school for their wards are influenced by various factors, such as their own socio-economic backgrounds, occupational and educational levels, the value of education, their perception about government and private schools, among others. Parents with high aspirations for their children regard private schools as capable to meet their aspirations. While parents belonging to high and middle income groups were able to meet the expenses of private schools easily, those belonging to low economic status faced financial difficulties in meeting expenses of private schools. Hence, they adopted various strategies like fee-bargaining, fee-jumping and shift from one to another school.

As a result of market oriented demand supply approach, school education has been reduced from a public to a private good, a market product. Parents are seen as a customer and school as a market. If parental choice is allowed to have its way, as market apparently operates, it is equally important that parents are well informed of the available options and are able to make a proper assessment of what education is all about. On the contrary, our findings suggest that parental preferences for specific schools are not always backed by correct information and proper understanding and assessment of learning outcome. Very often, school choice is determined by the popularity of a school in the neighbourhood, the feel of pride, catchy advertisements of private schools that propagate their achievements like good pass percentage in board results, smart manners of children, English speaking ability, computer classes, etc.

Parental choice, if allowed to have a dominant role in the society, then there is a concern for equity. All of them are not capable to meet expenses of private schools. Thus, as noted by Hirschman (1978), school choice creates inequality in access. Further, the option of exit has consequences such as ‘ghettoisation’ in the conditions of those left behind in certain types of schools (p.96). In addition, parental preference, based on differential socio-economic status entrench caste-class and rich-poor divide in accessing education, thereby aggravating social inequality and widening the social divide.

The market has created segmented school education systems to cater to the demand from different sections, depending on their paying capacity. While there is not much difference between the elite and other private schools, there is a huge difference between the elite and low-cost-private schools. Moreover, as highlighted by Dasgupta (2011), sometimes parents have to choose between two bad options only.

To ensure that market does not have a free play in school education, as there are various adverse consequences of such policy, the state must take the responsibility of providing universal elementary education. Otherwise, a dual-track education system in which traditionally excluded castes and classes are able to access only the lowest quality school education, may aggravate the existing socio-economic inequality further (Jha et al. 2008). Moreover, as argued by Fennell (2007), if school education is sold as a commodity based on the paying capacity it will have long term and adverse socio-economic impacts on the society.

Chapter 4

Cost of Private Education

Introduction

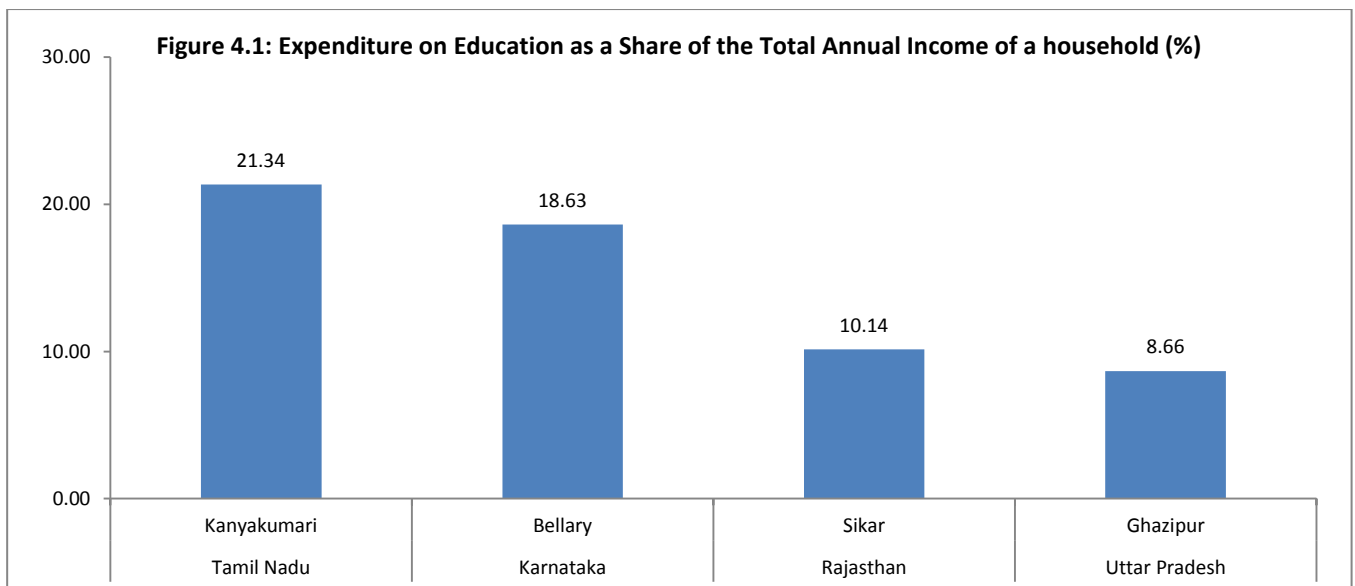
UNESCO's Education for All: Global Monitoring Report, 2015, has underlined that even in places where there is a policy of providing free elementary education; it is not fee-free in the majority of the countries (UNESCO, 2015). Srivastava and Noronha (2016) have highlighted that while in India, as per the Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009, there is a provision for free seats to the economically weaker sections (EWS) in private schools, in practice, it is not free, as private schools charge for various other items other than fees; sometimes making it a costly affair for the poor parents.

A number of studies have examined the cost of education in private schools and show that it is much higher than that of government schools. Higher cost of private school education and increasingly greater number of children getting enrolled in private schools imply that the burden of school education has been shifted to parents (Alderman, Orazem, & Paterno, 2001; Ashley, et al., 2014; Tilak, 1988).

Based on the data of a sample survey of 400 households, this chapter examines the cost of school education in government and private schools. It also analyses financial and other implications of high cost private school education for poor parents.

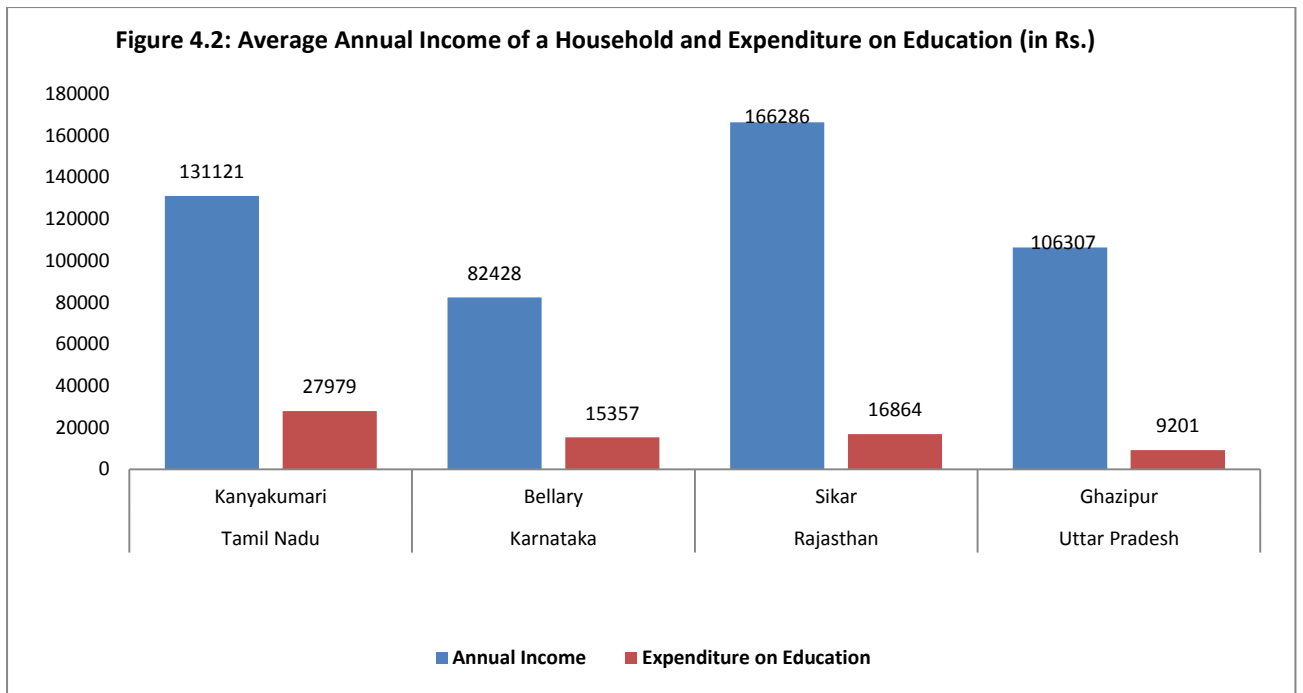
Households Expenditure on School Education

Most of the sample households spent a substantial part of their annual income on education. A major reason for the high share of expenditure on education is the high cost of private school education. A household in Tamil Nadu spent on an average 21.34 per cent of its annual income on education, the highest among the surveyed states, followed by Karnataka (18.63%), Rajasthan (10.4%) and Uttar Pradesh (8.66%). Figure 4.1 shows state-wise expenditure on education as a share of the total annual income of a household.

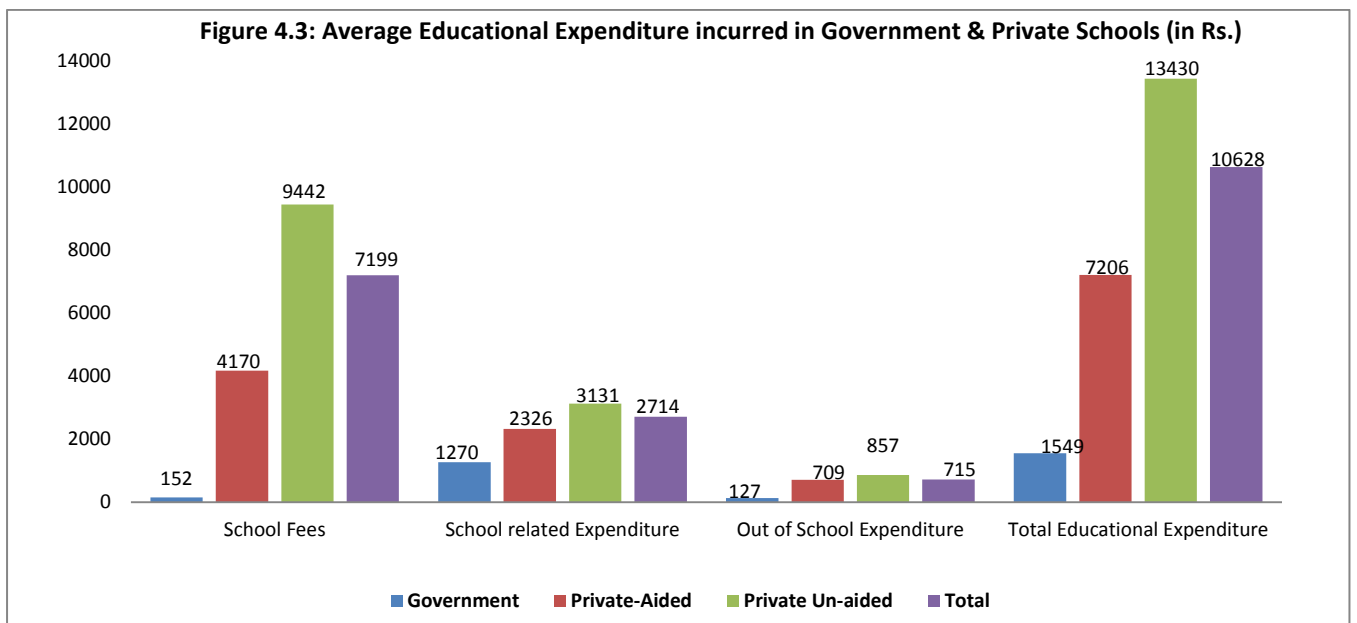


Source: Survey.

The average annual income of a household varied across the states; and so was expenditure on education as a share of the annual income. For example, the average annual income of a household was rupees 1.5 lakhs in Rajasthan that was 1.3 lakhs in Tamil Nadu, 1.06 lakh in Uttar Pradesh and 82.42 thousand in Karnataka. Though the average annual income of a household in Rajasthan was comparatively higher, only 10 per cent of the annual income was spent on education. In contrast, in Tamil Nadu, the average annual income of a household was lower, but 20 per cent of the total annual income was spent on education. In Karnataka, the average annual income of a household was about 82,428 rupees, lower than that of a household in Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan, but the average expenditure on education as a proportion of the total annual income of the household was 18.63 per cent, next only to that of a household in Tamil Nadu. The average annual income of a household in Uttar Pradesh was higher than that of a household in Karnataka, but expenditure on education as a proportion of the total annual income was lower than that of a household in Karnataka. In fact, it was the lowest among all the four surveyed states. Figure 4.2 shows the average annual income of a household and the average expenditure on education in the surveyed places.



Source: Survey.



Source: Survey.

Figure 4.3 shows the average household expenditure incurred on education that varied in government and private schools. It shows that a household incurred highest expenditure in private unaided school, followed by private aided and government school. It further shows that the cost of education in a private school (unaided) was Rs. 13,430 per annum that was Rs. 7,205 in aided school and merely Rs. 1,550 in government school.

An unaided private school charged average annual fees of Rs. 9,442, wherein aided schools charged Rs.4,170 and government schools merely Rs.152. Some of the government schools in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh have started providing education in English medium and for that they collect an additional fee of Rs.130 to Rs.250 per month. Unaided private schools charged heavy amounts for transportation, tuition fees and development fees that constituted the main part of the total expenditure.

Most of the households also reported incurring some other expenditure on items such as uniforms, books, stationery, charges for picnics, sports, etc. These are additional to the total payment made to school. While on an average, a sum of Rs.2,000 to Rs.3,000 was incurred on these items in the aided and unaided schools, the corresponding expenditure on these items was only Rs.1,270 in government schools that was mainly because some of the parents preferred to buy their own uniforms and stationery items. In government schools, uniforms and books are provided free of cost. However, many of the parents reported incurring expenditure on uniforms and stationery, as they complained about the quality of uniforms provided by government schools. Some of the parents incurred expenditure on additional items like private tuition, which is incurred on their own volition. They consider private tuition essential for the overall better education of their children. Such expenditure includes private tuition fees, buying additional books, mainly story books for children and for sending their wards to attend extra-curricular activities, such as dance, sports, music classes, etc. Even such voluntary expenditure was lower at Rs.130 per annum in case of children going to government schools and higher at Rs. 700 in aided and Rs.700 to Rs.800 in unaided schools.

Table 4.1 shows that the average per household expenditure on education was higher in the southern states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, that was lower in the northern states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. A household in Karnataka spent Rs. 12,000 as school fees and Rs. 14,000 in Tamil Nadu for sending its ward to a private unaided school. The corresponding figures for Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan were Rs. 3,600 and Rs.7,800 respectively. In all the four surveyed places, the average expenditure incurred for school fees was lower in aided schools that was about Rs.4000 per annum.

Table 4.1: Household Expenditure on Education in Government and Private Schools (Average Annual in Rs.)				
Types of School	School Fees	Other School Expenditure	Voluntary Expenditure Not Connected with School	Total Educational Expenditure
Bellary (Karnataka)				
Government	145	1464	22	1631
Private-Aided	3990	1973	770	6732
Private Un-aided	12269	2765	380	15414
Total	7573	2272	325	10170
Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh)				
Government	249	465	0	715
Private-Aided	3889	2117	722	6728
Private Un-aided	3621	2267	344	6232
Total	3388	2092	381	5861
Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)				
Government	129	1542	342	2013
Private-Aided	4550	3475	2835	10860
Private Un-aided	14441	4267	1874	20582
Total	10861	3635	1583	16080
Sikar (Rajasthan)				
Government	0	657	0	657
Private-Aided	4452	2448	69	6969
Private Un-aided	7864	3030	630	11524
Total	6641	2737	484	9862
All				
Government	152	1270	127	1549
Private-Aided	4170	2326	709	7206
Private Un-aided	9442	3131	857	13430
Total	7199	2714	715	10628

Source: Survey.

Private schools charge for books, stationery, uniforms, sports, cultural events, etc. While government schools generally do not charge for these items and uniforms and books are also available free, a household in Tamil Nadu, sending its wards to government schools, still spent Rs.1500 on an average per annum for the purchase of uniforms, books, stationery, etc. This expenditure is incurred voluntarily to buy better quality uniforms, stationery and for additional books. Similarly, out-of-school expenditure on hobbies, private tuitions etc. were comparatively high in Tamil Nadu. Parents spent mostly for private tuitions and extra-curricular activities, such as sports, music and dance classes. In Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, a substantial part of that was spent on private tuitions.

There was a general craze among parents for sending their wards to private schools and willingness to spend a substantial part of their annual income on education of their children. Interestingly, irrespective of their income levels, most of the households in all the surveyed placed showed interest in sending their children to private schools. They were willing to spend a substantial amount of their annual income for the education of their wards to private schools. Of those, who were sending their wards to private unaided schools, only a few had

access to elite private schools, as they charges much higher than other private schools. Most of the parents were not able to afford such expensive private schools, and hence were satisfied with the low cost private schools.

State	Districts	School Management	Mean	Maximum	Minimum
Karnataka	Bellary	Government	1677	6100	300
		Private-Aided	6732	38960	1150
		Private Un-aided	15414	66000	1000
Uttar Pradesh	Ghazipur	Government	715	3480	1600
		Private-Aided	6728	54600	480
		Private Un-aided	6232	49900	1010
Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	Government	2013	4400	500
		Private-Aided	10860	25850	2000
		Private Un-aided	20582	193800	2100
Rajasthan	Sikar	Government	657	4000	200
		Private-Aided	6969	15000	3100
		Private Un-aided	11524	39000	500
All		Government	2029	6100	200
		Private-Aided	1319	54600	480
		Private Un-aided	9440	193800	500

Source: Survey.

Though the average annual fee in an unaided private school was around Rs.10,000 per annum, some parents reported paying annual fees upto Rs.2,00,000. This was reported by two households in Tamil Nadu. One was in Thoothoor village of Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu. The father of the child was working in Dubai and the child was studying in an international school. Similarly, another family in Munchirai village of Kanyakumari, both the parents were in salaried job (Group A employees), and had sent their wards to an elite private school. In other surveyed places, the maximum annual fee paid by a parent varied between Rs.40,000 and Rs.60,000 (Table 4.2).

There were some schools that charged on an average annual fee of Rs.20,000 to Rs.40,000. Such schools were accessed by middle income level households. Parents preferred such schools because of the high reputation gained by these schools in the locality, but only a few could afford that much of fees. Some of the households also reported of gaining entry of their wards into such reputed elite private schools through the EWS quota⁶.

⁶ As per Section 12 (1) (c) of the RTE Act, children are entitled free education till the completion of class 8, including in private schools. While private schools apparently provide them free seats, they charge for

While some of the private schools comply with the provision of RTE, elite private schools consider the EWS quota as a burden. In contrast, low fee private schools exploit the provision to claim reimbursement of fees of EWS students from the government. Such practices were found across the surveyed states. A politician who runs an elite private school in Karbadih village of Ghazipur District, Uttar Pradesh, accepted that the EWS provision was not implemented in his school. Some of the elite private schools that cater to the wards of higher income classes stated that the children from middle class and poor parents would not adapt with the environment of their schools. In Rajasthan, some of the low fee private schools were exploiting the EWS provision. They were implementing EWS quota only to claim reimbursement of fees from the government. Even when children drop out from the school, their names remain on the roll, and reimbursement is collected from the government. When the research team visited unannounced to one of the unaided private schools, it was not the school, but was a residence that was doing as a school as well. There were no teachers and no students. The building was in dilapidated condition. However, the school existed as per the official record and it was getting reimbursement for the EWS seats.

Box 4.1: Narratives from the Field

“In spite of getting our children admitted through EWS quota, we are still asked to pay about 50 per cent of the school fees. While the fees that is common for other children is Rs.450 per month, EWS children are asked to pay Rs.200 per month”

- FGD with Parents, Manihari village, Ghazipur district, Uttar Pradesh

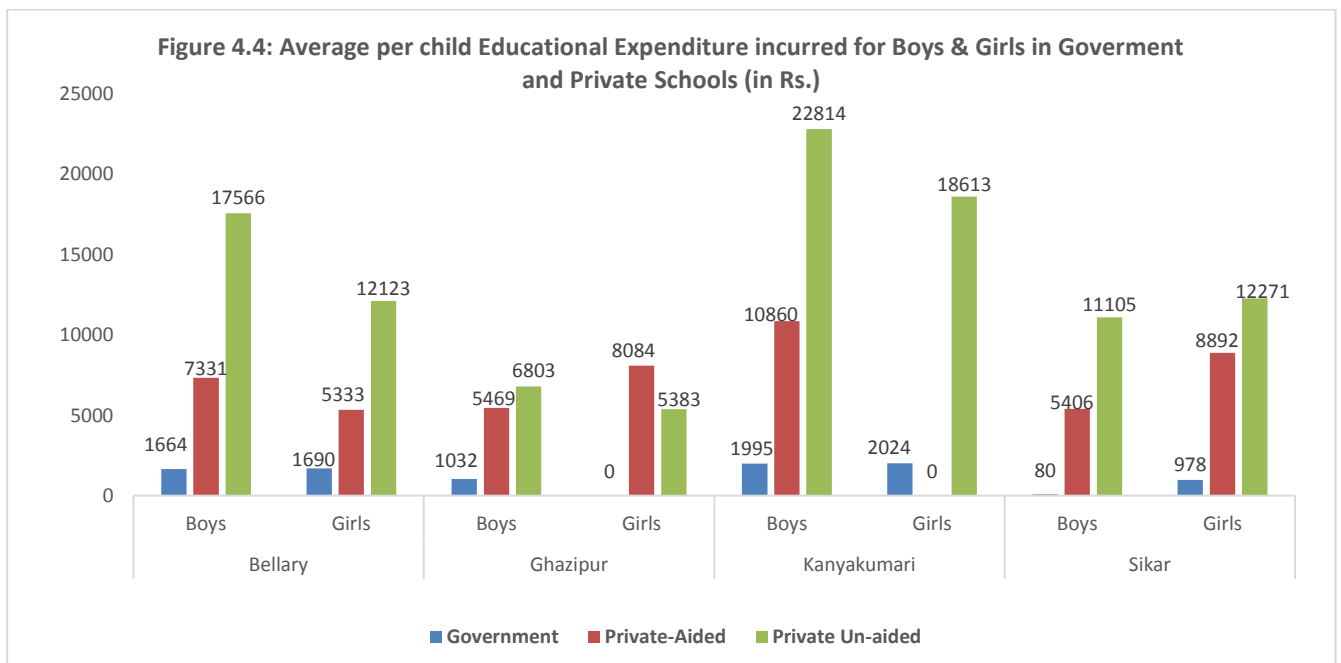
“I am a widow. My children receive free education in a private school under EWS quota. Though I am not happy with many issues in the school, I am not able to make a complaint, since education is provided free”.

- Parent from Methukummal village, Kanyakumari district, Tamil Nadu

The per child annual average household expenditure varied for government and private schools. A household spent a minimum amount of Rs. 2,000 per child in an unaided private school in Tamil Nadu, the highest. It spent Rs. 1,000 each in Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh, and Rs.500 in Rajasthan, the lowest. In Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the average cost of sending a child to a private school was ten times higher, compared to the cost per child in government schools. The difference was much higher in Rajasthan, where it was eighteen times higher than in government schools.

uniforms, books, stationery, sports day, annual day, etc. Low income parents find it difficult to meet these charges, and therefore they avoid private schools.

Private schools invariably ask for donation for giving admission. In almost all the surveyed places, parents reported paying donation for getting admission into private schools. The donation amount varied based on the local reputation of the school. In Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh, some of the private schools were collecting a token amount of Rs.200 to Rs.500 as donation. However, one of the parents from Pahadpur Khurda village reported of paying Rs.38,000 as donation. In Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, some of the parents reported paying donation of Rs.10,000, while some others paid Rs.20,000 to Rs.30,000. One of the parents in Thoothoor village stated of paying Rs.75,000 as donation for securing admission in an international school. In Karnataka, the average donation amount was Rs.5000. The amount so collected as donation was mostly used to meet the infrastructure related needs of the school. This practice was found across all the surveyed places.

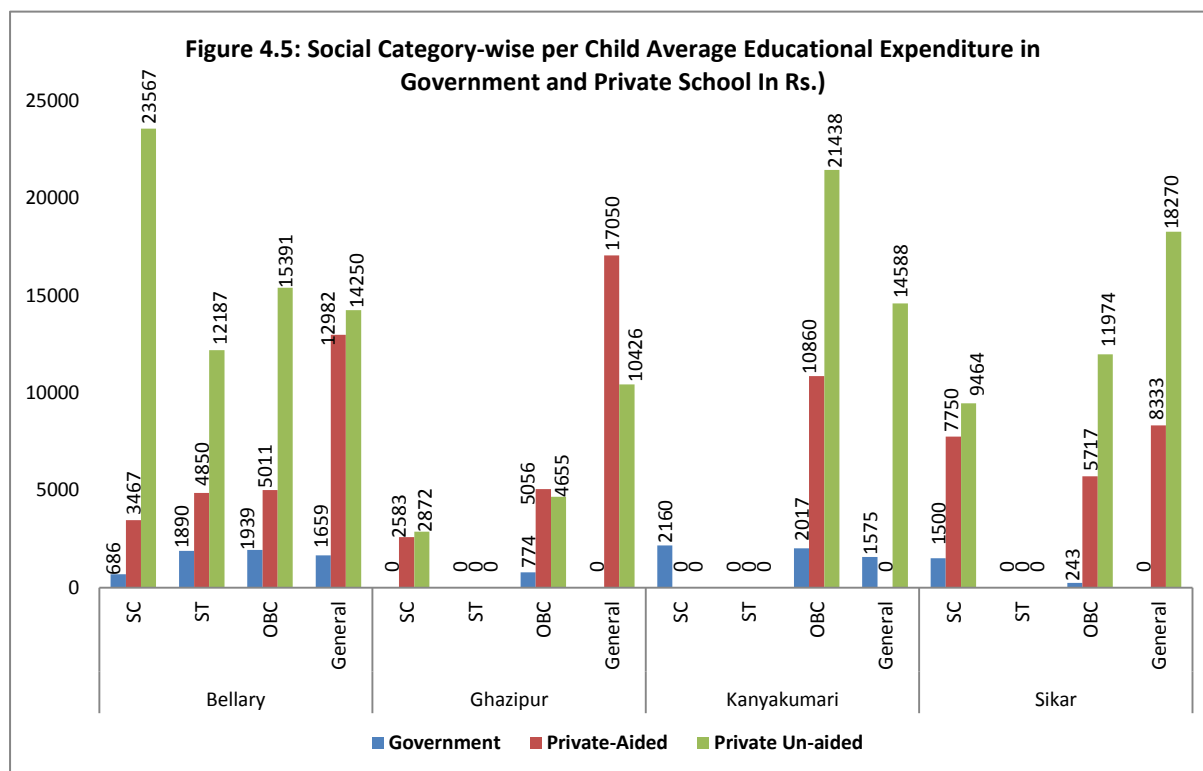


Source: Survey.

The household expenditure on education was gender discriminatory. Figure 4.4 highlights the average per child expenditure on education incurred by a household for boys and girls. While there was no major difference in the expenditure incurred for boys and girls in government schools, there were wide variations in the corresponding expenditure incurred for boys and girls in private aided and unaided schools.

In general, parents spend higher amount on the education of boys than that of girls. For example, except Sikar, the expenditure on girl's education was generally lower than that on boys in almost all the surveyed Districts. In Tamil Nadu, the average expenditure on education for boys, in an unaided private school, was Rs.22,814, while the corresponding

figure for girls was Rs.18,613. In the northern states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, per child expenditure on girl education was higher in the aided schools in comparison to that incurred for boys in aided schools. But, interestingly, both in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, almost the same amount was spent for both boys and girls in government schools. In contrast, in the Sikar District of Rajasthan, while about Rs.1,000 per annum was spent on the education of a girl in a government school, it was merely about Rs.100 per annum for a boy in a government school.



Source: Survey.

Figure 4.5 shows that households across social categories, spent only a small amount for availing education in government schools, but significantly higher amount for availing private school education.

In Karnataka, a SC household spent on an average Rs.23,567 per child per annum and a ST household Rs.12,187, while OBC and general category households spent in the range of Rs.14,000 to Rs.15,000 respectively. In Bellary, the average per child annual expenditure incurred by SC household in private unaided schools was in the range of Rs.5000 to 12,000. However, some of the parents belonging to middle and high income group, spent on an average Rs.20,000 and Rs.60,000 per annum, respectively for sending their wards to elite private schools. Due to this reason, the average per child SC household expenditure was high

for a SC household. An OBC household in Tamil Nadu, spent on an average Rs.21,438 per child per annum. An OBC household spent around Rs. 4500 in Uttar Pradesh and Rs.12,000 in Rajasthan. While there were variations in per child expenditure, incurred by SC, ST and OBC households, there was not much variations in the expenditure incurred by upper caste households. An upper caste household spent on an average between Rs.10,000 and Rs.18,000 per child per annum. Because of the wide variations in the income levels of different social groups, their choice of private schools varied, depending on their paying ability.

Table 4.3 gives a breakup of the average annual educational expenditure incurred per child on various heads in government and private schools. It shows that school fees forms a major part of the expenditure in private schools in all the four states. Not surprisingly, in almost all the four states, most of the households found it difficult to pay the fees of private schools. An example of their difficulty in paying fees of a private school is the fact that some of the parents were able to deposit fees only after repeated reminders, including a warning from the school that the child won't be allowed to write the exam.

Paying school fees is a challenge for poor families across the states. In Karnataka, many households stated that they found it difficult to pay the fees charged by private schools. When parents are not able to pay the fees, either grandparents or other close relatives take the responsibility. In Munchirai village, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, some of the parents reported that the grandparents' of their children pay the school fees of their children. In Kanyakumari, many old people earn by making fishing nets. A parent told that the entire amount earned by the grand parent of the child is used for paying school fee. In Bishunpur Tandwa village, Uttar Pradesh, most of the parents from the Harijan Colony stated that they do not have sufficient cash to meet even everyday requirements, and hence, they always default in payments of school fees. Some parents of this village further stated that sometimes teachers of the private schools visit their homes to collect the fees if they do not pay on time. Some also stated that in case of non-payment, children are punished in schools. They are made to stand outside the classroom; scolded in front of everyone; and the names of defaulters are written on the blackboard to shame them. In Jalpali village, Rajasthan, parents stated that sometimes names of defaulters are announced in the general assembly and in some cases, children are even sent back home.

Table 4.3: Per Child Average Annual Educational Expenditure incurred per Child on various Heads in Government and Private Schools

Type of School	School Fees	Transport	Uniform	Books	Stationary	Other Expenses*	Private Tuitions	Extra Books	Extra-curricular activities
Bellary (Karnataka)									
Government			22	613	684	144	13	9	
Private-Aided	3834	125	628	678	518	150	715	30	25
Private Un-aided	10385	715	760	887	872	246	347	14	18
Total	6422	424	523	778	769	203	297	15	14
Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh)									
Government	249		104	246	92	23			
Private-Aided	2862	333	928	846	298	44	667	56	
Private Un-aided	2652	395	792	1107	358	10	336	9	
Total	2489	352	758	991	325	17	365	16	
Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)									
Government	73		791	329	312	110	332	11	
Private-Aided	4100	450	1625	1075	275	500	1350	63	1423
Private Un-aided	10757	2195	1584	1498	509	675	1448	88	338
Total	8118	1635	1413	1223	455	544	1200	70	314
Sikar (Rajasthan)									
Government			193	293	171				
Private-Aided	4348	34	1638	507	303		69		
Private Un-aided	7220	641	1206	1264	448	111	627	4	
Total	6142	486	1196	1056	401	83	481	3	
All									
Government	55		319	431	420	100	120	7	
Private-Aided	3725	192	1168	711	350	98	537	31	141
Private Un-aided	7635	1025	1123	1219	522	268	729	30	98
Total	5855	745	993	1021	482	218	602	26	87

*Others include expenses related to sports, workshop, picnic, shoes, socks, identity cards, etc.

Source: Survey.

As reported by some parents in Kurugodu village, Karnataka, in case of non-payment of fees, some of them shift their children to other private schools, without clearing the dues of the previous school. If parents are still unable to pay fees, after continuing their children for a few months, they finally shift them to government schools. Such practices were common in all the four states. In Thengaipattinam village of Kanyakumari, interview with the head teacher of a government higher secondary school revealed that about 12 children had shifted from private to the government school, because of their inability to pay the fees. Similarly, in Manihari village of Uttar Pradesh, the teacher of a government school reported that due to financial constraints around 25 students had shifted from private to the government school. There is also a practice of multiple enrolments, in two to three schools, just as a coping mechanism. If defaults in ones, continues in the other.

Thus, while there is a high aspiration for sending children to private schools; the paying capacity of all parents is not the same. Poor and low income parents are on tremendous stress to meet the expenditure related to education in private school, and therefore, adopt various tactics like enrolment in multiple schools, fee-jumping, etc.

Government schools in Karnataka and Rajasthan did not collect any school fees, government schools in Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh collect on an average Rs.73 and Rs.249 per month, respectively. In Tamil Nadu, the fee was collected for providing English medium education. In Uttar Pradesh, it was collected, as reported by the parents, as exam fees, admission fees and fee for English medium education⁷.

Other items, apart from fees, on which a considerable amount of expenditure was incurred, were transport, books, uniforms and private tuition. In Tamil Nadu, while the average annual transportation cost per child was around Rs.2,000, it was between Rs.300 and Rs.700 in the other three states. The high cost of transportation in Tamil Nadu was mainly due to their own school buses and high remuneration of drivers. Interestingly, in Tamil Nadu, the remuneration of the bus driver of a private school was higher than that of the teacher in that school. The teacher was paid a salary of Rs.4,000 per month, a bus driver was paid Rs.10,000 per month.⁸ In other states, private schools used hired mini vans and jeeps for pick-up and drop-off. The next major item of expenditure is uniforms. A household spent on an average a

⁷ Collection of such charges are not permissible under the RTE Act, 2009

⁸ It was learnt that teachers were available more easily than but drivers.

sum of Rs. 1,000 on uniforms. In Tamil Nadu, this was high, as some of the private schools prescribe three types of uniforms, viz., usual every day uniforms, white & white for Monday, and sport suit for sport activities. Parents reportedly spent money on the purchase of books and stationery. Even those who send their children to government schools spent on these items. In government schools, additional charges other than the tuition fees were collected for providing extra classes, such as computer, music, dance, local folk art, etc. In private schools, such additional expenses were collected from time to time. These include charges for picnic, local trips, sports day, annual day, etc. A parent in Thengaipattinam village, Tamil Nadu, expressed his concern on the additional amount that is collected by the school. He stated that, in addition to the annual fee of Rs.15,000, every now and then, the school asks to pay around Rs.200 to Rs.300 for meeting annual day expense, sport day and for educational recreational tour, etc.

Another item of substantial expenditure was private tuition fee, as that is popular, irrespective of the types of school, attended by a child. In Tamil Nadu, the average expenditure on private tuition was around Rs.1,500 per annum that was less than Rs.1,000 in the other three states. Most of the parents, especially from the marginalised communities, send their wards to private tuition, as they are illiterates, and are not able to help their children in their studies at home. The amount spent for private tuition was comparatively low for government school students, compared to that of private school students. However, private tuition as an item of expenditure was not mentioned by the parents of children attending government schools in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Some of the parents who send their children to private schools stated that since learning levels of children was low, they send them to private tuition (Bharni village, Sikar, Rajasthan).

Some of the parents also spend for buying additional books for their children. They generally buy story books, comics and colouring books. Apart from that, parents spend money on extra-curricular activities of their children. While some of the parents preferred sending their wards to swimming classes, martial arts, etc. a large number of them preferred sending their kids to music or dance classes.

Ways of managing Educational Expenditure of Children

Parents adopt various ways to manage the educational expenditure. Most of the parents manage expenditure out of their regular income, and some use past savings; some of them

take the help of other family member. Some borrow money, and occasionally mortgage jewellery and other such assets. Some even sell livestock.

Table 4.4: Household's Sources of Finance for Meeting Educational Expenditure (Multiple Answer in %)

District	Type of School	Own income, past savings	Family Support	Sell asset occasionally	Borrow money	Mortgage Property/ Jewellery
Bellary	Government	25.00	60.87		46.43	16.67
	Private-Aided	18.00	17.39			
	Private Un-aided	57.00	21.74	100.00	53.57	83.33
Ghazipur	Government	5.13		20.00	2.13	
	Private-Aided	16.67	33.33		14.89	
	Private Un-aided	78.21	66.67	80.00	82.98	
Kanyakumari	Government	45.65	25.00		9.91	20.69
	Private-Aided				6.31	
	Private Un-aided	54.35	75.00		83.78	79.31
Sikar	Government	3.96				
	Private-Aided	12.87		25.00	41.38	
	Private Un-aided	83.17	100.00	75.00	58.62	

Source: Survey.

Most of the middle and high income parents managed school fees and other expenditures out of their own regular income and past savings. However, parents from the marginalised communities and low income families take the help of other family members, viz., grandparents of children, siblings, friends, etc. for sending their children to private schools. There were some others, who had to take the extreme measures like disposing off property, mortgaging assets, etc. In Karnataka, parents stated that some of the private schools provide EMI facilities to pay the school fees. Some parents in Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan reportedly sold their assets in order to meet the expenses of private schools. Mortgaging of jewellery was more prevalent in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, but borrowing was resorted by parents in almost all the surveyed states. Some parents in Munchirai village, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, stated that they take loan from SHGs to pay the fees of children. One of them in Methukummal village reported taking blade-loan⁹ to pay Rs.15,000 that was demanded for the construction of school building.

Many parents narrated their difficulties in meeting expenses of private schools. One of them in Methukummal village of Kanyakumari stated: "We face a lot of problems in sending our children to private schools. We take blade loans, borrow from SHGs, money lenders, friends

⁹ Blade loan is a concept practised by some of the illegal money lenders, who charge exorbitantly high interest rate and on a daily basis.

and family, mortgage jewellery, forgo our food and use that money for fees.” When enquired, whether the quality of private school is worth going for such hardships, they said, “We don’t know. Since our neighbours’ children study in a private school, we send our children to a private school”. Another parent in Thengaipattinam narrated: “Children don’t know about our difficulties. They want us to send them to English medium school till class 12. The fee in the current school is already Rs.15,000 per annum that is increased every year. It would be difficult for me to provide private education till class 12”. Another parent in Munchirai village of Tamil Nadu stated: “Many of the children in our locality have shifted from private to government schools due to poverty, as they could not afford the fees. But the children compare themselves with the other children of their same age groups, who study in English medium private schools. They have neat uniform, tie and shoes. Children insist on their parents to send them to private schools. Some parents even borrow money to fulfil the wishes of their children.” In Munchirai village, a parent narrated: “I borrow money on a regular basis to pay school fees. Earlier my children were in a different private school. The fee was increased every year, we couldn’t manage it for three children. So we shifted them to another private school. Since three of our children are studying here, education is free for one child. However, we have to pay for the school van for the third child. The overall fee and other expenses for three child is quite unmanageable for us. We borrow money to meet the school fees and related expenditure.”

Conclusion

There is a social cost of private education. Firstly, private schools create a class division. There are different types of private schools that cater to different classes of parents based on their paying ability. Thus, access to private schools is graded according to the paying capacity of parents.

Secondly, privatisation affects universalisation of equal education. Private schools are hierarchical. They vary from elite to low cost. For the different sections of the society, there are different types of schools.

Thirdly, the fees and the other expenses charged by private schools are beyond the means of a large number of rural households and poor parents. Due to social pressure and status symbol, even low income parents somehow enrol their children in private schools. However, they are

not able to pay the fees on time and continue for long. After struggling for a year or two, they again shift their wards to government schools.

Fourthly, though there is the provision for reservation of 25 per cent of seats for the EWS children in private schools, yet parents find it difficult to manage the additional expenses charged on one or another pretexts. In addition, some of the schools also collect half of the school-fee amount from the EWS children.

Fifthly, a huge amount is spent for private tuition. This is more burdensome for poor parents. Children of low socio-economic backgrounds are unable to meet the expectations of their school, and due to the peer pressure, they take private tuition to come upto their levels. This adds to the financial burden of the poor parents.

Sixthly, many of the poor households are meeting the expenses of private schools by cutting expenditure on necessary items; many of them are borrowing money; and yet many others are selling household assets. As discussed in the previous section, a number of families in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu mortgaged their household jewellery; a number of families in all the four surveyed states, viz. Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh borrowed money; and a number of families in Karnataka and Rajasthan also sold assets and livestock to meet expenditure on private school education. But for school expenditure, these households would have utilised this money for meeting basic needs of the life, making savings for future productive investments, and for their economic mobility. They are deprived of this opportunity because of the cost of private education. Thus, the opportunity cost of private school education is quite high for the poor parents.

Seventhly, private schools have reduced the value of education to a commodity. Private players provide differential quality of education based on the different paying abilities of parents. The average annual income of a large number of poor parents is low. They are unable to meet expenses of private schools, and yet, due to peer pressure and various other factors send their wards to private schools. There is so much of craze for private schools that parents are ready to even forgo their basic needs to send their children to private schools. Even then, some parents with their best efforts are not able to ensure the continuation of their wards in private schools beyond a year or two. The cost of private school creates a divide in the society, forming multiple layers according to the paying capacity.

Chapter 5

Government and Private Schools Infrastructure, Teachers and Learning Levels

Introduction

Effective functioning of a school is dependent on the overall environment, infrastructural facilities, learning resources like library, laboratory, computer, and qualified, supportive, responsible and committed teachers among other factors (CABE, 2016; Sujatha, 2011; Tilak, 2017; Edmonds, 1979). These are also critical to the overall development of children and their learning levels.

While parents choose a school with a view to providing good education, the fulfilment of their expectations also depends on the above factors. Therefore, it is critical to examine the level of infrastructural facilities, quality of teachers and learning levels in government and private schools to assess as to what extent increasing parental preference for private schools is based on a proper assessment of these facilities.

This chapter makes a comparative assessment of government and private schools in terms of their infrastructure, functioning, performances and learning outcome. It, first, presents a brief profile of government and private schools, and then also, analyses the reason for using attractive nomenclatures, especially by private schools, their mottos and visions, organisational structure, and norms of admission. It examines physical and learning infrastructure and fulfilment of the RTE norms by government and private schools. The profile of teachers of government and private schools has been examined through recruitment process, qualification and training level, salary and service conditions, work load and their commitment level. Finally, the chapter makes an attempt to assess the quality of education provided in government and private schools as perceived by parents and children. This chapter is based on a survey of 80 schools, 20 from each selected District (state) – out of 20 schools, 15 are private and 5 government. Of the total schools surveyed, 43 were elementary schools and 37 were upto higher secondary level.

Basic School Profile

While government schools were generally more spacious and located in big campuses, some of the private schools were equally spacious and located in big campuses. But, whereas

government schools were having generally the same size of campus, private schools varied significantly in terms of size of their campuses. More than 60 per cent of the government schools were having more than 10,000 square feet area, 30 per cent of them were having space of 2000-5000 square feet area. Some of the private schools in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu were having equally large campus area. More than 70 per cent of the private schools in these two states were having a campus of more than 10,000 square feet. However, 18 per cent were operating in an area of less than 5000 square feet and 10 per cent in 2000 square feet area. Private schools, with less space and small campus were found in greater number in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. In these two states, some of the schools were also operating in dilapidated buildings. Some of the private schools in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan were functioning from residential houses that were converted into schools. These schools were lacking in basic facilities like toilets, playground, etc. One of the private schools in the Sikar district of Rajasthan was existing only on paper. Though there was a building, it did not display any school board. There were no teachers or children during the time of the visit (12 pm) of the research team. A dilapidated sign board of the school was lying in one corner of the building. The school owner tried to cover up by stating that the school timing was over just 5 minutes ago, as it was Saturday. This school had enrolled many students belonging to economically weaker sections and was getting regular reimbursement from the government for the EWS students.

All the surveyed government schools were having pucca buildings. A number of them were built up through the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), launched in 2001. While all the private schools in Tamil Nadu were having pucca buildings, about 26 per cent of the private schools each in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were functioning from semi-pucca or kutcha buildings.

All the surveyed government schools were affiliated with their respective state boards. Almost all the surveyed private schools in the northern states of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were also affiliated with their respective state boards. In Karnataka, one of the surveyed schools was having affiliation with an international and the state boards. In Tamil Nadu, out of 15 private schools six private schools were affiliated with the CBSE board.

Table 5.1: Profile of the Surveyed Schools (In Number)								
Particulars	Bellary (Karnataka)		Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh)		Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)		Sikar (Rajasthan)	
	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private	Government	Private
Number of Schools Surveyed	5	15	5	15	5	15	5	15
Type of School								
Elementary Schools (I-VIII)	5	7	4	12	2	7	1	5
Primary to Higher Secondary Schools (I-XII)	0	8	1	3	3	8	4	10
Area of the School (in Square feet)								
<2000	0	0	0	4	0	1	2	1
2000-5000	2	3	1	4	1	1	0	3
5001-10000	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	4
>10000	3	12	3	6	4	11	3	7
Status of School Building								
Pucca	5	13	5	11	5	15	5	10
Semi-Pucca	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	3
Kutchra	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Affiliation of School								
State Board	5	15	5	15	5	9	5	15
CBSE	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	3
ICSE	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Medium of Instruction								
Regional (Hindi/Tamil/ Kannada/Rajasthani)	5	4	5	12	0	0	4	4
English	0	11	0	1	3	12	0	6
2 Mediums/Others	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	5
Average Number of Students in School								
Total Strength	416	309	148	226	446	471	440	441
Strength in Elementary School	416	223	124	190	133	336	191	279
Average Number of Staff in School								
Teaching Staff	17	7	22	13	24	13	25	31
Non-Teaching Staff	0	1	2	5	6	3	6	8
Staff for Cleanliness	2	2	3	2	1	9	2	2
Average annual school fees								
I-III	Nil	7580	Nil	588	Nil	3677	Nil	5900
IV-V	Nil	9753	Nil	880	Nil	5148	Nil	7047
VI-VIII	Nil	9120	Nil	880	Nil	5148	Nil	8237

Source: Survey.

In north India, Hindi was the medium of instruction. All of the government schools in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were Hindi medium. One school in Rajasthan offered instruction in Rajasthani, though officially Hindi was the medium of instruction. In Tamil Nadu, out of the 5 government schools, three were English medium, two offered instruction in Tamil and Malayalam, in addition to English. Since the surveyed block that is Munchirai, Kanyakumari, was bordering Kerala, some of the schools offered instruction in Malayalam along with English. In Karnataka, all the government schools were Kannada medium. However, of the 15 private schools, 11 were English medium, and the remaining four were Kannada medium. In Rajasthan, of the 15 private schools, 6 were English medium and 9 were Hindi medium. Five schools offered instruction in both Hindi and English. All private schools in Tamil Nadu

were English medium, but 3 offered instruction in Tamil. In Uttar Pradesh, of the 15 private schools, 12 were Hindi medium, one was English, and two offered instruction in both the languages.

The strength of students in government and private schools varied. Table 5.1 shows that except Uttar Pradesh, there were 400 children on an average in a government school. The average number of children in a private school was more than 400 in Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan that was lower in Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka. Thus, the overall average number of children in government schools was slightly higher than in private schools. For example, in Uttar Pradesh the average number of students in a government school was 148 that was 226 in a private school. The average number of students in elementary classes was greater in private school that was greater in secondary classes in government schools.

The average number of teachers in government schools was greater in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh that was greater in private schools in Rajasthan. The number of non-teaching staff such as for administration, finance, clerical and other works, was in greater number, in private than in government schools. However, in the government schools of Tamil Nadu, there were adequate support staffs in higher secondary schools, but hardly any at the elementary schools. Staffs for cleaning and maintenance of schools, including of toilets, were generally in greater number in the private schools of Tamil Nadu. In Rajasthan, the number of such staff was relatively low, and most of them were appointed on the daily wage basis. In other states too, there were only 1-2 such support staff.

Fee structure of private schools varied depending on the class to which they cater. The average annual fees of a private school that catered to the middle class varied from Rs.25000 to Rs.35,000 that was, however, around one lakh for those that catered to the rich. In the low fee private schools that catered to the poor, the fees was significantly lower. It varied from Rs.5000 to Rs.12000 per annum. Overall the average school fee of a private school was Rs.8000 in Karnataka, Rs.7000 in Rajasthan, Rs.5,000 in Tamil Nadu and Rs.800 in Uttar Pradesh. While in Karnataka and Rajasthan, the fees reported by schools matched the one stated by the parents, in Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, there was a difference in the figures reported by the school and parents. For example, in Tamil Nadu, while parents reported of paying an annual fee of around Rs. 10,000, in Uttar Pradesh, the corresponding figure was Rs.3,000, in both the states the fees as reported by schools was lower. This indicates a lack of transparency in fee collection by some private schools. In contrast, government schools were

generally transparent. However, in a government school in Genikehal village of Bellary district, Karnataka, parents during FGD reported that a sum of Rs.600 was collected by the teachers for bags, bicycle, shoes, uniform, etc.

In one of the private schools in Ajeethgarh village of Sikar District, Rajasthan, there was no fixed fee structure. It was based on negotiation with parents and varied from child to child. Some of the private schools in Karnataka, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh were run from the houses of the school owners who were doing as teachers as well. In Ajeethgarh village both husband and wife, the owners of a school, were engaged in teaching, but none of them were qualified. In Ghazipur District of Uttar Pradesh, most of the private schools were run in two names within the same campus. One was merely to get the EWS reimbursement from the government, the other was run on purely commercial basis. EWS quota has become a business in Rajasthan where schools are sold and purchased. A number of private schools in surveyed places were surviving only on the EWS quota.

A private school has become a private goods. When a school does not give profit, it is sold off. There was greater demand for profit making schools and such schools were sold on higher prices. In Uttar Pradesh, one of the head teachers of a government school was the manager of three private schools located in the same area.

Fancy Names of Private Schools

Private schools were found adopting fancy, fascinating and sometimes exotic names as a marketing strategy to attract students. While in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, the names of schools were having local flavours, in Rajasthan, the names of private schools exhibited a global flavour, with a view to attract parents and convey a message that they are an English medium school of global standard. Names like global academy, Euro kids were adopted for this purpose. Though promises of global touch are manifested in the names of schools, Mukhopadhyay & Mehendale (2016) noted that these schools are unambiguous about how the schooling process would orient the students towards their manifestations. In a way, these names with manifestation of global orientation, were merely to attract students.

Table 5.2: Names of Private Schools in the Surveyed States	
Bellary (Karnataka)	Sikar (Rajasthan)
Shri Gururayera English Medium High School	Shri Hanuman Vidhyala Public School
HS Gurudeva English Medium School	Shri Shyam Global Academy
Shri Ramalingeshwara Primary School	Tagore Public Uch Madhyamik Vidhyalay
Shri Mailalingeshwara English Medium School	HK Public Senior Secondary School
Shri Maruti Lower Primary School	Sisodiya Shiksha Sansthan
Manavdharma Maklamandal Higher Primary School	Ramakrishna Senior Secondary School
Shri Sharda Lower Primary School	Sanskar Children Academy
Sashya Shyamala English Medium School	Jyoti Public School
Vidhya Residential English Medium High School	Vivekananda Madhyamik Public School
HPS Pawan residential English and Kannada Medium School	Saraswati Senior Secondary School
Shri Nandi Residential Public School	Saraswati Bal Niketan Senior Secondary School
Vidhyaranya English Medium Primary School	Kids Kingdom
Shree Shiva Sharani Neelambika Higher Primary School	Euro Kids Children Academy
LPS Sacred Heart School	Jai Bharti Public School
Valmiki Higher Primary School	Ghoslya Children Academy
	Shahid Bhairun Ram Government Secondary School
Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)	Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh)
Noble Public School	Girijashayam Inter College
Shri Krishna Hindu Vidhyalaya	Musafir Junior High School
Janet Matriculation School	Musafir Anju Junior High School
Shri Vigneshwara Matriculation Higher Secondary School	Babaram Public school
VRES Nursery and Primary School	Hawaladar Singh Junior High School
St. Matriculation School	Maharishi Public School
St. Little Matriculation School	Shri Hawaldar Singh Shiksha Niketan Primary School
Amsi Nursery and Primary school	Shri Radhika Junior High School
Al Ameen Matriculation School	Kamla Shiksha Niketan
Kootalmoodu Arulmigu Bhadreshwari Devasthanam (KABD) Matriculation School	Maaparshotama Lagumadhyamik Vidhayala
Shri Bhadreshwari Nursery and Primary school	Phulmati Shishu Shiksha Niketan
NET Nursery and Primary School	Reshma School
Kingsly Nursery and Primary School	Mata Dulari Prathamik School
CSI Nursery and Primary School	Mahavir Harijan Prathamik School
Navjivan School	Shri Kumari Shikshan Sewa Primary

Source: Survey.

The term ‘public school’¹⁰ is very often used to depict the elite nature of private schools. The term stands associated with some leading private elite schools in India like Doon Public Schools, Delhi Public Schools, etc. This term has caught the attention of Rural India. It was found popular across all the four surveyed states. Mukhopadhyay & Mehendale (2016) note that such a tag has emerged from the British public school system, which caters to the elite population. The schooling system of India has failed to erase such markers of ‘exclusiveness’ in our school system. Some other schools try to associate their names with religion, national leaders, or other such images of glorious pasts and achievements (Mukhopadhyay & Mehendale, 2016) to exploit the sentiment of the people. Schools that exhibited such tendency were found in all the four states. Sometimes, the names of local leaders of the village or of the district are also used for this purpose.

¹⁰ Though “public school” refers to a government school, in India the term is used by elite fee charging private schools, though there is no ‘publicness’ in their orientation.

Motive/Purpose/Vision of School

The question of motive and purpose of opening of a private school was examined based on the response of the principals, who invariably happened to be owners or a major shareholder. Though responses of the principals varied from place to place, yet there were some common answers. Providing education to rural children, promoting English medium education, providing good quality education to rural children were common answers. Many of the school principals reported that since there was no school in the village, in some cases no private school in the village, they opened a private school to fill the gap. Some of them were candid in expressing that they take it a part of their business. A few of them stated noble purposes like promoting good values, good citizenship, truth and knowledge and spreading love and affection in society. One of the principals also stated that he aimed at bringing social change in the society.

Interestingly, the responses of the principals varied from place to place. A large number of principals in Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu reported promoting good values, moral, good citizenship, truth and knowledge and love and affection in society as the main motives. The school that is run by the local Hindu temple stated that promoting Hindu religion was one of the objectives of the school. In Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, schools run by religious bodies were more in numbers. Except in Kanyakumari, the responses were common in the other three places. Table 5.3 shows District-wise responses of the principals of private schools in the surveyed places.

States	Motive/Purpose/Vision
Bellary (Karnataka)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide good education with low fee • To provide quality education and moral values to rural children • To provide English education to rural children • There was no school in this area • There was no private school in this area • To provide education to the rural poor Hindu students • To replicate the experience of teaching in a private school (entrepreneurship)
Sikar (Rajasthan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide education to rural children • To provide English education to village students • To earn money and provide education to children • There was no school in this area • Based on the experience of teaching gained in a coaching institute, started the school (entrepreneurship)
Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To inculcate values of truth, power and knowledge • To teach way of life and truth • To spread knowledge, love and affection in society • To provide education to rural children • To provide English education to village students

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To benefit Hindu students and promote Hindu religion among them • To create responsible citizens
Uttar Pradesh (Ghazipur)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To provide education to rural children • To provide English education to village students • To bring about social change • There was no school in this area • Being politician, started a school (entrepreneurship)

Source: Survey.

In Rajasthan, a school owner clearly stated that he started the school to earn money. In Uttar Pradesh, an owner of a school stated, “Since I am a Brahmin, I have started a school, as teaching is the apt profession for a Brahmin”. A local politician in the same place stated that since it is easy for him to run a school, he has started it. It is to be noted, as discussed in the previous chapter, that this school was defiantly violating the RTE provision for giving admission to EWS students.

Norms for Admission

The norms for admission in private schools are closely related to the purpose and vision of the school. For example, commercially motivated schools while giving admission lay a great deal of emphasis on the paying capacity of the parents. Schools with clear charitable purposes were giving preference to poor, low caste children.

District	Government					
	First come first serve	Entrance test	Merit (marks obtained in previous school)	Religious minority	Reservation on the basis of caste	Reservation for EWS
Government						
Bellary	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ghazipur	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kanyakumari	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sikar	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Private						
Bellary	100.00	26.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	86.67
Ghazipur	86.67	20.00	6.67	0.00	6.67	46.67
Kanyakumari	80.00	13.33	6.67	13.33	0.00	53.33
Sikar	13.33	66.67	66.67	0.00	13.33	80.00
Total	70.00	31.67	20.00	3.33	5.00	66.67

Source: Survey.

While the government schools provide admission on the basis of first come first serve basis, private schools generally set some norms for admission, which depend on their key objectives, such as providing quality education to children, imbibing religious values in

children or sustaining their competitiveness in the school market. Hence, based on the objective, the selection or screening of students is made that include criteria like the learning ability of students, social background of parents, their income level, etc. Norms varied from schools, to schools but some of the common norms were entrance test, merit/ marks obtained in previous school, reservation on the basis of religious background in religious trust-run schools, and reservation for EWS. Reservation for admissions under EWS quota was made in almost all the private schools, though some schools in Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh were not in favour of this provision, and select few did not entertain EWS students.

One of the parents in Thengaipattinam village of the Kanyakumari District stated that in the initial years, the private school in which her children were studying used to give admission to all; however, later after gaining some popularity locally, it introduced entrance test and interview for giving admission. In Ghazipur, Sikar and Kanyakumari some private schools also reserve seats on the basis of caste. In Ghazipur, some of them provided reservation to SC/ST students. On the other hand, in Sikar and Kanyakumari, some schools reported of giving preference to Rajput Community and Nadars, respectively. In Kanyakumari, religious trust-run private schools give admission to children based on religious background. Most of the parents stated that getting admission was a problem. A few of them faced difficulties in getting admission into their preferred schools. Across all the four states, recommendation of local leaders and payment of donation were in practice to get admission.

Other Criteria for Admission

While government schools adhered to the first come first serve basis and sometimes distance norms, private schools also gave consideration to factors like donation, weightage to girl child, wards of teachers, siblings in the school, education and income levels of parents etc.

In Ghazipur, private schools gave admission on the basis of donation, educational and occupational backgrounds of parents, and sibling in the same school. Some schools gave concession in fee to the second and third child if siblings are in the same school. This was a common practice in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Box 5.1: Other Criteria for Admission in Private Schools	
States	Criteria
Bellary (Karnataka)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational background of parents
Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weightage to girl child • Donation • Educational background of parents • Parents' occupation • Income level • Distance from school • Sibling in the same school
Kanyakumari (Tamil Nadu)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ward of Teacher/ staff
Sikar (Rajasthan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ward of Teacher/ staff • Distance from school

Source: Survey

In Bellary, educational background of parents was an important criterion, whereas in Kanyakumari staff children were given additional preference. In Sikar, staff child and distance of school from the residence were other considerations. A parent of Thoothoor village, Tamil Nadu, who sends her son to an elite private school, stated that admission is offered only to educated parents in that school. In some of the schools, parents are asked to give an exam, as to check whether they are educated or not. They are also asked to attend classes in English and grammar so that they are able to teach their children at home.

Outreach Programme of Schools

Most of the private schools were found practising outreach programmes to enrol students. Since image building is a part of the marketing strategies of private schools, they give a great deal of emphasis on this. Private schools pay a great deal of attention to advertisement and publicity, including expensive advertisements in newspapers. Some of them also display their results to attract parents towards private schools. The outreach programme of government schools was, however, limited to door-to-door visit. Some of the government school were assisted by their alumni in their outreach programme.

Table 5.5 shows outreach programmes of government and private schools. While private schools rely heavily on publicity of their unique features, achievements, with a special focus on extra-curricular activities, inter-school competitions, sports, etc., government schools are not able to do so. Many of the private schools give emphasis on capacity building of students and claim to prepare them to face challenges of life. They claim to boost confidence and improve personality of children. Private schools display big hoardings in villages and prominent places in and around school premises.

Table 5.5: Outreach Programmes of Government and Private Schools (% of schools)							
District	Awareness Programme	Door to door campaign	Hoarding/ Banner/ Pamphlets	Ad/ Newspaper	Wall paints	Result of students	Others
Government							
Bellary	0.00	12.50	37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00
Ghazipur	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kanyakumari	0.00	42.86	14.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	42.86
Sikar	9.09	36.36	27.27	18.18	0.00	0.00	9.09
Total	3.45	37.93	24.14	6.90	0.00	0.00	27.59
Private							
Bellary	0.00	20.00	28.00	8.00	0.00	4.00	40.00
Ghazipur	9.52	42.86	14.29	4.76	0.00	0.00	28.57
Kanyakumari	5.56	22.22	5.56	16.67	0.00	0.00	50.00
Sikar	7.14	17.86	28.57	28.57	10.71	7.14	
Total	5.43	25.00	20.65	15.22	3.26	3.26	27.17

Source: Survey.

Note: Other includes- announcements through *Meena Manch*, rally on the streets, social media platform, influence through alumni etc.

In Uttar Pradesh, the outreach measures of private schools included village visit, special classes for weak children, etc. In Tamil Nadu, smart classrooms, spoken English, yoga, extra-curricular activities, health awareness programmes, personality development workshops, school bus, wall painting, gifts to children, etc. were given prominence in publicity materials to attract parents and students. In Rajasthan, conveyance facility for children, advertisements of results, and key features of schools were focussed in publicity materials. In Karnataka, some of the schools also reported engaging students in publicity activities. In addition, Annual Day event is a big function to get attention of parents, where various activities of schools are shown to the assembled parents. Further, in Karnataka, computer education, smart classes, exposure visits, etc. were also given publicity to attract students.

The outreach programmes of good government schools were limited to door-to-door visit and some banners and hoardings. In Bellary District of Karnataka, some of the government school teachers reported of doing street march and rallies with children. The Nali Kali system of education through play-way method in Karnataka, that used game, activities, songs, story-telling, etc. for teaching was another attraction of government schools. In Somasamudhra village of Bellary, government school teachers were having regular meetings with panchayats and School Development and Management Committees (SDMCs). Government schools in Tamil Nadu gave publicity to computer aided learning, teaching of phonetics of English, free coaching for spoken English, Yoga, promotion of local folk arts such as *parai* (dance with drum), *silambam* (form of martial art using pole), *kolattam* (dance with stick), etc. government school in Munchirai village of Kanyakumari also provided coaching to students for National Merit-cum-Means Scholarship examination.

Physical Infrastructure in Government and Private Schools

Hardth (1971) relates quality of school infrastructure with learning process and argues that good infrastructure creates an environment, which affects the mood and behaviour of learners. Understanding the critical importance of infrastructure for providing conducive atmosphere, the Right to Education (RTE) Act, 2009, has laid down norms for infrastructure that include adequate number of classrooms, playground, boundary wall, kitchen shed for MDM, provision of drinking water, separate toilets for boys and girls, etc. The section below examines whether the surveyed schools are compliant with the RTE infrastructural norms or not.

Facilities	Compliance with RTE Norms							
	Bellary		Ghazipur		Kanyakumari		Sikar	
	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private
Boundary Wall	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Sufficient number of classrooms	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Office-cum-Store-cum-Head teachers room	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Staff Room for teachers	√	√	√	×	√	√	√	√
Drinking water	×	√	√	×	√	√	√	√
Availability of separate toilets for boys and girls	√	√	×	×	×	×	√	√
Kitchen shed	√	√	√	NA	√	NA	√	NA
Playground	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Availability of play material, sport equipment and games	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Disabled friendly infrastructure (ramps)	×	√	×	×	×	×	√	√

Source: Survey.

Table 5.6 shows that in general government schools were complying with infrastructural norms of the Right to Education (RTE) Act, better than those by private schools. In Sikar District, Rajasthan, both the government and private schools were complying with the infrastructural norms of the RTE Act. Private schools in Ghazipur and Kanyakumari were found lacking in RTE compliance. In Kanyakumari, private schools were lacking in providing separate toilets for boys and girls and ramps for disabled children. While the overall infrastructural facilities in government schools in Rajasthan were better, they were equally good in the government schools of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, though some government schools in Bellary, lacked in drinking water facility and toilets. Except Rajasthan, the availability of ramps for differently-abled persons was lacking in the government schools in all the surveyed places.

Though most of the parents were satisfied with the infrastructure facilities that are available in both the government and private schools, yet some were dissatisfied. Poor condition of toilets was a major complaint against the government schools in all the four states. A major reason for this is lack of staff for cleaning of toilets. Some of the government schools get their toilets cleaned once in a week; in some places once in 2 weeks. Some of the government schools reported of get them cleaned everyday by using MDM staffs or students. Most of the government schools were equipped with the kitchen sheds and food was prepared fresh for the children. Two of the surveyed government schools in Bellary reported of getting MDM from ISKON trust, which has taken the responsibility of preparing the MDM and relieved the teachers from the task of managing food, buying vegetables, etc.

Government schools provide bicycles in some places, uniforms, books, shoes and scholarship to some needy and meritorious children. One government school in Bellary provided residential facility for the children of migrant workers. It was provided with the help of an NGO. One of the government schools in Karnataka was poorly maintained. Though the school was in a campus of about 2 acres, there was no proper upkeep and maintenance of the building and the campus. There was no proper lighting as well. The classrooms looked like dungeons. In Uttar Pradesh, MDM was not regular in some of the government schools. The school reported that MDM ration was not available on time leading to irregular serving of MDM.

Infrastructural facilities in private schools were related to the class of students they serve. If they cater to the children of the rich, it is good, if to the children of the middle class, it is average, and if to the children of the poor, it is bad. For example, some of the low fee private schools in Rajasthan had no water and light facilities in the washrooms. In the same place, condition of the government school washroom was better, except the problem of regular cleaning. In another private school in the same place there was no electricity and proper light in classrooms. Students of this school complained that the writings on board are not visible on rainy days, or when the day is cloudy. In another private school in Rajasthan, while the staff toilet was good, the girls toilet did not have proper water and drainage facility. In another private school in Sikar, insects were found floating in the drinking water tank. There was no light in the washroom and the school did not have any playground. Some of the surveyed private schools in Bellary did not have separate toilets for boys and girls. Children used the in-house toilets of the school owner. In Kurugodu village, Bellary, parents of a

government school reported that though toilet was available, yet children go outside to attend the nature's call, as they are not habituated to using modern toilets. Most of the private schools in Bellary, were without electricity connection and furniture.

In contrast to the stories of low-fee private schools lacking basic facilities, one of the elite private schools had 11 school buses. It had RO fitted water for drinking purposes and the toilet was cleaned every 2 hours. The school was well equipped in sports and provided coaching in football, hockey and volleyball. Interestingly, the school had given admission to poor children as well. It had residential facility for children, that was used mostly by those parents who were engaged in agriculture and those who migrate frequently for seasonal work. There was a kitchen shed for preparing food for the residential children. In Lalpurhari village of Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh, most of the private schools surveyed did not have boundary walls, electricity, fan or light. There was no furniture too. Even toilets were not available within the school premises.

Most of the apparently good private schools were well-equipped with support staff. On an average, about 2 administrative staff, 2 staff for ensuring cleanliness, and about 5 drivers for school buses. In government schools, there is a provision for an attendant and a clerical staff only for the higher secondary level school. In the elementary government school, while there are three to four MDM staffs, staff for cleaning, and maintenance are not provided. Schools arrange staff for maintenance on their own and the payment is managed through the contribution made by teachers, SMCs, panchayats, and sometimes also through the SSA grant.

Thus, the general impression that private schools are better equipped with infrastructural facilities is not correct. No doubt, there are good private schools with good infrastructural facilities, but most of the low-fee-private schools are worse than government schools in providing infrastructure. Also, there are wide variations with respect to infrastructural facilities in private schools across the surveyed Districts, but that was not the case in government schools.

Learning Infrastructure and Learning

The RTE Act stipulates certain norms with respect to learning infrastructure, which include availability of teaching learning materials (TLMs) in schools, library, computers, etc. Except for a few private schools in Ghazipur and a few government schools in Kanyakumari, most of

the schools in other places were having a satisfactory level of learning infrastructure. Teaching learning material and library were available in most of the schools.

Facilities	Compliance with RTE Norms							
	Bellary		Ghazipur		Kanyakumari		Sikar	
	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private	Govt.	Private
Library	√	√	√	×	√	√	√	√
Newspaper	√	√	√	×	×	√	√	√
Magazines	√	√	√	×	×	√	×	√
Subject books	√	√	√	×	×	√	√	√
Story books	√	√	√	×	×	√	√	√
Availability of Computer room and computers	√	√	×	×	√	×	√	√

Source: Survey.

Computer labs and libraries were found lacking in some of the government and private schools. Some of them with computer labs were allowing only students from upper primary levels to use them. There was no proper library in some schools, but there was a book shelf that stacked some books. Students could pick up books from the stack and get issued for reading. Magazines and newspapers were not available, but story books, mostly in Hindi, were available in some of the schools.

In Bellary, two private schools were completely equipped with the required learning infrastructure. They had science labs, computer labs, and digital classrooms with access to digital aid and internet. They also had Montessori play materials. The library of the school had about 3000 books. There were about 30 computers for children and 20 for official work. Computer was taught to children from class I onwards.

Most of the government schools in all the four surveyed places were having some sports equipment, mic-set and speakers and projectors. Similarly, teaching learning materials (TLMs) such as charts, posters, drawings and paintings on wall, etc. were also commonly found in the surveyed places. Though good private schools were found equipped with the above facilities, the low-fee-private schools were found lacking in these facilities.

Both the government and private schools in Karnataka included exposure visits, activity based learning and play-way method. In the government schools of Somasamudhra village of Bellary District, though computers were not available, one of them had acquired through the sponsorship from a local industry. In Bellary, government schools adopt Nali Kali system, wherein play-way method is used for teaching children who were able to grasp well through the group activities. The lessons were taught to children through story-telling, songs, dance,

etc. Similarly, in Tamil Nadu too, Simplified Activity Based Learning (SABL) was adopted in the government schools and the ABL classrooms also looked attractive and nicely maintained. In another government school in Tamil Nadu, computer aided learning was provided to children and spoken English classes were held every evening. Government schools in Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan providing coaching to children for clearing scholarship exams. In Rajasthan, children were encouraged to participate in sports. There were many state level champions in games such as kho-kho, volleyball in a government school of Rajasthan. Further two government schools in Rajasthan were equipped with smart classrooms. Classes through YouTube were also conducted.

In a private school in Bellary, general English was taught for two hours every week. Children of this school were good in theatre, skit and dance and also participate in literary festivals. In one of the schools, a skit is enacted by children every week and there are teachers to train them. Another private school in Kurugodu village of Bellary stated of providing counselling and psychological sessions for children. Some of the private schools in Tamil Nadu were equipped with smart classrooms. Children were also engaged in extra-curricular activities like Yoga, Music, Karate, Arts, Sports, etc. In Tamil Nadu, some of the schools focus on personality development, spoken English and indoor games. In one of the private schools, it was reported that a great deal of attention was given on reading, writing, spoken English, handwriting, extra-curricular activities, etc. Special coaching was also provided to slow learners. In Munchirai village, Tamil Nadu, a teacher of a private school stated that children were taken to exposure visits and they were constantly made to participate in various competitions and television shows. This school has scouts, guides, abacus class, junior red cross (JRC) etc.

As highlighted by the National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, participation of all children in play, informal and formal games, yoga and sports activities is essential for their physical and psycho-social development (NCERT, 2005). Some of the good performing government and private schools were giving attention to this aspect of psycho-socio development of children. However, most of the low-fee-private schools, were lacking in their focus on the holistic development of children. Even the learning level was not up to the satisfaction level of parents. For example, in Ajeethgarh village of Sikar, it was stated by a parent that she had shifted her child from an English medium to a Hindi medium school, after getting to know that the teacher appointed for teaching English was not able to speak or write

correct English. Similar experience was shared by another parent in Bharni village, Rajasthan, who stated that the English teacher teaches in Rajasthani, and yet, they claim it to be an English medium school. Again, a parent, who sends her daughter to a private school in the same village, stated that “she is not happy with the education of her girl child, as the learning level is very low. The teachers are not qualified. They expect parents to teach their children at home. Since we are illiterate, it is very difficult for us to teach. We depend on my sister-in law to teach my daughter, as she is doing B.Ed. The girl does not know alphabets, though she is in class VI.”

Teachers Qualifications, Recruitment and Service Conditions

Various studies have underlined the importance of qualified and well-trained teachers. Poor quality of teachers is one of the reasons why children fail to complete their primary education (PROBE Team, 1999; World Bank, 1997). Recruiting qualified and trained teachers is critical to providing good education whether it be government or private schools. The survey reveals that the quality of teachers differs in government and private schools. The section below presents a comparison of government and private school teachers in terms of their qualifications and training, their recruitment processes, their service conditions, their aptitude and passion for teaching and their work load, etc.

Qualified Teachers

An examination of the nature of appointment and professional qualifications of government and private school teachers shows that government schools were better positioned. Firstly, the proportion of permanent teachers was much higher in government than in private schools. Secondly, the proportion of professionally qualified teachers was also higher in government schools. Thirdly, except one teacher each in Ghazipur and Sikar, permanent government teachers were professionally qualified. The one who was not qualified was pursuing his/her teacher training course. Fourthly, government schools appoint non-qualified teachers only on contractual position whereas private schools appoint non-qualified teachers also at permanent position.

Table 5.8 shows District-wise status of the nature of appointment and professional qualifications of government and private school teachers in the surveyed places. Of all the surveyed Districts, teachers were more qualified in Kanyakumari District. Most of them were post graduates and some of them were even post-graduate in education (M.Ed.). In some of

the private schools, some of the teachers were only 12th pass, of course, a few of them were enrolled for graduation degree. In fact, a parent in Jalpali village of Sikar District expressed his concern about the low qualification of private school teachers.

Particulars	Districts			
	Bellary	Ghazipur	Kanyakumari	Sikar
	Permanent Teachers			
Teachers with professional qualification & training				
Government	12	6	19	11
Private	13	7	21	8
Teachers pursuing training				
Government	0	1	0	1
Private	5	5	12	8
Teachers without professional qualification and Training				
Government	0	0	0	0
Private	3	1	0	6
	Contractual Teachers			
Teachers with professional qualification & training				
Government	2	1	3	0
Private	6	0	2	7
Teachers pursuing training				
Government	4	0	0	0
Private	3	1	2	9
Teachers without professional qualification and Training				
Government	0	0	0	4
Private	0	0	0	7

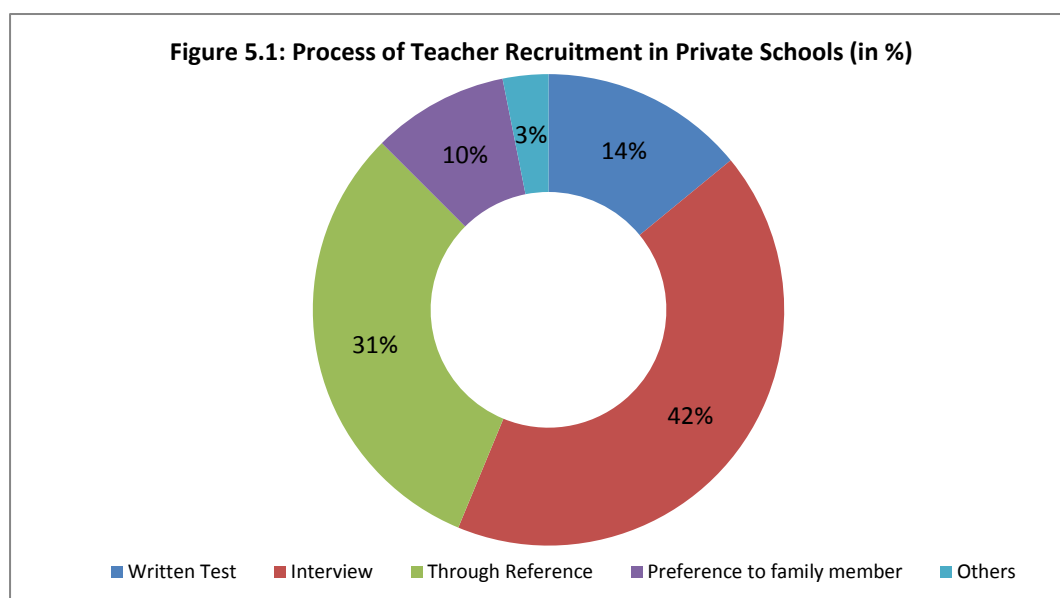
Source: Survey.

In government schools of Kanyakumari and Bellary, contract teachers were appointed mostly to teach a particular skill. For example, in Kanyakumari, they were appointed for teaching computers, Yoga, English, music, drawing, Arts & Craft, etc. In Sikar District of Rajasthan, due to non-fulfilment of vacancies of teachers for a long time, government school teachers had appointed contract teachers on their own expenses to meet the shortage of teachers. The contract teachers were low paid. Their salary was generally paid out of the money pooled in from the permanent teachers. In private schools, contract teachers were appointed for teaching specific course or skills. For example, in Bellary, they were hired as music teachers, dance teachers, drawing teachers, computer teachers and student counsellors. Such practice of having teachers for such classes was found in just one or two private schools. In some of the private schools of Kanyakumari, contractual teachers were appointed for teaching Karate, Yoga, music and Hindi. In some of the places, teachers without qualifications were preferred, as they were willing to work at lower salary.

In Bellary, Karnataka, primary school teachers had the necessary professional qualifications, such as B.Ed, D.Ed, Nursery Training Course (NTC)¹¹ or the Teacher Certificate Higher (TCH). Upper primary schools teachers were having professional qualifications of D.Ed, B.Ed, or M.Ed. In Ghazipur, primary classes teachers were qualified in Basic Training Certificate (BTC)¹² and upper primary class teachers in B.Ed. In Kanyakumari, the primary class teachers were mostly B.Ed, while some were BTs (Bachelor in Teaching) or SGTs (Secondary Grade Teachers). Most of the upper primary teachers were B.Ed and M.Ed. Some of them were M.A. or even M.Phil. In Sikar, most of the teachers at primary level were qualified in Basic Teacher Training (BTT) or Basic School Teaching Course (BSTC) upper primary teachers were qualified with graduation degree and B.Ed.

Recruitment Process

While there was a proper process of recruitment of government school teachers, the recruitment process in private schools was both formal and informal. Of course, some of the private schools also conducted interviews of candidates for recruitment, but factors like contact, family relations or local pressure were found working in the selection process. In many of the private schools in Ghazipur, family members were appointed as teachers. In Tamil Nadu, qualified teachers were available in good numbers, and hence, were ready to work on a low pay, but that was not the case in other places.



Source: Survey.

Note: Others include demo classes given by teachers

¹¹ NTC is now replaced with Diploma in Education.

¹² BTC is replaced with Diploma in Elementary Education (D.El.Ed)

In the surveyed Districts (states), government school teachers were appointed based on written tests and interviews. Candidates were called for test based on the TET. In Tamil Nadu, government school teachers were appointed by the Teachers Recruitment Board and in Rajasthan by Rajasthan Board of Secondary Education (RBSE). Head teachers of government schools across the states reported multiple vacancies in their schools that caused the shortage of teachers and high pupil-teacher ratio.

In private schools, interview was the preferred mode of recruitment of teachers. This was common in Kanyakumari and Bellary Districts. Written tests for recruitment were also conducted in some of the schools in these two Districts. In some of the private schools in Sikar, Kanyakumari and Ghazipur, family members, irrespective of their educational qualifications, were given preference in recruitment. In some of these schools, particularly in Ghazipur and Sikar, wife or sister of the school owner were working as the teachers of the schools. In the Hanspur village in Sikar, all the teachers of a private school were only family members and most of them were not qualified.

Teaching as a Profession

Reasons for entering into teaching profession varied. Though for some of them, teaching was a childhood ambition, for others, it was a preferable job especially for women, and for still some others, family persuasion to become a teacher, financial burden of the family, or job security, etc. were factors.

Table 5.9 shows that some of the government school teachers stated that they entered the profession as it was a childhood ambition and their aim was to bring about change in the life of poor students. Some teachers stated that they preferred this profession because of the emoluments and other perks (pension and leave benefits), apart from the respect that they get from the society. They also stated that there is a prestige that is associated with this profession. Some stated that teaching is a safe job for women who also find it easy to balance the family and house work. Teachers in Tamil Nadu preferred this profession because it is a respectable job there. Teachers from Ghazipur, Sikar and from Bellary mentioned that they entered the profession in the first place not because they loved teaching, but they had no other work to do.

Table 5.9: Reasons for preferring Teaching Profession (Multiple Answers in %)						
District	Passion/ Ambition/Interest	No Other Job Available	Easily Available Job	Respectable Profession	Safe Profession	Others
Government						
Bellary	60.00	0.00	0.00	60.00	20.00	0.00
Ghazipur	25.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	50.00
Kanyakumari	75.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00
Sikar	66.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	16.67	16.67
Total	57.89	0.00	5.26	36.84	10.53	15.79
Private-Unaided						
Bellary	33.33	20.00	26.67	6.67	6.67	6.67
Ghazipur	68.75	31.25	0.00	6.25	6.25	25.00
Kanyakumari	66.67	0.00	0.00	8.33	8.33	16.67
Sikar	53.33	0.00	13.33	26.67	13.33	26.67
Total	55.17	13.79	10.34	12.07	8.62	18.97

Source: Survey.

A young teacher from a government school in Rajasthan was deeply committed to the profession, despite the fact that she was only a part-time teacher, with low salary. She said:

“I enjoy the teaching profession. I believe that it is a challenging profession, but I love it. With this profession, I can bring change in the life of poor children. I always wanted to be a teacher and that is why I chose to enter into this profession after I completed my education”.

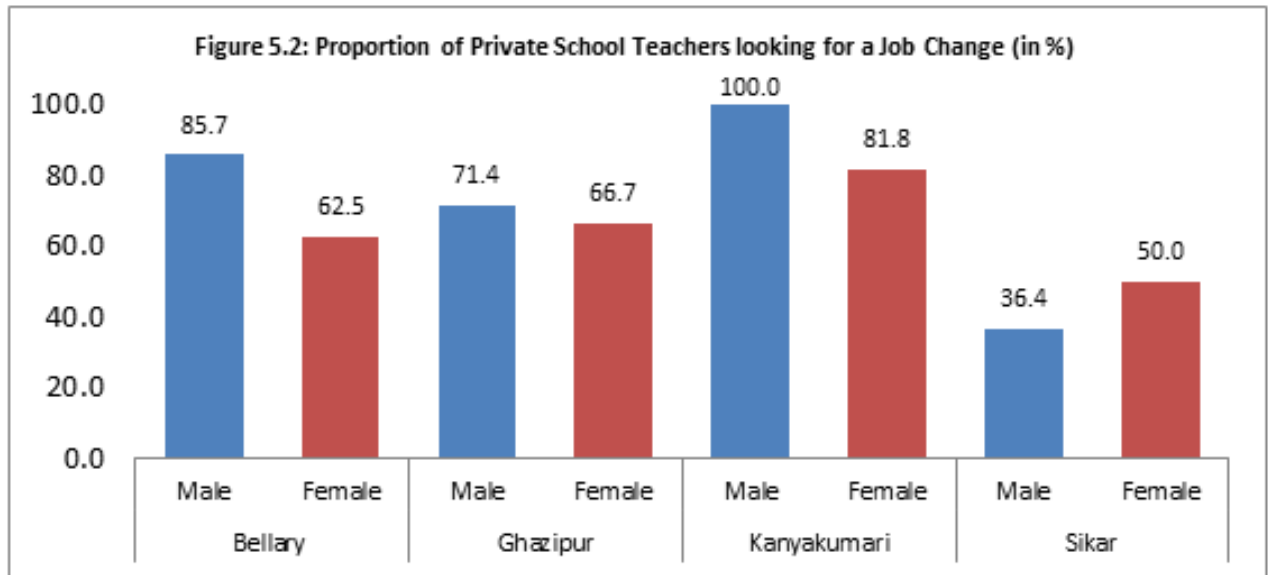
In Sikar District of Rajasthan, some government school teachers admitted that teaching was not a preferred job initially. But later, after getting into the profession, they liked it. A government school teacher from the Sikar District stated:

“Teaching was actually never in my mind as my first career choice, nor was it a goal of my life. But after teaching, I can say I fell in love with the profession. I feel satisfied whenever I see my students doing well in competitive exams and securing a good job”.

A government school teacher in Ghazipur stated that she wanted to get into medicine (Doctor), but didn't get through. She became a teacher by chance.

Similarly in private schools too, the majority of the teachers took up the profession because of their passion for teaching. Of course, there were some who entered the profession by accident. A teacher of a private school from Ajeethgarh village, Sikar District, Rajasthan, mentioned that earlier she was working as a nurse. After her marriage she took up the teaching job in her husband's village. Some of the teachers in the Sikar and Ghazipur Districts who were 12th pass out stated of taking up this profession as to buy time till they get

married, or get into the profession of their choice. Some of the teachers across the states were preparing for TET examination in order to get into government schools. They view their job in private schools as a temporary arrangement. Some other teachers in Ghazipur stated of being in this profession, as they did not have any other jobs and they needed money to look after their families.

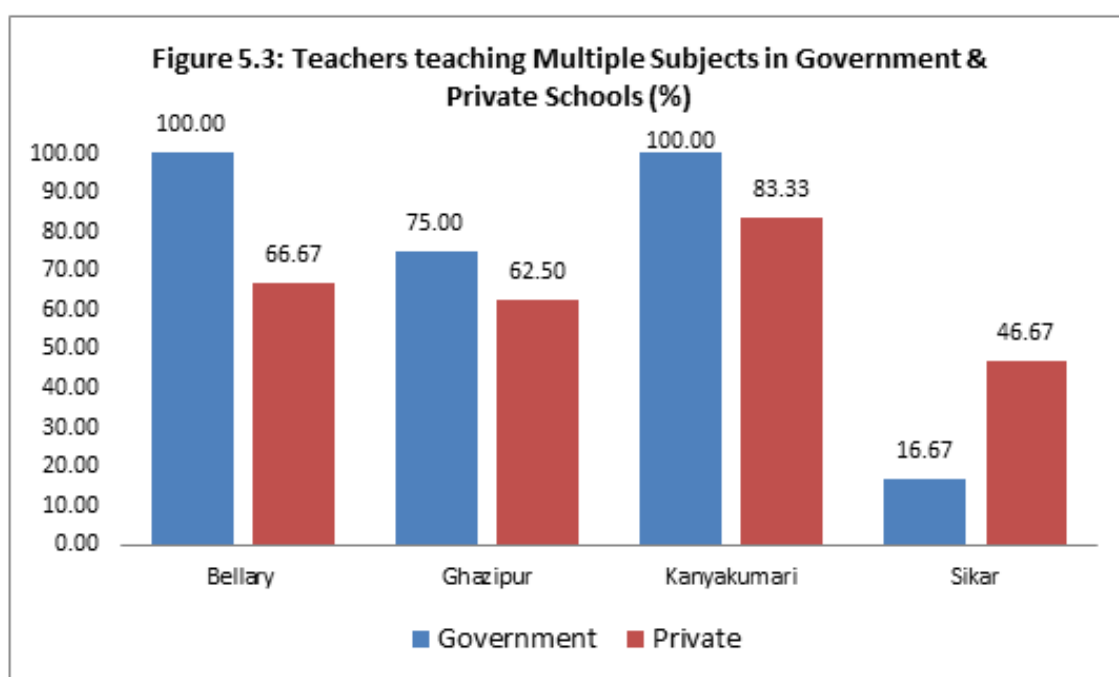


Source: Survey.

While in government schools, because of the nature of appointment and service conditions, teachers were stable, in private schools, the rate of attrition was very high. The main reason for high attrition rate was contractual appointment and poor service conditions. An indication of a very high rate of attrition in private schools is the fact that except for Sikar, the majority of private school teachers in other surveyed places were looking for a job change. Interestingly, most of them were looking for job in government schools. Some were preparing for competitive exams for government jobs. The proportion of such teachers was high among the male in all states, except Sikar where women teachers in greater number were looking for job change. Women teachers of Rajasthan were satisfied with their profession as it provided them some freedom, which is, otherwise, difficult to get in a patriarchal society. They often compared their situation with those of other women of the same age group in the surrounding villages, and expressed a sense of satisfaction. Most of the women teachers of private schools aspired to get into government schools. Though they enjoyed teaching profession, because of low emoluments and work load in private school, they preferred a job change. Different from the above, there was a teacher in a private school in Bishunpur village, Uttar Pradesh, who said that “if I am paid well, I will switch over to any other job”.

Workload of Teachers

The workload and teaching profile of government and private schools varied. Figure 5.3 shows that government school teachers were invariably engaged in teaching multiple subjects. This was, however, not the case with the teachers of private schools. The problem of teaching multiple subjects was quite high in Bellary and Kanyakumari Districts. In Sikar, since teachers on contract were appointed, the regular teachers were able to focus only on their assigned subjects. Thus, shortage of teachers in government schools was a major factor for a teacher teaching multiple subjects.



Source: Survey.

While such problem was not found much in the case of private schools that cater to the rich and middle classes, it was very much found in the case of low fee private schools. For example, about 80 per cent of the private school teachers in Kanyakumari and 60 per cent in Bellary taught multiple subjects – mathematics, science, social science, etc. As against the above, only 46 per cent of the teachers in Sikar taught multiple subjects. This is again due to the availability of more subject-wise teachers in Sikar. In Bellary and Ghazipur, while some teachers were engaged in teaching all the subjects, some taught two to three subjects such as Hindi and Maths, Hindi, science and social science, etc. Only in Sikar, a teacher was assigned a maximum of two subjects.

Table 5.10: Multi-subject Multi-grade Teaching in Government and Private Schools		
Districts	Subjects Taught	Classes Taught
	Government Schools	
Bellary	Kannada, Maths, English Environment All Subjects	Classes 1to5 Classes 1 to 7
Ghazipur	Hindi, English, Maths, Social Science Hindi, English, Maths	Classes 1 & 2
Kanyakumari	Tamil, English, Maths	Classes 1to5
Sikar	Single Subject	Classes 4 to 10 Classes 6 to 10
Private Schools		
Bellary	Kannada, English, Environment, Social Studies, Science, Hindi Maths 4 Subjects Kannada Maths & Science	LKG to Class 5 Classes 6 to 10 Classes 1 to 5 Classes 6 to 10 Classes 1 to 5
Ghazipur	Multiple Subjects 2 subjects	Classes 1 to 8 Classes 1 to 8
Kanyakumari	3 Subjects (Maths, English, Science) Tamil, English, Maths 4 -5 Subjects	Pre KG to Class 3 Class 1 to 10 Class 1 to 5
Sikar	Science, Social Science, English Hindi and English Hindi	Class 1 to 5 Class 5 to 8 Classes 7 and 8

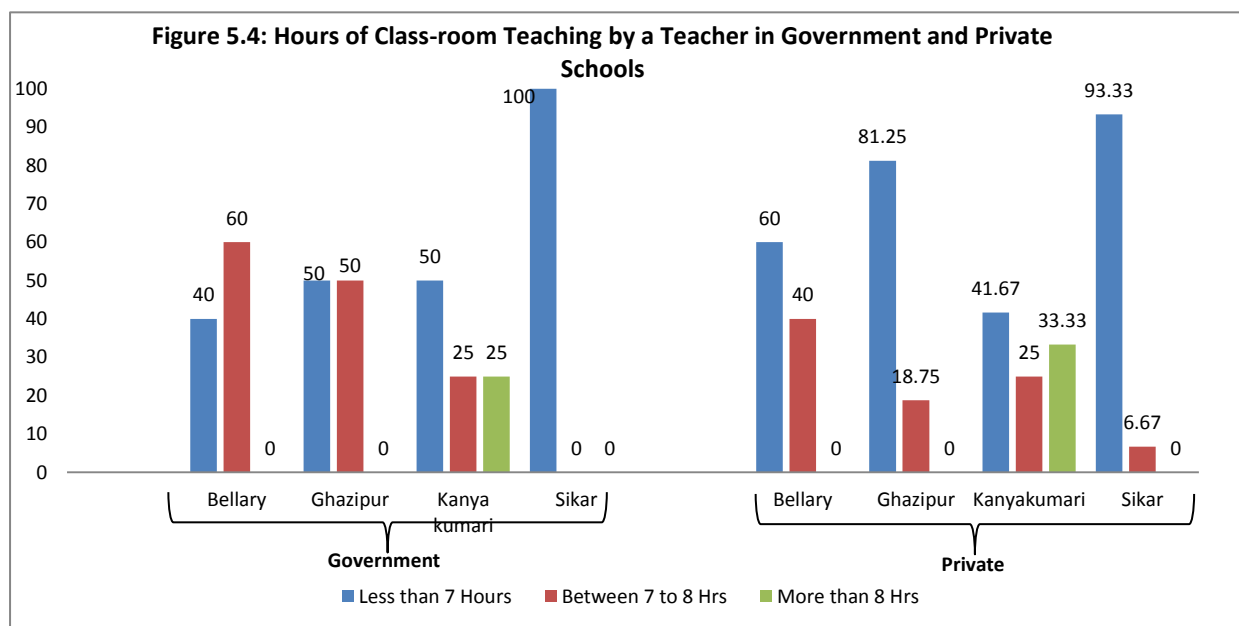
Source: Survey.

There was also a practice of teaching multiple subjects at multiple grades. This was mostly found at the level of primary school. Among the government school teachers, only in Sikar, they taught one or at the most related subjects like maths, physics, etc. for multiple classes. In Ghazipur, in some schools classes 1 and 2 were taught together, but teachers were assigned multiple subjects. In Tamil Nadu, only in one government school, teachers taught all the subjects from class 1 to 5. In the other schools, only one or two subjects were taught by one teacher. The phenomenon of multi-graded teaching was high in Bellary where almost all the government schools reported this practice.

In general, multi-grade teaching is regarded as a phenomenon of government schools, due to single teacher school, but such practices were found in the low fee private schools as well. Private schools that catered to the rich and middle classed had single teacher for every class (in a few schools there were only 20 students per class), such mono-grade teaching was not followed in other low fee private schools. In Bellary, a teacher taught multiple subjects at multiple grades. Only in some schools, teachers were handling single subject or at the most two subjects for various grades. In Ghazipur, only few schools reported of teaching multiple subjects to multi-graded classrooms. In the remaining schools, mono-grade classes were handled, but for only one or two subjects. Next to Bellary, multi-subject teaching was reported by more number of teachers in Tamil Nadu, wherein four to five subjects were

taught by a single teacher. In two of the private schools, a teacher taught three subjects from class 1 to 10, right from the primary to the secondary levels. In Sikar, multi-grade teaching was found to be less in private schools. Only in two schools, a teacher taught three subjects to all the primary classes.

The workload of a teacher, in terms of class-room hours, was 7-8 hours both in government and in private schools. However, only in Sikar, the majority of the teachers reported 5-7 hours of class-room teaching. This was mainly because of the availability of greater number of teachers there. In Bellary and Ghazipur Districts, in both the government and private school, the majority of teachers reported spending 7 to 8 hours in class-rooms. In Kanyakumari, the majority of teachers of both government and private schools reported spending more than 8 hours in class-room teaching. In government schools, this was due to the shortage of teachers, whereas in private schools, this was due to the pressure to give good results. A teacher of a private school in Kanyakumari mentioned that he joined the school with lots of interest and motivation, but he was frustrated now due to long hours of work (more than 9 hours), and yet low pay.



Source: Survey.

Another private school teacher in Kanyakumari stated that “school management pressurises teachers to show good results of students to increase the reputation of the school. It leads to an overload of work”. Due to this, most of the teachers were under stress. Their quality time with family member was restricted, as they had to spend 9 to 10 hours in the school. In the private schools of Ghazipur and Sikar, teachers were having overload of both teaching and

non-teaching work. The overload of work and low pay were the main reason for the high attrition rate. In one school, about 20 teachers had left the school in the past four years.

Both in the government and private schools, teachers were engaged in non-teaching work. In government schools, non-teaching work was related to door-to-door village visit for enrolment drive, management of MDM, census duty, procurement of books, uniforms. from head office. In private schools, the non-teaching activities were related to management of school events, extra-curricular activities, administrative work, mobilising admission, etc. A private school teacher spent more than 3 to 4 hours per week in non-teaching activities.

Table 5.11: Non-Teaching Activities of Government and Private School Teachers (%)									
District	Student Enrolment Campaign/ Drive	Managing MDM	Responding to RTI Queries	Taking Children to inter-school Competitions	Maintenance of School records	Managing School Events	Extra-Curricular Work in School	None	Others
	Government								
Bellary	12.50	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	25.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Ghazipur	18.18	0.00	0.00	18.18	9.09	27.27	9.09	0.00	18.18
Kanyakumari	12.50	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	25.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Sikar	0.00	11.11	0.00	0.00	44.44	22.22	0.00	22.22	0.00
Total	6.25	6.25	0.00	0.00	25.00	18.75	31.25	6.25	6.25
Private									
Bellary	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.11	61.11	16.67	11.11
Ghazipur	6.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	81.25	0.00
Kanyakumari	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	61.54	23.08	15.38
Sikar	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	35.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	5.00
Total	8.33	5.95	1.19	2.38	9.52	11.90	26.19	28.57	5.95

Source: Survey.

In government schools, extra-curricular activities, followed by maintenance of school records, and managing school events consumed a major part of non-teaching hours of a teacher. In Sikar and Ghazipur, government school teachers spent more time in maintenance of school records, while in Bellary and Kanyakumari, they spent more time in managing extra-curricular activities, such as taking students for various competitions, training children on various activities, such as dance, stitching, yoga, etc. In Bellary, Karnataka, government teachers were engaged in cultural activities like dance, drama, songs, etc. and administrative works like updating of Aadhaar details, BPL card, bank passbook, caste and income certificate, vaccination of children, preparation of LPG list, election duty, etc. Teachers reported that “we come early, supervise the children to clean the room”. They also supervise the preparation of MDM. In Rajasthan, non-teaching works included pasting posters of government programmes on walls, managing MDM, census data collection, etc. In Bharni village, Sikar, Rajasthan, parents told that teachers were mostly not available in classrooms, as they were busy with census, buying vegetables for MDM and supervising of MDM.

Teachers in a government school of Painkulam village, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, were involved in physical training, yoga, art and craft, NSS, NCC, JRS, Scout, environmental awareness training, enrolment drive, collection of Aadhaar card details, uploading of ration card details and MIS data online, health camps for awareness generation, etc. Teachers were also given the task of maintaining the database for enrolment of children, free uniform distribution, transfer certificate, remedial course, Aadhaar and BPL details, drop-out data, distribution of bicycle and shoes etc. In Uttar Pradesh, teachers were engaged mostly in census data collection, and panchayat elections, which were once in a while affair.

In private schools, the majority of teachers were free from non-teaching workload. The proportion of such teachers was high in Ghazipur. In Bellary and Kanyakumari, private school teachers were engaged in extracurricular activities, while in Sikar, non-teaching work was related to maintenance of school record. In Bellary, teachers of private schools were engaged in conducting quiz, craft work, drawing, music, dance, cultural programme, Aadhar card registration, educational counselling etc. In Rajasthan, private school teachers were engaged in educational counselling, gardening etc. Some of the teachers in private schools in Tamil Nadu were also engaged in teaching *Bhagavad Gita*, drawing, dance, yoga, karate. They also reported of networking with NGOs and industries, in order to get sponsorship for school and various activities. In Uttar Pradesh, teachers were generally roped in enrolment drive and for yoga classes, etc.

Motivation Level of Teachers

The level of motivation of teachers varied in government and private school. It also varied from school to school and individual to individual. Even within the same school, the motivation levels were different. In government schools, the motivation level was high only among a few teachers. Such teachers were driven by their commitment to the school. The majority of the government school teachers told that though they had joined the profession with very high motivation, in due course of time, they lost motivation and do only that much which is required to be done. One of the teachers in Kanyakumari stated that improvement in the infrastructural facilities of government schools would serve as a great motivating factor. He further added that ensuring one room for each class, transportation facilities, availability of staff room, safe drinking water and toilet, better furniture, smart classroom, cleanliness etc. would work as an instant booster for the teachers working in government schools.

In private schools, the motivation level of teachers was generally low, but the reasons were different in different places. In some of the private schools that offered decent emoluments and benefits, teachers were of course well-motivated. Poor working condition of teachers were the main reason for their low motivation, but that was not the case in other schools. One of the teachers in Tamil Nadu, whose pay was 50 per cent less than what is shown on there in the official record was disgruntled. However, because of her socio-economic condition of the family, she was not able to leave the job.

Some private schools provided various incentives to teachers like concession in fees for their wards, concession in transportation, etc. Other factors stated for low motivation were non-receipt of salaries on time, delay in paying travel reimbursement, Diwali bonus, restrictions in maternity benefits, etc. In Rajasthan, in one private school, there was a practice of awarding 'Certificate of Appreciation' without any monetary benefits that served as a great motivating factor.

Teacher Training

There is a provision for providing time to time in-service training to update knowledge and skills of teachers. These trainings are usually of short duration and are helpful as well. However, teachers have complaint that these trainings were provided to comply with the provision, rather than impart them effective training. Government school teachers of Tamil Nadu stated that though such trainings were regularly organised by the government, yet mostly to comply with the official requirement. Further, they have some issues with the content of training. Sometimes there are good resource persons, but most of the time, the resource person just delivers a lecture, without any two-way dialogue. Some other pointed out that though content of the training is well-designed but the Block Resource Centre (BRC) and Cluster Resource Centre (CRC) are not able to deliver it effectively. It was also pointed out that most of the trainings courses were out-dated. They were repeated time and again without much change. Some of the teachers suggested that the government should take the feedback of the teachers on training courses, and accordingly, modify the module.

In Bellary, government school teachers stated that the training provided by the government had been helpful to update their knowledge and skills. In Ghazipur, teachers stated that though such training is very crucial, there is a dire need to re-structure it. In Tamil Nadu, some of the teachers stated that sometimes the training provided by SSA and Rashtriya

Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) is not very useful. A teacher is sent just to show the compliance of the school. In contrast, in Rajasthan, teachers expressed satisfaction with the training programme.

Private school teachers are deprived of even that much of opportunity. In Tamil Nadu, some of the private schools send their teachers to attend Acquired Immuno Deficiency (AIDs) awareness programme, JRC training, etc. In Bellary, private school teachers appreciated the importance of training, but complained that they are not provided any. They expressed the need for training in grammar, computers, project works, subjects, etc. In only one private school of Bellary, teachers reported of attending some training programmes. There is also orientation programme that is held for them every year. In Ghazipur and Sikar Districts, almost all the teachers lamented that though such training is helpful, they were not provided as the school did not have resources to provide them such training. In Kanyakumari, the private school teachers stated that though training is helpful to know different teaching methods and the ways to interact with students, they are not provided with any such opportunity. In one of the private schools in Kanyakumari, teachers stated that they were receiving training in English. Motivation workshops were also organised for them.

Salary of Teachers in Government and Private Schools

There was a huge difference between the salary of government and private school teachers. A government school teacher was paid more than Rs. 30,000 on an average per month, whereas a private school teacher was paid between Rs.3,000 to 12,000. Across all the four states, the teacher's salary was reported to be high in Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, followed by Rajasthan and Karnataka. In Kanyakumari, the salary of a government school teacher was in the range of Rs.23,000 to Rs.60,000 per month. It was in the range of Rs.30,000 to Rs.60,000 in Ghazipur, Rs.30,000 to Rs.45,000 and in Sikar and Rs.18,000 to Rs.40,000 in Bellary. The contract teachers across the four states were paid between Rs.2,500 to Rs.7,000 per month. In Tamil Nadu, the contract teachers were paid even lower, just Rs.2,500 per month. In Tamil Nadu, the MDM staffs were paid higher Rs. 3500 per month that was Rs.2,000 in Rajasthan, Rs. 1,700 in Karnataka and Rs.1,000 in Uttar Pradesh.

Table 5.12: Average Gross Salary of a Teacher in Government and a Private School (in Rs.)				
Particulars	Districts			
	Bellary	Ghazipur	Kanyakumari	Sikar
	Permanent Teachers			
Average Gross Salary of qualified teachers				
Government	34600	41320	46600	40000
Private	13220	4278	6533	10770
Average Gross Salary of partially qualified teachers				
Government	NA	NA	NA	35000
Private	6417	2289	4600	11000
Average Gross Salary of unqualified teachers				
Government	NA	NA	NA	NA
Private	5375	967	NA	7000
	Contractual Teachers			
Average Gross Salary of qualified/unqualified teachers				
Government	5500	7800	7000	NA
Private	7500	NA	3750	6750
Average Gross Salary of Part-time Teachers				
Government	5500	NA	NA	NA
Private	8000	7000	7000	7000

Source: Survey.

While there was not much difference in the salary of government school teachers across all the four surveyed states, variation if any were based on allowances, there were pronounced variations in the salary of private school teachers. The variations were found not only across the states, but also across schools. In a private school, salary of a teacher depended on the resources of the school, the qualification and experience of the teacher, and some other considerations, including availability of trained teachers locally. In Tamil Nadu, even qualified and trained teachers were paid very low salary. The minimum salary of a private school teacher in Kanyakumari was Rs.2,500 that was a maximum of Rs.15,000. In a private school that caters to the rich and the middle class, a qualified new entrant, or with some experience, was paid between Rs.10,000 and Rs.15,000 in Kanyakumari; Rs.15,000 and Rs.22,000 in Sikar; Rs.11,000 to Rs.23,000 in Bellary; and Rs.7,000 to Rs.10,000 in Ghazipur. On the other hand, the salary of a teacher in a low fee private school was as low as Rs.800 in Uttar Pradesh, and between Rs.4,000 and Rs.7,000 in the other three states. Though elsewhere experienced teachers were paid relatively higher, in Tamil Nadu, even teachers with 15-20 years of experience were paid as low as Rs.4,000 per month. However, in both Bellary and Sikar, the minimum salary of a private school teacher was generally about Rs.5,000 per month. Most of the private schools do not provide social security benefits including medical leave, reimbursement, etc. In Bellary, some of the private school teachers were still happy with their low salary, as they were satisfied with the teaching job. Moreover, their main sources of income were farming and job of a teacher provided additional income.

There were some private schools in Tamil Nadu, which were struggling financially. The owner of such schools pledged jewellery and took blade loans to pay the salary of teachers. In Manihari village, teachers told that it becomes difficult for the school to pay their salaries when children don't deposit the fees on time. A teacher of a private school in Hanspur village, Sikar District, Rajasthan, stated that the private schools do not make the payment on time, and sometimes, the salary is delayed by about four to five months.

The salary of a contract teacher, whether professionally qualified or not, in both the government and private schools was not much different. The average salary of a contract teacher of a government school was between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 7000 per month that was between Rs. 3700 and Rs. 7500 in a private school

Working Condition of Teachers

The working condition of a teacher in a government and a private school varied. Government school teachers were provided with all the benefits of a government employee and that made them happy with their job. Apart from good number of holidays, fixed working hours, they were provided with various kinds of leave benefits like casual leave, earned leave, child care leave, and medical allowance, etc. While in Bellary and Kanyakumari, they were provided medical allowance, in Tamil Nadu, medical insurance cards have been provided. Social security benefits like provident fund and gratuity were other benefits provided to government school teachers. Some of the government schools have staff rooms, though in some schools it was not a separate room, but was a part of the principal's office. The best teachers of government schools are recognised and appreciated through national and state level awards. Awards are also given to schools for safe and green environment, cleanliness of the campus, etc. Government school teachers in Sikar were also provided with transportation facility. In some other places, there were residential quarters for government school teachers. It was especially found in Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhyalaya (KGBV) and other residential schools. Though in some places, best teachers are awarded cash prize by the government, the amount is mostly utilised for school development activities.

Table 5.13: Benefits available to Teachers in Government and Private Schools (In %)										
District	Social Security Benefit like GPF, gratuity	Medical allowance	Leave benefits	Insurance benefits	Extra monetary benefit based on performance	Awards and recognition	Transportation facilities from school	Residential Quarters	Staff room	Refreshment facilities
Government										
Bellary	80.00	100.00	100.00	60.00	0.00	80.00	0.00	0.00	60.00	0.00
Ghazipur	75.00	75.00	100.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	75.00	75.00	25.00
Kanyakumari	100.00	100.00	100.00	75.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	75.00
Sikar	50.00	83.33	100.00	66.67	0.00	50.00	33.33	83.33	83.33	50.00
Total	73.68	89.47	100.00	57.89	0.00	47.37	10.53	42.11	68.42	36.84
Private										
Bellary	6.67	6.67	100.00	0.00	33.33	60.00	40.00	33.33	73.33	60.00
Ghazipur	0.00	12.50	68.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	56.25	62.50
Kanyakumari	66.67	16.67	91.67	8.33	8.33	33.33	83.33	25.00	83.33	58.33
Sikar	0.00	6.67	100.00	0.00	20.00	53.33	40.00	6.67	60.00	86.67
Total	15.52	10.34	89.66	1.72	15.52	36.21	41.38	15.52	67.24	67.24

Source: Survey.

While in private schools, such benefits varied from school to school, leave benefit was the most common that was reported by more than 90 per cent of the teachers in Bellary, Sikar and Kanyakumari Districts. But even the leave benefits were not at par with those enjoyed by government school teachers. Availability of refreshment and staff room was also found in some private schools. Transportation was a common facility that was available for the teachers of private schools and was found in Kanyakumari, Bellary and Sikar Districts. In one of the schools in Bellary, teachers were provided with reimbursement of transport if using personal vehicle. In Bellary and Sikar, some of the teachers received awards and recognitions by the school for their good performance, which served as a great motivating factor for them, as reported by the teachers themselves. Some of the teachers also told that they got monetary benefits for good performance. In some schools there was even variation in the salary, based on the performance. Residential facility was provided in Bellary and Kanyakumari, but this was mostly found in residential schools. However, benefits such as provident fund, gratuity, pension, insurance and medical benefits were hardly available to private school teachers. Some of the teachers of Christian missionary schools in Tamil Nadu were provided with social security benefits. Insurance benefits were also given by some schools.

In terms of leave benefits, the government school teachers were entitled to various kinds of leaves such as earned leave, casual leave, medical leave, child care leave, maternity and paternity leave. While the provision of child care leave was found only in Kanyakumari, paternity leave was found only in Bellary.

Table 5.14: Availability of Leave Benefits for Government and Private School Teachers (In %)						
District	Earned Leave	Casual Leave	Medical Leave	Child care Leave	Maternity Leave	Paternity Leave
Government						
Bellary	100.00	100.00	80.00	0.00	100.00	60.00
Ghazipur	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00
Kanyakumari	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
Sikar	16.67	100.00	83.33	0.00	50.00	0.00
Total	73.68	100.00	89.47	21.05	84.21	15.79
Private-Unaided						
Bellary	6.67	100.00	60.00	13.33	80.00	20.00
Ghazipur	6.25	12.50	56.25	0.00	12.50	0.00
Kanyakumari	16.67	83.33	16.67	8.33	41.67	0.00
Sikar	6.67	100.00	6.67	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	8.62	72.41	36.21	5.17	32.76	5.17

Source: Survey.

The provision of casual leave was there in private schools across the states, other leaves varied from one to another state. In a private school in Manihari village, Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh, leaves were not easily granted. In Sikar, while most of the private school teachers received one day off in a month that was treated as their casual leave. If it was not availed by the teacher, it was not carried forward to the next month. Medical leave was available but generally without pay. There was separate medical leave. Child care and paternity leave were provided in Bellary, but only by one or two of the private schools. The provision of maternity leave is there, but various conditions are attached for availing it. While in government schools, 6 months of maternity leave with pay was granted that was not the case in private schools. In a private school in Munchirai, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, teachers were given seven days of casual leaves per year and only 7 days of maternity leave. In a private school of Bellary District, maternity leave with pay was given to regular teachers. In one of the private schools of Tamil Nadu, maternity leave was not granted at all. The general norms are three months of maternity leave without pay. However, some teachers are provided three months leave with pay; some with six months to one year of leave, with or without pay, depending upon their relation with the school management. In one of the private schools of Tamil Nadu, the teachers were provided child care leave for a maximum period of 10 days and maternity leave for three months without pay. In another private school, teachers were provided one week of maternity leave. In one of the schools, teachers were provided maternity leave without pay for one year.

Private school teachers were provided with some other benefits. A private school teacher in Bishunpur village, Uttar Pradesh, stated that free education is provided to the wards of the teacher. This was also reported by the teachers of a private school in Kurugodu village,

Bellary District, Karnataka. Some of the schools also offered festival bonus that depended on the number of students that a teacher brings in the school in a year.

In Shri Madhopur, Sikar, Rajasthan, FGD with teachers revealed that they are harassed and sometimes they are removed immediately on petty issues. In Bharni village of Sikar, it was reported by the school teachers that job security is not there. In Bellary, private school teachers were given 50 per cent concession in fees and transport for their children. In one of the government schools, the headmaster allowed female teachers to bring their babies (6 months to 3 years) to school, which was a major relief for them.

Concerns of Teachers

Most of the private school teachers expressed their wish to secure a government job that is stable, with job security and decent pay scale. In Rajasthan, some of the very senior and experienced private school teachers stated that though they were happy with the teaching profession, they were dissatisfied over the salary and working conditions. Their salary that is less than Rs.10000 per month was too low to sustain a household. Some of them took odd part-time jobs to supplement their meagre income. One of the teachers, working in a private school, in Mankadu village, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, stated that she is in this school for about 13 years and there is always an overload of work. Teachers are permitted only 3 days leave in 3 months. There is work overload, with very less salary and long work hours. The school management pressurises them to show good results so as to improve the school reputation, apparently to attract more children. They mentioned that they cannot leave the job due to their family conditions. Some of the teachers of Kanyakumari highlighted that though the school management collects exorbitant fees, they are not paid properly. They demanded that the government should intervene and raise the standards in all private schools, including regulate fee and service condition of teachers.

During FGD with the teachers of Mankudu village, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, they stated: “Government schools should be strengthened and provision should be made for spoken English, good quality education, written English, personality development, computer labs, library, proper school building, drinking water, separate toilets for girls and boys, playground, extracurricular activities, etc. If such provisions are made available, more number of students will study in government schools. This will also create more job opportunities for teachers and provide good opportunities to trained educated youths to join

the teaching profession, with secured job, proper salary and proper with medical facility, and leave benefits”.

Some Inferences on Government and Private Schools

The perception that private schools provide good and quality education has taken a deep root in the society, including in rural areas of the country. This perception has been built over a period of time in which some surveys showing government schools performing poor have played an important role. However, a closer examination of the reality on the ground shows that the majority of government schools are as good, or even better, in many respects than the majority of private schools, especially low fee private schools. Government schools in general have advantage over the majority of private schools, with respect to permanent and professionally qualified and trained teachers and school infrastructure. Nonetheless, private schools have successfully projected them as equipped with better infrastructural facilities and market it as their strength to attract parents, especially the poor and low and middle income groups.

Many of the low-fee-private schools were operating in a space which is less than 2000 square feet. As noted in Bellary, Ghazipur and Sikar, some of the private schools were operating from the houses of the owners, without adequate facilities such as toilet for boys and girls, drinking water, playground, additional classrooms, etc. Some of these schools were functioning from kutcha buildings. While in Tamil Nadu, most of these schools were having pucca and proper buildings, more than 45 per cent of such schools each in Sikar and Ghazipur were functioning from semi-pucca or kutcha buildings. On the whole, more than half of the low fee private schools, not only lagged behind the government schools in terms of the infrastructural facilities, but were quite poor in infrastructural.

Private schools attract parents through some external fringes. They try to showcase their infrastructure, computer lab, library, playground, etc. They also try to attract parents by better upkeep of buildings, school buses, cleanliness of classrooms, toilets, water facilities, etc. No doubt, many of the private schools do have better infrastructural facilities and better upkeep of these facilities, there are many who are poorer than government schools in providing such facilities. The government schools lag behind as they are not provided with fund and manpower for such facilities, whereas private schools spend a considerable amount of their budget on such facilities.

English medium instruction in private schools is a major attraction for parents, especially for the poor and low income groups. However, in reality, most of the private schools are not English medium. Some of them even do not have qualified teachers to teach English properly. Some of the schools manifest such nature through catchy names and by adding the term 'public school' that, in popular imagination, is linked to elite English medium school. Some of these private schools use names like Global Academy, Euro Kids, etc. that imaginatively links these schools to the Western world and showcase the parents that these schools have natural affinity with the English world. Some of these schools insist on rote learning of some commonly used English phrases, and strictly insist for their utterances during the school hours. In some of the places, government schools too have started giving English medium instruction, to meet the increasing demand for and preference of the parents. They charge special fees for providing English medium instruction.

While the government schools provide admission on the first come first serve basis, private schools apply various criteria like entrance test, interview, donation, education, occupation and income levels of parents, and some other such considerations. Thus, government schools are open to all, private schools are selective, and sometimes discriminatory as well.

Private schools adopt various types of marketing strategies to increase enrolment or boost popularity of the school, whereas government schools are not able to do so. Government schools do practice enrolment drive, door-to-door campaign. Private schools advertise through newspapers, TVs and huge hoardings, etc.

Government schools were equipped with the basic learning infrastructure, such as availability of teaching learning materials (TLMs), library, etc. which are required as per the RTE norms. Some of the government schools, with the help of local NGOs and industries, have also made arrangements for computer labs, smart classrooms, etc. While the elite private schools have good learning infrastructure, the same was not the case in the low-fee-private schools. Government schools of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu practice play-way methods, such methods were not found in other places.

Most of the teachers in government schools were qualified. In contrast, in private schools, qualified teachers were not in that number except in Kanyakumari. In some of the private schools, even 12th pass-outs were appointed as teachers. This practice was found especially in Uttar Pradesh. Moreover, some of the teachers of the private schools, do not see a career in

teaching and just consider it is a stop gap arrangement till they get some other more secured and better paid jobs.

Thus, government schools are better placed in terms of infrastructure, teachers, and working conditions, yet private schools have been more successful in attracting students and parents, largely based on publicity and image building. Private schools have the flexibility to spend on advertisement and publicity forms a major plank of their marketing strategy, whereas government schools are constrained to do so. Moreover, the image-building exercise of private schools has been facilitated by private agencies-sponsored surveys that invariably show them as better performers, compared to government schools. This has also helped in building popular perception that private schools are providers of good quality education.

In government schools, teachers are selected based on competition, private schools do not select based on open competition. Most of the private schools teacher are low paid and keep looking for some jobs due to poor salary and service conditions. This was especially found in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Private school teachers in general were having low motivation levels, compared to their government school counterparts, largely because of low pay and poor service conditions. Some of the private school owners consider schools as a family business and the family members are employed as teachers and staff.

Government schools have the problem of multiple vacancies of teachers and lack of administrative/support administrative staff, particularly at primary and upper primary levels. Due to the inadequacy of teaching and non-teaching staff, government school teachers are made to teach multiple subjects at multiple grades. In addition, they are often called in for non-teaching works, such as supervision of MDM, maintenance of school records, etc. They are also assigned administrative duties outside the school for purposes like census survey electoral roll, voter Id, AADHAR, etc.

Working conditions of teachers of private schools in general are poor. Private school teachers are also deprived in terms of leave, social security, tenorial security and other such benefits facilities. Because of the poor working conditions, the rate of attrition in private school is quite high.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Education is a great leveller (Tilak, 2017) and a source of social and economic mobility (Beteille, 2008). It provides opportunity to the backward and underprivileged classes to improve their conditions (NEP, 1968). It has intrinsic and instrumental importance for individual (Dreze and Sen, 2002). Its social role transcends its significance from a private to public goods.

Given the significance of education, there is a public provisioning of education in most of the countries of the world; India is no exception to that. Moreover, India has a unique position in the sense that the right to education of 6-14 year children is part of specially charter list of fundamental rights under Part III of the Constitution. There is also a special law that is RTE Act, 2009, to ensure that the right to education is effectively delivered to the target population.

It has been more than a decade since this act was implemented, and yet, there are glaring shortcomings in its implementation that infringes the right to education and restricts the goal of achieving universal free elementary education. While there are issues with the implementation of the RTE Act, a more serious challenge emerges from policy level attack on the public provisioning of education and ground level upsurge in private providers of education. The two are inter-related as well.

Philanthropic private players have been allowed to supplement the efforts of the government in providing school education since the pre-Independence period. However, the recent shift from philanthropic to business centric private providers of school education is bound to have serious adverse implications. It curtails the right to education of those who are not able to afford it and yet they have no option. In the long term, it has more serious consequences. It might increase socio-economic inequality.

While in the immediate decades after Independence, the government played a dominant role in establishing new schools, there has been a decline in the role of the government in recent decades. A crude indicator is declining share of government in total elementary schools. Though government schools still dominate in number, private schools have increased its number and intake of students. As a result of increasing number, the share of private in total

elementary schools has increased. The increase is more in terms of intake of student. Moreover, the proportion of elementary school children enrolled in private schools is greater than the share of the private schools in the total number of schools. The proportion of private and government schools vary across states. There are states with much greater proportion of private schools and children enrolled there.

The expansion in the private school has taken place mostly in the segment of low-fee-private schools, invariably driven by commercial interest. Their main target is poor and low income households, most of them find it difficult to afford the expenses of private schools, and yet, have been the main constituency of the expansion of private schools. Their aspiration for the mobility of the next generation is their main drive that market-driven private schools have encashed through a careful strategy of image-building and by projecting them as a better alternative than government schools. This image-building exercise of private schools has been facilitated by surveys that invariably show government schools performing poorer than their private counterparts.

This sweeping generalisation about private and government schools is however flawed. For, there are pronounced variations in government and private schools, much greater in the latter. This methodological nuance is unintelligible to the common people who are swept away by a very obvious and direct comparison of results of government and private schools.

The majority of low-fee-private schools are poorer than the majority of government schools in terms of infrastructural facilities and the number and quality of teachers, yet this aspect is conveniently camouflaged under the pass percentage and learning levels. These surveys have influenced people's perception about government and private schools.

The craze for private schools is widespread across social, educational, income and occupational categories, the barrier is affordability. Compared to government schools, private schools are costly; more so for the poor and low income groups for whom the opportunity cost of private school education is much higher.

The major issue with private schools is differential access based on caste, class and gender. The chance of boys, irrespective of caste-class positions, attending private schools is higher. Similarly, the chance of upper caste and upper class children both boys and girls attending private schools is higher. Educated parents are more likely to send their wards to private

schools. Occupation categories of the parents have also some bearing on the chance of their children attending government and private schools.

Income level of parents plays an important role in determining the choice of school for their children. Most of the parents with high and middle-income levels are able to access private schools, with English medium instruction, and having facilities such as smart boards, extra-curricular activities, yoga, computer-aided learning, sports (volley ball, football, cricket), swimming, games, project work, robotics classes, etc. On the other hand, poor and low income group parents are able to access low-fee-private schools, which lack on infrastructural facilities and qualified teachers. This creates a divide between low and high income groups in accessing two types of private schools, and hence, two types of education systems.

There are still some parents who opt for government schools. The main reason for this is their inability to pay the fees and other expenses of private schools. Some of such parents after trying private schools shift their wards from private to government schools. This trend of parents shifting their wards from private to government schools is in greater intensity than the trend of parents shifting their wards from government to private schools.

A major disadvantage of private schools is that they create entry level barriers. While the government schools provide admission on the first come first serve basis, private schools apply various criteria like entrance test, interview, donation, education, occupation and income levels of parents, and some other such considerations. Thus, government schools are open to all, private schools are selective, and sometimes discriminatory as well. The RTE Act provides for free seats to EWS category children in private schools. However, the implementation of this provision is weak. Some private schools give admission to EWS children, but charge for various items other than tuition fees that practically defeat the purpose of the provision. Some of the private schools also collect about half of the school-fee amount from the EWS children. Some of them outrightly deny access to EWS children to maintain their elite status.

It is apprehended that with the declining number of government and increasing number of private schools, a large number of SC and ST and girls would be dropped out of school. Perhaps, it may lead to a situation like that of Haiti, Ghana and other countries where high level of privatisation and high fees charged by private schools have driven a large number of children out of schools. Singh (2015) has highlighted this phenomenon with respect to Ghana

and Eckert (2014) with respect to Haiti. In Haiti, the majority of primary level aged children have no school to go, simply because of the lack of means to pay for private schools. Finally, it may lead to a situation of increasing educational inequality in society that may create divide based on the types of schooling.

Parental preference for the types of school for their wards are influenced by various factors, such as their own socio-economic backgrounds, occupational and educational levels, the value of education, their perception about government and private schools, among others. Parents with high aspirations for their children regard private schools as capable to meet their aspirations. This notion that private schools are better placed to fulfil their aspirations has driven rich and poor alike towards private schools. Parents belonging to high and middle income groups are able to meet the expenses of private schools easily, but those belonging to low income groups face financial difficulties. Hence, they adopt various strategies like fee-bargaining, fee-jumping and shift from one to another school.

As a result of market oriented demand supply approach, school education has been reduced from a public to private goods. Parents are customers and schools are market. If parental choice is allowed to have its way, as market apparently operates, it is equally important that parents are well informed of the available options and are able to make a proper assessment of what education is all about. On the contrary, our findings suggest that parental preferences for specific schools are not always backed by correct information and proper understanding and assessment of learning outcome. Very often, school choice is determined by the popularity of a school in the neighbourhood, the feel of pride in sending wards to private schools, catchy advertisements of private schools that propagate their achievements like good pass percentage in board results, smart manners of children, English speaking ability, computer classes, etc.

Parental choice, if allowed to have a dominant role in the society, then there is a concern for equity. All of them are not capable to meet expenses of private schools. Thus, as noted by Hirschman (1978), school choice creates inequality in access. Further, the option of exit has serious consequences such as 'ghettoisation' in the conditions of those left behind in certain types of schools, say government (p.96). In addition, parental preference, based on differential socio-economic status entrench caste-class and rich-poor divide in accessing education, that aggravates social inequality and widens the social divide.

The market has created segmented school education systems to cater to the demand from different sections, depending on their paying capacity. While there is not much difference between the elite and other private schools, there is a huge difference between the elite and low-fee-private schools. Moreover, as highlighted by Dasgupta (2011), sometimes parents have to choose between two bad options only.

To ensure that market does not have a free play in school education, as there are various adverse consequences of such policy, the state must take the full responsibility of providing universal elementary education in letter and spirit. Otherwise, a dual-track education system in which traditionally excluded castes and classes are able to access only the low quality school education, may aggravate the existing socio-economic inequality further (Jha et al. 2008). Moreover, as argued by Fennell (2007), if school education is sold as a commodity based on the paying capacity, it will have long term and adverse socio-economic impacts on the society.

There are social and other costs of private education. Private schools create a class division. There are different types of private schools that cater to different classes of parents. There are elite and low cost private schools based on their paying ability. Access to private schools is graded according to the paying capacity of parents. For the different sections of the society, there are different types of schools. Privatisation affects universalisation of equal education. Private schools are hierarchical. The fees and other expenses charged by private schools are beyond the means of a large number of poor and low income parents. Yet, due to social pressure, status symbol, and own aspiration even low income parents enrol their children in private schools. Being unable to pay the fees they discontinue their wards and often shift them to government schools. That creates a kind of disruption in the education of such children.

Many of the poor households are meeting expenses of private schools by cutting expenditure on necessary items; many of them are borrowing money; and yet many others are selling household assets, mainly jewellery. But for school expenditure, these households would have utilised this money for meeting basic needs of the life, making savings for future productive investments, and for their economic mobility. They are deprived of this opportunity because of the cost of private education.

The perception that private schools provide good and quality education has taken a deep root in the society, including in rural areas of the country. This perception has been built over a period of time in which surveys showing government schools performing poor than their private counterparts have played an important role. However, a closer examination of the reality on the ground shows that the majority of government schools are as good, or even better, in many respects than the majority of private, especially low-fee-private schools. Government schools in general have advantage over the majority of private schools, with respect to permanent and professionally qualified teachers and infrastructural facilities. Nonetheless, private schools have successfully projected them as equipped with better infrastructural facilities and market it as their strength to attract parents, especially the poor and low and middle income groups.

Private schools attract parents through some external fringes as well. They try to showcase their infrastructure, computer lab, library, playground, etc. They also try to attract parents by better upkeep of buildings, school buses, cleanliness of classrooms, toilets, water and other facilities. No doubt, many of the private schools do have good infrastructural facilities and better upkeep of these facilities, there are many who lack infrastructural facilities and have poor upkeep. Government schools lag behind in upkeep as they are not provided with fund and manpower for such facilities, whereas private schools spend a considerable amount of their budget on such facilities.

Private schools adopt various types of marketing strategies to increase enrolment or boost popularity of the school, whereas government schools are not able to do so. Private schools advertise through newspapers, televisions and huge hoardings, etc. Government schools do practice enrolment drive, door-to-door campaign, but have no provision or resources to give publicity to their achievements.

Government schools are equipped with the basic learning infrastructure, such as the availability of teaching learning materials (TLMs), library, etc. which are required as per the RTE norms. Some of the government schools, with the help of local NGOs and industries, have also made arrangements for computer labs, smart classrooms, etc. While the elite private schools have good learning infrastructure, the same was not the case in the low-fee-private schools.

Government schools are better positioned in terms of qualified teachers. In some of the private schools, even 12th pass-outs are appointed as teachers. Moreover, some of the teachers of the private schools do not see a career in teaching and just consider it as a stop-gap arrangement till they get some other more secured and better paid jobs. Working conditions of teachers of private schools in general are poor. They are deprived of leave, social security, tenurial security and other such benefits. Because of the poor working conditions, the rate of attrition in private schools is quite high, with impact on learning level and educational outcome.

Government schools are better placed in terms of infrastructure, teachers, and working conditions, yet private schools have been more successful in attracting students and parents, largely based on publicity and image building. Private schools have the flexibility to spend on advertisement, and publicity forms a major plank of their marketing strategy, whereas government schools are constrained to do so. The image-building exercise of private schools has been facilitated by some surveys that invariably show them as better performers, compared to government schools. This has also helped in building popular perception that private schools are providers of good quality education.

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Household Listing 2017

REACH AND ROLE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

State : _____

District: _____

Block: _____

Cluster : _____

Village : _____

S.No.	Name of Head of the Household	No. of members in the family	Religion (Hindu-1, Muslim-2, Christian-3, Sikh-4, Parsi-5, Jain-6, budhist-7, Others-8 (specify.....))	Caste (SC-1, ST-2, OBC-3, General-4, Others- (specify)-5)	Land in Acres	Number of School going Children (class I to VIII)				Annual Income from all sources (< 50000-1; 50000 to 1lakh-2; 1 to 2 lakh-3; 2 to 4 lakh-4; Above 4 lakh-5)	No. of out of school children (6-14 years)	
						Girl		Boy			Girl	Boy
						Govt	Pvt	Govt	Pvt			
1.												
2.												
3.												
4.												
5.												
6.												
7.												
8.												
9.												
10.												
11.												
12.												
13.												
14.												
15.												

*Unmarried-1, Married-2, Widow/widower-3, Divorced/separated-4, others (specify)-5 _____
 # Illiterate-1; primary education-2, Elementary education-3, Secondary-4, Higher Secondary-5, Graduation-6, Post-Graduation-7, others-9, if 9 mention _____
 \$ Govt. job=1, Salaried-2, agriculture (own) - 3, casual labour in agricultural work=4, casual labour in non-agricultural work =5, homemaker-6, pensioner-7, too young/too old to work - 8, others – 9 (specify) _____
 @ Resident-1; Temporary (short term) migrant (approx. 3 to 8 months out)-2; Long term migrant (out for 9 or more months)-3; Daily Commuters-4

4. Education Profile of Children in School-Going Age(Standard I to VIII)

S. No.	Edu. Status!!	Gender (F/M)	Type of School presently attending*	Type of School previously attended*	Reason for shifting from previous school (if applicable)++	Reason for present school choice**	Process of admission #	Distance of school from home@	Medium of Instruction \$	Mode of transportation {}	In case of drop out	
											Last class attended!!	Reasons for drop out++

!!Class I=1, Class II-2, Class III-3, Class IV-4, Class V-5, Class VI-6, Class VII-7, Class VIII-8, never enrolled-9, attended and dropped =10

* Government -1, Govt-Aided-2, Private-3, Madarsa-4, Non-formal-5, Others (specify)- 7 _____

++ Distance – 1, poor infrastructure – 2, poor teaching – 3, high fee – 4, shifted home – 5, financial burden – 6, safety issue – 7, to support family – 8, Others – 9 (specify) _____

**Good quality-1, English medium-2, low fee-3, good infrastructure-4, good teachers-5, free education-6, close accessibility – 7, extra-curricular activities in school – 8, brand value of school – 9, discipline & moral values – 10, safety – 11, healthy peer group – 12, others-13(specify) _____

#Got admission easily-1, Paid donation-2, Staff child-3, through canvassing/approach/influenc-4, others(specify)-5 _____

@ < 1km-1, 1km-2kms-2, 2kms-5kms-3, 5kms-10kms-4, >10kms-5

\$ English-1, hindi-2, regional-3 _____, others-4 _____

5. Sources of Income (2014-2015)

S. No.	Source	Monthly Income (Rs.)	Annual Income (Rs.)
	Agricultural Income		
	Animal husbandry		
	Artisan work		
	Trade/Self Employment/Business		
	Manufacturing other than artisan		
	Agricultural wages		
	Non-agricultural wages		
	Traditional Services (repair, maintenance, caste based occupation, carpentry, blacksmith, etc.)		
	Salaried jobs		
	Interest		
	Remittances from other family member		
	Pension		

	Rent		
	Urban Services (Newspaper vendor, Plumbing, Electrician, Gardener, others)		
	Others (specify)		
	Others (specify)		

6. Detail of Educational Expenditure

Child 1				
Expense	Particulars of expenses	Monthly (Rs.)	Quarterly (Rs.)	Annually (Rs.)
Fees	School Fees			
	Private Tuition fees			
	Development Fees			
	Transportation			
	Welfare Fees			
	Others			
	Others			
Other Expenses	Uniform			
	Books			
	Stationary			
	Picnic/tour			
	Workshop			
	Sports			
	Other			
	Other			
	How do you meet expenditure of school education (own income is sufficient – 1, sell asset – 2, borrow money – 3, past savings – 4, funded by a family member – 5, mortgage jewellery – 6)			

Child 2				
Expense	Particulars of expenses	Monthly (Rs.)	Quarterly (Rs.)	Annually (Rs.)
Fees	School Fees			
	Private Tuition fees			
	Development Fees			
	Transportation			
	Welfare Fees			
	Others			
	Others			
Other Expenses	Uniform			
	Books			
	Stationary			
	Picnic/tour			
	Workshop			
	Sports			
	Other			
	Other			
	How do you meet expenditure of school education (own income is sufficient – 1, sell asset – 2, borrow money – 3, past savings – 4, funded by a family member – 5, mortgage jewellery – 6)			

Child 3				
Expense	Particulars of expenses	Monthly (Rs.)	Quarterly (Rs.)	Annually (Rs.)
Fees	School Fees			
	Private Tuition fees			
	Development Fees			
	Transportation			
	Welfare Fees			
	Others			
	Others			
Other Expenses	Uniform			
	Books			
	Stationary			
	Picnic/tour			
	Workshop			
	Sports			
	Other			
	Other			
	Other			
	How do you meet expenditure of school education (own income is sufficient – 1, sell asset – 2, borrow money – 3, past savings – 4, funded by a family member – 5, mortgage jewellery – 6)			

7. Satisfaction Level of Parents

S. No.	Items	Responses
	Why don't you send your child to government school (distance=1, no learning=2, societal aspect=3, personality development=4, command over English=5, bright future=6, others=7(specify	
	What motivated you to select this particular school (brand name of the school=1, bright career=2, good infrastructure=3, good learning outcome=4, status=5, distance=6, environment/safety=7, others=8 (specify)	

Other related factors:

S.No.	Items	S1#	S2#
	General:		
	Spoken English		
	Written English		
	Personality development		
	Discipline and Moral Values		
	Subject Knowledge		
	Extra-curricular activities		
	Safety		
	Proper assessment of child's performance		
	Satisfaction with school accountability		
	Infrastructure:		
	Transportation		
	Clean Toilets		
	Safe Drinking Water		
	Playground		
	Learning Infrastructure:		

	Computer		
	Lab facilities		
	Library		
	Sports equipment		
	Approachability of Teachers		
	Teaching Practice		
	Learning of the students		
# Very good – 1, Good – 2, Average – 3, Bad – 4, Very bad – 5, Don't Know - 6			

7. Involvement of Parents in Education of the Child

S. No	Particulars	Pls. tick the appropriate box		
		Always	some times	Never
	Does school permit you to interact with teachers freely			
	Do the grievances gets resolved			
	Do you help your child in her/his homework			
	Issues that you discuss with teachers?			
	Do you send your children to private tuitions? (Yes=1/No=2)			

8. Issues of Exclusion

S. No	Particulars	Response
	Have you faced harassment in school (Yes=1, No=2) If yes, what was it related too (delay in fees=1, due to child behaviour=2, quality of food related=3, economic status of the family=4, others=5 (specify))	
	Have you come across any incident of discrimination related to your child? (Yes-1, No-2)	
	If yes, grounds of discrimination: (caste-1, religion-2, gender-3, EWS-4, Others-4)	
	What is the impact of discrimination? (Lack of confidence-1, Distortion in personality-2, Poor concentration-3, Others-4 _____)	

REACH AND ROLE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

School Schedule 2017

Government

Private-Unaided

1. Identification

1.1 School Name: _____

1.2 Village/Location: _____; 1.3 Block: _____

1.4 District: _____; 1.5 State: _____

2. Basic Details

S. No	Particulars	Response
	Name of the Respondent (Principal/Head Master)	
	Gender of the Respondent (M-1, F-2)	
	Affiliation (State board – 1, CBSE – 2, ICSE – 3, NIOS – 4, Madarasa-5, None – 6, Others –7 (specify)_____	
	Establishment Year	
	Affiliation year	
	Vision of the School	
	Medium of Instruction as per affiliation (Hindi – 1, English – 2, Tamil-3, Kannad-4, Other-5, (specify)	
	Medium of instruction (in practice) as followed in school(specify)	
	Curriculum followed in the school (State board – 1, CBSE – 2, International board – 3, NIOS – 4, ICSE - 5, Own curriculum – 6, Madarsa – 7, Others – 8 (specify)_____	

3. Selection Criteria for Admission of Students

	Items	Responses
	3.1 School Norms for Admission	
	i. First come first serve basis	
	ii. Entrance test	
	iii. Merit/marks obtained in previous school	
	iv. Religious minority	
	v. Reservation on the basis of caste	
	vi. Reservation for EWS	
	3.2 Other Criteria considered for admission of students:	

	i. Weightage to parent who is a teacher/staff of the school	
	ii. Weightage to girl child	
	iii. Donation	
	iv. Educational Background of Parents	
	v. Occupation of Parents	
	vi. Income level of parents	
	vii. Parent, an alumni of the school	
	viii. Distance from home	
	ix. Prior presence of sibling in the school	
	Any Other (specify)	

4. Enrolment in the School

S.No.	Items	Responses
	Do you get students transferred from government schools? If yes, mention the approx. number of students enrolled from government schools in the last year	
	Does the school take any special initiative to enrol/attract students? If yes, mention the initiatives taken:	

5. Fee Structure

5.1 Fee Structure for Primary Class Student

Expense	Particulars of expenses	Monthly (Rs.)	Quarterly (Rs.)	Annually (Rs.)
Fees	School Fees			
	Private Tuition fees			
	Development Fees			
	Transportation			
	Welfare Fees			
	Others			
	Others			
Other Expenses	Uniform			
	Books			
	Stationary			
	Picnic/tour			
	Workshop			
	Sports			
	Other			
	Other			
Method of fee collection (monthly – 1, quarterly – 2, once in 6 months – 3, once in a year – 4, in advance-5)				
Is there change in fee structure every year? If yes, how much is the increase (in rupees or in percentage)				

5.2 Fee Structure for Upper Primary Class Student

Expense	Particulars of expenses	Monthly (Rs.)	Quarterly (Rs.)	Annually (Rs.)
Fees	School Fees			
	Private Tuition fees			
	Development Fees			
	Transportation			
	Welfare Fees			
	Others			
	Others			
Other Expenses	Uniform			
	Books			
	Stationary			
	Picnic/tour			
	Workshop			
	Sports			
	Other			
	Other			
	Other			
Method of fee collection (monthly – 1, quarterly – 2, once in 6 months – 3, once in a year – 4, in advance-5)				
Is there change in fee structure every year? If yes, how much is the increase (in rupees or in percentage)				

6. Details of Teaching and Non-Teaching Staff

S.No	Particulars	Female	Male	Gross Salary paid/month
	Details of Full time (permanent) Teachers (Total):			
	Number of teachers with professional qualification & training			
	Number of teachers with only professional qualification			
	Number of teachers with only training			
	Number of teachers without professional qualification & training			
	Essential qualification stipulated for primary school teachers:			
	Essential Qualification stipulated for upper primary school teachers:			
	Contractual Teachers (Total)			
	Number of teachers with professional qualification & training			
	Number of teachers with only professional qualification			
	Number of teachers with only training			
	Number of teachers without professional qualification & training			
	Essential qualification stipulated for primary school teachers:			
	Essential Qualification stipulated for upper primary school teachers:			

Non-Teaching Staff				
	Total Strength of Non-Teaching Staff			
	i. Staff for Administrative Assistance			
	ii. Staff for Finance and Accounts			
	iii. Clerical Staff			
	iv. Staff for maintenance of cleanliness			
	v. Others			

7. School Initiative to meet Expectation of Parents (Accountability of school)

S.No	Items	Response
	What extra initiatives you take to attract the parents (specify)	
	Is there a Parent-Teachers Meet in the School? (Yes-1/No-2)	
	If yes, how frequently PTMs are held? (Monthly once – 1; quarterly – 2; once in 6 months – 3; once a year – 4; Others – 5_____)	
	What is your opinion on the participation level of majority of parents in PTM? (very active – 1; active – 2; inactive – 3)	
	Does the school engage in constant communication with parents? (Yes/No)	
	If yes, how? (every day update in diary – 1; circular every week – 2; update through mail – 3; SMS alert - ; none – 4; others – 5_____)	
	Measures taken to ensure the following:	
1.	To ensure Safety	
2.	To provide scholarship	
3.	School Infrastructure	
4.	Learning level of children	
5.	Extra-curricular Activities	
6.	Discipline and Moral Values	

8. Check List on School Infrastructure

S.No	Items	Response
	Area of the School (<1000 sq. feet – 1, 1000 – 2000 sq. feet – 2, 2000 – 3000 sq. feet – 3, 3000 – 4000 sq. feet – 5, 4000 – 5000 sq. feet – 6, 5000 to 8000 sq. feet – 7, 8000 – 10000 sq. feet – 8, > 10000 sq. feet – 9)	
	Status of School Building (Own – 1; Rented – 2; Others – 3_____)	
	Type of School Building (pucca – 1, semi-pucca – 2, kutcha – 3, thatched – 4, others (specify) - 5)	
	Availability of Boundary Wall in school (Y/N)	
	Sufficient number of classrooms (Y/N)	
	Office-cum-Store-cum-Head teachers room (Y/N)	
	Staff Room for teachers (Y/N)	
	Drinking Water (Y/N)	
	Availability of separate toilet for boys and girls (Y/N)	

	Regular cleaning of toilets	
	Kitchen Shed (Y/N)	
	Playground (Y/N)	
	Availability of play material, sports equipment and games (Y/N)	
	Library (Y/N)	
	What all are available in the library:	Newspaper
		Magazines
		Subject books
		Story books
		Others
	Availability of Computer room and computers (Y/N)	
	Disabled friendly infrastructure – ramps (Y/N)	

REACH AND ROLE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Teachers Schedule 2017: FGD

Schedule No. _____

Government School

Private School

1.2 Total Teachers participated in FGD: _____; Male: _____; Female: _____

1.3 Village: _____; 1.2 Block: _____

1.4 District: _____; 1.4 State: _____

1. Recruitment Process

S. No	Items
1.	What is the practice of recruitment in the school (through reference – 1, merit – 2, preference to family member – 3, others – 4 (specify) _____)
2.	How did you come to know about the vacancy in this school?
3.	What is the nature of your appointment? (Permanent-1, long term contract – 2, short term contract – 3, any other-4(specify)_____)

2. Teaching Process

S. No	Items
1.	Do you teach multiple subjects? If yes what all do you teach? (to be asked from primary class teacher)
2.	Do you teach both primary and upper primary classes? If yes, what all classes do you teach?

3. Work Load

S. No	Items
1.	How many hours do you spend in the school per day?

2.	Do you have rest hour per day?
3.	What are the non-teaching activities that you do in school?
4.	How many hours do you spend on non-teaching activities per day
5.	Does the school involve you in child mobilization activities like enrolment campaign/drive etc.

4. Satisfaction level of teachers

S. No	Items	Responses (tick where applicable)
1.	Are you happy as a teacher (Yes/No)	
2.	Is teaching your preferred job or are you looking for a job change? If looking for change, specify the reasons behind:	
3.	How do you get your salary (Pay scale or consolidated)	
4.	Do you get the following benefits: (Yes – 1, No – 2)	
	(i) Social Security Benefit like GPF, pension	
	(ii) Medical allowance	
	(iii) Leave benefits	
	(iv) Insurance benefits	
	(v) Extra monetary benefit based on performance	
	(vi) Awards and recognition	
	(vii) Transportation facilities from school	
	(viii) Residential facilities from school	
	(ix) Staff room in school	
	(x) Refreshment facilities for teachers	
	(xi) Others _____	
5.	Is there any grievance redressal mechanism available for teachers? (Yes – 1, No – 2)	
6.	Will you join Government schools (if given a chance)? If yes, why	
7.	Does any teacher in your schools enjoy more benefits than other teachers? If yes, what benefits (monetary or non-monetary) and why it is so:	
8.	Do you face any difficulty in getting leaves	
9.	What type of leaves do you get	
	EL	
	CL	
	Medical	

	Child care	
	Maternity	
	Others (specify)	

5. Teaching

S. No	Items	Responses (Yes/No)
1.	Are you sent for any special training	
2.	Do you get books/stationary for your own use	
3.	Are you happy with:	
	(i) library facility of the school	
	(ii) work environment	
	(iii) Teaching practice	
	(iv) Infrastructure	

6. Views and Opinion of Teachers

S. No.	Particulars
	What motivated you to take up teaching profession?
	Are you happy with teaching profession? Reasons for your response
	Are you happy with salary & service conditions? Reasons for your response
	Are you happy with the school? Reasons for your response
	What is your opinion on Teacher Training?
	Do you have anything to say about the work environment in School

REACH AND ROLE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Student Schedule 2017

Schedule No. _____

1. Identification

1.5 School

Name:

1.6 Village:

_____;

1.2

Block:

1.7 District:

_____;

1.4

State:

2. Basic Information

S.No	Particulars	Response
8.	Name of the Student	
9.	Gender	
10.	Age	
11.	Class	
12.	Education of mother (Illiterate-1; primary education-2, Elementary education-3, Secondary-4, Higher Secondary-5, Graduation-6, Post-Graduation-7, others-9 (specify)_____)	
13.	Occupation of mother (homemaker-1, business-2, salaried-3, govt job-4, agriculture-5, coolie-5, others-9 _____(specify)	
14.	Education of father (Illiterate-1; primary education-2, Elementary education-3, Secondary-4, Higher Secondary-5, Graduation-6, Post-Graduation-7, others-9 (specify)_____)	
15.	Occupation of father (business-1, salaried-2, govt job-3, agriculture-4, coolie-5, unemployed-6, others-9 _____(specify)	

3. General Information on Schooling of the Child

S.No	Items	Responses
1.	Have you studied in a government school in the past (Y/N)	
2.	If yes, why did you leave? (distance – 1, poor infrastructure – 2, poor teaching – 3, high fee – 4, shifted home – 5, others – 6 (specify)_____)	
3.	Compared to your earlier school what better things do you find in this school? (English education – 1, quality education – 2, good infrastructure – 3, good	

	teachers – 4, other opportunities – 5 (specify)_____, others – 6 (specify)_____)	
4.	What is the aspiration of your parents in sending you to this school (better education -1, knowledge – 2, good English speaking ability – 3, bright future – 4, personality development – 5, others – 6 (specify)_____)	
5.	What are the extra-curricular activities that are there in your school (singing – 1, dance – 2, martial arts – 3, swimming – 4, art and craft – 5, sports – 6, drama club – 7, opportunity to participate in inter-school competition – 8, others – 9 (specify)_____)	
6.	Do you go to tuitions? If yes, why (better understanding – 1, to complete homework – 2, not able to cope up alone – 3, family don't have education background to teach – 4, parents don't have time to teach – 5, others – 6 (specify)_____)	

4. Financing of School Education

S. No	Particulars	
1.	Are your parents able to pay the fees easily (Y/N)	
2.	If no. what are the problems faced? (expelled – 1, humiliated – 2, others – 3(specify)_____)	

5. Perception on School Infrastructure and incentives provided

S. No	Particulars	Response
1.	Are you happy with the following in your school: (Yes-1, No-2)	School Building
		Classroom Atmosphere
		Playground
		Drinking Water
		Washrooms
		Library
		Computers
2.	What is the condition of the washroom? (neat & clean – 1, good – 2, moderate – 3, bad – 4, very bad - 5)	Teachers
3.	What is the quality of drinking water? (very good-1, good-2, average-3, bad-4, very bad-5)	
4.	Is the drinking water always available? (Always-1, rarely-2, frequently-3, frequently, but unclean most of the time-4)	
5.	Do you have practical sessions during computer class in your school? (Yes – 1, No – 2)	

3. Perception on Teachers and Teaching Practices

S. No	Particulars	Response
1.	Do you like most of the teachers of your school (Y/N)	
2.	What all teaching aids are used in class? (maps – 1, charts – 2, computers – 3, globe – 4, smart board – 5, others – 6 (specify)_____)	
3.	Does your teacher motivate you to study well? (Yes – 1, No – 2)	

4.	Does your teacher give special treatment to particular students (Y/N)? If yes to whom? (toppers – 1, rich students – 2, children of other teachers – 3, children of local leaders – 4, poor children – 5, others – 6 (specify)_____)	
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4. Extra-Curricular Activities in Schools

1.	Does your teacher motivate you to perform well in other activities? (Yes – 1, No – 2)	
2.	What EC activities do you have? PT-1, Painting-2, Music-3, any other-4, mention if 4 -----	
3.	Do you have separate teachers for each EC activity? Yes-1, no-2	
4.	What is your opinion about EC teachers? Good-1, Teacher rarely comes-2, comes but unproductive presence-3, any other-4, mention if 4 -----	
5.	Does your school hold academic competitions such as poetry, creative writing etc.? Yes-1, no-2	
6.	How often do you get to participate in all such competitions? Always-1, frequently-2. Rarely-3, not at all-4, mention reason if 4 ----- ---	
7.	Are you taken to other schools for various competitions? If yes, what all competitions you have participated? (music – 1, dance – 2, sports – 3, debates – 4, essay writing – 5, others – 6 (specify)_____)	

5. Open Discussion

1.	Are you happy with your school (Y/N)
2.	If yes, _____
3.	If no, _____
4.	How would you like your school to be?