

The Issue of Governance at Primary Level of Education

(A Case Study of Mirzapur, Uttar Pradesh)

Research Paper submitted to Kusuma Foundation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Young Research Scholar Award (KYRA) 2009

Submitted By

Name : Ambar Zahara

Date : 25/08/2009

Number of Text Pages: 68

Number of Pages of References: 4

Number of Tables: 7

Abstract

It is widely acknowledged that it is the education which makes one able to live a life full of freedom. Several central and state level initiatives to make education available in each corner of the country have been in operation from the early 1980s. Despite so many efforts the goal of “Education For all” is still unachieved. There has been a great deal of analysis on the causes of India’s poor educational achievements. The Public Report on Basic Education (PROBE), 1999 for the first time presented what seems to be the first comprehensive and integrated analysis of poor educational outcome. The findings of the report reflected that it would be easy to plan, mobilize investments, train people, use the most modern technologies and set the goal of socio-economic development. But it must be remembered that good governance is indispensable because education is essentially a service, and therefore quality of its delivery matters. India is country with full of regional disparities, on the one hand there is a state like Kerala (90.92%, Census 2001), touching the highest possible literacy rate on the other hand there is state like Uttar Pradesh (57.53%, Census 2001) and Bihar (47.53%, Census 2001) lagging behind other states with lowest literacy rates. The status of primary education in the state of Uttar Pradesh is very poor. This research paper is an attempt to understand the current status of government primary schools and the ills that plague them. Although the problems in the education system are multidimensional, in recent time the issue of governance has assumed significance. Lack of transparency, poor monitoring, educational inequality, and quality and teacher truancy poor performance seem to have challenged not only the government officials at all level, but the people at large. In this context this paper attempts to explore why despite free provision of primary education by the government even the poorest parents prefer for some alternative to educate their children. The paper has been categorized under v sections. The first section deals with the review of literature, rationale for this study and objectives of the study. The second section deals with the basic tenets of Public Choice theory elaborating the development of the theory in a representative democracy. Section III focuses on the research methodology used for the study and the findings of the research. Section IV presents the case study of district Mirzapur, Uttar Pradesh, India and sums up the findings in the light of Public Choice Approach. Section V

concludes the paper with some concern over the state of educational system in India and lays down concrete suggestions for policy makers and academics to probe the subject further.

Section I

A. Introduction

There was an era when people mostly from the rural India used to question the relevance of primary education in the daily battle of their survival. Now the time has changed. Even the most deprived person accepts the fact that education gives us the knowledge of the world around us. It develops in us a perspective of looking at life. It helps us build opinions and have points of view on everything in life. An illiterate is less equipped to participate successfully in the modern economy and society (Sen, 1995). Several central and state level initiatives to make the education available in each corner of the country have been in operation from the early 1980s.

According to Seventh All India School Education Survey (NCERT, 2007), at primary stage girls' enrollment is 46.82% while in the Sixth All India Educational Survey (NCERT, 1998) girls' enrollment was 42.72%. Thus, in comparison to Sixth Survey (1998) girls' enrollment has increased by 4.09% in Seventh Survey (2007). The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) at primary stage was 81.85% in the Sixth Survey (1998) which has gone up to 93.32 % in Seventh All India School Education Survey (2007).

It does not indicate that all is well and we are poised to achieve 'universal primary education' in the next few years. Despite all the efforts of the government, universalisation of elementary education in India remains a distant dream.

There has been a great deal of analysis, recently on the causes of India's poor educational achievements. Various reasons have been put forward, such as lack of parental interest in the education of children, poverty and the consequent need for child labour, poor quality of supply in terms of impoverished school infrastructure, lack of motivated teachers. Among all, The Public Report on Basic Education or PROBE Report (1999) for the first time presented what seems to

be the first comprehensive and integrated analysis of the causes behind poor educational achievements of Indian children. The findings of the report reflected that it would be easy to plan, mobilize investments, train people, raise financial resources, use the most modern technologies and set the goals of socio-economic development. But it must be remembered that good governance is indispensable because education is essentially a service, and therefore quality of its delivery matters. It helps to convert the finer thoughts into feasible actions

Issues of governance within the education sector can have a profound impact on access to and quality of education. Good governance is necessary to ensure whether the various programmes are carried out successfully or not. One major factor for not achieving the target of total literacy in the given time frame may be the prevalence of corrupt practices at all levels, from policy formulation to its implementation at grass-root level in the country.

There is an abundance of literature on the issue of financing primary education which basically deals with the problem of lack of fund at primary level education. But the studies on governance at this level, particularly with respect to the intrusion of corrupt practice in primary schools, under any theoretical framework are scarcely found in the available literature. The present study attempts to find out the loopholes in the primary education system that give rise to corrupt practices through which the vested interests of the public officials are fulfilled at the cost of the education of mass using the Public Choice Approach propounded by James Buchanan the Nobel Laureate.

B. Review of Literature:

The related studies are discussed here under four themes such as educational administration, provision and utilization of resources, political economy and governance in context of corruption

at school level. There is no hard and fast division of studies for a particular theme. The themes are not mutually exclusive and therefore may overlap.

1. Educational Administration

Administration and management of every institution play an important role in its functioning effectively and successfully. Effective administration ensures viability, successful delivery of services, and usefulness to the society. According to the Third Survey of Research in Education (NCERT, 1978-1983), the first studies in the area of educational administration were undertaken in the early fifties in Mumbai and Lucknow.

Shah (1951) and Singh (1964) were perhaps the first researchers who examined the role of the Centre in education from historical, comparative and administrative perspective. In a similar vein, Bhaskar (1961) was critical about the role of teachers and it was reported that majority of educational administrators who first entered as teachers had no job aptitude and the length of service in the department was the criterion for promotion as administrators. During the first decade and a half, the progress of research in education administration was slow and halting. It gained momentum during the period 1966-75 turning out over 75% of the total research output. The areas mostly covered by the researchers were (i) educational agencies, (ii) inspection and supervision, (iii) stages of education, (iv) organizational climate, and (v) policies and reforms.

However, the education economists were mostly interested in studying the financing of education. Though studies on financing of primary education play crucial role in improving the condition of primary schools, availability of resources is only a necessary condition to fulfill the goal of universalisation of primary education and not a sufficient condition. It requires proper utilization of available resources which requires further investigation.

2. Provision and Utilization of Services: Realities and Myths:

Dreze and Sen (1995), Dreze and Gazder, (1996), Kumar (1999), Kingdon and Muzammil (2003) and Vidyasagar (2007) argued that the educational achievements depend not only on the provision of schooling services but also on the proper utilization of the resources. Dreze and Gazder (1996) through their field investigation (carried out in the sample villages of Uttar Pradesh) tried to argue that more severe problem in the schools was not one of the deficiencies of physical infrastructures as that of poor functioning of government schools. In contrast, with the cheerful statement of the Operation Board Scheme (1987- till today) initiated by the Government of India, teacher absenteeism, lack of female teachers, personal use of public resources and nexus between the elite and government officials were common menaces rather than the absence of 'Blackboards'. Arguing critically on the lack of political will Dreze and Gazder (1996) remarked,

“... the holders of political power are more interested in using the schooling establishment as a mean of extracting and dispensing public resources for their own advantages than in promoting the case of wide spread literacy.”

Further studies focused on the issue of public apathy and passivism which affects the performance adversely. It was found to be a major cause for promoting regional disparities. The states Kerala where public was more politically active were performing well. On the contrary in the states like Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) schooling was caught into a vicious circle of public apathy and state reluctance. Ghosh (1994), Dreze and Gazder 1996), and Sen (1999) found that the main constraint on educational expansion in U.P. was not basically a financial one, but it was low importance assigned to basic education in public policy.

The studies by Prasad (1987), Chanana (1988), Govinda and Varghese (1993), Dreze and Gazder (1996), Nambissan (1996, 1997), PROBE (1999), Dreze and Kingdon (2001) helped to unveil the myth that Indian parents have little interest in the education of their children and to achieve universal primary education in a reasonable time frame. As PROBE (1999) found that in India's most educationally backward states, the proportion of parents who considered it important for a child to be educated was much higher as 98 percent for boys and 89 percent for girls.

Acharaya (1987), Weiner (1991), Burra (1996) and Jha and Jhingan (2002), tried to argue that though the demand for education is high, still in many cases, lack of parental motivation causes the trouble as the educational aspirations are not independent of the opportunities that people have.

The studies by Sinha (1995), Chaudhary (1996), Banerjee (1997) and Durraswami (2000) revealed the fact that a large majority of out of school children do relatively little work as most of them are so called 'no where' children.

Burra (1995) in her study contradicted the Act and Resolution of Indian Constitution in case of child labour. She points out that there is no clear cut distinction between hazardous and non hazardous industries because on the one hand, it allows children to work in some areas on the other hand it assures free and compulsory education.

Further Sen (1995), Dreze and Gazder (1996) and Banerjee (1997) found that in most of the cases official figures were over estimated just as to maintain the record and let the system run as it was. It is very relevant to quote Prof. Sen (1998) here,

"...besides, the official figures are collected from sources that have some interest in overstating the enrolment ratio (government grants to schools depend upon enrolment), there is a

systematic bias introduced in the official figures. So while the situation is depressing enough the actual position seems to be even worse.”

Banerjee (2001), Kingdon and Muzammil (2003) and Vidyasagar (2007) discussed about the issue of teacher absenteeism, teacher truancy and related issues. It was explored in most of the cases that teachers were on leaves for months without any prior notice, even if they were present in the class no teaching learning was occurring, and mostly teachers were habitual of coming late to the schools and leaving early. The main reason for such immoral practices was found to be the absence of accountability and transparency in government schools. As Banerjee (2001) has rightly remarked,

“... though their designations are school inspectors they are doing the job of UD or LD clerks, with this state of affairs one faces an uphill task in improving the school system for the purpose of universalisation of elementary education.”

These studies bring forth the problems as the lack of political will, public apathy, and certain myths, manipulation of data and above all teacher absenteeism and truancy which are the causes behind poor functioning of government primary schools. Though these problems were dealt with in details but no attempt was made to find out that what compelled the public officials in the system to follow unethical ways as shirking, absenteeism and data manipulation etc. and why the political leaders are least interested in the matter of primary education, why the public is so active at one place and so dismal at other place and so on.

The studies discussed here reflect the truth that the focus of various strategies adopted so far as to bring all children into school has been on factors which lie within the educational system. The socio-economic and cultural aspects have played little role in educational planning. This approach to universalization ignores the hard social reality.

3. Political Economy of Education

The study on education and politics in the context of political economy have not been considered systematically by any particular discipline with notable exceptions of Rudolph and Rudolph (1972), Gould (1972), Iqbal Naraian (1974), Ghosh (1989), Weiner (1991), Burra (1995) and Kingdon and Muzammil (2003).

Rudolph and Rudolph (1972) for the first time attempted to study education from a different angle. They provided a wide canvas of the strong relationship between the politics and education and tried to reveal that how politics and education have been interwoven since pre-independence. They concluded that politicization involves the appropriation of educational structures and resources and the displacement of educational goal by organizational political and community interest.

Gould (1972) while studying Uttar Pradesh concluded that in Uttar Pradesh decision making in schools and colleges and universities is closely linked to intramural and extramural political connections. Similarly Narayan (1972) studied the control of primary education by Local Governance (Panchayati Raj Institutions) in Rajasthan and tried to explore how far the efforts to maintain a depoliticized zone for education were imperially vindicated in the light of the experience of management of primary schools under the Panchayati Raj. He justified the active participation of the members of local bodies but contradicted teachers' participation in local politics. According to his observation it resulted into poor performance in the schools and helped teachers to manipulate the rules and conditions as they wished.

The major contributors in this field are Kingdon and Muzammil (2003) who studied the power of teacher union of private-aided secondary schools in Uttar Pradesh and tried to explore the political economy factors that effect the educational administration. They examined the ways

in which politics impinges on the education sector, influences the evolution of educational institutions and shapes the legislation that governs school education. They found how political nexus of teachers results into an adverse effect on the functioning of schools and concluded that teacher unions never lobbied for improving the quality of education, resource availability or longer school days.

These studies are helpful in understanding the kind of relationship existing between politics and education. Rudolph and Rudolph (1972) studied the situation in the context of politicization of higher education and particularly in the universities and concluded that politicization of education leads to displacement of educational goal but they did not explain the factors behind this displacement.

Similarly, all the present studies reflect that there is a negative correlation between involvement of politics in educational administration and the educational achievement but there is a rare attempt, visible to go into the issue in deep and find out why this relation is not a healthy one. It is the issue of corruption widely spread in the arena of education in the form of teacher absenteeism, weak inspection, feeble monitoring, which affects the delivery of services at primary level of education mostly in the government schools.

4. Governance in the Context of Corruption

Though almost there is hardly any literature available particularly focusing on the issue of corruption, the International Institute of Educational Planning (IIEP,2001) launched a new research project entitled '*Ethics and Corruption in Education*', whose main objective was to improve decision making and management of educational system by integrating governance and corruption in educational planning and administrative methodology. The IIEP (2001) defined the corruption in education sector as, "The systematic use of public office for private benefit whose

impact is on access, equity and equality in education.” Further corruption was divided into two kind first in this context is the ‘Grand Corruption’ which occurs at policy level means when policy is formulated till its implementation and secondly the ‘Petty Corruption’ which basically focuses on the down stream that is the implementation at gross roots level, say in schools.

Swaroop and Rajkumar (World Bank, 2002) examined the role of governance, measured by the level of corruption and quality of bureaucracy and tried to find out how it affects the relationship between public spending and outcomes. Alochre (2004) worked on how to prevent corruption in education system. Further, Hallak and Poisson (2005) attempted to deal with this issue in details. The UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (GMR, 2005) also highlighted this issue and concluded the poor accountability is the main cause of corruption at school level. The available literature shows that corruption has connection with the existence of monopoly, discretionary powers, poor governance and supervision, lack of transparency and accountability. The following formula is given by Kutgard Abarora and Pariss (2000)

$$\text{Corruption (c)} = \text{M (monopoly)} + \text{D (discretion of power)} - \text{A (accountability)}$$

This formula may be applied to education sector, which is characterized by the lack of competition among the providers, complex regulation system and absence of adequate mechanism to control weak inspection system.

With the on going trend as decentralization, privatization and sub-contracting, an automatic reduction in corruption in education was expected my most of the people. Unfortunately the reality shows the contrary in many cases, the increasing complex nature of education sector simply appears to be creating new opportunities for corruption. There are

varieties of misbehaviours which disturb the implementation of the planned interventions and particularly the teaching-learning environment as despite the presence of both the teacher and the student no teaching learning process takes place. The cost of such unethical behaviour can be very high for a country like India, where one third of the children grow in unsheltered, unemployable and uneducated environment and hence in the future find themselves unfit to participate meaningfully in the socio-economic activities. All these together bound us to the education governance in India in the context of corruption that plagues the current status of government primary schools.

C. Governance and Education

It is difficult to define governance precisely. Some formal definitions of governance have been proposed and the most often cited of which in the development literature comes from the World Bank. It was first used in a Report (1989) on Sub-Saharan Africa. The World Bank (1994) identified a 'crisis of governance' which it later defined as: *"The manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development"*. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) defines it in terms of *"accountability, participation, predictability and transparency"*. Within the UNDP, governance is defined as,

"The mechanisms, processes and institutions of civil societies and of states through which people and groups can articulate their interests, discuss and solve their problems, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences."

The concepts of peaceful transition, accountability, participation, predictability and transparency, fairness and equity, and security lie at the core of the importance of a governance system. Thus, governance is the process by which policies of state, which affect the public, are

implemented in the context of development which affects the public. Good governance is necessary to see that various programmes are carried out successfully or not.

Good governance provides constitutional framework that provides support programmes like 'education for all' and prohibits malpractices such as child labour. It provides policy and legal mechanism that enables a country to address the issue of educational equity and equality. It provides for citizen participation in the design and oversight of public services. But when the public servants both political executive and the bureaucrats violate the law and use public office for private gains, it results into corruption.

With the expansion of the activities of the State, country's bureaucracy enhanced its power. These bureaucrats created a number of rules and regulation and thereby made a way to secure their hold on the entire administrative mechanism. Though the aim was to control the private sector and to ensure honest administration, the actual result was totally different and indeed divesting. The control mechanisms were used for narrow self interest by the politicians as well as the bureaucrats (Verma, 2001).

It has in turn, adversely affected the socio economic development of the country. The increasing number of groups and committees on any issue reflect the lack of individual responsibility and accountability. These groups meet once in a while and this has caused over the years, serious delays in the project implementation. Often the bureaucracy has ensured that there is no audit and accountability for the billions lost due to inaction. Instances of lack of governance in India are too much to mention. They are manifested by pervasive nepotism and corruption, misuse of state funds, absence of transparency and accountability in public administration, lack of respect paid to law and reluctance in delegating powers to grass root organization.

The result is propensity of the state to rule but not to govern which signifies inhumane governance. Among the instances of mis-governance, corruption has become a major uncontrollable phenomenon in India.

Lack of Good Governance in Primary Schools in India

Schooling is fast emerging as a social norm across the country. There is a hunger for education. There is a tremendous demand for education across the board and among all social groups. Whenever government has ensured a well functioning school within reach, enrolment has been high. It is not that the situation is uniformly bad across the country or even for different groups living in the same area. The real problem is that as we go down the social and economic pyramid, access and quality issues become far more pronounced. The vast number of the very poor in rural and urban India has to rely on government schools of different types. The relatively better off either access better endowed government schools or opt for private aided and unaided schools.

People who have the ability to demand and ensure the proper functioning of ordinary municipal schools have no stake in it as they send their children in the schools where all kinds of facilities are available. As we often see the officials in government and related agencies send their children to private aided schools that offer quality education. As a result children, who are enrolled in generally poor quality primary schools, have a limited chance of competing with the peer for entering higher education. They dropout earlier and even if they continue, barely learn any thing. Education does not add much to their overall development of life skills (Ramachandran, 1998).

Access without quality is meaningless and quality is the essence of equity. There is little point in pushing children into school if we can not devise the system to ensure children acquire

reading, writing and cognitive skill appropriate for each level of education. This necessitates a strategy of bringing about changes in school environment, teacher's attitude, school-community linkages and socio economic and political condition of the area concerned. Working on any one of these without addressing related issues does not lead to significant improvement in the learning outcome of children.

Strategies have to be context specific the programmes that may be appropriate for Kerala or Andhra Pradesh may not work in Bihar or U.P. Current approaches to district planning are woefully inadequate. The state government and district administration needs for greater autonomy to modify the education system—to specific social and economic opportunities of the area.

After over six decades of educational development, India is still at the crossroads, deliberating and dithering over policies. These policies have produced a system that is clearly far from inclusive and all-encompassing and not embracing all its people and barely adequate to throw up occasionally few brainy students nurtured by essentially expensive initiatives. All these add to the lack of good governance, as the system is too weak to handle the situation. Corruption is antithesis of good governance. Corruption corrodes the very process of rule of law and distorts it.

The Issue of Corruption at School Level

Corruption is the use of Public office for private gains. Public servants who include both the political executive and the bureaucracy are in a special position to practice corruption because of the public office they occupy. India ranks as one of the most corrupt countries in the world being ranked 69 out of 90 countries in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), published by the Transparency International, an NGO located in Berlin (Vittal, 2004). The education

sector is the largest or second largest budget item in most countries, and opportunities for corrupt practices are numerous. Where corruption is rampant there is a great risk that social trust may wither away and that the development potential of whole country may be undermined.

Corruption in education occurs at the political, administrative (central and local), and classroom level. However, corruption is not the cause of all evils. What appears to be corruption may in fact be incompetence by key actors and inadequacies in the infrastructure they work under. Corruption is a hidden transaction which the involved parties like to keep secret. The most widely condemned practices (e.g. kickbacks on government contracts) are also the most hidden, while more visible practices (e.g. forced private tutoring) tend to be more tolerated.

Corruption is very likely to occur where teachers receive good salary with permanent appointment where officials exercise financial discretion and power over the public, and where the risk of detection and severe punishment is low. The main causes of corruption in education sector are Inadequate, irregular or delayed salaries. It often forces teachers to seek supplementary income in rural areas, teachers accept payments from parents in food or labour, and they buy textbooks and manuals from publishing houses and resell them to pupils.

This indicates that poverty is the main driver of corruption in the sector, but it can be the other way around: insufficient funding for schools and salaries may result directly from corruption and leakage further up the line, the pressure to get results may create an environment conducive to corruption as most of the studies reveal that the school data are manipulated to let the system run as it is.

Hence, what some regard as corruption is merely seen as effective project management by others. A related problem arises when donors agree to pay government officials in order to “get things done”. Further, without clear standards and regulations, the line between acceptable

and unacceptable behaviour becomes blurred. Inadequate accreditation mechanisms for schools and higher education institutions further exacerbate the problem.

D. Rationale for the Present Study

A cursory view of literature suggests that there are very few documents available discussing the issue of governance in the context of corruption in the field of primary education. Studies on educational administration find faults with the Centre-State relations. Similarly the studies based on the problems that government schools face suggest that it is the prevalence of vested-interests of government functionaries at each stage that results into poor performance at primary level of education. But there is no explanation provided of how the corrupt practices make their way into the system despite so much effort to check them at all levels. While the studies are descriptive, no conceptual frame is available to study the problem.

Similarly, studies on political economy of education focused on the political as well as economic factors that affect the functioning of the education system but less attention is given to the opportunities for corruption as in most of the cases it was found that at grassroots level the government was unable to perform well as teachers' involvement has adverse effect. The study by Naraian (1972) is contradictory as in his study at one point he has emphasized on the involvement of Panchayat members in the primary school management to understand the situation as they are aware of local needs, on the other hand he opposed the participation of teachers in local politics. This inconsistency gives rise to corrupt practices.

All the studies blame the system for weak inspection, absence of accountability, etc., but no attempt is made to find out why teachers and headmasters tend to behave indifferently in case of performance. Kumar (1999), Sen (1995) and Premchand (1995) in their

studies have found corruption to be responsible for the sub-optimal utilization of resources whether it is political, or administrative corruption. As Kumar (1999) remarks,

“...education should be about finer things in life and building a better society. This requires idealism but if institutions and educationists are involved in corruption they become cynical and can not perform its essential task”.

Thus, it is clear that the fight against corruption in the sphere of education should be regarded as a major priority as it affects not only the volume of educational services but also the quality, efficiency, equity and public confidence in the education sector. Against this concept there is a gap in the literature on how to define corruption in education sector, how it gets an opportunity to flourish and finally leads to under achievement and policy failure etc.

The present study attempts to analyse the issue of corruption in a theoretical framework of Public Choice and find out how to combat it so that each and every government school gets a chance to flourish, as it is assumed that corrupt practices and vested-interests on the part of government functionaries lead to poor delivery of services which cause regional disparities as well as socio-economic and political inequalities. As a result the same policy succeeds in one region and fails in another. Corruption at school level causes high drop-out rate, which results into high levels of poverty and unemployment. It also affects the quality of teaching adversely. It deepens inequalities between rich and poor. This reflects that there is an urgent need to study the issue of corruption at school level in a theoretical frame work. Thus I have formulated the objectives of the study as given below.

E. Objectives of the Study

1. To study the governance in the context of corruption at primary level education in a theoretical framework.

2. To find out how the vested interests of public officials result into intrusion of corruption at school level.
3. To analyse teachers' attitude towards the school education administration and their bond of relationship with the official in the administration and the community.
4. To study the perception and expectations of parents and children, towards education, schooling and teachers.
5. To suggest the ways to improve the performance of government primary schools.

Section III

A. Theoretical Framework: The Theory of Public Choice

Public choice emerged as a research programme to fill up a theoretical gap in political economy. After World War II the political institutions rather than markets were playing major role in dedicating between one-third and one half of the national income in most of the nations in the world including western economies. Economists however were busy to understand and explain the market sector. Prior to the emergence of public choice theory, many economists tend to consider the government as an agent outside the scope of economic theory, whose action depends on different considerations than those driving economic agent. Dr. James M. Buchanan won the 1986 Nobel Prize in Economics for his public choice theory of political decision making.

Public choice seeks to understand and predict the behaviour of politicians and bureaucrats in the polity by utilising analytical techniques developed from economics, based on the postulate of rational choice. In public choice, individuals, interest groups, bureaucrats, and politicians are

assumed to seek their own self-interest as in the market place. Decisions made depend on the costs and benefits of an action taken whereby each group attempts to maximise its' own net benefits.

These benefits can take the form of monetary or non-monetary rewards and can include ideologies, goals, and cultural values. Public choice derives its rational from the fact that in many areas, political and economic considerations interact so that a proper understanding of issues in one field requires a complimentary understanding of issues in the other. Tullock (1988) briefly put it, '*public choice is the invasion of politics by economics*' Bagchi (2005)

Consequently, an important perspective that public choice offers is that public policies are formulated and implemented partly for the social benefits they might yield but, partly also, for the benefits they might bring to the policy making bodies themselves. It was the dissatisfaction with the inability and failure of traditional approaches in the analysis of public policy methods to address the basic issues in the political economy that led to the emergence of the new discipline of 'public choice'(Borooah, 2005).

What is Public Choice?

"Choice" is the act of selecting from among alternatives. "Public" refers to people. Choices are made by individuals, and these may be "private" or "public." A person makes private choices as he goes about the ordinary business of living. He makes "public choices" when he selects from among the alternatives for others as well as for himself. Such choices become the objects of inquiry in *Public Choice*. While traditional economic theory has been narrowly interpreted to include only the private choices of individuals in the market process, traditional political science has rarely analyzed individuals' choice behavior. *Public Choice* is the intersection of these two disciplines; the institutions are those of political science, and the method is that of economic theory. A moot point

in public choice literature is that governmental intervention in any economy is beset with its own costs and these costs may even outweigh those of imperfect markets (Lalwani, 2003).

Fundamental Elements of the Theory

As a sub discipline of economics, public choice may be regarded as merely three decades old, although it appeared as early as 1896 in the dissertation of Knut Wicksell. In the words of Buchanan, “Wicksell deserves to be designated as the most important precursor of public choice theory because in his 1896 dissertation we find all the three constituent elements that provide the foundation of this theory: methodological individualism, homo-economicus and politics as exchange” (Buchanan, 1987). The ‘Calculus of Consent’ jointly authored by J. Buchanan and G. Tullock which appeared in 1962, has often been regarded as the major contribution of Public Choice Theory. This work for the first time developed all the three critical elements of Public choice as enlisted by Wicksell.

1. Methodological Individualism

Traditionally the political process has been viewed as a mean through which correct decisions are reached. As against this the individualistic approach is based on the presumption that the political process in a democratic society is best understood by interpreting it a means of reconciling divergent interests. Buchanan points out that at the level of logical theory all that is required of the individualistic model is that interests differ and that individuals act in accordance with their individual interests.

Buchanan (1966) firmly rejects the concept of Social Welfare Function (SWF). In his view there exists no SWF, no public interest. Public interest is indirectly rescued by the individualistic model through separation between the constitutional and operational stages of political decision.

The point that is being emphasised is that self-interest at the level of decisions on rules or on institutions imposes on the individuals an attitude that differs from that which the very same motive of self interest dictates when choices are being made on specific political issues. He points out that unanimity becomes important at constitutional level. According to him in the absence of any explicit Social Welfare Function there is no external or exogenous means of evaluating possible changes in rules. 'Agreement then becomes the only possible test' argued Buchanan (1966).

2. Homo-economicus

The second element of Public Choice, which Wicksell spoke of was 'homo-economicus' which implies that individuals seek to further their own self- interest. This postulate may be traced back to the classical economists who discovered that individuals acted in their own self- interest. Public choice has served to extend this postulate from the domain of market to that of politics.

3. Catallactic Approach (Politics as exchange)

This third constituent element of Public Choice draws attention to the process of exchange, trade or agreement to contract. This approach helps the economists to see the political process in terms of the exchange paradigm. It is from this politics as exchange element that there emerges the constitutional perspective which is fully supported by Buchanan. A prerequisite for an improvement in the politics is a reform in the rules, a change in the framework within which the political game is played.

Public Choice in a Representative Democracy

Initially public choice developed in a direct democracy framework which focused on the study of voting strategies with the centre stage position being held first by the unanimity (Wicksell,1896) and then the majority rule (Arrow,1956). Further large, number of voters and the

multiplicity of issues demanded that the focus to shift to a representative democratic framework. In the present study, which is in the Indian context, we restrict ourselves to the representative democratic framework. In the setting of representative democracy, Public Choice literature has developed along three major strands (a) The Leviathan view of state which emphasizes on interest groups, principal-agent problem and bureaucracy (b) Rent seeking and (c) Political business cycles.

(a)The State as a Leviathan

The first step in this direction was taken by Down (1957) by viewing government as a monolithic entity but one which comprises competing parties. These parties vied with each other for voter support by offering policies which would reflect the wishes of the consumer voter. The basic decision rule followed by the Downsian government is that expenditures grows until votes gained at the margin equal the vote lost from additional taxes.

The complete obverse of this theory was put forward by Buchanan, Tullock and Tollison (1980), who claimed that voters exaggerate the benefits while underestimating costs thereby outsize budgets. It was recognized by Downs and other demand analysts that voters play a dual role. On the one hand, as taxpayers they desire reduction in spending and inflation and an increase in growth while on the other way, they are members of some groups which could benefit from this expenditure of the government. Thus gradually governments came to be viewed as collectivists of persons who were themselves maximisers be they are party, political leaders or bureaucrats. The state was seen as emerging in the form of Leviathan.

Public choice theorists strongly feel that the explanations regarding the size of governments in terms of its acting as redistributors of income and wealth are by no means adequate to justify the proportions which present governments have assumed. The justifications of the public

choice theorists have centered on the issues related to (i) interest groups (ii) principal-agent problem and (iii) bureaucrats.

(i) Interest groups and collective action

One way that people can reveal their preferences is by voting, another way is by associating like minded persons to form ‘interest groups’ (Borooah, 2005). In most of the cases the interest groups have narrow self-interest oriented objectives. These groups seek to influence the public policy or outcomes with respect to a specific agenda, by lobbying government for favourable treatment for example the teacher union in Uttar Pradesh. An interest group could also have broad social objectives for example Medha Patkar and the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*.

The problem about collective action is that a group of people having a common interest will not necessarily form an interest group and bear the cost of collective action. Olson (1965) pointed out that collective action is vitiated by the free rider problem of public economics; an economically rational person will not participate in an interest group because he (she) can not be excluded from any benefits that may accrue from the activities of the group. Consequently a great deal of potential collective action will not, in fact, materialize. Olson argued that two conditions were required for collective actions to occur. First, the number of persons acting collectively should be relatively very small so that the decision of one affects the others. Second, the group should have access to ‘selective incentives’ by which it could penalize those who have not borne the cost of collective action, and reward those who have.

Selective incentives are less available to potential entrant and to low income groups. Thus it is the professional groups- doctors, teachers, lawyers – who are better organized than unskilled occupations. For this reason Olson (1982) observed that, in the main, collective action would be

anti-egalitarian and pro-establishment. Olson's work elevated the free-rider problem to a central position in political science.

(ii) *Principal-agent problem*

Politicians and bureaucrats are supposed to be agents of the general public and act in its interest. This is but a special case of what is called the Principal-Agent problem; i.e., that agents unless it is in their self-interest may not act in the interests of their principal. The key is to find some incentive scheme for the agents so that in pursuing their self-interest the interest of the principal is enhanced.

It is not so easy to find solutions to the principal-agent problem for governments. For a long time economic theory presumed that if there was a task that needed to be done by the government then all that was required was to set up some government organization with responsibility for achieving that task. There is abundant evidence that governments throughout history and throughout the world do not do what they are supposed to do. In some cases the government employees do not do anything useful. In others they will not do their job unless they are paid specifically to do a task.

(iii) *Bureaucracy*

Tullock (1965) and Downs (1967) for the first time attempted to show that bureaucracy could be well understood by assuming bureaucrats to be rational actors largely motivated by self-interest. Further, Niskanen's path breaking '*Bureaucracy and Representative Government*' published in 1971 sparked off the interest of a large number of economists and political scientists in examining the behaviour of bureaucrats (Lalwani, 2003).

In Niskanen's (1971) work, the bureau head assumes the role of a monopolistic supplier of public services. His action would be analogous to the profit maximizing firm in the private sector.

He would act as a maximiser because of his personal interests be they income or prestige. For this purpose he would like to equilibrate total benefits and total cost which would result in over supply of services provided as this scale would exceed the level at which marginal benefits equal marginal costs. The Niskanen (1971) model has been extended to examine the consequences of situations where the government is able to determine the agenda of issues on which voters are permitted to vote. Earlier works involved agenda setting by a single bureau (Romer and Rosenthal, 1978) but later, allowance was made for interaction among multiple bureau (Mackay and Weaver, 1981).

(b) Rent-seeking

Another field that is closely related to public choice is 'rent-seeking.' Coining of the term rent-seeking is credited to Anne Kruger (1974) but the original insight appeared in the work of Tullock (1967). Rent-seeking refers to the "*activity of wasting resources in competing for artificially contrived transfers*" (Tollison, 1982). Its basic thesis is that when both a market economy and government are present, government agents are a source of numerous special market privileges. Both the government agents and self interested market participants seek these privileges in order to partake in the monopoly rent that they provide. When such privileges are granted, they reduce the efficiency of the economic system. In addition, the rent seekers use resources that could otherwise be used to produce goods that are valued by consumers.

Rent seeking theory finds its application in a wide range of policy matters, in particular, regulation, international trade and government contracting. This theory makes the crucial point that competition is not unambiguously beneficial in political settings it might be that the costs incurred by way of rent seeking outweigh the way that has been advocated to avoid the efficiency gains that would be obtained.

(c) Models for Politico-Economic Interaction

A simple but extremely effective diagrammatic illustration of politico-economic interdependence appears in Frey and Schneider (1979) in a closed loop form. In the lower loop, voters evaluate economic conditions and elect politicians. The politico-economic interaction, as is depicted via this lower loop, has been modelled as voting and popularity functions. The interaction as viewed in the upper loop is that the public sector's economic policy actions are decided on and they influence the course of economy. There is a voluminous literature dealing with 'Political Business Cycle' model, the interaction as seen in the upper loop (Lalvani, 2003). So we first discuss the voting and popularity function and then move to the Political Business Cycle literature.

(i) Voting For Popularity Functions

The theoretical basis for the literature on these functions, is seen in the works of Downs (1957), Fair (1978), and Fiorina (1981). Some of the assumptions made in this literature are (a) voters are rational, they evaluate the different parties by predicting their expected utility and then vote for the party which maximizes their expected utility, (b) voters are not expected to evaluate party platform when constricting the expected future utility for different parties, (c) for reasons of information costs it is expected that voters do not have the incentive to evaluate the adequacy of the use of policy instruments, instead they use indicators like rate of unemployment, rate of inflation, growth of disposable incomes, etc., for which information is easily available.

(ii) Political Business Cycle

Literature on 'Political Business Cycle' has grown considerably since the days of Michael Kalecki (1943). He argued that government would stimulate business activity but 'leaders of

industry' would oppose full employment stimulated by government spending thus making the government withdraw only to re-emerge as stimulating agent when unemployment again rose above an 'acceptable level'. As a result, Kalecki predicted a regime of 'Political Business Cycle' with alternating go and stop phase. He thus dismissed the idea that 'government would maintain full employment if it only knew how to' (Kalecki, 1943). Other contributors to the literature of 'Political Business Cycle' are Nordhaus (1975), Hibbs (1977), and Frey and Schneider (1978, 1979).

Critique of Public Choice

Public choice theory has come in for some sharp criticism at the hand of the doyen of Public Finance – Richard Musgrave. He argues that there are reasons to believe that budget decisions might be imperfect but “*on balance no clear bias emerges*” (Musgrave, 1981). Speaking of the role of bureaucrats, Musgrave has no doubts about viewing bureau heads as maximisers, but the point that he wishes to convey that maximization may involve targets other than personal economic gain and power. He feels that,

“human motivation is too many sided and complex to be captured by the caricature of bureau-grabbing officials which permeates the Leviathan literature” (Musgrave, 1981).

According to Musgrave (1981) Leviathan theorists undervalue the democratic mechanism by denying all responsiveness of officials and legislators to agenda setting wishes of voters. He is not convinced that monopoly bureaus pose a more serious threat than private monopolies. These criticisms by Musgrave evoked a response from Buchanan in the form of a review article entitled 'Richard Musgrave, Public Finance and Public Choice' appear in the journal 'Public Choice' in 1989.

Responding to one of Musgrave's main grievances against the public choice school, viz., that of modeling 'public choosers' analogous to 'private choosers', Buchanan is of the opinion that Musgrave should acknowledge that their norms, at least at the instrumental level, are shaped by the vision of social reality which have some empirical grounding.

Cullies and Jones (1987) have also raised their doubts regarding some of the arguments of Public Choice theorists. They questioned the ability of a constitution to deal with problems even if Leviathan fears were accepted. They pointed out that the enactment of the constitution will presumably the responsibility of a court and if individuals in government are seen as pursuing self-interest then there is little reason to believe that judges would not do so. They acknowledged that governmental as well as market failures do exist but maintain that the "pendulum of criticism has swung too far against the public sector" (Cullies and Jones, 1987)

'Public Choice' may not be very new after all. There is no denying fact that the methodology is modern but some of its basic tenets appear to be as old as the discipline itself. West (1990) saw a number of ideas of Public Choice appearing in the works of Adam Smith. The concept of interest groups, which Public Choice Theory deals extensively with, is in a way, reminiscent of Marxian economics. Political Business Cycle was originally predicted by Kalecki in 1943. Buchanan's work is mostly influenced by the Dissertation of Wicksell (1896). Yet another crucial link with the past not referred to as yet, primarily because it denied compartmentalization – is the link with Joseph Schumpeter. "...*Schumpeter's Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy contains the essential of what constitutes today's Public Choice*" (Frey, 1982).

According to Frey, Schumpeter developed a comparative theory of institutions which modern theory has taken to only recently. Secondly it has been pointed out that Schumpeter's definition of democracy is clear on the point that institutional agreement is closely related to

economic competition. Thirdly, competitive struggle for people's vote results in a favourable outcome only as a side product. All these are thoughts which are very much a part and parcel of modern Public Choice theory.

It may be pointed out that despite the fact that these crucial links with the past are discernable; it would be a great injustice with Public Choice theorist if we say that all they have spoken of was already written about decades ago. The credit for having developed these concepts, some of which have been conceived of much earlier and having given them the status of a full-fledged theory can not be denied to the Public Choice School. The theory with all its 'good' and 'bad' does seem to have come to stay.

Why Public Choice Theory?

The theory just like classical economics assumes politicians and bureaucrats as rational agents. Just like a businessman would make those decisions first which lead to higher profits, the politician would make policies that maximize his chances of winning the next election.

The moment we apply this framework we get a different perspective on many political decisions. The findings of the theory can be applied to understand politics worldwide, even in developed countries. Basically, the policies should be developed to keep the long-term interests of the country but what we see mostly is the opposite. Most policies are short-termed in nature with the objective to please the current electorate, even if it creates some substantial long-term losses. There are number of examples to restrict government's short-term policymaking behavior. A good example is the passing of 'Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act' (FRBMA) that aims to reduce to the revenue account deficit to zero percent and fiscal deficit to be three percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Education policy in India has been characterized by a deep inconsistency between ends and means (Dreze and Sen, 2002). A good system of education that our country requires is not pursued and implemented effectively till today. The main obstacle to this has not been the lack of funds or availability of suitable teachers as has often been made out. Perhaps the most important reason for this was its non acceptance by the economy. The existing model of primary education was primarily designed for the upper and middle classes in India. Hence they resisted any attempt to change the system. Also it has been seen that primary education has not been included in any election manifesto of the political parties as the major concern. Politicians have stood for opening high schools and degree colleges but none for primary education institutions. This issue has been completely neglected and no significant debate has been raised in the parliament.

Political influence has been of two types one, from above which has been instrumental in shaping the education system and two, the lobbying and the pressure groups from which the system originating at local level in forms of organization of teachers. The work of Kingdon and Muzammil (2002) discloses the fact that education related agitations in U.P. had often been framed under immense lobbying pressure from teachers particularly at primary and secondary levels. Teachers in schools had been instrumental in determining the local base of political parties in the state. Such attitude of the political leaders social reformers and the teachers leads to the poor functioning of government primary schools and widening the gaps between the haves and have not. Due to absence of any kind of accountability to the public, the system of government schools has been comprehensively corrupted.

The failure of schooling system in combination with persistence inequalities of class, caste and gender, has kept even the most elementary educational achievements out of reach of large section of population (Dreze and Gazdar, 1998). In the studies by Weiner (1991), Dreze and Gazdar

(1998)), PROBE (1999) and Dreze and Sen (2002), it is shown that despite so much empowerment value, the promotion of basic education has received little attention from social and political leaders specially in the post independence period. For example, although elementary education is now a fundamental right, there was a lack of strong political support for the 83rd constitutional amendment to make it so.

Now coming back to the main point, why do politicians and bureaucrats make such policies? The answer can be addressed in the framework of the theory of public choice given in this Chapter. If we see them with the lenses of public choice perspective we can say that these politicians and bureaucrats act as the self-interested, rational, profit-maximiser and uncertainty-minimiser individuals. They prefer their own narrow pursuits. The nexus among the politicians and the bureaucrats fuels the corrupt practices and leads to policy failure.

In the present study an attempt is made to examine the issue of corruption at primary level education in government primary schools within the theoretical background of public choice. As it would help to explore whether the major cause for poor administration, under-utilization and poor governance is the vested interest of the officials that prompts them to plunge into corruption or there is something else that is affecting the delivery of services adversely.

Section III

A. Research Methodology:

To make the study more effective, survey and case study methods were used. District Mirzapur of Uttar Pradesh was selected as the place of study. The inquiries which were carried out in the month of March and April of the Year 2008, essentially consist of unannounced visits

to the schools, government offices of primary education and the residences of children. The inquiries were further supplemented by questionnaires/schedules and detailed discussions with parents, students, teachers, local residents and officials.

Research Questions

The survey of literature provided a base to study the problem of prevailing corrupt practices in government primary schools within a theoretical frame- work. The identified research questions were:

Q.1. How the polity and socio-economic characteristics impinge on the mode of delivery of services at primary level education?

Q.2. How can we analyse the issue of corruption at school level in a theoretical framework?

Q.3. How to improve the transparency and accountability of public officials at school level?

Data Collection

To have a detailed study of the problem and make the project practical, both Primary and Secondary methods of data collection were adopted. Norms of exploratory as well as descriptive research were applied to have data and information on every aspect of the study.

Sampling Plan

Due to limitations of resources, time and money, it was not possible to cover almost all the schools of district municipality. Thus, we used the sampling survey method to collect the data. There are in total 12 Blocks and 3 Municipal Boards in the District of Mirzapur. The three Municipal Boards in the District of Mirzapur are (1) Mirzapur District Municipal Board (2) Chunar Municipal Board and (3) Aharura Municipal Board.

Mirzapur District Municipal Board was randomly selected as the study area. There are in total 39 schools in the District Municipal Board (See Appendices). In all the schools, either one or two teachers were employed so it was necessary to take at least 25 schools from the given list of 39 schools to make the study more representative. The total number of sample respondents was 80. It consisted of 40 teachers from the selected schools and 40 parents of the children, studying in those schools. Schools were visited without prior notice as well as the education offices and the locality was also visited to have a broader picture. Questionnaires, unstructured interviews were the major research tools to get the most of the relevant information.

Primary Data

Primary Data were collected through unannounced field visits, questionnaires/schedules, daily diary, telephonic interviews and face to face unstructured interviews of teachers, parents, students and the concerned persons.

Field Visits:

Several visits were made to the Municipal Board office as well as to the Office of Basic Education (Basic Shiksha Adhikari). These visits were very helpful in collecting the relevant information and the data. It gave an opportunity to observe the situation closely. The sample schools were also visited to have a first hand experience. Last but not the least; the visit was made to the houses of the parents. It provided an opportunity to understand the socio-economic conditions of parents as well as other related problems such as the extent of poverty, unemployment and above all inequalities and regional disparities. Discussions with the officials about the entire school administration were very helpful to get their views about teachers and parents as well as their own colleagues. It also helped to analyse the condition in a broader

framework. The visits made possible to examine and understand the existing situation at a deeper level.

Questionnaires

In the context of the research questions, two questionnaires were prepared separately, one for the beneficiaries (parents/ children) and the other for the service providers (teachers). There were 15 questions in each of the questionnaires. The questions were set in a specific framework. The parent/children questionnaire began with the 5 questions on schooling and family. This part was followed by 4 questions on the teacher-pupil relation in the school. These questions were further succeeded by 2 questions on the incentive schemes and the last four questions dealt with the community participation in school activities. In a similar way, in the questionnaire for teachers the starting 5 questions in the beginning dealt with the teachers and the educational management. These questions were followed by 5 questions on teachers' concern about the school and the community. The concluding 3 questions were about teachers' involvement in politics. Every question had a reason behind it and had some relationship with the other. The motive behind each questionnaire was to address the research questions as mentioned above.

We tried to ensure that the questions were very simple and easy to understand. Teachers were requested to fill them up when they were free. In case of parents/students, some of the parents filled on their own and the remaining asked for support to fill up as they were unable to read and write. The presence of students at that time was very helpful in getting the relevant responses.

Scaling Technique: There were two types of questions in both the questionnaires. For five questions in each of the questionnaire, following scale was allotted for each response Yes= 1, No= 1, No Response = 0.

Further, for remaining 10 questions in each questionnaire, following scale was allotted for each response

5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Undecided, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree, 0 = No Response.

A numerical value of 5 to 0 was attached to each category of response for the purpose of scoring. The sum of the scoring has been summarised and is displayed in the tabular form in the section 3.4 Findings.

Interviews

Unstructured, face to face as well as telephonic interviews were conducted during the visit. Non-teaching officials present in the education offices at the time of visit were also interviewed. The discussion with them on the relation between the teaching and non-teaching officials in the education administration was an eye-opener as it revealed many hidden aspects which are critical but less discussed in the literature. At the time of the school visits, most of the teachers were found busy in either maintaining registers or in the preparation of food for children. They just filled the questionnaires and gave their phone numbers and home address for further enquiries. There were both face to face and telephonic interviews with the teachers. The parents and students who were interested to give more information were also interviewed later.

Daily Dairy/ Notes

An attempt was made to maintain Daily Diary and to note down the important observations at the time of visit. These were of great help at the time of analysis, as all information was available in the written form. It was helpful to recall the whole context behind a particular response.

Secondary Data

Secondary data were collected from books, articles, government reports and various websites. Newspapers were found to be of great use as it carried articles pertaining to the government school issues that we were concerned about. The collection of relevant material was used to undertake the study with review of literature, the government reports such as Economic Surveys, All India Educational Surveys and list of the schools collected from the municipal office assisted in analyzing the data. World Development Reports and Global Monitoring Report were also very useful in preparing a background for the study. Consulting the websites also aided a lot. It helped to collect information about the related research work conducted internationally. Besides all these, the best part of secondary data were the collection of articles from *Amar Ujala*, a Hindi edition newspaper published in the district of Mirzapur.

Findings:

The data collected were processed and analysed to shortlist the relevant data and utilize the same for the research purpose. Efforts were made to analyse, understand and conclude the available data to address the research questions. The findings of the study are given below:

1. Schooling and the Family (See Table:1)

The study reveals that pathetic condition of the government primary schools is in sharp contrast with the claims made by the public representatives at the time of elections. Almost 83.5% of the respondents did not find the government school to be a good one. Through further communication we came to know that as compared to the government schools they perceived private schools as better in all respects. But financial constraints forced them to send their children to government schools.

Further, on asking on their conversation with their children about daily school activities, 67.3 % of the respondents said that their children bothered little about sharing their feelings with them. *“Most of the parents are illiterate so their children undermine them and just talk about the food they had taken in lunch”* a respondent added. A little less than 60% agreed that their children study at least one hour at home. On asking whether they force their children to go to school or the children go on their own, 55% of the respondents answered positively that they had to persuade them. School is a place which attracts the young mind. Children find new friends, new atmosphere and an identity of their own. These are the things that attract a child towards the school. Lack of these things binds the children to stay at home to help their parents. On girls’ education 56% of the parents held the opinion that due to changing scenario, education for their daughters is a must at least up to class X. This reflects the changing perception of parents where we can witness the gradual decline of gender disparity.

2. Teacher-pupil Relationship in the School (See Table: 2)

On asking about whether teachers’ motivate students and effectively use teaching aids, more than 80% of the respondents categorically denied. In a similar note, on of homework as well as weakly test, 80% respondents gave negative responses. In case of teachers’ behaviour and language used in the classroom, there were mixed responses. However, the percentage of negative responses is more than the others.

Almost 85% respondents agreed that the teachers ask for various kinds of help from the students. This kind of attitude of teachers towards their students supports students’ indifference towards these schools. It reflects why the government primary schools are performing poorly. There is hardly any ethical bond between the teachers and the students. Teachers’ presence in the class does not assure that learning takes place. Teachers are least interested in their responsibilities.

They have a mind set that these children are worth for nothing so it is better to take their services as the school lacks staff as well as infrastructural facilities and no one is going to complain against.

3. Public Action and the School (See Table: 3)

It is very difficult to define public interest in education or to identify its articulation and assertion by the public authorities. Unlike the educated parents, these parents are unable to manage their daily bread and butter let alone looking into their child's primary educational interests. As Table 3 reflects, more than 60% of the respondents disagreed that they meet the teachers to know the performance of their children. In case of their participation in the school functions also, 67% of the respondents disagreed. This showed that the interest in education and schooling of children do not have a positive correlation. In case of the community participation, the table presents a gloomy picture as only 10% of the respondents were ready to protest when the school remains closed without any prior notice. More than 70% respondents were passive as they presumed that every time the school remains closed there would be some special occasion.

4. Assessment of Incentive Schemes (Table: 4)

Food and financial support are the two basic requirements to prepare a mind for education. In this context, the incentive schemes such as mid day meal and provision of scholarship were launched but they were not implemented properly in our study area. Almost 80% of respondents did not agree that the food given for lunch is nutritious. And similarly in case of scholarship amount, 90% of the respondents found it to be insufficient. It reflects that on an average the incentive schemes as mid day meal as well as annual scholarship launched by central government are perceived to be highly inefficient.

5. Teachers and the Education Management (See Table: 5)

Similar to other studies in this study also, more than 80% of the respondents accepted that the non-teaching official activities such as excessive paper work, the decennial census, health programmes, literacy campaigns and vote counting affect their performance adversely. More than 80% of the respondents accepted that another cause for poor performance is the lack of teachers as it adds to their burden.

Further, inadequate non-teaching staffs such as peons, maids, etc., put additional load on them. Shortage of teachers also reduces the number of days a school remains open. When teachers go for non-academic activities or when they are on leave, these schools remain closed. In most of the schools, there are only one or two teachers and when these teachers go for data collection the school remains closed. On asking about the relation between the teacher and other officers more than 65% of the respondents denied that there is any healthy relation. This relationship affects the overall educational administration and as an effect, the consumers of the service provided suffer, i.e., parents and the students. More than 75% of the respondents strongly denied that the inspectors visit the schools regularly. Here also relation plays a very important role. Infrequent rare inspections lead to poor accountability and support weak inspection system. More than 70% of the teachers found the inspection process to be very weak. It shows that the poor governance at all stages of the overall school administration ranging from the teacher to the District education officers. Their conduct is akin to principal agent problems as discussed in Section II. In the process, the teachers have moved away from their main task of teaching. There is hardly any cooperation between the teachers and the other education officers. This renders the inspection process ineffective. Consequently this results in the poor delivery of services in the government primary school.

6. School and the Community (See Table: 6)

In case of community participation in school activities, 60% of the teachers did not agree that the community participates. On the issue of parental visit to school to check the educational progress of their children, more than 80% of the teachers responded negatively. More than 85% of the teachers denied that the school gets the support of community in improving the enrollments in the school. For teachers, though the incentive behind providing mid day meal in the school itself was a good start, it could not work successfully. More than 90% of the teachers said that these schemes were creating more tensions as they remain pre-occupied with these tasks. The Government started these incentive schemes with an objective to attract the poor children toward the school. It was hoped that these schemes will make them familiar with the school atmosphere and will provide them a new world. Though these schemes have been helpful in reducing the number of 'out of school' children, the goal has now changed. Almost 70% of the teacher opined that the main aim of sending the child to school is not to get education but for the sake of food and scholarship.

Lack of active parent-teacher interaction is a serious shortcoming of the schooling system that exists today. Parents do not get any feedback from the school which leads to insincerity and irregularity in school attendance of their children. Parents have many complaints but they have little ability to act collectively on these complaints.

7. Teachers' involvement in Politics (See Table: 7)

When the teachers were asked about their involvement in politics, 55% of the teachers answered affirmatively. Some of those who denied it seemed to think that they were in the dock and as such must deny the involvement of teachers in politics. A follow-up question was asked about the pressure from local leaders and officials as the major cause for participation. In this case,

75% of the respondents seemed unwilling or unable to accept it as a major factor. Teachers seemed at even on the issue of transfer and performance with 43% affirming the phenomena and an equal number denying it.

More than 55% of the teachers accepted that the involvement of teachers in politics affects their performance adversely. Around 33% of the respondents answered negatively as they found teachers' involvement in politics to be helpful in furthering the interests of that particular primary school and the good political connection enhances a school's bargaining position with respect to resource allocation. On asking about the link between the field visits and chances of coming closer to the local political leaders almost 55% of the respondents replied negatively. It reflects that it to an extent it may be the vested interest of the teachers which binds them to participate in local politics and school activities are not responsible for their nexus with the politicians.

The findings of this study are very much similar to that of the studies conducted by Gazder and Dreze (1998) and those of PROBE (1999). But the major difference between the present study and the others is that in the studies related to the provision and utilization of resources, the issue of governance in the context of poor delivery of services was only a part of whole study. There was not any theoretical base to study the problems and in majority of the studies, village schools were taken as the samples and it was concluded that the schools in urban were doing better.

On the contrary, in the present study the objective was to study the governance in the context of corrupt practices that affects delivery of services in government primary schools, and the samples were taken from the urban area as well. Mirzapur District Municipality Area is

considered to be the most developed area in the entire district. Further, an attempt is made to study the problem of poor governance in a theoretical set up of public choice

The studies reviewed reflects that there has always been a cross connection of complaints amongst the administration, the teachers and parents against one another. Similarly, in the present study also, all of them were found to be more interested in criticising one another. It is fruitless to blame one-another. The administrators, the teachers and the parents are all responsible citizens of the same democracy. They share the same constitutional rights and duties. All of them have some role to play. If any one of them goes astray from ones' path the whole system gets shaken.

Socio-economic development of the marginalized group, removal of regional disparities and equality of opportunities, all these are meaningful in a democratic country as long as there is accountability and transparency in the government. Once this is threatened, the whole country is trapped into a vicious circle of corruption, malpractices, dishonesty and unethical conducts.

Section VI

A. A Case Study of Government Schools in Mirzapur:

Mirzapur is a small district in Uttar Pradesh (U.P.). It was selected as an area for case study of educational development at primary level. Our choice of U.P. was inspired by various factors. First, it lags much behind of the rest of the states of the country in terms of important aspects of well-being and social progress. Secondly, there is presence of high quality research material on education in the state as on political economy of education (Kingdon and Muzammil,

2003), on sociology gender and education (Jeffery and Jeffery, 2003), and more generally on educational provision (Dreze and Sen, 1999), made the area suitable for our case study.

Mirzapur comprises of several villages. More than 70 percent of its population lives in rural areas. As per 2001 Census of India, Mirzapur has a population of 205,264, out of which male constitute 54% and females 46%. It has an average literacy rate of 56.1%. Male literacy is 70.51% and female literacy is much lower and is only 39.89%. Carpet manufacturing has been the main business of the city. The economy of the city has drastically declined as compared to 1980s. The carpet industry is on the verge of collapse for a number of reasons. There is no employment for youth. In addition there has been constant demand to declare this city as 'Zero Industry' but the government is reluctant to do so. Child labour is one of the major problems which the city is facing today besides other problems such as poverty, unemployment, inequalities. But as we saw in the literature survey, most of the studies unveiled the myth that the child labour is the only mean to fight with the poverty and unemployment.

Similarly the present study discloses the fact that the major factors that promote the child labour are not only poverty and unemployment but the inadequate facilities for primary education, poor delivery of services in the schools and parental apathy. also play very crucial role in it. Lack of education for the present generation of children is synonymous with educational deprivation for future generation.

In this context, an attempt was made to study the functioning of the government primary schools in district Mirzapur, UP. An informal field investigation of the randomly selected government primary schools of the Municipal Board of Mirzapur city, district Mirzapur, U.P., was made.

Whole information gathered through observations, discussions and interviews with the concerned persons, is presented in this section.

1. Accessibility and Physical Conditions of Primary Schools

The present study found that the existence and accessibility of schools does not seem to be the main cause of persistent educational backwardness in the selected region. The schools were in the reach of the citizen .As we move from school to schooling, the picture appears extremely poor.

The current state of affairs goes against, the official norms as well as against the estimated requirement of universal elementary education. Only a few of the sample schools met this benchmark and in most of the cases, the shortfall was of a serious nature.

Operation Black Board (OBB) yet remains unrealized in a majority of schools as most of the schools did not have any building of their own. They were found running either in one corner of a school having its own building, or in the rented shops.

Case 1:

The Yusuf Imam Primary School, Rambagh, Mirzapur, with around 90 to 100 children, was running very well in the bungalow of Mr.Yusuf Imam, who was a very well known personality with strong political connection. But as the bungalow was on the bank of the river Ganges, the holder of a pollution project hired the bungalow on a higher rate so the school had to be shifted to a ration shop where there was only a small room on the road near the drainage system of the area. Now there were nearly 60 to 70 children with one female teacher who was almost 50 years old she was unable to manage the heterogeneous group in a small room. As half of the room was filled with the grain for mid day meal and the corner were occupied by the teacher rest and the remaining, hardly anything was left for the students of classes 1 to 5. Children were bound to spread on the road outside the school and as there was no other option, they were left free to go home. One interesting thing was that one corner of the road near the school was occupied by the maid who was preparing food for children under the open sky. Children were found, helping the maid in the preparation. It can be concluded. Food was served but it was very unhygienic. Teaching learning process was relegated in the process of serving the food.

The litany of inadequacies continues as we scrutinize the basic facilities such as classrooms, blackboards, playgrounds, drinking water and toilet facilities etc. The nominal necessary requirements are easy to identify .For instance, drinking water needs to be made available, if children are required not to leave the school premises, when they need to drink, and if they are to learn basic hygiene. Yet most of the sample schools visited did not have functional water supply as well as toilet facilities. As for as teaching aids are concerned, there was a drastic shortage of them in these schools. The only teaching aid visible in all the schools was a stick to punish the children.

2. Maintenance and Utilization of Available Resources

Lack of infrastructural facilities was further supported by the poor utilization as well as mis-utilization of available resources. Most of the school premises ranged from mildly unattractive to outright repulsive. The areas around the schools were mostly dirty and unpleasant.

Case 2:

There was a gomti of pan wala, in front of the Naurangi Devi Primary School at Pariatola, Mirzapur. The shop keeper played the music all time. It affected the school adversely. On asking a teacher, whether a formal complaint has been lodged to the Administration, she replied, “we have given the written complaints several times but no one listens, the officers at the time of inspection make use of that shop than what can we expect from them.” The indifferent attitude of the school administration as well as the people nearby tells us a sorry state of affairs.

In the schools where classroom were not short in supply, many of them remained unutilized, as it was very common to see children huddled into one or two classrooms and the other existing rooms were either unused or used as store rooms. The problem of poor utilisation and maintenance has nullified many of the apparent infrastructural gains that have been made in the recent year. It also makes it difficult to upgrade the school environment by providing better

furniture teaching aids, etc. What matters more is not only the provision of resources but the failure to create a pleasant and attractive atmosphere with the means available.

3. The Teacher, School Management and the Community

Turning to the human dimension of the school infrastructure another area of concern is the scarcity of teachers and effective teaching time. Though most of the mentioned studies found the teacher absenteeism as a major problem, but in the present study, lack of teachers was found endemic in most of the sample schools. There were maximum 2 and minimum 1 teacher in these sample schools. It was difficult for them to shirk or to be absent as a routine. (As told by them)

The current teacher resources are far behind the official goal of 'universal primary education'. The problem of high average pupil-teacher ratio is compounded by a highly uneven distribution of teachers among different schools. In principle the teaching posts are sanctioned on the basis of actual enrollment but the official norms are not strictly followed in practice. Uneven allotment of teachers is another serious problem which affects their performance. During the visit it was found that one school with the strength of 20 children and two teachers was running in the storeroom of the building of another school having 100 students under the supervision of only two teachers.

Case 3:

Chandrsheker Primary School, of Angadh, Mirzapur was running in the store room of Ahillya Bai Primary School in Bhatwa ki Pokhari, Mirzapur. Total strength of the former school was twenty children with two teachers, where as in several other schools where total number of students was more than 80 there were also only one teacher or two teachers it reflected uneven distribution of teachers.

Burden of non-teaching activities

Several teachers complained about the pressure of administrative chores from filling numerous forms to and keeping accounts. This burden seems to be expanding with the expansion of several incentive schemes. Most of the teachers interviewed found the mid day meal scheme to be a headache as much of their time went into the preparation and distribution of meal and subsequent maintenance of the register. Consequently, very little time was left them undertake the primary activity of teaching, they were meant for.

The burden of non-teaching duties outside the school is often cited as another major reason for lack of concentration in teaching. Examples of such duties include helping with the decennial census, the cattle census, anti-poverty schemes, health programmes, literacy campaign, preparation of voting lists and vote counting. While some of these duties have much social value, the diversion of teaching time is a serious matter; perhaps it may convey the message that teaching is not a priority for government.

Unsupportive Management

The school management usually fails in removing even the small hurdles in the path of teachers and never encourages the efforts of a responsible teacher. As the Head Master of a City Primary School Mr. Ramashray said, *“If any teacher shows interest in teaching the marginal children, gives most of his time to them the other members of the department ridicule, saying it seems he is preparing all the students for I. A. S., P.C.S.”*

Further, teachers face the problem of inadequate availability of books, school uniform as well as the scholarship in proportion to the number of students enrolled. The administration pressurizes them to distribute the given amount and the parents whose children do not get this thing blame the teacher.

In some cases the management becomes the source of harassment. As Shaheen the Head Mistress of City Primary School said, “*Adhikari log kahte hai kaun padhane ko kah raha , bus kagaz pesh karo,meeting attend karo, kafi hai.*”(The officers say who asks you to teach, just submit the papers in time and attend the meetings, it is more than enough).

Further, a responsible teacher gets no recognition for his or her effort. As teachers observed that the quality of teaching was the least of all the concerns of their superiors. The main focus was on the school records, enrolment figures, incentive schemes and other administrative matters. The management had virtually made them multi-purpose agents. Inspectors expected them to complete their various administrative tasks. Government department utilized them in all kinds of non-teaching duties and party leaders used them as political agents whenever they wished. Consequently, teaching became the least prominent and the most thankless of all the activities that they were expected to perform.

Teacher-Parent Relations

The serious problem of the schooling system that exists today is the lack of active parent-teacher interaction. They are mostly found blaming each other for the failure of schooling. Parental apathy plays a major role, parents even if they are unhappy, have little scope to influence teachers and teachers have limited interest in active interaction with parents. Parents are individually interested in education and have many private complaint but they show little ability to act collectively on their complaint .While they have good reasons to feel somewhat powerless; their collective power is also under-used. Some teachers complained that though parents rarely visit to enquire about the educational status of their children, they are mostly concerned about the meal and the scholarship. They make at least three trips a day to the schools at the time of payment of scholarship money. Lack of parental support to the teachers even

sometime takes the extreme form of irresponsible or obstructive behaviour of the students which the incident of *Sherva Jamalpur Primary School* reflects,

“The head master of the school was cruelly beaten by a student as the student was asking for scholarship and the head was refused saying that there was no such provision. The student got angry as he was sure that the master was trying to grab the money, couldn’t control his anger and the master became the victim of his rage” (Amar Ujala, 19 October, 2007).

In looking for ways to achieve a more participatory schooling system much can be done outside the formal channels of parent-teacher interaction. Face to face meeting between teachers and parents does seem to play an important role even without face to face meeting a teacher who has a healthy concern for his or her reputation is likely to be sensitive to the parental view.

Teachers inside the Classroom

In most of the schools, children from class I- III were found sitting in the veranda, while the other two classes V and VI were adjusted inside the dark and dingy rooms. It was quite difficult to identify the class (of any of the student) just by seeing them or talking to them. The only way was either to ask the teacher or the student. The teachers seemed unrest but could barely manage to keep watch over the large heterogeneous group. In the name of teaching they had to depend only on the text book, sometimes reading it loudly, and at the other times, asking students to read. It was quite obvious that unable to cope with more than one class at a time and frustrated by the poor work environment they adopted the principle of least action.

Parental views on education

Many parents said that education is must for their children. Examples of statements to that effect are, *“Padhai to zindgi hai unpadh admi to mare se battar hai”* (Education is life, an uneducated man is worse than the dead). Similarly, *“Padha-likha admi duniya me kahi bhi rah*

sakta hai use doosre per nirbhar nahi rahna padta hai” (An educated man can survive anywhere in the world. He is independent). Many other signs of high and rapidly growing parental interest in education are available which bring forth the multidimensional importance of education.

The Gender Bias

The study reflects that the gap in educational aspiration between different social groups has narrowed down rapidly. Parents give much importance to the education of girl child up to higher secondary though in case of higher education more weightage is given to boy’s education. As Mano Devi said “*Ladki padhi likhi ho to sauraal me raj karti hai ma-baap ko bhi izzat milti hai*”(If the girl is educated she rules after marriage, parents also feel proud). Similarly other statements emphasised that basic education for girls is essential but in case of higher education, most of the parents argued that various socio-economic as well as regional boundaries compel them to stop the education of their daughters, as Ramdei said, “*Ladki zayadah padh leti hai to ladka nahi milta hai, umr badh jati hai*”(higher education creates problem in the marriage of the daughter).

The Society

Another interesting point to note is that parental attitudes are highly interdependent. The decision of one person was highly influenced by the neighbouring one. To illustrate on being asked why they did not complain for poor functioning of the schools, they simply said no one dared to ask as there was no one to listen to them in the administration, in other words they were following what they were seeing as a social norm. There was a broad dividing line between two groups in the society. One group represented the rich and the middle class people who could afford the higher cost of education as well as their social environment were also quite different. This group preferred to send its children to better schools, having all the facilities. The other

group belonged to the poor and marginal people who were unable to earn their daily bread and butter. They also wished to send their children to a good school but poverty and unemployment, their own illiteracy and the most important factor their social status compelled them to settle with low quality schools for their children.

Educational Hopes and the Schooling System

Though the parental motivation for education of their children was found to be very high, as most of them had very bitter experience of being uneducated and illiterate, still they were not so serious about the full attendance of their children in the school. It shows that importance of education and interest in schooling are two different things. One does not assure the other. Their children had various excuses for not going to school on a regular basis or attending the school for the whole day due to poor infrastructural facilities in the school, teachers' indifferent attitude, poor quality of education, and high cost of education.

Among these the quality of education and teachers attitude are very important issues, which attract a child's mind towards school. The filthy condition of government primary schools in the urban area created more discrimination and inequality in the society.

Case: 4

Shabeena (respondent) a widow explained that when his husband was alive he was earning well and they were able to send their two children in a private school and were very happy but after his sudden death she found herself helpless as she was illiterate and has no source of income. So she got her children admitted in a government school where they were unable to adjust as there was no place to sit, no one to listen to them and no timing for students as well as the teacher to come and leave the school. Every morning they decline going to that school and plead to re-enter the previous school.

Though it is very difficult to define quality in the context of education, what can be said is that the education which helps to promote basic intellectual skills is considered to be of some value. Mostly it is viewed that poor parents want their children to get the education which may help them to enter into the middle class government employees. Burra(1995), in her case studies on child labour, cited various examples where parents wanted some kind of manual skills for their children which could make skilled labour so that they could earn better than their forefathers.

Contrary to this, in the present study it was found that the parents wanted that education for their children, which could prepare them for life and make them individual agencies. It is not related only with the occupational importance of education but also with peace of mind and human freedom. They demand that education for their children should bring them out of the vicious circle of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and above all social discrimination. While asked whether they force their children to go to school or the children go on their own. They complained that there was no need to force their children. They were ready to go a better school, where they would get a chance to interact with other children, a welcome change of atmosphere and liberation from the chores of family labour. But the schools in which they were admitted were less attractive so parents were bound to force them to go to schools

What discouraged them was the rude and selfish behaviour of teachers in the school as most of the time children were busy in serving the teacher as well as helping the cook who prepared meal for them, children were free to play, leave the school as per their wishes as there was no restriction or any kind of discipline on the part of the administration. As this statement by *Shazia*, a nine- year old girl from *Naurangi Devi Primary School, Pariatola, Mirzapur*, supports, “*Buchhe class me kanche khel rahe the teacher se shikayat karne per teacher ne mujhe data aur*

kaha jao tum bhi khelo” (Children were playing with marbles in the classroom when I complained the teacher rebuked me and told to me play with them).

In a middle class family the parents know how to deal with the teacher and the bureaucracy. Children grew up in an education friendly atmosphere, so sending children to school on a regular basis is much easier. The policy makers easily forget that in the poor families where none of these favourable circumstances would apply—sending children to school is a struggle. As they have to choose between schooling and other opportunities as if the child learns nothing in the school then it will be better to help his parents that will give some financial support to them.

As far as public action is concerned, the findings firmly confirm the need for improving the delivery of services in the schools. Parents are ready to send their children to a school on regular basis only when their opportunity cost declines. Quality of schooling doesn't mean increasing the number of students in each class, or, opening new schools at every corner. What is needed is the cooperation and support of teachers and the bureaucracy as well as the community without any discrimination on the basis of socio-economic religious or political status, to turn the vicious circle into virtuous one. Only then the dream of quality education for all can come true.

Evaluation and Examination

If classroom interactions are far from being child centered, examinations can be described as child threatening. However innovative the teaching method is, it tends to become ineffective if the pattern of evaluation is not changed in consonance with the child-centered philosophy. In the sample, schools examination was considered to be of least important, as most

of the teachers interviewed agreed to that it was just a formality and they tried to ensure every student passes the examination.

Case 5:

Nazia, a class III student of Naurangi Devi Primary School, Payariatoal was bold enough to give her views as she remarked that in the examination the teacher solved all the paper on the blackboard and asked them to copy. When they protested, that they did not want to copy but would like to do on their own, the teacher threatened them just to do what she ordered otherwise none of them will be passed and she would be transferred or suspended due to poor records of her class.

The hopelessness and frustration created by the examination process and the pressure of an increasingly competitive system have taken a high human toll. The pattern of examination needs urgent reforms. This step is important both in its own right as well as to prevent further corruption of the entire schooling process

3. Public Policy and Education Management

The field investigation reveals that the failures of government schools are fairly extensive and their roots are deep. Increasing public spending on education, accelerating the quantitative expansion of educational facilities, and introducing ad-hoc ‘schemes’ to supplement the basic schooling system, such initiatives would certainly be useful in transforming the educational situation. But the primary issue is to ensure that all the existing primary schools are well-equipped, well-staffed and well-functioning.

It may be useful to distinguish between the provision and utilization of schooling facilities as the successful expansion of educational achievements obviously depends on both the adequate provision of schooling facilities and the proper utilization of these facilities.

1. Provision and Accountability

The field investigation suggests that the physical supply of schooling infrastructure is no longer the main constraint on achieving the universal primary education. Vast majority of population lives within the short distance of a primary school. The main constraints in the sample schools are that first, there are very few teachers; secondly, those appointed spend very small part of their time on teaching. Being absent is another issue. Even if they are present at school with no opportunity to pursue other productive activities, they have little motivation to engage in active teaching.

In these government schools, the chain of accountability is very weak. Notionally, it exists in the form of school inspection system, whose agents are supposed to be acting on behalf of the users. Parents and the community who are the actual users of the services provided in these schools, have little direct control over the activities of the teachers and inspectors. The only control they have is through their political representatives who can approach the district educational authorities. In practice the holder of political powers are more interested in using the schooling establishment as a mean of extracting and dispensing public resources for their own advantage than in promoting the cause of widespread literacy.

The Inspection System

The main function of the inspector of schools is to ensure that adequate standards are maintained in government schools. Apart from this, inspectors can also do much more than breathing down the neck of teachers, for instance by ensuring that teachers' complaints are heard of, or not, and by advising them on teaching methods. The actual condition is quite different; the careless management has distorted the educational process by suggesting that education is not a serious matter. Another distortion is that the management fails to ensure better facilities for

disadvantaged children whose parents are unable to provide home support which teachers take for granted.

Most of the sample schools had not been inspected even once during the last six months of our visit. In some cases, repeated inspection was accompanied by some indication of corruption. Mostly, the inspectors tend to concentrate on the more accessible schools (as said by teachers). The process of inspection was very weak. The inspectors spent very little time on their inspection visits, as if the schools were doing well just fine. Their primary concern was to examine school registers. As far as talking with parents is concerned, inspectors did not seem to perceive it as being a part of their jobs. It seemed that the contribution of the inspection system, if any was limited to a crude watchdog role. One reason for this was that inspectors also felt helpless in most of the cases as taking actions on the complaints might lead to protracted bureaucratic or even legal wrangling, so the temptation was to do the minimum.

Teachers mostly manipulate the school registers and other school records to avoid the threat of transfers, the inspectors are mostly aware of these kinds of activities and in some cases they ask the teacher to show that everything is going well even if it is only on paper. Shri. Ram Kumar, a Head Master explained,

“When the inspector visits the school he finds rarely any student present in the class. When he asks the teacher he or she gives a blunt reply that they have gone to help their parents in the field. The inspector suggests the teachers to make them present on register so that he can sign the register and the school may run smoothly.”

The practice of manipulating attendance registers and other records was very common in most of the schools in rural and urban areas

2. Education and Politics

Politicization involves the appropriation of educational structures and resources and the displacements of educational goals by organized political and community interests.

The most remarkable feature of the educational situation in district Mirzapur is very much similar to that of Uttar Pradesh, as during interview with parents it was found that most of the parents were extremely critical of the schooling system but had little sense of the possibility of making organized demand for change. Further official neglect has provoked little challenge from opposition parties, interest groups, the media or the general public. Though the parents are mostly powerless but the teachers have a strong stand in the local politics. The political influence of teachers in the district comes not only from their representation in the state legislature but also from the strength of their unions. When teachers resort to strike, the administration tends to concede their demands to avoid the public resentment caused by prolonged disruption of the schooling system. Teacher unions have used this power on many occasions.

Case 6:

A public servant from the City Municipal Corporation Office informed about the power of teacher unions through citing an event that took place just few days before the field visit he told that, The members of Primary School Teacher Union of district Mirzapur demonstrated in front of the office of Basic Education Officer. They demanded the suspension or transfer of the Basic Education Officer (BSA), Mr. Rakesh Singh, the complaints against him were to be the most corrupt officer whose ultimate aim was to make money from all sources, the language used by him was very harsh, he threatened teachers to transfer and suspend, exploited them as much as he could, visited various schools without prior notice even on holidays and cut the salary of the teachers as well as para teachers. He used to treat education as a business industry where the only aim was to earn as much profits as possible; the teachers also complained that he was supported by other administrative authorities of the district such as D.M., A.D.M etc. The

teachers union sat on strike for one week from 27 October to 4 November, 2007. They got the support of all political parties as well the teachers from other districts, and finally their demand was accepted. After investigation, the BSA, Rakesh Singh was found guilty in most of the cases and was transferred to another district. But in view of the official interviewed the B.S.A was looked as a problem by the teachers because he was trying to bring change in the administration through accountability and transparency, that was not acceptable to the members of teacher union, that led to this event.

The incident reflects that the campaigns of teachers' union have mostly focused on the issues of salaries, work condition as well as transfer and suspension. In this respect they have been quite successful. Unfortunately, teachers have seldom used their political power to campaign for broader improvements in the schooling system or, for the promotion of education in general. It reflects that the perceived role of teachers' union is to further the immediate interest of their own members rather than those of the pupils or parents. The asymmetry of power has led to major biases in education policy.

4. Conclusion of the study in the light of Public Choice Approach

The present study discloses the fact that in government primary schools, accountability in governance is virtually absent. This affects the school governance adversely. Most of the corrupt practices and conduct of the teachers and the administrators can be explained in the light of the theoretical framework of Public Choice.

Vested Interest of Teachers and other Officials

In the Public Choice, individuals, interest groups, bureaucrats, and politicians are assumed to seek their own self interest. All the three important elements as methodological individualism, homo-economicus and catallactic approach of Public Choice theory, are applicable for these government officials as most of the teachers were found busy in serving their vested interests as well as trying to get the best of the available without much effort, behaving rationally. Their

political connections helped them to serve their own narrow short term gains. As most of the children complained that during the examination time, the teachers write all the answers on the Board and ask them to copy so that all of them could pass. Otherwise they would be transferred to some other area. Similarly, teachers complained that inspector of schools and other officers as all of them visit the school just to make money as most of the teachers complained that they want their share in the entire contract whether it is related to the renovation of school building or to buying the ration for mid-day meal. Their political connections lead to the problem of adverse selection. As the teachers and the officials themselves informed us that in most of the cases who was required to be appointed as primary school teacher or a clerk in the education office, was not the collection of degrees or work efficiency rather than the political relations were playing an important role. Ostrom and Ostrom (1971) cited four public choice assumption about individuals as motivated by self interest, rational, profit maximizers and uncertainty minimizers. The primary government school teachers and the other officials fit into these assumptions as the study reflects that most of the teachers interviewed were found to be more concerned about their own personal problems such as the work burden on them, their social status and all they were little interested in sharing their views on the policies made by government their move on them etc. These Teachers are neither accountable to the parents nor to the local body. It gives them an incentive to follow their own rules.

Principal-Agent Problem

Buchanan (1966) pointed out that at the level of logical theory all that is required of the individualistic model is that interests differ and that individuals act in accordance with their individual interests. It generates principal agent problem. This is but a special case of what is

called the Principal-Agent problem, i.e., agents unless it is in their self-interest may not act in the interests of their principal.

In the present study we saw that though these teachers were appointed by the government as agents to serve the goal of achieving total literacy at primary level. But, as there was no accountability at local level and the inspection system was very weak, they rarely bothered about the goals set at state or central level. They were mostly guided by personal priorities as their appointments were in the nearest schools, no inspection on regular basis or accountability and high salary etc. Very few of them had any job aptitude. Most of the teachers had chosen teaching as a profession not because they were interested in spreading education, what they valued more was the financial support to the family they can provide to their families.

Bureaucratic Hurdles

Tullock (1965) and Downs (1967) argued that bureaucrats act rationally and are always motivated by their narrow self interests. According to Niskanen's model, the actions of a bureau head are similar to the profit maximizing firm in the private sector. He would act as a maximiser because of his personal interests, be they income or prestige. For this purpose he would provide services at a level where total benefits equal total costs. This scale would exceed the level at which marginal benefits equal marginal costs, thus resulting oversupply. The Niskanen's model fits into the whole educational administration of the district of Mirzapur that was observed during field visit. The Basic Education Officer (BSO) is the bureau head at the district level. There is a chain of bureaucrats one under the control of other. The primary school teachers are at the bottom of vast bureaucratic machinery. Though the main responsibility of this whole group is to govern the school management and administration in such way the national and state level policies may be implemented successfully at the grass root level. But all of them were found pleasing one

another to fulfill their personal interests at the cost of the poor mass. There was a strong political and bureaucratic nexus among them. As one of the teachers interviewed, replied, “*we manipulate the data as it becomes easier for the inspectors to sign the register, he never inspect the class what pleases them is well maintained registers and other records. They do not bother about whether the data is fake or original.*” Teachers were more concerned about their good links those who could help them at the time of transfers or suspensions. This kind of behaviour has led to drastic decline of the social status of the teachers.

Rent Seeking

Its basic thesis is that when both a market economy and government are present, government agents are a source of numerous special market privileges. Both the government agents and self interested market participants seek these privileges in order to partake in the monopoly rent that they provide. When such privileges are granted, they reduce the efficiency of the economic system. In addition, the rent seekers use resources that could otherwise be used to produce goods that are valued by consumers. Rajiv Gandhi in 1989 suggested that out of every rupee allotted for rural development only 15 paise reached the intended beneficiaries. If one rupee is required for development and only fifteen paise becomes available then the work would remain incomplete or it would require an investment of seven rupees. In the former case, development would be stalled while in the latter case it would be far more expensive and therefore it would remain limited (Kumar, 1999). A moot point in public choice literature is that government intervention in any economy is beset with its own costs and these costs may outweigh those of imperfect markets. From our study we can conclude that the large sum of money spent by the government every year, for provision of food and scholarships to the

children goes in vain as neither the parents nor the teachers were satisfied with the scheme. Most of the teachers informed that the material used for the maintenance is of poor quality as those who are assigned this duty, handover their responsibilities to low grade private contractors and take their shares. One respondent from parents, “the money government sends for us is distributed among those who are governing us. It never reaches to the needy, for which it is sent.”

Pressure Groups

Public choice theorists pointed out that one way to reveal the preference is through vote and another important way is to form the group of those who have same interests. Backer (1983) tried to find out how the activities of the interest groups can be linked to the government activity. In most of the cases these groups are found to be busy in influencing the public policy for their personal motive by lobbying to the government. “*Teacher unions have successfully resisted reforms to increase teacher local accountability since the passage of the Basic Education Act and the Salary Disbursement Act in the early 1970s*” (Kingdon and Muzammil, 2003).

In the present study the case of suspension of BSA (presented in next chapter) is a good example of the power of teacher union. Teachers union in U.P. has gradually become stronger. But as an interest group it has only narrow objectives. Teachers can potentially influence the legislative activities of the government in favour of public interest. Teachers serve as a link between the administration and the mass. These are also the teachers who can help the government to achieve the goal of ‘education for all’. They are very close to the deprived group as well as to those who are making policies for them. During the visit some teachers were found to be very supportive in promoting literacy as they were ready to pay the necessary nominal

charges for those students whose parents were too poor to bear the fee charged as they did not want these children to sit at home due to lack of financial support.

What can be concluded from the study conducted in the district of Mirzapur is that it is the persistence vested interest that favours corruption at all levels of school administration. In the case of teachers it can be said though they were motivated by their self-narrow interest but what was lacking was the lack of incentive mechanism and strong accountability. These are compelled to do a lot of non-teaching activities as well as other official duties. As a result, they get very little time to teach. They also face the problem of low self-esteem as despite their high qualification they do not get any respect from the society as a whole. Parents also blame them. Since parents are illiterate it becomes impossible for teachers to convince them and motivate them to send their children to the school regularly.

Stiglitz (2005) have outlined few general principles as incentives and changes of government, increasing consumer orientation, monitoring and rewarding performance, extending the scope for competition, corporatising and privatising and improving regulatory policy. All these will help the government to come out of the rigid model of planning and would promote flexibility which would help the government as well as market working as complements to each other in a healthy environment and leading to socio-economic and political development of the country.

There is a severe need of incentive mechanism. Inspection system should be very strong from top to bottom so that the one, who is serving for narrow self-pursuit may be penalized and the one, who is totally devoted towards one's duty is rewarded. It needs a more crystal clear education system. Policies should be according to the socio-economic and regional needs of the people. It should be area specific, not a borrowed one from some other country. The extra burden on

teachers needs to be minimized. The work culture should be improved. Only those who really want to opt for this profession as their choice should be given an opportunity. Those who take it as second alternative should not be permitted to teach. The size of teachers union should be very small. And there is needs of a monitoring body of the teachers itself to keep an eye on the functioning of the members of this union.

All these call for strong accountability. The schools should be made accountable to the community. The community should also become aware of its role and responsibilities towards the children as well as the school administration. Proper provision of accountability and strong inspection are the only ways to combat corruption in education sector.

In drawing from education facilities in government primary schools of Mirzapur we must avoid the trap of regarding this district either as a typical of U.P. as a whole or a special case of little significance for other districts. Much of the U.P. is very different from Mirzapur, at the same time; large parts of eastern U.P. are like Mirzapur in some important aspects. In particular the socio-economic failures that have hindered educational development of Mirzapur, are not to that district alone.

Section V

Recommendations and Suggestions:

Education is an area that has undergone intensive reform in India in the last few decades. Every state in the region has undertaken significant changes in its educational system. Paradoxically, all these activities have occurred alongside a generalized perception that transformation in the educational scenario is very difficult to achieve in practice and that some fundamental things have hardly undergone any change at all.

Understanding why change for the better is difficult, involves understanding the main actors, their preferences and time frames, their alignments of interests and thus their potential for conflict or cooperation with the educational administration. The present study helps to explain why it is that not every change in the area of education is politically feasible, while at the same showing that some worthwhile changes can take place.

In all previous studies corruption is accepted as a major factor for the poor functioning of schools, whether it is administrative, political, or, bureaucratic corruption. But the literature review shows that very few attempts are made to study the governance in the context of corruption, in a theoretical framework in the country.

This gap in literature gave us a chance to look into the issue of corruption within the theoretical framework of Public Choice. This theory helped us to examine corruption as the major cause of poor delivery of services in government schools. According to the public choice theorists, the major guiding force for governmental actions and policies is self interest.

The present study reflects that service providers (teachers) typically are well organized and highly aware of policy decisions that could affect their welfare. By contrast, beneficiaries (parents and children) are highly dispersed, usually not organized, and receive little information about what is going on in schools. These asymmetries in organization and information are the starting point of most of the distinctive features of education policy making in education.

Thus, teachers' attitude as profit maximizers forces them to resort to corrupt practices. As they start behaving rationally their main aim becomes to maximize their own profits, teaching or performing well in the class become second priorities. They bother little about the high cost that the community pays for them. All the system of education is in the trap of corruption.

Good governance requires a standard of accountability and transparency. In the schools visited, there was no scope for accountability and transparency at the local level. Teachers were found to be certain that no one was going to monitor them. Teacher in U.P. have always opposed the local control. Teacher union is strong enough to bring about the required change.. It can be transformed from a narrow interest group to the interest group with wide interest which results into achieving the unachieved.

Suggestions

Education sector lacks a basic definition for qualitative education particularly at primary level that, once made, lends coherence across the system. This sets it apart from other policy areas, such as social security, with its pay-as-you-go principle. There is an urgent need to partially modify particular characteristics of educational provision without realigning education policy as a whole.

Teachers' actions are extremely hard to observe, even by their direct superiors, the school principals or supervisors. School performance is difficult to monitor for both education authorities and parents. The very large size of public schooling system creates severe difficulties in coordination. Thus low-powered incentives are the rule, since there is almost no possibility of distinguishing an individual effort and its contribution to the final product.

Implementation of any policy usually requires the participation of numerous actors—teachers, principals, students, supervisors, central and sub national bureaucracies, parents—or at least the absence of active opposition on their part. Time-specific and place-specific information is very important for making the system work. The combination of these distinctive features has an important political implication.

Education systems operate under a constant risk of capture by providers, with regard to teaching and administrative posts and control over key decisions and processes within education organizations, including appointments, disciplinary actions, distribution of perquisites or incentives, training, management, and personnel management systems. Education systems can avoid or curtail this propensity toward being captured through the operation of a series of countervailing forces. Two such forces are

- The first is a strong state, one that can count on a well-functioning public services regime and that incorporates strong accountability mechanisms.
- The second is a firmly rooted professional culture that socializes teachers and other important actors into values of proper conduct, high standards of competency, and public-regard ness.

In Uttar Pradesh, both of these countervailing forces tend to be weak. Typically, the union will have considerable staying power, while the government tends to have a very short time horizon. Moreover, there is not a sizable corps of public servants with the ability to steer or to preserve long-term policies. A teachers' union is often the largest labor organization in Uttar Pradesh, and it has and does exercise the right to strike, with consequences that ripple all the way to the nation's political stability. Kingdon and Muzammil's (2003) work is a masterpiece for complete information on teachers unions.

When an expansion in enrollments is at stake, all parties involved nearly always agree. Parents and children want more education. Teachers and their unions see enrollment expansion as more jobs, and authorities in both the executive and the legislature tend to like the kind of policy that allows them to show their constituencies very concrete results: more children attending school, new school buildings, and the like. International lending organizations also

support this type of reform, since expanding capacity involves large investments with relatively tangible products and uncomplicated implementation processes. Influencing the quality and effectiveness of an education system often means initiating actions that imply a substantial reorganization of teachers' work, through the introduction of incentives, supervision systems, and greater accountability through decentralization or intense parental involvement.

Further, there is no professional culture. There is hardly any respect for the teachers of government primary schools in the society. It affects their status and self-esteem adversely. It also promotes socio-economic disparities in the region. There is an urgent need to improve their working conditions. They should not be assigned non-official duties and specially duties like population census as these are the ways that bring them closer **to the local politics and they start** losing their interest in teaching. There should be at least two peons in each school. It will give the teachers more time to concentrate on teaching. The number of teachers should be increased and the class size should be minimized. It would help the inspection process easy and more transparent.

There is a need to maintain the record of teachers' performance. It would help to improve their performance in the class. The teachers who perform well and give effective outcome should be rewarded. Those who do not do well should be held accountable and strict action should be taken against them. All these are only possible through making the accountability and transparency process too strong. As these are the only ways to ensure good governance. Following the view of Stiglitz (2005), we can see that what is needed is the flexibilities in the role of government. Government should take the help of private sector wherever required. The planning model should not be rigid; it should change with the change of time. There is a need of

consumer orientation. Schools should be made accountable to the community and means of communication will also be helpful in improving community awareness.

All these require the full support of all the citizens of the country. There is an urgent need to remove the socio-economic and regional disparities at all level. It is only possible through giving more values to ethics. Further political mobilization of marginal group is another important step.

Summing up, we can say that policy making in education in India is disproportionately biased toward policies focusing on expansion and access rather than on quality and efficiency. This bias means that most policymaking is about expansion, most of the time. What is needed is to provide the quality education. It requires the support of administrators, teachers and the whole community to make the system more accountable and transparent. It would leave no place for intrusion of corruption.

Government is the agency through which common policies are determined, common affairs are regulated and common interests are promoted. The government is the representative of the will and power of the state. It is we as citizens who select a particular government. So its performance depends upon our choice, to whom, we select as our representative. As through vote, we reveal our preferences for a particular person as our representative, so it becomes our duty to monitor the activities of these representatives. All these together can change the lot of the poor masses and help the government to achieve any goal it set in the given time.

Tables

Table: 1. Schooling and the Family

Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)	No response (%)
You admitted your child in this school because it is a good school	10.0	83.5	6.5
When the child returns from school he tells about the whole day activities in the school to you.	25.0	67.3	7.7
The child spends at least one hour on his studies at home daily.	58.5	10.0	21.5
You need to force your child to go to the school	75.0	11.5	13.5
Girls' education is necessary at least up to 10 th class.	55.7	23.3	21.0

Table2: Teacher-Pupil Relations in the School

Questions	Scores(percentage)						Mean(stdev)
	5	4	3	2	1	0	
The teacher motivates every child to study and uses teaching aids effectively.	0	5	5	42.5	37.5	5	1.57 _(.75)
The teacher gives home work daily and takes verbal and written tests once in a week.	0	5	12.5	45	35	2.5	1.82 _(.71)
The behaviour and language used by the teacher in the classroom is affectionate /polite	15	22.5	7.5	20	27.5	7.5	2.55 _(.66)
The teacher asks the students to clean the classroom bring water for food and toilet etc.	45	40	7.5	7.5	0	0	4.22 _(.94)

Note: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3- Undecided, 2- Disagree, 1- Strongly disagree, 0-No response
(Total no of respondents =40)

Table3: Public Action and the School:

Questions	Scores(percentage)						Mean _(STDEV)
	5	4	3	2	1	0	
You go to the school and meet the teacher to know about the performance of your child in the class.	20	10	15	45	10	0	2.85 _(.63)
You participate in the annual functions of the school, if invited.	10	25	12.25	35	12.25	7.5	2.6 _(.43)
If the school remains closed without any prior notice the community protests	0	10	22.50	52.5	12.5	2.5	2.25 _(.66)
You support the school in increasing the enrollments.	20.0	17.5	15.0	30.0	10.0	7.0	2.85 _(.63)

Note: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3- Undecided, 2- Disagree, 1- Strongly disagree, 0-No response
(Total no of respondents =40)

Table: 4 Assessments of Incentive Schemes

Questions	Scores (Percentage)						Mean (Stdv)
	5	4	3	2	1	0	
The food given for lunch is very nutritious	0	7.5	5	50	30	7.5	1.75 _(.72)
The scholarship amount of Rs. 300 per annum is sufficient	0	0	10	35	55	0	1.55 _(.75)

Note: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3- Undecided, 2- Disagree, 1- Strongly disagree, 0-No response
(Total no of respondents =40)

Table 5: Teachers and the Education Management

Questions	Scores(percentage)						Mean (stdev)
	5	4	3	2	1	0	
The non-teaching official activities affect the teaching –learning process adversely	57.5	30	5	7.5	0	0	4.37 _(.98)
Lack of teachers and other non teaching staff in the school results into poor performance	35	47.5	7.5	5	0	0	3.9 _(.87)
There is a healthy relationship between the teacher and the officers.	5	5	17.5	32.5	37.5	2.5	2 _(.68)
The inspector visits the sechool regularly and gives verbal/written feedback.	0	12.5	7.5	50	27.5	2.5	2 _(.68)
The inspection process is very week and of no use.	52.5	27.5	7.5	7.5	5	0	4.15 _(.91)

Note: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3- Undecided, 2- Disagree, 1- Strongly disagree, 0-No response (Total no of respondents =40)

Table 6: School and the Community

Questions	Scores(percentage)						Mean(stdev)
	5	4	3	2	1	0	
Parents give their due support to the school in all the conditions. They help school to increase enrolment and retention.	10	20	10	27.5	32.5	0	2.47 _(.66)
Parents visit the school frequently and ask about the progress of the child in the class.	0	15	2.5	37.5	45	0	1.87 _(.70)
The community supports efforts made by the teachers to improve the condition of these schools.	0	5	10	35	50	0	1.7 _(.73)
The mid day meal is an admirable attempt in improving the retention in school.	0	2.5	2.5	32.5	65	0	1.47 _(.77)
Parents send their children to school for scholarship and mid day meal only	47.5	27.5	5.0	20.0	0	0	4.02 _(.88)

Note: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3- Undecided, 2- Disagree, 1- Strongly disagree, 0-No response (Total no of respondents =40)

Table 7: Teachers' Involvement in Politics

Questions	Yes (%)	No (%)	No response (%)
Primary teachers take part in politics	55.0	33.3	11.5
Teachers' involvement in politics is mainly due to pressure from the local political leaders and officers.	10.0	15.5	74.5
It is a teacher's political connection not his/her performance that affects his chances of being transferred against his wishes.	43.7	43.3	13.0
Political involvement has an adverse effect on teacher's performance	56.7	30.3	13.0

Note: 5-Strongly agree, 4-Agree, 3- Undecided, 2- Disagree, 1- Strongly disagree, 0-No response (Total no of respondents =40).

References:

- Acharya, P. (1996). 'Education, Panchayat and Decentralisation: Myth and Reality', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 Feb- 1 March
- Bagchi, A. (Ed.). (2005) *Readings in Public Finance*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Banerjee, S. (2001). Primary Education and Economic Development in India, in B. Ray, (Ed.), *Welfare, Choice and Development (Essays in the Honour of Amartya Sen)*, Edlis.
- Borooah, V.K. (1993). Public Choice: An Introductory Survey, in P.M. Jackson (Ed), *Current Issues in Public Sector Economics*, London: Macmillan
- Buch M. B. (Ed.). (1978-1983). *Third Survey of Research in Education*, New Delhi: NCERT
- Buchanan , J. M., R.D. Tollison, and G.Tullock, (Eds.). (1980). *Towards a Theory of Rent Seeking Society*, Texas: A and M Press.
- Buchanan, J.M. & Tullock, G. (1965). 'The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundation of Constitutional Democracy', University of Michigan, Michigan Press
- Burra, N. (1995). 'Born to Work: Child Labour in India', Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Chaudhari, & Swaroop, H. (1983). '*Uttar Pradesh ke Madhyamik Shikshak Andolan Ka Itihas*', Rae Bareli: Jan Shiksha Prakashan
- Cullis, J. and P. Jones. (1987,1998). *Public Finance and Public Choice*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Debroy, V. (2004), '*Agenda for Improving Governance*', New Delhi: Academic Foundation
- D'souza, J.B. (1996). Can Bureaucracy Survive This Corrosion? *The Redical Humanist*, 60(1) April
- Dreze, J. & Gazdar, H. (1998). 'Uttar Pradesh: The Burden of Inertia', in Dreze, J. & Sen, A. (Eds.), *Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Dreze, J. and Kingdon, G. (2001), 'Schooling Participation in Rural India' *Review of Development Economics*, 5 (1), February: p.1-24.
- Dreze, J. and Sen, A. (2002). *India: Development and Participation; 'Basic Education as a Political Issue'*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

Ghosh, P. (1997). *Society Politics and Primary Education, The Indian Dilemma*. M.Phil Disst. New Delhi: JMI.

Gould, H. (1972). Educational Structures and Political Process in Faizabad District-U.P.', in Rudolph and Rudolph (Eds.). *Education Politics in India: Studies in Organizations, Society and Policy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

Govinda, R. and Varghese, N.V. (1993), 'Quality of Primary Schooling in India: A Case Study of Madhya Pradesh', New Delhi: NIEPA

Jha, J. & Jhingran, D. (2002). Elementary Education for the Poorest and other Deprived Groups, The Real Challenges of Universalisation, Policy Education in India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(2), August 11-18, page no.3052-3062.

Kanthaka, (1996). Corruption the Way Out. *The Redical Humanist*, 60(1) April

Kumar, A. (1999). 'The Black Economy in India', New Delhi: Penguins Books.

Kumar, K. (1991). 'Political Agenda of Education', New Delhi: Sage

Kumar, K., Priyam M., & Saxena, S. (2001). Looking Beyond the Smoke Screen: DPEP and Primary Education in India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(7), February 17

Kurian, J. (1983). 'Elementary Education in India: Myth, Reality, Alternatives', New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House

Lalvani, M. (2003). 'Political Economy of State Intervention in India (A Public Choice Approach)', Delhi: Himalaya Publication.

Majumdar, T.(1983). 'Investment in Education and Social Choice', Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mishra, R.C. (Ed.). (2007). *Democracy and Good Governance, Good Governance of Human Rights: Challenges in the Age of Globalisation*, New Delhi: Author Press.

Mohit, B. (2004). Nexus Between Accountability and Good Governance: Conceptual and Practical Issues, in Sahni, P. & Medury.U. (Eds.), *Governance for Development Issues and Strategies*, Prentice Hall of India

Naraian, I. (1972). Rural Local Politics and Primary School Management, in Rudolph and Rudolph (Eds.), *Education Politics in India: Studies in Organizations, Society and Policy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

NCERT, (1991). *School Education in the 1990s: Problems and Perspectives*

———— (1995). *Sixth All India Education Survry* New Delhi: NCERT

_____ (2007). *Seventh All India School Education Survey*, Provisional Statistics (As on September 30, 2002).

NIEPA, (1990). *Education for ALL by 2000: Indian Perspective*, New Delhi: NIEPA

_____ (1992). *New Economic Policy and Financing Education*, New Delhi: NIEPA

_____ (1994). *Resource Requirement in Education in India- Implication for the Tenth Finance Commission*, New Delhi: NIEPA

Niskanen, W.A. (1987). 'Bureaucracy' in Charles K. Rowley (Ed.). *Democracy and Public Choice*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Olson, M. (1965). 'The Logic of Collective Action', Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Ostrom, V. and Ostrom, E.(1971). Public choice: A different approach to the study of public administration, *Public Administration Review*, 31(2)

Pal,Y. (1993). Learning Without Burden: Report of National Advisory Committee, New Delhi, Ministry of HRD/ Department of Education

Pant, S.K. (2007). *Monitoring and Evaluation Report of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in Mirzapur District (U.P.)*, Allahabad G.V.P. Social Science Institute submitted to the MHRD, New Delhi

Poisson, M. and Hallak, J.(2002). Ethics and Corruption in Education: Results from the workshop held at IIEP, Paris 28-29 November 2001, IIEP, UNESCO

Poisson, M. and Hallak, J.(2006). 'Governance in Education: Transparency and Accountability', IIEP, UNESCO

PROBE Team (1999). 'Public Report on Basic Education in India', New Delhi: Oxford University Press

Ramachandran, V.(2003). Backward and Forward Linkages that Strengthen Primary Education, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(10) March 8-14

Rudolph L.I. and S.H. Rudolph, (Eds.). (1972). 'Education Politics in India: Studies in Organizations, Society and Policy', New Delhi: Oxford University Press,

Sadgopalan, A. (2004). 'Globalisation: Demystifying its Knowledge Agenda for India's Education Policy', DD Memorial Lecture (July 15, 2004), Delhi: CDS.

Sappington, D.E.M. and Stiglitz, J.E. (1987) Privatization, Information and Incentives, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 6(4)

Shastri, P. (2004). The State of India's Education, A survey of Literature, in Bibek, D. (Ed.), *Agenda for Improving Governance*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation

Shah, M. R. (1951), 'Some Problems of Educational Administration in India', Ph.D. Bombay University.

Social Watch India, (2007). Citizens' Report on Governance and Development, New Delhi: Sage

Shukla, L. K.(1996). Corruption Indian Polity and Society, *The Redical Humanist*, 60(1) April

Srilatha, P. (2004). Governance in India: The Issue of Corruption, in Sahni, P. & U. Medury. (Eds.) *Governance for Development Issues and Strategies*, Prentice Hall of India

Stiglitz, J.E. (2005). The Role of Government in Economic Development, in A. Bagchi, (Ed) *Readings in Public Finance*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press

Tilak, J.B.G. (1987). '*Economics of Inequality in Education*', New Delhi: Sage.

Tilak, J.B.G. (2006). Cess-driven Allocations for Education, *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 8

Tullock, G. (1965). '*The Politics of Bureaucracy*', Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press.

————— (1987). *The Economics of Special Privilege and Rent-Seeking*, Boston and Dordrecht, Neatherlands: K. Academic Publishers

Tyagi, R.S.and Sharadindu (1999). *Educational Administration in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi:Vikas Publishing House

UNESCO, (2004). *Global Monitoring Report, Education for All: The Quality Imparitive*, UNESCO

UNDP, (2002). *Human Development Report 2002: Deepening Democracy in Fragmented World*, New York: Oxford University Press

UNDP, (2003). '*Successful Governance Initatives and Best Practices: Experiences from Indian States*', Planning Commission, Human Development Resource Centre, New Delhi: Academic Foundation

Valecha, G.K. and S. Abraham, (1983) *Educational Management and Administration: A Trend Report*, in Buch, M. B. (Ed.). *The Third Survey of Research in Education (1978-1983)*, New Delhi: NCERT

Verma, S.P.(2004). *Corruption in Public Service – Then and Now*, in Sahni, P. & Medury.U. (Eds.) *Governance for Development Issues and Strategies*, Prentice Hall of India

Vidyasagar, K.(2007). *Educational Challenges and role of Teachers in Andhra Pradesh: A Case Study of Institutional Initiative*, *Journal of Social and Economic Development*, 5, (2), July- December, 2007

Vittal, N. (2004). *Governance for Development: Corruption*, in Sahni, P. & U. Medury. (Eds.) *Governance for Development Issues and Strategies*, Prentice Hall of India

Vyas, J.P.(1963) *Central Government: Role in India Education -1913-1961 (An Educational and Historical assessment)*, Ph.D. Thesis, Raj Univ.

Weiner, M. (1991). *The Child and The State in India: Child Labour and Education Policy in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

World Bank,(1997). *Development in Practice: Primary Education in India*. New Delhi Allied Publiisiin

Consulted Websites

Buchanan, Public Choice: Politics without Romance. Accessed on 23/08/2007, <http://www.cis.org.au/policy/spr03-2.htm>

Felkins, L. (2006). 'Introduction to Public Choice Theory'. Accessed on 20/08/2007, <http://perpicuty.ne/sd/pub-choice.htm>

Jefferson, T. Rent-seeking, Public Choice and The Prisoner's Dilemma. Accessed on 18/08/2007, <http://www.friesian.com/rent.htm>

Literacy Rate 1951-2001, Uttar Pradesh. Accessed on 01/06/08, <http://www.upgov.nic.in/upinfo/census01/cen01.htm>

Ludwig, V. D. Public Choice, Constitutional Political Economy and Law and Economics, Belgium. Accessed on 02/11/2007, <http://encyclo.findlaw.com/06/0 book.pdf>

UNDP: Corruption and Good Governance. Accessed on 30/02/08. http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/docs/efa/corruption3/o_UN-07bintro.pdf

Newspaper(s)

AmarUjala (2007), 18/22/26/27/September, 19/26/28/31/October,3/14/15/17/20/26/29/30November, Varanasi Edition, Mirzapur

Amar Ujala (2008), 4/17/21 January. Varansi Edition, Mirzapur