REFORMING ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA BY INNOVATIVE MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The dismal performance of elementary education sector in India cannot be ignored any further. The consequent demographic disaster would spell doom for the nation in more ways than one. For reforming the sector, the Government would have to bring a paradigm shift in its approach towards education. Its concern with the provision of inputs only and negligence of learning achievement and outcomes is resulting in degeneration of the system. Millions of rupees spent on elementary education are serving as feeding troughs for vested interests.

The Government should resort to human development perspective and use innovative ways to revamp the sector and transform millions of children into human capital. The Government will have to provide an enabling ecosystem, foster competition, bolster accountability mechanism, involve all stakeholders and leverage technology to change the elementary education scenario.

This paper underscores the importance of effective service delivery and espouses that the Government should focus on catalyzing public, private and voluntary sector into action to solve this malaise. The study also explores the ingenious use of technology to streamline elementary education.

Introduction

Elementary Education is one of the largest service sectors in India. Elementary education comprises primary (I to V) and upper primary (VI to VIII) classes. There are about 180 million children in the age group of 6 to 14 years who study in the elementary level. More than 1.2

million government and about hundred thousand private schools cater to their educational needs. Still, as is evident from the various reports like Public Report on Basic Education (PROBE), Pratham's Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), and Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) report, things are in pretty bad shape in this sector. There is an urgent need for reforms or else the risk of a demographic disaster is imminent and inevitable.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the reasons for the poor performance of the elementary education sector and find out why the goal of Universal Elementary Education (UEE) has not been achieved so far? An attempt has been made to discuss the ground realities which scuttle government efforts and suggest how a congenial ecosystem can be created to bolster elementary education. The paper highlights the importance of human capital and suggests that policies should be framed keeping in view the human development perspective. The government should be open to lateral thinking to bring about innovative and sustainable improvement in this sector. Policies should not only be contextually based but should be implementable also. The paper also suggests that the Government should pay attention on learning outcomes rather than on inputs. Instead of entrusting the job of monitoring to a legion of school inspectors and other public officials, it should leverage the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) infrastructure to expedite monitoring by making the working of education sector transparent and accountable. The Government should also involve all stake holders and carry on the mission of UEE with full fervor.

Casual conversations with students, parents and teachers of various regions of India provided useful insights for this study. Quality inputs were collected from informal, semi structured interviews with key informants like headmasters, members of village education committees, school inspectors, NGOs and private players involved in educational efforts. Observations of the functioning and infrastructure of schools helped in understanding the ground realities. Materials from documentary sources especially the All India Educational Surveys published regularly by District Information System for Education (DISE) produced by the National University on Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA), ASER, PROBE have proved extremely useful. Besides, the academic and scholarly articles gave a sense of varied aspects of this problem.

Theoretical Framework

The reforms in education sector must be predicated on the Human Capital and Human Development theories. The Human Capital theory was proposed by Theodre Shultz in 1961 and developed by Gary Becker in 1964. Shultz argued that both knowledge and skill are a form of capital and that this capital is a product of 'deliberate investment''. He recommends that developing nations seeking to increase national incomes should invest in human capital in terms of education and health. Shultz introduced return on investment, which highlights the costbenefit analysis of training and education. According to this theory education and training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills hence raising workers' future income by increasing their lifetime earnings (Becker, 1994). The human development paradigm which also caught the fancy of policy makers is a richer notion than human capital. The two main proponents of Human Development paradigm are Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq, the renowned Pakistani Economist and Dr. Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate and Professor of Economics, Harvard University. According to them, human development is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests. Fundamental to enlarging these choices is building human capabilities, the range of things people can do or be in life. Rather than simply growing people's wealth, human development proponents argue the goal of development programs and projects should be to "enlarge people's choices" (Haq,2003) by addressing the lack of education, poor health care, inequalities in economic, social and political rights, and other factors that hinder human progress (Sen, 2003). Importantly a human development framework accommodates the "rising aspirations of people" by taking decision making closer to the people through decentralizing government. (Haq, 2003) Education plays an important role in improving the choice and quality of lives, enhancing social and economic productivity, and initiating the process of empowerment.

Foundations of learning are laid in schools which enable a person to live a decent, responsible and wholesome life. A country with huge human capital is always a power to reckon with,

leveraging its human capital to change the course of international politics and relations in its favour. India with its 1.2 billion people often thinks in terms of its demographic dividends, but the state of affairs in its education sector belies this belief. India came 72nd of 73 nations in the PISA competition held in 2011, despite fielding students from its best states, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.(ET,2012).PISA introduced by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development (OCED), is an internationally standardised assessment that tests 15-year-olds in the domains of reading, mathematical science and science literacy.

While framing policies for education the Government of India should keep the human development perspective in mind in order to nurture the children in such a way that holistic development becomes possible. Education should enable a person to realize his full potential and develop his cognitive and non cognitive competencies.

Government's Policies, Schemes and their Outcomes

Post independence education policies were generated via commissions on the one hand and the Five Year Development Plans (FYDPs) on the other. The first FYDP focused almost solely on the creation of more schools as a means to assure universal provision and this remained the key preoccupation of the policy makers through out the 1950s. By the mid 1960s primary school provision was supplemented by alternative schooling arrangements for working children and those who had already dropped out of the formal system.(Little,2010:7). In 1964 National Commission on Education was set up for examining education across primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The National Policy on Education (NPE) emerged in 1968 but its implementation was slow. In 1976 the 42nd constitutional amendment moved education from state to concurrent list. This meant that the central government was expected to provide leadership, guidance and financial resources for education programs. The 1986 National Policy on Education was a major document addressing the imperatives of elementary education. It was revised in 1992 and continues to underpin education in India to the present day. The Ministry of Education was changed to the Ministry of Human Resource Development reflecting a broadening of the role of education. By 1986, more than 90% of the country's rural habitations had school facilities within a kilometer. A common 10+2+3 structure for education had been adopted in most states, a

common curriculum scheme had been laid down, science and mathematics were included as compulsory subjects and work experiences 'assigned a place of importance.' (GoI, 1986a: 2 para1.6). The policy called for the removal of disparities in education and program for the education of girls and women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other educationally backward sections and areas, minorities, the handicapped etc.

In 1990, India attended the World Conference on Education for All at Jomtein, Thailand and committed itself along with 155 other countries to achieve universal primary education by 2000. Many programs were launched. The District Primary Education Program (DPEP) launched in 1994, established 160000 new schools including 84000 alternative education schools delivering alternative education to approximately 3.5 million children. A high gross enrollment ratio of 93 -95% was achieved but still questions were raised about the overall quality. Mid day Meal program initiated in 1995, seeks to provide all primary school children living in economically deprived areas with either a cooked meal or food rations at school each day. In April 2000, World Education Forum was convened in Dakar, Senegal to review the achievements made after Jomtein. India realized it had a long way to go .Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) which means Education for all was launched in 2001. The World Bank and UN augmented aid to promote education. SSA is operating as an umbrella structure which oversees all aspects of primary education provision in the country and is responsible for all quality improvements. (GoI, 2002:30). It emphasizes community involvement also. It had also set 2007 as the deadline for providing primary education in India and 2010 as the deadline for providing useful and relevant elementary education to all children in the 6 to 14 age group. The issues of social inclusion, equity, gender parity were taken care of. Most of the money was expended on buildings and infrastructure, but targets remained elusive. From April 2010, Right to Education (RTE) Act came into force to expedite the governmental efforts. It is the obligation of the government now to ensure compulsory admission, attendance and completion of elementary education to every child in the six to fourteen age groups. In keeping with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) India has to achieve UEE by 2015.

Key Issues in Education

Enrolment and Attendance

At elementary level, most of the schools in rural areas are government ones. It is said that nine out of ten schools are government funded. The government has no clue to the exact number of unrecognized schools. Nationally private school enrolment has risen year after year for the 6-14 age group increasing from 18.7% in 2006 to25.6% in 2011. These increases are visible in all states except Bihar. In states like Uttarakhand, Rajasthan Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Manipur and Meghalaya, there has been an increase of over 10 percentage points in private school enrolment in the last five years. (ASER, 2011). The reported school working days are much lower in government schools and in many actually less than the 180 days that pedagogues regard as absolute minimum. Generally the number of working days in private-unaided schools is much higher than in government schools, which is an indication that despite having poorly paid, temporary, and untrained teachers, they actually function. (Mehrotra, 2006)

According to ASER 2011 which is the largest annual survey of children in rural India, 96.7 % of all 6 to 14 years old in rural India are enrolled in schools. But the worrying part is that at the all India level, children's attendance shows a decline from 73.45% in 2007 to 70.9% in 2011 in rural primary schools. The increase in enrollment was an intended clear goal of the system and the system responded to the signals coming from Delhi and state capitals. Large centralized systems respond to simple and clear instructions or goals and not fine prints. A senior government official was heard explaining to a gathering of head teachers the essence of Right to Education Act, "Enroll all children. Do not beat them. Promote them to the next class. Make sure they do not drop out. Once you have done all this, you will have achieved RTE."The government of India has not emphasized improvement in learning goals. (ASER, 2011) The dropout rate, although declining is still substantial. The average number of pupils per primary school has almost doubled, from 92 to 171, while the teacher: pupil ratio has worsened from 1:24 to 1: 46 (Little, 2010). A substantial number of children in India are unaccounted for or unregistered. These children may be migrants, street children or children living in unauthorized slums. Many of these children have no access to education. Data collected on all India basis

under the DISE for 2005-06 showed that on average, 16.5% of children who reach grade V fail to make the move from primary to upper primary school. There are many interacting factors which contribute to exclusion from schooling like poverty, gender, socially disadvantaged groups, first generation learners, malnutrition and repeated illness, poor quality of provisions in some schools etc. (www.create-rpc.org Country policy brief, May, 2009)

Teacher Absenteeism

Teacher absenteeism is also a glaring problem in the educational system. There are more than 5.5million government school teachers at the elementary level. The role of teacher is assessed in terms of his/her attendance in the class, completion of the course and interpersonal relation in the school. Till now, hardly any indicator is developed to assess the performance of teacher on the basis of learning achievement of the student. Their lesser attentiveness in the class leads to the drop out of the student from the class. Classrooms which consist of different groups with different levels of learning need an efficient manager who can handle such issues. (www.dh.sekerala.gov.in/downloads/role_tech.pdf)

As has been reported in many studies, there is a problem with teacher absenteeism in many parts of the country (Mehrotra 2006, PROBE Team 1999). The most recent authoritative study on teacher absenteeism in the country is the World Bank National Absence Survey. Making unannounced multiple visits to 3700 government primary schools across 20 states within India, 35000 observations on teacher attendance were collected and it came to the conclusion that teacher absence rate in India on an average is 25 per cent—the highest rate in a sample of eight countries studied except Uganda, where it was 27 percent. It is interesting that the states that have better elementary education indicators have a lower incidence of teacher absences with Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Himachal Pradesh having the lowest absence rate, and Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, and Assam with higher than national average rates. Even for teachers who were present on the days of spot-check (during the survey), 41 per cent in the best performing state (Maharashtra) and 81 per cent of teachers in the worst one (Jharkhand) were engaged in non-teaching activity (Mehrotra, 2006). Adequate attention is not paid to teachers' training. Training is often imparted by persons who deliver the content of centrally designed

modules as lectures. Such training may encourage teachers that they have learned something new which they see positively, but does not provide them with guidance as to what to do in classrooms with for example, varying student attendance, multi grade teaching and dialect issues. Those in management positions may have to accept teachers' local knowledge also has policy significance (Dyer et al, 2004).

Parent – Teacher Partnership

In recent decades, numerous studies have demonstrated that the establishment of productive and collaborative relationship between parents and teachers is essential for maximizing a student's potential. Parents' involvement in their children's educational experiences is positively associated with benefits for students. When parents are involved students show improvement in their academic achievements such as grades (Fehrman, Keith and Reimers, 1987) reading test scores(Clark1988, Comer1988),Math achievement (Epstein1986), and completion of homework (Epstein and Becker 1982).

Realising the importance of meaningful partnership between parents and teacher the recently introduced RTE Act has made the formation of School Management Committees (SMCs) mandatory. Of the 12 members 9 representatives will be parents whose children study in the school. The role of the SMC will be to run the school, monitor and control the school activities, work on development of the school, decide on proper use of grants and to check whether RTE rules are being implemented in the school or not. Similarly, the National Policy of Education 1986 gave stress on community involvement in educational management. The Village Education Committees (VEC) were constituted or revitalized under DPEP. The process was reinforced under SSA. School functioning has improved significantly in places where communities have been involved actively (Ramachandran, 2001; Govinda and Diwan, 2003).Several studies point out that SMCs' members are not aware of the situation in their schools and/or because they are not allowed to participate in monitoring of schooling activities. They appear often to be unaware of the poor performance of children and the type of facilities and teaching that should be offered.(Bandhopadhyay,2011) The Institute of Rural Research and Development carried on a study 'Capacity building needs: Village Education Committees' in 13 villages of Mewat, Dist

.Haryana. It published its report in July 2010.The findings reveal that effectiveness of VECs in the villages is limited. (IRRD Report, 2010)

Quality of Elementary Education

By all accounts, the expansion of Indian education system has led to deterioration in the quality of education. Recent studies have shown that even when students are retained in schools, they do not learn what they are supposed to learn. Low level of learning at the primary stage is almost a universal phenomenon in India (Dave 1988). Nationally reading levels are estimated to have declined in many states across North India. The all India figure for the proportion of children in Std V able to read a Standard II level text has dropped from 53.7% in 2010 to 48.2% in 2011.Basic arithmetic levels estimated in 2011 show a decline. For example, nationally the proportion of Std 3 children able to solve a two digit subtraction problem with borrowing has dropped from 36.3% in 2010 to 29.9% in 2011. Among Std V children the ability to do similar subtraction problems has dropped from 70.9% to 61.0% in 2011. This decline is visible in almost every state, only AP, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu show improvements from 2010 to 2011.Large scale corrective action to build these basic skills is urgently needed. As we move into the 12th plan period learning outcomes should move to centre stage.(ASER,2011) However in actual practice there has always been a tradeoff between quality and quantity in favour of the latter. The interstate and intra state variations in school facilities quality of teachers and learning outcome are large so are social and economic conditions of areas where the primary schools operate, While indicators to measure the access, retention and internal efficiency of the education system in terms of participation rate, accessibility, retention rate, promotion rates, dropout rates and input-output ration have been developed but little information is available about learners' of cognitive achievement cognitive and non competencies. (Agarwal,Y. www.dise.in/.../Quality%20Concerns%)

School Infrastructure

NUEPA reports point out that there is no electricity in 31% schools, electricity but no computers in 39% schools and that only 30% schools have computers in urban areas. The situation in rural schools is even worse with 75% schools having no electricity. According to ASER 2011, in rural

areas, 92.1% primary schools had no computers, and 69.2% upper primary schools were without computers. The Government should focus on these critical areas. Teaching infrastructure in India like buildings, technology, teachers, and pedagogy remains poor.

The latest ASER report on the status of infrastructure in schools where millions of dollars have been spent is also not very rosy. Rated on seven infrastructure parameters they are required to meet under the RTE Act, only3% schools were found satisfactory on all The parameters included buildings including classrooms and a boundary wall, drinking water, toilets, girls' toilets, teaching and learning material, libraries and the availability of mid-day meals. Only 53% of all schools surveyed across India were found compliant with the pupil-teacher ratio (PTR).

Building	Office/Store/Office cum Store	74.5
	Playground	62.1
	Boundary wall	52.2
Drinking Water	No facility for drinking water	17.4
	Facility but no drinking water available	10.5
	Drinking water available	72.2
Toilet	No toilet facility	10.1
	Facility but toilet not useable	38.8
	Toilet useable	51.1
Girls Toilets	% Schools with no separate provision for girls toilets	29.3
	Of schools with separate girls toilets, % schools	
	where	
	Toilets locked	19.9
	Toilets not useable	14.0
	Toilets useable	36.8
TLM	Teaching learning material in Std 2	80.4
	Teaching learning material in Std 4	75.9
LIBRARY	No Library	36.9
	Library but no books being used by children on day	24.4

Table1Facilities Compared to RTE norms 2010 % of Schools with

	of visit	
	Library books being used by children on day of visit	38.7
MDM	Kitchen shed for cooking midday meal	81.3
	Midday meal served in school on day of visit	83.4

NOTE: School observations for ASER 2010 looked at TLM for Std. II and Std IV only

Though RTE mandates all schools have drinking water facilities, nearly 30% schools don't have it while around 50% don't have usable toilets. While teacher absenteeism was almost 45% in the 13,000 schools visited, student absenteeism was almost half in these primary schools across the country.

The Government establishes/oversees these schools, appoints teachers, provides funds and now after the RTE it is its obligation to see that all children are enrolled and retained in schools and completes their elementary education. It also monitors the progress of schools. But all this is implemented in a shoddy manner and there is lot of corruption at every level especially in building infrastructure, appointments and transfers of teachers and monitoring. The government officials are interested in making money and there is hardly any interest and will to improve the quality of schools. There is large scale corruption in distribution of free uniforms, books and school bags to children.

Reforms by Innovative Management

The above account throws enough light on the main problems afflicting the sector. Before pondering over the reforms it is important to know as to why the erstwhile policies did not work as desired. The policies of the Government were well intended but framed without proper homework. That is why the outcome of government programmes has been a mixed one. While enrolment and access improved, gender gap and dropout rate was reduced, education became more inclusive but the problems of teacher absenteeism, ineffective role of SMCs and VECs, poor infrastructure, poor learning outcomes remained or got worse. These problems are interlinked also and sincere efforts in tackling one problem will positively affect others. The government did open new primary schools at a rapid pace, but failed to care for the material and pedagogical conditions prevailing in them. Expansion continued, for it testified to the government's commitment to the Constitution, but there was no idea or method to make universal elementary education a coherent project (Kumar, 2005)

Since government efforts so far have not borne fruit as expected, there surely is need of some innovative management. By innovations things can be made simple, convenient and affordable. Innovative management involves task management, workload distribution, barrier elimination, process improvement, priority management, and employee recognition and idea generation.

Sometimes a few small innovative measures bring about a positive improvement in the working of the system. For instance voting percentage in UP assembly elections increased from 48% in 2007 to 60% in 2012. The voter slip with photograph (VSP) was the USP. Voters could simply walk up to the desk in case they did not carry any of the prescribed identity documents, get their VSPs and cast their votes. The voters were allowed to go to the polling stations in private vehicles. The awareness and information campaigns were similarly thorough. Seminars, workshops and rallies raised awareness in general. (Times of India, 2012)

The government will have to change its approach and existing management paradigm towards education. It has to be open to suggestions from all quarters, involve all stakeholders, encourage all efforts to improve the education service sector especially those of private sector who come up with brilliant innovative ideas.

The RTE Act also has anomalies and weaknesses which should be addressed. According to it all schools will now require certificates of recognition. Recognition will be granted to schools only if they fulfill norms and standards specified under Section 19. They need to have, besides an all weather building, a playground and library also. When the land cost is so high, such conditions are not viable. Their contribution in providing elementary education can't be denied. The Government has no plans as to where all the children studying in such schools go if recognition is withdrawn or whether the parents would be willing to withdraw their children from such schools? Again, the RTE Act 2009 also absolves teachers of all accountability. Confronted with the prospect of a revolt within the nation's 5.5 million primary teachers' community, the Central government dropped a provision in the draft RTE Bill empowering school management committees to monitor teacher attendance with the discretion to penalize absenteeism. The RTE

also professes a no detention policy till class VIII; as a result we have students who are promoted to class IX without having any fundamental skills of the 3Rs.It defeats the whole purpose of learning and education. The Government should benchmark the learning level after primary level and promote further accordingly. The children who founder should be helped in achieving the minimum level by organizing special classes during summer vacations or by taking help from NGOs and other volunteers.

A large number of NGOs too address various facets of the school education. Some attempt to improve the quality; some work in urban slum areas; some in rural setting; some work with orphans, some with differently enabled children. Some major corporate houses have introduced technology tools through foundations or trusts established by them. A good documentation compiling all these voluntary, philanthropic work and innovative experiments does not exist. This gap has to be addressed. The sheer size, complexity and diversity of children are such that a single point universal solution may not be easy to come by.

It is evident that there is need to build the capacity of VEC and SMC members around their entitlements and responsibilities. Such a capacity building program must aim to educate the members about importance of such committees. The program must also ensure that the knowledge gained by the VEC and SMC members gets translated into affirmative action by members at village level.

Studies that assess the return on investment of incentive schemes such as free uniforms must be conducted to determine the impact of such programs. In a system with scarce resources, schemes that do not have a demonstrable impact should be abandoned to mobilize funds for other more meaningful interventions that are known to have a larger impact.

Management strategy of the government should be context based also. The government should create a system where accountability- upward, downward and horizontal becomes a part of the work culture. In the beginning there might be some resentment and reservations but with time it will develop and it is the most reliable solution to revamp education. To expedite transparency

and accountability the Government should resort to the Child tracking system. The DISE report in 2007 had pointed out very clearly that if resources are available, child-tracking is the only way through which drop-out, retention, survival and completion rates should be analyzed. The government started a pilot project of this nature in Orissa called the E-Shishu project. It consisted of Child Tracking Systems, Education Personal Information System and Geographical Information System developed during 2005-06 but it failed to serve as basic database for ensuring UEE as it contained a number of deficiencies. Due to faulty planning, non assessment of user requirements and inadequate design of databases, different IT systems like office automation software, District Inspectors of School software remained unimplemented. It is recommended that appropriate source document and input document design must be ensured. Initiative must be taken at the district level for prompt periodic and regular updating of the databases. The adhoc approach in the planning of the computerization efforts should be avoided.

The purpose of CTS should be UEE with adequate facilities for 8 years of elementary schooling of satisfactory quality and also provision of alternative schooling facilities in remote habitations, effective pedagogical interventions to make school attractive and to implement provision of adequate and context specific initiatives to promote equity by specifically targeting the most deprived children group. 'Hard to Reach' children still continue in a large number to be out of school system. There should be a comprehensive village wise list of these children. Web based CTS should track each and every child in the age group of 0-14 which can ensure his/her fundamental rights to education. It provides a technology framework in e governance whereby it will be possible to prioritize in resource allocation, track child's progress and achievements, and make the teachers accountable, while empowering the community to ensure all the above. There are several uses of the data thus generated.

- 1. Easy tracking of every child whether in school and out of school in 0-14 years of age group.
- 2. Finding out the reason for not availing school education of every child can be assessed and remedial action can be initiated.

- 3. Future school going children can be assessed village wise and proactive action in terms of access can be planned and implemented.
- 4. The CTS will also track each child with their attendance, achievement, health status etc to ensure universal retention and quality education for children already in their school.
- 5. Number of children attending unrecognized schools/institutions can be assessed.
- 6. Identification of parents migrating to specific sector(s) for their livelihood can be done. www.scalable-systems.com/pdf/child%20Tracking% system.pdf

If there is online record of funds received and utilized, online attendance of students and teachers along with syllabus covered and learning outcomes achieved, it will deter the players in this sector to play truant. They will be on track and self regulated. The Government should focus on providing the accompanying prerequisites like power supply and ICT infrastructure and allow all kinds of organizations like NGOs, 'not for profit' schools and even 'for profit' organizations to contribute to education sector. Sir Gladstone had aptly expressed, 'The purpose of Government is to make it easy for people to do good and difficult to do evil.' Keeping this wise counsel in mind and with holistic human development in perspective, the modern government should be a facilitator and overall regulator and nurture its demographic dividend.

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