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The International Baccalaureate in India A study of privatisation in a changing educational context

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Education and Social Work The University of Sydney April 2010





The University of Sydney Faculty of Education and Social Work Division of Doctoral Studies

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This is to certify that

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Signed

ABSTRACT The International Baccalaureate in India A study of privatisation in a changing educational context

This thesis is a comprehensive study of the International Baccalaureate (IB) in the educational context of modern day emerging India. It considers the recent, rapid growth of the IB in India and interrogates the claim that the IB is being utilised as a tool to support the marketisation of private schooling for a privileged elite. It explores the ambivalent and problematic tension between the demands from a rapidly growing 'newly affluent' elite for better quality education and the imperatives of education for all. Whilst the growth of the IB, in India, is indeed being driven by market forces; it is a market wanting a holistic well balanced education and a more appropriate methodology and pedagogy for delivering it. It is a market needing and seeking global and local advantage and it is a market providing significant returns for investors.

As India's economy expands and its middle class burgeons, the number of authorized IB schools in India is increasing appreciably. The majority of IB schools, in India, are recently built, *private unaided* schools. IB programmes are being utilized to provide choice and market niche differentiation in an oversubscribed upper market segment. Privatisation of schooling is widespread across India and not just the preserve of the privileged. Private schools are providing more options, increased competition and improved access to better quality education for all strata of Indian society. In a country poorly served by state provision, charitable trusts and church groups have traditionally been the key independent providers. Increasingly, however, business interests and individual entrepreneurs are entering the lucrative education market and are in the business of building and managing premium schools or chains of private schools.

Marketisation and commercialisation pose particular challenges for the IB in India. Effecting and supporting a real paradigm shift in the nature of teaching and learning requires genuine commitment from school sponsors. In a school environment where governance is dominated by family concerns, Trust or business interests, empowering management is fundamental to this. The need to configure the legitimacy conferred on schools by IB authorization within the confusing array of legislative, regulatory and policy guidelines adds to the complexity of these challenges.

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To the memory of my maternal grandfather, James Quinn, who was born in 1875 in Peshawar in what was then British India. By all accounts, he was a man committed to education whose connection stirred my curiosity about India and South Asia.

DEDICATION

To my beloved mother



MARY GUY née QUINN (1924 – 2008)

A positive force in my life
Always a supportive mentor
A believer in the value of education
A believer in us

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIE	Alternative & Innovative Education Centres are set up for very specific, difficult groups of 'out of school' children e.g slum children.						
AIES	All India Educational Surveys (AIES) conducted periodically by the National Counci of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) to collect, compile and disseminate information of overall progress in the area of school education.						
AISSCE	All India Senior School Certificate Examinations are conducted by CBSE each year, the All India Secondary School Examination (AISSE) for Class 10 and the All India Senior School Certificate Examination (AISSCE) for Class 12.						
AIU	The Delhi based Association of Indian Universities (AIU) evaluates courses, syllabi and standards of foreign pre-University qualifications to establish equivalence with Indian board standards for university entrance. It also evaluates the courses, syllabi, standard and credits of foreign Universities.						
APEC	The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation , is a forum for promoting economic growth, cooperation, trade and investment in Asia-Pacific (excl. South Asia)						
BRIC	BRIC is an acronym that refers to the fast growing developing economies of Brazil, Russia, India, and China						
ВЈР	The pro Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party traces its roots to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS; Indian People's Association), established in 1951						
CABE	The Central Advisory Board of Education is the highest advisory body in education (in India).						
CAS	Creativity, Action, Service : an IB Diploma requirement for 150-hours social service, extracurricular activities, and other non-school-related activities.						
CBSE	The Central Board of Secondary Education prescribes the syllabi and conducts two Indian wide board examinations for Class 10 and Class 12.						
CET	The Common Entrance Test Examinations for professional courses						
CIE	The Central Institute of Education associated with the University of Delhi						
CIE	Cambridge International Examinations is a not-for-profit organisation, offering international examinations including IGCSE, A levels and Cambridge Primary Programme. CIE is part of the University of Cambridge.						
CIS	The Council of International Schools develops standards for international education worldwide and manages the accreditation process. Established in 1965 as the European Council of International Schools, CIS is an international not-for-profit organization with over 500 member schools.						

KbE	Knowledge based economy						
K4D	World Bank Institute's Knowledge for Development Programme						
KAM	The Knowledge Assessment Methodology (KAM) an Internet-based tool developed by the World Bank Institute's (K4D) Programme that provides an assessment of readiness for the knowledge economy.						
ISCP	The International Schools Curriculum Project initiated in the early 1990s evolved into the IB Primary Years Programme						
IRR	The internal rate of return is a rate of return used in capital budgeting to measure and compare the profitability of investments.						
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology						
IIM	Indian Institute of Management						
IGCSE	International General Certificate of Secondary Education examinations for 16 years+ students offered by the UCLES						
IES	Indian Education Service						
IBAP	International Baccalaureate Asia Pacific						
IB	The International Baccalaureate is a not for profit education foundation with headquarters in Geneva that offers programmes of international education to a worldwide community of schools						
GNP	Gross national product.						
EE	Extended Essay: a 4000-word essay on a topic of the student's choice, a requirement for the IB Diploma Programme.						
EBIT	Earnings Before Interest and Taxes . A measure of a company's earning power from ongoing operations, equal to earnings before deduction of interest paymer and income taxes. The EBIT margin is a profitability measure equal to EBIT divide by net revenue.						
DP	The IB Diploma Programme is a challenging two-year pre-University programme of international education for students aged 16 to 19.						
DISE	The District Information System for Education (DISE) was originally released in 1995. DISE is an Education management information system designed by NIEPA to provide a system to monitor EFA progress in India.						
Crore	A crore is a unit in the Indian numbering system, widely used when quoting figure in general. A crore (1,00,00,000) is equal to 100 lakh or 10,000,000						
CISCE	The Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations conducts the Indian Certificate of Secondary Education and the Indian School Certificate. Set up in 1956 with the assistance of the Inter-State Board for Anglo–Indian Education to administer Cambridge Examinations in India and registered as a Society in 1967, it is an all-India, but not government affiliated board						

KEI	The Knowledge Economy Index measures a country's ability to generate, adopt and diffuse knowledge and also whether the environment is conducive for knowledge to be used effectively for economic development						
Kendriya Vidyalaya	Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan, founded in 1965, administers 981 "Kendriya Vidyalayas" secondary and senior secondary schools with over 10 million students. Kendriya Vidyalayas (Central Schools) aim to promote national integration and a sense of "Indianness"						
Lakh	A lakh is a unit in the Indian numbering system, widely used both in official and other contexts in India. One lakh is equal to a hundred thousand, i.e. $(10^5$ and is written as 1,00,000).						
Lok Sabha	The Lower House of Parliament with 522 members						
Loi	Letter of Intent = interested schools form submitted by prospective schools wishing to implement IB programmes						
MinHRD MHRD	The Ministry of Human Resource Development provides the policy framework, financial support and guidelines for the education sector. There are 2 departments 1. Department of School Education and Literacy and the 2. Department of Higher Education						
IBMYP	The IB Middle Years Programme (MYP) is a programme of international education designed for students aged 11 to 16.						
NCAER	The National Council for Applied Economic Research is India's economic research institution, specialising in policy research, surveys and economic forecasts						
NAAC	The University Grants Committee established the National Assessment and Accreditation Council in 1994. NAAC is responsible for performance evaluation, assessment and accreditation of Indian Universities and Colleges.						
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training established 1961; as an autonomous resource organization to assist and advise Central and State governments in the implementation of education policies, to bring about qualitative changes in school education and teacher preparation.						
NCHER	National Commission for Higher Education and Research						
NCTE	The National Council for Teacher Education , with its Secretariat in the Department of Teacher Education of NCERT, an advisory body for Central and State Governments on all matters pertaining to teacher education.						
NIE	The National Institute of Education , Delhi is the administrative nerve centre of the NCERT, responsible for educational research, development of textbooks and other material in-service training of teachers						
NIOS	The National Institute of Open Schooling introduced by the Min HRD provides opportunities for continuing education up to Standard X						
NKC	The National Knowledge Commission , a high-level advisory body established with the objective of transforming India into a knowledge society.						

	.,							
NOC	"No objections certificate" The bye-laws of many states require schools to obtain a <i>No Objection Certificate</i> from the State Government before schools can be granted affiliation from an "outside the state" education board							
NPE	The National Policy on Education (1986) contains 12 parts and 157 paragraphs detailing the essence and role of education, the national system of education, education for equality etc.							
NRIs	An Indian citizen or foreign citizen of Indian origin living abroad for employment or business reasons or under circumstances that indicate an intention to stay abroad for an uncertain duration is a Non-Resident Indian							
NSS	The National Service Scheme is India's largest student-youth movement in linkage with the community							
NUEPA formerly NIEPA	The National University of Educational Planning and Administration formerly the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, established by the MinHRD, to support capacity building and research in planning and management of education in South Asia, also offers degree programmes in educational policy, planning and administration.							
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development							
РоА	Programmes of Action							
PYP	The IB Primary Years Programme (PYP) is a transdisciplinary programme of international education designed for students aged 3 to 12.							
RMSA	Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan programme for the universalisation of secondary education							
SCERT	State Council of Education Research and Training – the main function of this council is to bring qualitative improvement in the field of school education							
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan is the government flagship programme launched in 2002/03 to support the implementation of universal useful and relevant elementary education through community-ownership of the school system.							
UCLES	University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. Responsible for IGCSE and GCSE external examinations at the end of year 10 or its equivalent							
UGC	The University Grants Commission of India is a central government body that provides recognition for universities in India and that provides funds for government-recognised universities and colleges.							
UPA	The United Progressive Alliance is the present ruling coalition of political parties of the Government of India. The UPA, dominated by the Congress Party was formed soon after the 2004 general elections to the Lok Sabha							
WASC	Western Association of Schools and Colleges – California based school accreditation body							

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION The International Baccalaureate in India A study of privatization in a changing educational context

"By education I mean all-round drawing out of the best in child and man – body, mind and spirit. What better book can there be than the book of humanity."

Mahatma Gandhi

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The story of the International Baccalaureate (IB) in the Indian private school sector echoes the contemporary modern-age story that is emerging India. Prior to 2000, only six schools in the whole country were authorized to offer IB programmes. In the last decade, though, interest in IB programmes has grown exponentially. By the end of 2009, there were 65 schools offering a total of 86 authorized programmes with a further 124 pipeline programmes being implemented in Indian schools that are for the most part "private unaided" schools. In a context where the government overtly struggles to provide quality education for all, private unaided schools have proliferated and are proliferating countrywide. In an era in which India is playing a progressively more significant role in the global economy, private education is increasingly central to meeting the skills demand of the Indian economy. At both the primary and secondary school level, privatisation is now so widespread that it cannot be exclusively associated with any particular social class. Education in India is highly stratified and every strata of society is targeted by "private" education providers with private schooling options ranging from low fee schools in the villages and shanties at the lower end to exclusive boarding schools and urban "international schools."

There has been a substantial increase globally over the last decade in the number of international schools and in the number of national schools offering 'international programmes.' Prior to the turn of the century, the IB was only being offered as an alternative to the national curriculum in national schools in a handful of developed English speaking countries; the US, U.K., Canada and Australia. The last decade has seen the IB's presence grow noticeably in private national schools in developing and/or non–English speaking countries including Argentina, Mexico, and Turkey and now in an Asian cultural context most notably in India, Hong Kong and Indonesia.

Cambridge (2001; 2002) has argued that globalisation is a context for understanding this propagation and spread of international education and international schools. Lowe (2000, pp. 24–25) interprets the high rate of increase in the number of national schools offering international qualifications as 'a response by local elites to a stiffening of the local positional competition on the one hand and a globalisation of that competition on the other.' In India, many private organizations, businesses and larger consortiums have identified real opportunities in the education sector as parental and societal expectations change and demand for "international education" grows.

In seeking to address the needs of a highly competitive, globalised knowledge economy, there is increasing demand, not just in India, but globally for an education that develops "abilities for positive and adaptive behaviour that enable students to deal effectively with the demands and changes of everyday life"1. These abilities include interpersonal skills that help people make informed decisions, solve problems, think critically and creatively, operate efficiently in teams, communicate effectively and empathise with others. Such abilities are highly valued in the job marketplace of India's rapidly globalising economy.

The pace of change in most national education systems in moving towards the provision of such an education is generally slow. In India with particularly restricted resources and limited capacity in its education system, real changes in teaching and learning practices and in assessment practices are exceptionally slow. Throughout India, a range of educational sponsors are responding to the gaps in the market and the modern-day demand from the higher socioeconomic groups for a completely different style and better quality of education. They have noted the potential of the IB programmes to satisfy this new niche by providing internationally recognized programmes that "help develop the intellectual, personal, emotional and social skills needed to live, learn and work in a rapidly globalizing world."2 In this market segment, the IB has little competition as a curriculum provider.

¹ WHO definition retrieved from http://www.who.int/school_youth_health/media/en/sch_skills4health_03.pdf

² Quote from IB public website http://www.ibo.org/who/index.cfm downloaded 27 March, 2008

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

"The increased marketisation and privatisation of schooling in economically developing countries struggling to achieve Education for All and Millennium Development Goals warrants a focused examination of the phenomenon."

Prachi Srivastava & Geoffrey Walford (2007)

This study focuses on both the international and national schools in India that have already implemented or are in the process of implementing IB programmes. It determines the reasons that schools in India are adopting the IB and the benefits that the programmes are perceived to offer in educational terms to their constituents. It analyses when and how these schools emerged and it contrasts them with each other in terms of their ownership, legal status, governance, educational vision, and market niche. Access to several different business case analyses for investors entering the premium K-12 sector and involvement with a comparative curriculum and assessment analysis recently undertaken by Consultants from the Central Institute of Education at the University of Delhi informed this investigation.

Changing global economic and social forces are driving the establishment of a new set of organisational arrangements for educational provision in India. This study explores the consequences of increased privatisation and commercialisation of educational provision in India in order to understand the implications for the IB in general. The improbable alliance of the non-profit mission-driven IB organization with increasingly profit driven private providers in India and the implications for the achievement of the IB strategic goals of quality and access in particular has been examined.

The key question that this study sought to answer was:

• To what extent is the growth of the IB in India being driven by market forces rather than by ideological educational vision?

In order to elucidate this question, the following questions were also examined:

- What are the key reasons that schools in India are adopting 'international' programmes and specifically the International Baccalaureate?
- How business driven and commercialised are the private providers operating in the Indian schooling sector?
- In what ways are privatisation and marketisation posing new challenges for the IB Organisation in India?

An examination of the key drivers of and nature of educational change in India and the role that privatisation of educational provision at the primary and secondary level is playing in enabling India's *Vision 2020* for development3 provides a context for the elucidation of these questions within the educational reality of modern India with its specific educational challenges and its own wider educational vision.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This work serves a number of purposes: Firstly, it provides a profile of the IB schools in India with their motivations, perceptions, contributions and issues in the Indian context plainly identified. This comprehensive information presents a more "data driven" basis for decision making in relation to the IB's 'planned growth' strategies in India. A realistic assessment of the relative impact and influence of market forces in driving the growth of IB schools will enable strategies to be put in place by the IB to ensure that the ideological principles of the programmes are not compromised in market driven schools whose primary focus may be branding. The study has informed IB risk management practices in monitoring the legal status of private schools and their compliance with local regulatory frameworks and guidelines.

Comparatively little has been written about the privatisation of education in the primary and secondary education sectors in transitional economies. There is only a limited body of writing available which examines the type and scope of privatisation in those developing countries that, on the one hand, are working towards meeting their international obligations with respect to provision of universal schooling and, on the other, are facing real challenges such as poor quality provision, limited facilities and teaching capabilities, entrenched schooling gaps along with constrained public budgets. Writings on education in the Indian context are generally focused on the greater challenges of educational provision for the masses and on the politics of privatisation of higher education. This study provides wider perspectives on the privatisation of schooling globally and in India in particular.

^{3 &}quot;Vision 2020 for development" is a statement developed by MinHRD and NCERT based on the faith that India will become a developed country by 2020. It assumes that by 2010, India will have 100% elementary education for the age group 6-14. The overall vision of Education 2020 is to create a learning and knowledge society.

The development of wider networks in India has been promoted by this study. These networks may serve to further inform Indian educators at ministerial and government level of the level of congruence and comparative differences between national educational initiatives and IB advocated practice. The interaction with key education players could perhaps encourage the establishment of a relationship of recipricocity where these educators can potentially contribute to the cultural diversity and educational perspectives of the IB Community. The study might also have the effect, in a modest way, of informing and supporting educational change in India both at a theoretical decision making level and on a more practical level through community service connections with IB schools. At a time when there is much reflection and introspection regarding future educational directions and the need for legislative restrictions on private schools is being debated, this study supplies a profile to inform that debate. Furthermore, it is hoped that this study will broaden understandings and provide significant insights to inform University Admissions Boards and personnel in institutions around the country about commonalities and differences in curriculum and assessment practice in order to improve recognition for IB Diploma graduates applying to Universities throughout India.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

A *Mixed Methods* approach was utilised for this study incorporating the use of a questionnaire/online survey, utilizing qualitative data from interviews with educational professionals, promoters and educators from four case study schools and analyzing quantitative data from IB databases to elucidate the complexities associated with the growth of the IB in the Indian educational context. The research paradigm adopted in this study was informed by the work of social anthropologists such as Appadurai, Ball, Beck, Rivzi and Weiß and others whose work acknowledges the enhanced global connectivity through modern media and communication technology, and increasingly focuses on the global as an autonomous realm of experience and as a potent force shaping imagined futures and different meanings of citizenship. Globalisation provides a framework for this treatise, utilising the globalist discourse and its associated cosmopolitan constructs to observe how the IB in India helps create

tangible global/local intersections on the one hand, whilst restricted access to the IB exacerbates further the social disjuncture between the educated, the less educated and the uneducated.

Ball (2003, p177) argues that education is access to global cultural capital, thus underlying the class nature of society and the struggle for self improvement. In India, existing educational disparities are further exacerbated by the transnationalisation of social inequalities that disrupt the framework of institutional or national responses (after Beck, 2007). Lowe (2000, p24) observes the trend

"As more people gain local qualifications, those who can afford to do so seek a new competitive edge by taking qualifications that they hope will give them a local advantage. At the same time, it is hoped that these international qualifications will give access to a labour market that is becoming increasingly globalised".

Both Beck (2007) and Weiß, (2005) underscore the fact that individuals with the capacity to cross national borders have a distinct competitive advantage with which to exploit and optimise economic and cultural capital. Beck (2007, p. 695) defines cosmopolitan 'border artistes' as people, 'slipping under the border, using the border, setting the border, bridging the border' (p.696) to their individual advantage. The capacity to cross borders is an unequally distributed 'resource' in the globalising world particularly in the developing world. Transnational capacity is competitively sought after by India's growing middle classes. Of prime importance to transnational aspirants is not continuous mobility, but the *option* of being able to exploit economic and cultural capital transnationally (after Weiß, 2005: p714).

The IB had its origins and vision in facilitating routes for the transnational mobility of a cosmopolitan middle class (Doherty, 2009 p 77). Arguably, the IB is now being strategically deployed to facilitate the transnational aspirations of the Indian upper middle class. Appadurai's (1996) framework of 'scapes' provides key analytic constructs to explore the discourses associated with the growth of "international education" in India and the global mobility it is enabling. Appadurai explores the relationships between the flows of people, technologies, finance, information and ideologies that enliven global cultural systems. He employs terms e.g. ethnoscapes to denote flows of

people and their shifting worlds, finanscapes to represent capital flows, ideoscapes to encapsulate exchange of ideas and ideologies, mediascapes to signify deterritorialised flows of images and/or media, and technoscapes in relation to technology flows (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 33-36). Embedded within this terminology the suffix 'scape' signifies: ...that these are ... deeply perspectival constructs, inflicted very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as sub-national groupings and movements... These landscapes thus, are the building blocks of ... "imagined worlds," this is the multiple worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe.

Appadurai, (1996, p. 26)

Social constructivism underscores the importance of context as well as culture in explaining societal change and social phenomena. Civil society in India, although mediated by unequal relationships of hierarchy, influence and ascendancy, is a society undergoing rapid change. Appadurai's 'scapes' and 'flows' relate directly to the globally mobile groups within Indian society seeking new opportunities in a changing world order. These 'scapes' provide a conceptualization particularly relevant to the IB community. IB students worldwide tend to fit into one of three distinct societal groups to a greater or lesser extent. Many IB students are either already part of the globally mobile community and/or they imagine mobile futures and aim to facilitate global University pathways and/or career options. Expatriates and Diaspora generally develop "transnational identities." A transnational identity becomes intrinsic to the Indian businessman in Dubai, the Indian computer programmers in Silicon Valley.

Many home country students opting for an IB education typify the 10% of the world's population impacted by or impacting the "flat world"; these local globalists appreciate the huge advantage of being able to operate effectively in a globalising economy even within their home country context. Rivzi (2000, p210) notes that 'those who do not move across national boundaries have to address nonetheless, the task of cultural maintenance and renewal'. He also stresses (2007, p395) that

cultural meanings and practices are forged in histories and they are established within symmetrical and incommensurate cultural spaces defined by cross border mobility of ideas, images and ideologies as well as people.

Understandably then Appadurai is unambiguous in his assertion that globalisation is rarely decoupled from locality. He maintains that ethnography must address the

changing social, territorial and cultural reproduction of identities as groups migrate, regroup, construct and reconstruct their histories, and are no longer associated with localities. Appadurai also stresses that globalising and localising processes, "global homogenization" and "heterogenization", reinforce each other rather than being mutually exclusive and calls for more studies on the "production of locality". Education for national citizenship often fails to engage the experiences of learners, who "in a globalised world are likely to have shifting, multiple cultural identities and a sense of belonging not expressed in terms of the nation" (Osler and Starkey, 2003, p245).

IB programmes aim to inculcate a wider sense of responsibility for environmental and social justice that extends far beyond local or national boundaries. These perspectives transform the 'public sphere' and redefine 'notions of territorial democracy based on local allegiances and loyalties.' The global citizenship actively promoted through IB programmes, can engender within a potentially globally mobile group a broader sense of allegiance to a global community beyond but ideally in addition to local loyalties and identities. This cosmopolitan discourse, identified by Abowitz and Harnish (2006), positions citizens as belonging to a larger, more inclusive group than a nation-state. 'The greater the spatial autonomy of individuals ... the less important the border becomes' (Beck, 2007 p.697). Cultural phenomena such as global citizenship and cosmopolitanism are nonetheless still only situated within distinct insulated social contexts for instance amongst Beck's cosmopolitan 'border artistes'.

Appadurai maintains contrary to modernization theory, that modernity is irregularly self-conscious and unevenly experienced. Modernity does not represent a particular period or define a definite break between past and present. In Appadurai's view, the conventional perspective dichotomizes tradition and modernity and does not take into account change and the politics of "pastness." Modern day India in this regard exemplifies the ultimate paradox with the struggles of its twenty first century knowledge economy inhabitants who live back to back with communities whose localities and spatial autonomy are little changed from the seventeenth century. The transnationals and knowledge economy society remain able and extremely willing to continue to exploit this disjuncture of parallel worlds and economies.

1.5 DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

The term 'International education' has over time, particularly post World War II, been subject to a multitude of interpretations without there being an agreed definitive definition of its meaning. In the context of this thesis, the term, international education is used in the sense of how the conception has developed in recent years to encompass the theory and practice of education in both international and national schools that seek to promote 'international-mindedness' in their students. The IB learner profile is central to the IB definition of what it means to be internationally minded, and it directs schools whether national or international to focus on strategies for developing the attributes of the profile in young people. An internationally minded person then is a person who demonstrates the attributes of the IB learner profile.

The term, **international education** is <u>not</u> in this study therefore exclusive or narrowed to include only "that form of education experienced by a growing number of students who are globally mobile arising from the professional mobility of their parents" (Hayden *et al*, 1997). Increasingly, the term **international education** is being used to denote an educational background with consequent qualification and credential that is widely recognized on a global basis. A further related use of the term **international education** generally is in relation to the recruitment of overseas students on a full fee paying basis for enrolment in secondary schooling or tertiary education. A number of the boarding schools in India enlist students recruited from overseas to add an "international dimension" to their school culture and ethos in addition to providing a wider base of support for the school financially.

In defining the term **International School**, the *IBO Annual Bulletin*, n10, November 1974 p9 noted that schools designated "international" (that is, catering for a variety of nationalities from internationally mobile families) were those whose teaching must take into account the cultural diversity and mobility of students. Relatively few of the IB schools in India are truly *International Schools* in this sense. In the context of this study, an "international school" is defined as one with a high percentage of globally

mobile students from a diverse range of nationalities and a relatively low proportion of Indian national students. Many national private schools in India that offer a foreign curriculum or non-Indian board examinations e.g. IGCSE, however, commonly designate themselves as "international schools" arguably to establish market niche. The term IB World School is a trademark utilised by schools that have been authorized to offer one or more of the IB programmes.

Globalisation has been described in terms of 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of world-wide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life' (Held et al., 1999, p. 2). It is "a set of processes which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions ... generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power" (ibid, p. 16). Appadurai (1996 p 32-36) sees Globalisation as a "complex, overlapping, disjunctive" order involving five land"scapes". Globalisation as a term therefore means more than the movement of different forms of capital around the world; more than the rapid transfer of information.

I understand it to embrace those activities, which can only be studied meaningfully from a global, rather than a national, perspective. So, for me, 'globalization' includes the steady environmental degradation of our planet, it includes the management of disease, it includes human migration and it includes a knowledge of and respect for the organizations (WHO, IOM, ILO and WMO, for example) that are trying to manage the impact of globalization.

George Walker in his speech Education: for the nation or for the world? July 2006 4

Privatisation typically involves a decline in state provision and/or is associated with a concomitant reduction of state subsidies and increased deregulation, coupled with public authorities withdrawing from services they have (or were expected to have) performed and private companies or organisations taking over. Tooley (2001) defines privatization as "an increasing role for the private sector in educational provision, funding and/or regulation." In the Indian context, the term "Private Unaided" school is typically used to refer to a school run by a Society or Trust duly constituted and registered under the provisions of a Central/State Act (i.e. not for profit) and not receiving any regular grant-in-aid from any Government source(s). Increasingly though

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⁴ Accessible on http://www.ibo.org/dg/emeritus/speeches/documents/chautauqua_jul06.pdf

private unaided schools in India are also being run by commercial interests in addition to not-for-profit providers.

When businesses and commercial interests are involved in the education sector, the term marketisation, which encompasses the concept of development of 'quasi-markets' provides a better allegory than privatisation. Levacic, (in Hartley) suggests that the distinguishing characteristics of a quasi-market for a public service are 'the separation of purchaser from provider and an element of user choice between providers', with the government controlling 'such matters as entry by new providers, investment, the quality of service...and price'. Marketisation, then is the process of "ending producer capture so as to privilege the consumer" (Hartley, 2003, p 440). Corporatisation, in turn, may be regarded as a consolidation of privatisation and private sector power. This discussion also considers the commoditisation and massification of education. A commodity is a product that is completely undifferentiated. Commoditisation is the change that occurs when a product becomes less differentiated, so that buyers care less about whom they buy from. Massification refers to the acceleration and expansion of education and increased access to it.

Commercialisation according to dictionary.com simply means the process of emphasizing the profitable aspects of an activity and/or offering for sale a product or service. In relation to education provision, Commercialisation refers to the process in which a typically state-delivered service is put on a more market orientated footing although policy direction and the establishment of accountability for education generally remains wholly or partially the responsibility of the public sector. The phrase 'Commercialisation of Education' as used in the Indian context implies negative or objectionable societal outcomes e.g. When the affordability of school fees for students exceeds the capacity of families in the middle-income group already attending that institution or When education, as an undertaking, becomes so profitable that it starts attracting entrepreneurs interested only in profits, those who have no commitment to the ideals and objectives germane to the development of functionally empowered, responsible contributing members of society.

1.6 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1 introduces and argues for the insights offered by a case study of IB schools in the context of the ever increasing privatisation of schooling in India. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature (including research on the privatisation and marketisation of education) and situates the understandings derived from this review in an Indian context. An overview of the educational heritage of India makes reference to the Vedic, Buddhist, Medieval and Colonial periods, as well as the influence of contemporary, progressive Indian thinkers and their philosophies on education. Key points in India's educational development are identified; notably the National Policy of Education (1986), revised in 1992 and the Right to Education Bill (2009). Specific educational goals and initiatives such as education for all, "Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan" and the National Curriculum Framework for School Education (2005) are noted. In addition, Chapter 2 traces the origins and growth of the International Baccalaureate movement. Chapter 3 summarises the methods deployed in undertaking this study and develops the theoretical and methodological basis for utilising these methods.

Chapter 4 considers the history of the IB in India and elucidates the growth drivers and reasons given for the adoption of IB programmes by Indian Schools. The results and findings from the online survey are compiled to present a broad profile of Indian IB schools. This profile is then related to the IB's global strategic vision. Chapter 5 provides a synopsis of the K-12 Education market in India and the opportunities for private investment. A broader understanding of what constitutes a "private school" in India and the legal jurisdiction and policy and regulatory framework that these schools are operating in, is developed to present an overview of the extent to which the privatisation of schooling is being underpinned by business versus philanthropic motives. Chapter 6 identifies the key issues surrounding educational change in India and explores the challenges of shifting paradigms in the Indian educational context. Developments in relation to University recognition and global migratory trends of Indian tertiary students in response to educational pressures in India are examined. Chapter 7 provides a summary of the findings and responds directly to the research questions.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Current educational development trends and patterns and the impact of globalisation on educational policy and practice has been extensively explored by authors such as Bloom, Brown, Cambridge, Carnoy, Lauder, Suarez-Orozco, and Qin-Hilliard, although their explorations have tended to be situated in a western, developed country context. There is a dearth of critical literature on educational change and developments in India and on the impact of globalising trends on these. Despite the huge numbers of colleges of education in the country, these institutions do not have an associated academic tradition of research and publication. Very few Indian academics publish academic research in peer reviewed journals either in India or internationally (Figure 2.1).

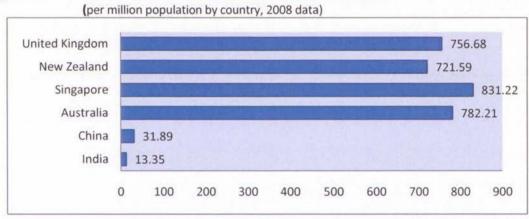


Figure 2.1 Scientific and Technical Journal Articles Published

Source: World Bank data obtained from http://info.worldbank.org/etools/kam2/KAM_page2.asp

This trend is even more noted in the education field where the number of journals published in India is very limited. Indeed it seems that only the *Indian Educational Review* and the *Journal of Indian Education* (NCERT publications), the *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration* published by NUEPA and recent additions from Research India Publications such as the *International Journal of Educational Administration* publish educational articles meeting international academic standards.

A focus of this thesis is on exploring the changing provision of private schooling options for the higher socio economic groups in urban Indian society. This is not a sector

reviewed in depth in research on the Indian educational context although the Indian media does write regularly on related issues. The majority of these media articles though are punctuated with charges of elitism or their critiques ofttimes focus on the high fees set by these schools. Tilak has been a considered academic critic of privatisation in relation to elitism. The existence of a burgeoning private education sector *serving the poor* is now acknowledged in the development literature (Tooley et al, 2007). Much of the existing academic literature on privatisation of education in India is quite recent, though, and either relates to the emergence of private schools targeting socially and economically disadvantaged groups in India (e.g. numerous articles by Tooley and Dixon; De, Srivastava, Desai, Kingdon, Harma, Ravi Kumar and others) or alternatively the literature is concerned with the debate regarding privatization of higher education.

There is an increasingly significant body of literature on the International Baccalaureate although much of this is set in either the "International School" or the North American or Australian context (Bagnall, 2005, 2008; Codrington, 2004; Doherty, 2009; Hayden, 1997, 2002, 2006; Hayden and Thompson, 1998, 2000; MacDonald, 2006; Matthews, 1989; Paris, 2003; Spahn, 2001). The history of the IB has been reviewed extensively by Ian Hill, currently the deputy Director General of the International Baccalaureate, with reference to the original works of Alex Peterson. Relatively few authors however with the exception of Walker, Cambridge and Hill have examined the extent to which the International Baccalaureate as an educational organisation is implicated in global trends such as the privatisation of education.

2.2 THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

There is need for industries and educational institutions to come together to interact constantly and upgrade the curriculum. There is no dearth of employment but dearth of trained skills as India is growing into a knowledge economy

Mr G. Viswanathan, Chancellor, Vellore Institute of Technology, Vellore
The Hindu Business Line, Oct 06, 2007

Guided by the Indian government's vision for India's future development as a Knowledge Society, in 2002, the Planning Commission constituted a Vision 2020 Group. The National Council for Educational research and Training (NCERT) was assigned the task of elucidating the educational aspect and goals required to achieve Vision 2020. Rajput, author of the subsequent NCERT paper (2003), defined a

Knowledge Society as "a society where caring, sharing and using knowledge are key factors promoting prosperity and well being".

The Lisbon 2000 European Council, tasked to identify and define those competences that every citizen requires for a successful life in a knowledge society, recommended that a *Key Competences* Framework be developed to define the knowledge, skills and attitudes believed necessary to enable individuals to achieve personal fulfillment, social inclusion, active citizenship and employability. These *Competences* include 'traditional' competences like mother tongue, foreign languages, basic mathematical, scientific, and digital competence, as well as more transversal competences such as *learning to learn*, social and civic competence, initiative, entrepreneurship, and cultural awareness and expression.

The concept of a knowledge based economy has been defined by a number of agencies and authors. Radosevic in 2004 at a UNESCO workshop highlighted several examples of these definitions to illustrate the ongoing development of a knowledge based economy concept over time: The OECD definition in 1996 of KbEs was 'Economies which are directly based on the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information'. Dahlman and Andersson, (2000, p. 32, OECD and the World Bank) defined a knowledge based economy as 'one that encourages its organisations and people to acquire, create, disseminate and use (codified and tacit) knowledge more effectively for greater economic and social development' whereas the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) has defined a Knowledge Based Economy as an 'economy in which production, distribution and the use of knowledge is the main driver of growth, wealth creation and employment across all industries' (APEC, 2003 p1).

According to Considine et al, (2001 p1), the two defining characteristics of the global knowledge economy are the increased knowledge intensity of the processes of creation, production and distribution of goods and services and the fact that economic processes are becoming increasingly integrated via electronic connectivity on a global

basis. As the forces of globalization and the power of technology have enabled more efficient and easy communication, business worldwide has become increasingly competitive. Business academics have observed the shift from competitive advantage being derived from a commodity basis and production capabilities to industry knowhow and internal managerial and employee capabilities. The concept of a knowledge economy asserts that knowledge is a driving factor in the creation of economic benefits through such things as intellectual property. In the knowledge economy, "knowing" is something to be captured and reworked as a commodity. As the economy comes to depend on human ingenuity, knowledge, and creativity, the most important corporate asset is its intellectual capital (Stewart, 2001). Both theoretical and tacit knowledge provide important economic resources.

The application of knowledge, as manifested in areas such as entrepreneurship and innovation, research and development, software and product design, and in people's education and skills levels, is now recognized to be a key source of growth in the global economy. By 1996 it was estimated that more than half of the GDP in the major OECD countries was knowledge based (Lin, 2007). India's success in recent years in software, engineering, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, textiles, literature, music, movies, is based on knowledge-based production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services.

Bloom (2004, p58) also highlights the integral role knowledge plays in economic development. Although this link was not always articulated explicitly, it has long been recognised by such protections as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights where education was deemed to be a basic human right. A direct link between individual educational levels and standard of living has been established for all countries with per-capita income both above and below India's. In general, there is a direct correlation between the percentage of tertiary-educated people in the total population, and gross domestic product (as well as per-capita income).

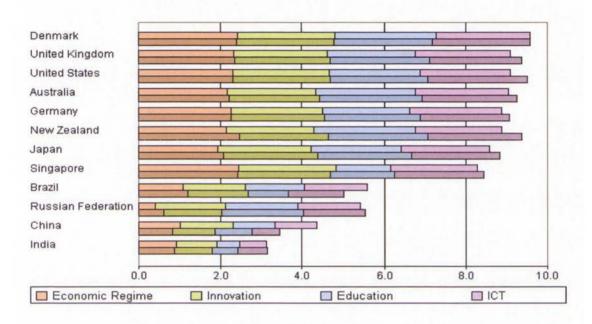
In 2007, the World Bank Institute's Knowledge for Development (K4D) Programme developed the Knowledge Assessment Methodology (KAM). The KAM is an interactive benchmarking tool that provides an assessment of countries' and regions' readiness for the knowledge economy. More specifically, it is designed to help client countries understand their strengths and weaknesses by comparing themselves with neighbours, competitors, or other countries that they may wish to emulate based on the four knowledge economy pillars. Three key variables serve as proxies for each Knowledge Economy pillar. These four knowledge economy pillars and variables are:

- The Economic Incentive and Institutional Regime provides incentives for the
 efficient use of existing and new knowledge and the flourishing of
 entrepreneurship. Variables considered include Tariff and Nontariff Barriers,
 Regulatory Quality and Rule of Law
- 2. **Education and Human Resources -** An educated and skilled population that can create, share, and use knowledge well, measured by Adult Literacy Rate, Secondary Enrolment and Tertiary Enrolment.
- 3. The Innovation System of firms, research centres, universities, think tanks, consultants, and other organizations that can tap into the growing stock of global knowledge, assimilate and adapt it to local needs, and create new technology. An effective innovation system is evidenced by Royalty and License Fees Payments and Receipts, Patent Applications and Scientific and Technical Journal Articles
- 4. **Information and Communication Technologies** (ICT) that can facilitate the effective communication, dissemination, and processing of information.

The Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) measures a country's ability to generate, adopt and diffuse knowledge and evaluates whether the environment is conducive for knowledge to be used effectively for economic development. It is an aggregate index that represents the overall level of development of a country or region and summarizes performance over the four Knowledge economy pillars. The KEI is constructed as the simple average of the four pillar indexes in the KAM. Table 2.1 and Figure 2.2 show India's and several comparator countries' progress on the aggregate Knowledge Economy indexes and pillars from 1995 to the 2008. The most-developed countries score highest on the KEI. In 2008, India ranked 100th in the world on the World Bank's KEI – up five places from 1995, but the lowest of the BRIC emerging

economies. Because of growth in USPTO patents, India's innovation pillar leapt up 13 places to 81 place and its Economic incentive and education pillars also registered a slight improvement. In contrast, India's ICT penetration has not been notably improving. ICT penetration fell seven spots to 112 globally in comparison to 1995.

Figure 2.2 Knowledge Economy Index : India versus Comparators. 1995 and most recent October 2008



Data Source: World Bank http://info.worldbank.org/etools/kam2/KAM_page6.asp

Table 2.1 2008 Knowledge Economy Index - Top 10 Countries plus the 4 BRIC Countries

Country	KEI Rank	KEI	EIR Rank	Economic Incentive Regime Index	Innovation Rank	Innovation Index	Education Rank	Education Index	ICT Rank	ICT Index
Denmark	1	9.58	2	9.66	4	9-57	2	9.79	7	9.32
Sweden	2	9.56	13	9.18	2	9.79	6	9-44	1	9.83
Finland	3	9-37	5	9-47	3	9.66	3	9-77	19	8.59
Netherlands	4	9.30	12	9.18	6	9-47	9	9.21	5	9.32
Norway	5	9.29	10	9.25	13	9.06	5	9-59	9	9.24
Canada	6	9.14	6	9.42	8	9-43	8	9.24	23	8.47
Switzerland	7	9.13	4	9.50	1	9.89	32	7.76	4	9.36
United States	8	9.10	14	9.16	7	9-45	15	8.79	13	9.02
Australia	9	9.09	19	8.66	19	8.71	4	9.66	6	9.32
Germany	10	9.01	15	8.99	15	9.00	10	9.17	15	8.86
BRICs										
Russian Federation	53	5.58	124	1.55	38	6.88	35	7.62	50	6.26
Brazil	55	5.50	73	4.30	49	6.06	54	5.78	58	5.87
China	77	4.36	80	4.01	64	5.10	87	4.06	78	4.28
India	100	3.04	91	3.67	81	3.95	106	2.11	108	2.45

Data Source: "Measuring Knowledge in the World's Economies" World Bank Report October 2008 p5

Brown and Lauder (1996) observe that educational policy has been increasingly premised on the basis of the link between education and national competitiveness since the early 1990s. Rotberg (2004) noted that governments, concerned about the loss of jobs in traditional industries, recognise that competitiveness will depend increasingly on a skilled workforce that can meet the demands of knowledge and high-technology industries. This workforce would be comprised then of Knowledge workers highly skilled in "problem identification, problem solving and brokerage" (Johnston, 1998 p3 in McWilliam, and Singh, 2003).

Education and knowledge therefore have been identified as having the potential to provide a source of competitive advantage for businesses and on a larger scale national competitive advantage. Shore (2005) observes that new knowledge is necessary to expand a country's capacity to innovate and, paradoxically, to keep up with the growth in knowledge that accompany contemporary forms of globalisation. New Knowledge combined with enhanced social and economic inclusion promises to provide a competitive economic edge for countries. Guile (2006), consistent with this view, acknowledges that it is now conventional wisdom that knowledge constitutes the most important factor of production in industrial societies. As the economy comes to depend on human ingenuity, knowledge, and creativity, the most important corporate asset is its intellectual capital (Stewart, 2001).

Bloom (2004) also elaborates on the importance of education in determining a country's wealth, noting that the extent of integration into the global economy is important but that the combination of education and globalisation can be powerful. Recognising the import of these arguments, the Indian Government established the National Knowledge Commission, in 2005, with the following Terms of Reference to:

- Build excellence in the educational system to meet the knowledge challenges of the
 21st century and increase India's competitive advantage in fields of knowledge
- Promote creation of knowledge
- Improve the management of institutions engaged in intellectual property rights
- Promote knowledge applications in agriculture and industry

Promote the use of knowledge capabilities in making government an effective, transparent and accountable service provider to the citizen and promote widespread sharing of knowledge to maximize public benefit.

Higher education has been seen as the focal point for the knowledge economy. Carnoy and Psacharopoulos in the 1970s presented alternative views about the relationship between education and economic development. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) still maintain, based on capital theory, that economic and social factors have a minimal impact on the pattern of rates of return to education and the classic pattern of falling returns to education by level of economic development and level of education hold true. Thus the rates of return are always highest at the primary level, followed by secondary and tertiary levels. They concur that investment in education behaves in a more or less similar manner as investment in physical capital. In advanced industrial countries, the returns to human and physical capital tend to be equated at the margin.

According to Carnoy, (2000a) however, the rates of return to primary, secondary and tertiary education will rise and fall in this order as a country goes through various developmental stages, and economies with lower levels of development are likely to have higher returns to primary and middle levels, and relatively lower returns to secondary and tertiary levels of education; the opposite would hold for more developed economies. These alternative views have different implications for investment in education in a country as vast and heterogeneous as India. No longer are returns to education seen as prescriptive, (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004) but rather as indicators, suggesting areas of concentration.

Guile (2006) contends that in both sociological and philosophical terms the nature of the knowledge economy has been under-theorized. During the final two decades of the twentieth century, as observed by Cornford, in 1999, the technological revolution, combined with forces unleashed by the internationalisation of world trade to produce concomitant economic and social revolutions. But as Lin (2007) concludes from a number of authors, despite the fact that the share of knowledge production in GDP

has been increasing over the past several decades, our societies are increasingly characterized by growing economic inequality and environmental degradation.

The conclusion is that a more pluralistic perspective of the knowledge economy is needed, developing a specific set of economic institutions that freely exchange concepts and beliefs with each other in a global environment to underpin socioeconomic progress towards a sustainable society (Lin, 2007). "In the world's multilingual knowledge economies, it is the knowledge available in humanity's 6,000 different languages that is now the focus of struggles over intellectual property rights, market share, biopiracy, and wealth creation." "If for no other reason, the problem of language extinction raises key concerns about the death of knowledge that is important to the world's multilingual knowledge economies" (Singh, 2005 p130).

2.3 EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CURRICULUM REFORM TRENDS

In contemporary India, revising school curricula is itself a political ritual...Governments of the day, whether left or right, have sought to change the curriculum to suit their beliefs, with history serving as the principal battleground for competing ideologies.

Somini Sengupta in The New York Times, August 14, 2007

In countries throughout Asia Pacific, the educational backdrop is and has been changing. Singh (2005) contends that the changing imperatives of globalization necessitate ongoing reimagining and reworking of education. The recent major global economic crisis has highlighted the need for countries in the region to shore up educational systems to promote economic growth and to make their economies more resilient to the type of financial shock and/or regional and global downturns experienced in 1997 and 2008. Many countries have identified ongoing education reform as fundamental for sustainable political, economic, and social development.

Despite the many different strategies adopted to support educational reform, some common threads run through the approaches being implemented. Firstly, as described by Pennington, (2001), Asian nations have recognized the need for a quantum leap in basic education and skills standards in order to regain and retain competitiveness. There is a changed emphasis and focus on "child friendly schools" where assisting

individual pupils and facilitating group learning is becoming the responsibility of the teacher. UNICEF's framework for rights based, child friendly educational systems and schools' supports this transition through 'child friendly school' initiatives in many Asian countries including Cambodia, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Initiatives to encourage teachers to move away from traditional didactic teaching methodologies and assume a different role in working with students are being promoted. In India, in 2007, for example, Reading Cells were set up to provide academic support to the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* for improvement in the pedagogy of reading in Classes I and II. Modern pedagogies of reading lay stress on starting with meaningful units, such as words and sentences and bring in analytic features of language later. Emphasis is also laid on linking reading with storytelling and children's own emotive writing.¹

Rote learning is giving way to creative thinking and "the promotion of learning environments that encourage student participation, problem solving and critical analysis" (Rotberg, 2004, p395). Focusing on students and locating decisions in a student centred sphere requires greater responsibilities of and challenges for schools. Hawke (2002) affirms that the key principle established was that education systems should be concerned with recognising achievement and not with operating barriers so as to choose an elite minority.

Globalisation has produced an increased emphasis on teaching science and mathematics and on testing and educational measurement globally (Carnoy, 2000a, p56) and imposed an audit culture (through quality assurance mechanisms and accreditation) on schools. Drori (2004, p22) describes this change in emphasis on science curriculum as part of a global change of 'fashions' in the field of education which reflects an acceptance of the 'science education for development' proposition. This acceptance is exemplified by the recent reform initiative in the Malaysian educational system that has sought to develop 'Smart schools', intended to better prepare students for adult life in a developing economy and to increase the flow of young people prepared for scientific and technological careers.

¹ Taken from an interview with Krishna Kumar, NCERT Director reported by Meera Srinavasan, Jan 22, 2008

Levin (1997) emphasises that changes are required in many aspects of schooling, not only in curriculum and instruction, but also in school organisation and governance to find ways of improving and increasing students' learning. A key identifiable pattern in the implementation of these education principles has been the trend towards devolution and against excessive centralisation. In Thailand and Indonesia, authority over curricula and spending is being decentralized to make education more responsive to local needs. Hartley (2003) however, challenges the "putative structural convergence in the governance of education across some nation states".

Carter (2002) summarises educational changes as many Asian countries, under pressure to "reinvent themselves", struggle to find new platforms for growth through unprecedented plans for education reform. In Thailand, education reform emerged officially with the passage of the National Education Act in 1999. The act aims for learning reforms that focus on student-centred and lifelong learning. With a similar refocus, the Hong Kong Curriculum Development Council disseminated its *Learning to Learn*² consultation document in 2000, which states that the school curriculum should "provide all students with essential lifelong learning experiences for whole-person development...so that all students become active, responsible, and contributing members of society, the nation, and the world."

Curriculum reform in Hong Kong is one facet of a broad systemic reform variously explained in terms of addressing a changing sovereignty or more recently, of servicing Hong Kong's economic growth (Forrester and Wong, 2008). In Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, there is also public awareness that educational reforms are needed to achieve or sustain economic development.

In Singapore, 'Thinking Schools, Learning Nation' (TSLN) was adopted as the vision statement for the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 1997³. TSLN continues to be the over-arching descriptor of the transformation in the education system articulating how MOE would strive toward the Desired Outcomes of Education. Since 2003,

² From the Hong Kong Government document Learning to Learn published in 2001 Available on http://cd1.edb.hkedcity.net/cd/EN/Content_2908/e01/chapter1.pdf

³ Details are available on the Singapore MOE website http://www3.moe.edu.sg/bluesky/tllm.htm

Singapore has particularly focused on nurturing a spirit of Innovation and Enterprise (I&E) to build up a core set of life skills and attitudes in students and to promote particular mindsets in students, teachers, and school leaders. However, as Sjöholm, (2002) notes, for political reasons, areas outside of education that are more directly related to entrepreneurship and creative thinking are difficult to address. Schools have been given considerable flexibility e.g. a number of Junior Colleges are replacing "A" levels with the IB Diploma. Leadership development at the school level has moved away from skills and competencies training into the world of knowledge creation. The goal is according to Lee Sing Kong of the National Institute of Education in Singapore, (as quoted by Carter) "to prepare school leaders ... for an unknowable future."

The Ministry of Education in Japan introduced a series of education reforms in 1997 and in its Course of Study in 2002. Tanabe (2000) notes these reforms were, as in many other countries, about making schools more accountable. These reforms called for a wider range of teaching methods to be employed in working with students to improve pupils' attitudes and approaches. The introduction of activity-based learning, provision of opportunities for peer interaction, and the practical use of computers in addition to those teaching methods traditionally adopted by teachers were recommended. Watanabe (2004) observes that "the role of education is extremely important for the vitality of the country and for building a nation based on creativity in science and technology while retaining Japan's cultural heritage".

In some Asian countries the education reform policy initiative has been strongly focused at the national level while other countries have opted for comprehensive implementation at the school and community levels. However, all these approaches share a critical emphasis on shaping common strategies such as knowledge building, social participation, effective evaluation, networking with stakeholders and other educators, and forming cooperative alliances. There are some clearly observable changes which can be depicted as trends towards "new" practice (Cornford, 1999). The trend toward personalisation varies from slight to substantial. The importance of cognitive and metacognitive skills has been widely recognised and indeed these skills

are implicit in the *Approaches to Learning* core of the Middle Years Programme. Greater knowledge derived from research, more materials on the use of different strategies and the re-conceptualisation of approaches to teaching cognitive and metacognitive skills are contributing to a set of related approaches which have the potential to ensure that these skills can be taught more effectively (Weinstein & Meyer, 1994; Schraw, 1998 in Cornford, 1999).

Fullan (2001) maintains that meaning, coherence, connectedness, synergy, alignment and capacity for continual improvement are the key concepts that should underpin curriculum development and delivery in any future change. Weinstein and Meyer (in Cornford, 1999) contend that developing the ability of students to apply and transfer learning remains one of the major challenges in teaching. It is accepted now that the ability to apply and transfer knowledge is facilitated by learning in context and a metacurricular approach is understood to more likely result in continued use of the cognitive strategies taught when they are taught in conjunction with content. This generative model of understanding is in line with the pedagogy of constructivism, which underpins modern approaches to teaching and learning and underpins the IB curricula models.

In current educational discourse, there are still unresolved educational issues around how qualifications relate to curriculum; about what assessment should be designed to facilitate learning and what assessment should be recorded and documented. Formative and authentic assessment have become terms associated with assessment reforms. Luke (1998) asserted the importance of revisiting the validity of our convictions about the academic need for particular school-based literacies. Examples include the question of whether students need to master examination writing and textbook question answering. Individualised pencil and paper tests of basic skills and factual recall do not prepare young people for workplaces that increasingly require intercultural problem solving and collaborative teamwork. Luke observes that schools may be doing an excellent job of training post and inter-war industrial-era print literates for pathways that are either obsolete or no longer exist.

Gardner (2004) in his essay: *How Education Changes* proposes seven skills and understandings that he maintains should be passed on in precollegiate education.

- 1. An understanding of the global system
- 2. The capacity to think analytically and creatively within disciplines
- 3. The ability to tackle problems and issues that do not respect disciplinary boundaries
- 4. A knowledge of and ability to interact civilly and productively with individuals from different cultural backgrounds both within one's own society and across the planet
- 5. A knowledge of and respect for one's own cultural traditions
- 6. The fostering of hybrid or blended identities
- 7. The fostering of tolerance

Similar skill sets to those advocated by Gardner are being emphasised worldwide in education reform. Nations do though, without doubt, have their own culturally specific and nationally contextualised goals and expectations. Common goals however seem to be that all students in every setting should be literate and numerate (in accordance with the Dakar Framework standards) but additionally the expectations are that students should acquire a capacity for life-long learning, leading to successful, satisfying work in the global knowledge economy.

Lifelong Learning

The concept of a Knowledge Society also includes that of the learning society. The pace of knowledge generation and adoption is so rapid today that learning can no longer be confined to the formative years of childhood through early adulthood. Dahlman and Utz (2005, p70) stress the specific challenges that developing countries such as India face in promoting lifelong learning pathways and advocate a shift toward the centrality of the learner.

Knowledge Management

Two of the main bases of globalisation are information and innovation, and they in turn are highly knowledge intensive (Carnoy, 2000a, p43). Knowledge is increasingly acknowledged as dynamic and infinite, rather than static, and the *production* of knowledge has more value than knowledge *acquisition* alone. Most basic skills for accessing and processing information, i.e. cognitive and metacognitive skills, must be developed during the schooling years. Concomitantly, the role of technology in

schools is shifting dramatically. In some countries, ICT is now at the centre of education reform efforts involving integration of IT within curriculum reforms, teacher training, pedagogy, and assessment (Kozma, 2001). Information technology and the development of information literacy through innovative pedagogical practices has increasingly become a dominant instructional paradigm in well resourced schools. In state schools in developing Asian nations this trend emphasises the increasing digital divide. Access to computers and the internet is transforming wealthier schools and classrooms making curricula focusing on authentic global issues readily accessible, providing scaffolding and tools to enhance learning, providing students and teachers with improved opportunities for feedback and reflection, and supporting virtual communities operating globally.

Global Citizenship/International mindedness

Cheng (2000) contends that every enterprise in education now needs a new paradigm or framework to shape its operations. He coined the concept of 'triplization' to encapsulate the three dimensions of this paradigm: globalization, localization and individualization coherence. Cheng argues that triplization compels different 'Contextualized Multiple Intelligences' in the 21st century. These are learning intelligence, technological intelligence, economic intelligence, social intelligence, political intelligence, and cultural intelligence.

From a national perspective, inculcating global citizenship and cultural competence is not just about meeting the demands for a workforce that can compete successfully in the global knowledge economy but also about producing an informed citizenry with the capacity to respond compassionately and intelligently to global and local challenges. For many years IBE and UNESCO have stressed the renewed urgency for curricula to promote peaceful coexistence and cooperation among pupils. The most challenging fact of teaching the skills and attitudes associated with global citizenship is that teachers and leaders in the school need to be fully aware themselves of what this curriculum entails. Betts (2004) identified three principles underpinning what it means to be a global citizen:

- 1. mankind is essentially one family
- 2. Unity is essential and it will generate from diversity
- 3. there is no place for prejudice of any type

Kenway and Bullen (2005, p42) would argue that students also need to learn to rescript themselves differently as youthful global citizens with an awareness that they have been inculcated into a media-consumer culture. The notion of a 'global citizen' and its assumed association with international mindedness has been extensively challenged by authors such as Apple, Kenway, Singh, Suarez-Orozco, Lauder and Burbeles in the discourse around the influences of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. Cambridge and Thompson (2004) maintain that whilst many international schools claim to be beacons of internationalist values, in practice they are frequently pursuing a globalist agenda. From India to China, there is pragmatic recognition by governments and middle class parents that whilst students need to develop a sense of cultural identity, they need to be able to do business with people of different cultural backgrounds.

The ability to connect with people from different backgrounds and cultures was an understanding that Gardner (2004) suggested was vital to the transmission of precollegiate information and knowledge. Kehm (2004) discussed the "international" approach now adopted by the German education system in which foreign languages in primary schools and international comparative studies as seen as vital. The proliferation of language schools globally; the numbers of Korean nationals in English speaking schools around Asia both highlight the very real demand from parents to have children grow up multilingual and able to live and work in other cultural contexts.

In schools seeking to address societal expectations, there is an increasing need for teachers to understand what it means to be educated and what it means to be a teacher (Carpenter et al 2001, p10). Teachers must understand and articulate what it means to teach, justify choices around teaching content, be knowledgeable regarding child development and psychology, understand the historical political and sociological influences on education, and know what makes organizations effective and how

children learn. A critical evaluation of pedagogical practice and its student outcomes is necessary to ensure that the skills being taught have currency in changing times.

2.4 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE: ORIGINS OF A GLOBAL EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT

The IB is one of the most innovative contributions to international education this century. It is a bold experiment that has been remarkably successful, and it has made an invaluable contribution both to the promotion of international understanding and as an educational service for a professionally mobile population

Hywel Jones, Director, Task force Human Resources, Education Training and Youth, Commission of the European Community (Brussels, 1990)

The International Baccalaureate Organization was founded in Geneva, Switzerland as a non-profit educational foundation in 1968. By the mid 1960s there was an increased understanding of the need to harmonise the different national curricula and teaching methods employed in the growing number of international schools worldwide (Peterson, 1987). Through a collaboration including the International School of Geneva, one of the oldest international schools in existence, the Atlantic College in South Wales and the University of Oxford, Department of Educational Studies, work began on developing a curriculum for the immediately pre-university age range. Hill (2001) recounts that as international schools started to grow in many parts of the world the most pressing problem was that of preparing senior students for university studies, either in their home country or elsewhere, or of facilitating international exchange or transfer of students at various stages of schooling. "An international academic passport was required." In concentrating on senor secondary schooling, the goal was to build a comprehensive curriculum - leading to a baccalaureate - that could be administered in any country and recognized by universities in every country.

The International Baccalaureate was conceived, launched, and brought to its present state of fruition by a group of committed individuals who shared a common purpose and enthusiasm (Peterson, 1987). Originally established in 1965 as the International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES), the independent body assumed the name International Baccalaureate in 1967. The IB was not a product of governments, international organisations, universities or established bodies of any kind. Many authors, including Leach (1969), Peterson (1987), Fox (1998), and Hill (2002), describe

an ambitious attempt to create an innovative curriculum intended to foster international attitudes and awareness, with foundations in the academic, research-based, interdisciplinary tradition of comparative education. Grants from the Twentieth Century Fund, the Ford Foundation and others supported the development of the programme. UNESCO provided a number of small contracts to ISA, and later to the IB; while individually small, these contracts provided considerable assistance over time.

Underpinning the impetus for the development of the IB diploma programme during the 1960s was a reaction against the emphasis placed on rote learning and didactic teaching. Thinkers such as Kurt Hahn, Bruner (1966) and Phenix (1964) as described by Hill (2006) promoted an experiential education where "knowing is a process, not a product" and the belief that one of the primary goals of education is to analyse the nature of meaning. The aim of a general education was not considered the acquisition of general knowledge, but the development of the general powers of the mind to operate in a variety of ways of thinking, had a profound effect on the planning of curricula and methods of assessment (Peterson, 2003, p. 41.). In the original records, the founders of the IB emphasised that the IB was to be a complement to national school systems. The programme was envisioned as potentially useful for distinct national schools with a racially diverse student body (IBO, 1969 in Tarc, 2009), or as a laboratory school for pedadogical innovation (Peterson, 1972).

The project was seen not just as an attempt to meet the problems of international schools, but as an opportunity for research and experiment in examinations and curricula which could have an innovative influence on national systems. The IB is recognised by the Council of Europe and has consultative status with UNESCO. The original group of *international educators* were motivated by an idealistic vision: they hoped that a shared academic experience emphasising critical thinking and exposure to a variety of viewpoints would foster tolerance and intercultural understanding among young people. Ideologically, it was envisaged that an *international* curriculum would help to promote international understanding by breaking down the barriers of

ignorance and lack of cross-cultural contact. Thus an international baccalaureate was seen as having pragmatic as well as ideological benefits (Peterson, 1972; Hill, 2001, 2002).

In the last 40 years, the IB has evolved from these beginnings to become a recognized leader in the field of international education, actively encouraging students to adopt the attributes of the learner profile to become active learners, well-rounded individuals and engaged world citizens The IB today offers a continuum of education; the Diploma Programme for students in the final two years of secondary school, the Middle Years Programme for students in the 11 to 16 age range, and the Primary Years Programme for children aged 3 to 12 years.

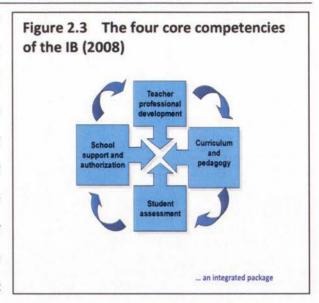
The IB Middle Years Programme was developed in the nineteen eighties within the International Schools Association, when Robert Belle-Isle was the chair of the Association. During that period, the Association had, according to Renaud, 1998, the invaluable cooperation of a group of "believers" based in various international schools including The Rijnlands Lyceum, Oegstgeest, St Catherine's School, Buenos Aires, Vienna International School and L'Ecole d'Education Internationale, Quebec. The elaboration of the programme, by Renaud's admission, was based on the sharing of concerns, ideas and initiatives by a group of dedicated colleagues seeking to answer the educational needs of the 11-16 year old group in the pre-IB years. The main purpose was to offer schools a new approach in the teaching/learning process, in the same spirit in which the IB had been created in the sixties, and to focus this process on the development of the personality of the adolescent child.

The guiding principles for the new curriculum framework were conceived essentially during the ISA annual conferences between 1983 and 1990 and in a series of workshops during that period. A key person in the development of the programme was Fred de Haas, who was employed firstly at the Rijnlands Lyceum and after that in the IBO up to August 1998. Two successive editions of the so-called "Red Book" outlined the essential guiding principles of the developing curriculum framework, named ISAC. Several essential differences were prescribed between the Diploma and

MYP programme models undoubtedly as a result of the timing of their evolution — the eighties saw the dawning of the information age and the beginnings of real environmental awareness. These forces are reflected in the core of the MYP with environment as an area of interaction and with the expansion of the hexagon to an octagon which includes technology and physical education. The programme was then introduced into these pilot schools through ISAC in 1987. There were meetings among the pilot schools and consultants, and the programme was trialled for 8-10 years. The IB supported this process, and as the International Schools Association did not have the appropriate infrastructure to manage and deliver the programme more widely to schools, the IB was eventually asked to take over the programme and give it a proper structure. The IB took over the MYP programme in 1992. Subsequent development of the MYP has been characterised by a very pragmatic approach balancing disciplinarity and interdisciplinarity that has probably been the key of its success.

The impetus for an international programme for pre-secondary school children (from 3-12 years) came during the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) Conference for administrators in Rome in 1990 (Peterson, 2003, p244). Unbeknownst to this group, an International Primary School Curriculum ISA, had actually previously been compiled and edited by Cole-Baker, published in 1966 and revised in 1970 (Hill, 2003). Nonetheless following the ECIS meeting, at a meeting in Amsterdam in 1991 where 25 schools were represented, a distinct International Schools Curriculum Project (ISCP) was formulated. Over the course of the next seven years, teams of ISCP teachers and administrators worked to develop the integrated curriculum model that evolved into the IB Primary Years Programme. The PYP model was linked by transdisciplinary concepts promoting structured inquiry and was based on the principles of constructivist learning. Bartlett's reflections (1997) capture the same vision, dedication and educational idealism that was also evident amongst the early developers of both the Diploma programme and MYP Programme. Early in 1997, the ISCP completed negotiations with the IB on a merger that resulted in the ISCP curriculum being adopted as the third of the IB programmes.

With the addition of the PYP and MYP and the increasing participation in all three programmes by national as well as international schools globally, the IB Organisation has continued to grow exponentially at just over 16% per annum, year on year, through the nineteen nineties and into the twenty first century. Bunnell (2008) reflects on how an initially Eurocentric



experiment gradually extended more globally but, over time, took on a discernible North American bias. Bunnell questions the uneven global spread of the IB and suggests that the IB will inevitably face a series of complex issues, such as 'regional disparity' and 'growing global imbalance'. Growth globally though continues to be driven by three key factors, programme quality which underpins the core of the IB's reputation, a growing need for a different educational model "as the world flattens" and word of mouth. The IB does not actively market.

Given the somewhat disparate beginnings of the three programmes, a key focus within the IB over the past decade has been on establishing the three programmes as a coherent continuum of education with principles and practices common to all three programmes explicitly defined and the values and attributes of the Learner Profile adopted through the continuum. The IB is now able to offer three programmes of international education and, with them, the prospect of a continuous international educational experience from early childhood to pre-university age. The IB itself has matured to provide not only curriculum and assessment development, but also comprehensive professional development support for the implementation of the programmes, electronic networking and other services to more than 2,870 schools in 138 countries worldwide.

In evaluating the IB's 40 year history, Tarc (2009a) recognized four distinct time periods. He distinguishes the latter two as periods of Corporatisation (1990-2001) and Branding (2002 onwards) respectively. George Walker, Director-General of the IB from 1999-2005 more accurately described his term in the role as marking a professional period. In his writings in 2002, Walker discerned that the IB had transitioned from a heroic phase into a more professional phase. Walker asserted then that henceforth the organisation was well positioned to enter a period of influence. In recent years the organisation has notably developed and continued to evolve its four key competencies (Figure 2.3) and its infrastructure, systems and processes to support schools adopting one or more of its programmes. It is only since 2006 that there has been a tangible business focus within the organisation and it is this recent phase that could accurately be described as a period of corporatization and branding.

In the last decade in particular, the wider holistic focus of the programmes has attracted increasing numbers of schools in national systems worldwide which also wish to embrace IB programmes. Indeed as Hagoort, claims the IB has evolved 'from a program for *international* schools, to an *international* program for schools' (1994 p. 11), with the schools in which the IB is offered being many and varied: day schools, boarding schools, single sex, co-educational, 'market driven' or 'ideology driven' (Matthews, 1988). The IB's original mission has expanded beyond the provision of a different educational model that would additionally enable the international mobility of students preparing for university. Today the IB actively seeks *to make an IB education available to students of all ages regardless of personal circumstances*⁴.

⁴ Definition of "access" derived by the IB Council of Foundation (2006)

2.5 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE: IN AN ERA OF COMMODIFICATION, PRIVATISATION AND MARKETISATION

In this new world system international education will become more indispensable than ever, but also more possible.

John Goormaghtigh⁵. Quote from Peterson lecture, Geneva, November 1989 Governments used to be charged with having the primary responsibility for the provision of education for their citizens (Kuehn 1997). However, in today's world with historically unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness, no country can afford to ignore what goes on outside its borders. International exchanges are a part of everyday life. Globalisation has had a substantial impact on the autonomy of the state. Paris (2003, p.235) defines globalisation as an imposition "of ideas involving a dominant recessive relationship." According to Oxfam International (2002), in many developing nations, the Governments' ability, to meet its obligations to education is often additionally undermined by poor fiscal and monetary policy, budgetary obligations such as debt repayment, poor resource mobilisation and inappropriate spending priorities such as defence. In many developing nations, including India, China, Cambodia, and Vietnam, universal free secondary education is still struggling to gain a foothold in an environment of IMF "structural adjustment policies", lack of political commitment and governmental austerity.

Hyperglobalisation, a more extreme form of globalisation, supports the notion that decisions are taken more rationally by the market than by governments (Walker, 2000). Partial or defacto privatisation and models of market competition are now increasingly evident trends in schooling provision all over the world. Attitudinal changes as a consequence of ideological privatisation are becoming more pervasive. Marketing by private school providers fosters the belief that the private sector approach is superior to that traditionally adopted in the public sector whilst simultaneously governments require public sector institutions to operate more like those in the private sector and encourage private (individual/family) decision-making in place of political and

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⁵ **John Goormaghtigh,** Director of the European Center of the Carnegie *Endowment for International* Peace in Geneva and a parent at the International School of Geneva was committed to *International Education* as an aspiration following his internment in Dachau as a Prisoner of War during the Second World War. He was President of the International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES) 1965 -67 and the first President of the IB Council of Foundation 1968-80

professional judgments are trends that risk exacerbating the problems of inequality. The line between education and business seems to be increasingly blurred – with a clear trend globally towards marketization and commoditisation of education.

Some like MacDonald (2006) contend that international schools are becoming more business-like in their approach. He argues that international schools can be examined as components of a global multi-billion dollar industry and that business theory can be and is being, applied in international schools today. International Schools commonly find themselves even more overtly in the market place because they are typically feecharging, even when they are operated by not-for-profit agencies. Codrington (2004) argues that international schools differ from businesses because "whichever priority or purpose of education is considered paramount, it is likely to differ from the overall objectives of most corporate enterprises, which are usually more financially and commercially driven".

Though most educators would hope that schools are ideologically driven, with the quality of their educational programmes as top priority, those familiar with proprietary schools might tend to agree with Richards's (1998) assessment that many such schools attempt to articulate a philosophy grounded in the ideals of international education, but remain, in reality, quite market driven. The number of international schools has increased substantially over the last couple of decades. Correspondingly international education in national schools has also been growing at an unprecedented rate. Globalized international education according to Cambridge and Thompson (2004), serves a market that requires the global certification of educational qualifications. This facilitates educational continuity for the children of host country clientele with aspirations towards social and global mobility.

Lowe (2000, pp. 24–25), interprets the high rate of increase in the number of schools offering international qualifications as "a response by local elites to a stiffening of the local positional competition on the one hand and a globalisation of that competition on the other". The hyperglobalisers support this argument claiming that economic

globalisation is generating a new pattern of winners and losers in the global economy (Held *et al.,* 1999 p 4). Students who get the opportunity to have a high quality international education may conceivably then join the group of future winners, who have the advantage of being internationally competitive in a global marketplace.

Certainly a number of authors in the Australian context would concur with this argument (Bagnall 1994, 2005; Paris, 2003; Whitehead, 2004 and Doherty, 2008, 2009). In the American or British context the causal linkages are more nuanced and the arguments not as generalisable - the impetus behind adoption of international qualifications is more related to concerns about rigour and failings in the national system (Spahn, 2001). Tarc (2009b) concluded that the success of the IB in national systems has come at the expense of allowing the local take-up of IB to sideline the global dreams of the IBO. Lauder (2007) similarly contends that the idealism that initially motivated the IB is being overtaken by the economic and social class interests structured by globalisation.

In maintaining that globalisation is fraught with various new kinds of identity crises, ranging from eroding senses of national identity to unprecedented losses of indigenous languages and cultures under the homogenising pressures of global capital, Smith (2003, p.36) highlights the perceived negative aspects of the 'globalisation' phenomena. Cambridge and Thompson (2004) even more emphatically believed an outcome of globalist international education is global cultural convergence towards the values of the transnational capitalist class. Paris (2003, p.235) also sees globalisation posing a potential danger: a homogenisation of educational ideas which subsumes cultural and national diversity. Cambridge (2004) maintains that the situation is more nuanced in relation to IB schools. It is individual schools that are approved to offer IB programmes, not any particular culture as such. As Paris (2003, p. 234) has noted, state schools at the local level have the autonomy to offer an IB programme in highly decentralised national systems like the United States and Australia. These students and their parents represent those of the national culture who see value in international connections and moving beyond their own frontiers.

They do not relinquish their national culture to do so; they adopt Maalouf's (2000 in Hill, 2006) "multiple allegiances" approach.

Drake (2004) similarly raises concerns about the cultural dissonance that may be produced from attempts to 'clone' IB programmes on to non-Eurocentric models. He argues that the IB and other educational systems and methodologies (such as Cambridge and College Board that are actively marketed in Asia) were not designed to accommodate cultural norms in another part of the world. Notwithstanding that cultures are dynamic entities and a certain repositioning of defining characteristics may be regarded as an acceptable, consequence of adopting IB programmes and methodologies, such outcomes according to Drake need to be the product of intentional design and not accidental by-products.

Gidley noted in 2000, the concern that the increasing commodification of education has seen the implementation of standardised curricula and mass educational models supplanting traditional educations. These models often erode traditional learning practices and promote values and knowledge at odds with young people's own communities This has lead to a focus on literacy, narrowing the definition of human intelligence and neglecting social, oral and emotional knowledge. The current growth of the IB has been conceptualized by Whitehead, 2004 as an aspect of the marketisation of schooling which has proceeded apace in the last decade or so. In this 'brand' based society, she maintains that it is not surprising that well known brands are now pervasive in areas such as education. In a market-based schooling system, schools will consider any scheme that gives them a competitive advantage. "Cross branding" is a powerful strategy that can create a sustainable competitive position for established schools. For instance, most international schools do not have overt connections to one another other than links provided through their association with the IB. Cross branding occurs because most IB schools through Associations and networks actively promote the IB and their association with the IB. By entering into "cross branding" relationships "international schools are better able to entrench their position in the market. High status secondary schools are keen to downplay their role as 'state' schools and private schools seek to define their niche market."

The main concern from Whitehead's findings is that these schools are selling social advantage rather than social justice, and in their advertisements the IB was represented as a commodity which enhances the former rather than a curriculum that might contribute to the preparation of responsible citizens who are committed to a socially just society. Cambridge and Thompson (2004) believe that the globalist approach to international education is influenced by and contributes to the global diffusion of the values of free market economics. These are expressed in international education in terms of an ideology of meritocratic competition combined with positional competition with national systems of education. Ball (1998, p146) had earlier also concurred that 'insofar as students are influenced and affected by their institutional environment, then the system of morality 'taught' by schools is increasingly well accommodated to the values complex of the enterprise culture'.

From a transformationalist viewpoint, Hill (2006) attempts to show that IB programs contribute to a process of internationalisation, not globalisation. According to Jones, (1998), globalisation in essence is an economic integration, achieved through the establishment of a global marketplace marked by free trade and a minimum of regulation. In contrast, internationalism refers to the promotion of global peace and well-being through the development and application of international structures, primarily but not solely of an intergovernmental kind. Hill (2006) concludes that internationalisation occurs when there is a sharing of ideas, where ideas are utilised, agreed upon, and mutually accepted. The internationalist approach to international education embraces a progressive existential and experiential educational philosophy that values the moral development of the individual and recognizes the importance of service to the community and the development of a sense of responsible citizenship. It celebrates diversity and promotes an international outlook. Cambridge and Thompson (2004) assert that international education as practised in international schools is the

reconciliation of these contrasting accommodations to the historical, geographical and economic circumstances of each institution.

Walker (2004, p.78-79) also argued the IB's position in relation to the "Hyperglobalists" who maintain that nation states are being subsumed by single, overarching world policies. As Walker notes, this means, in educational terms, that the IB would be offering a single system of education that is not only validated across the world but is used by all the world, that is, globalised. Walker argues that the fact is that IB programmes do not seek to supplant national systems; national (government and private) schools choose to do them or not. IB programmes are developed through collaboration amongst educators worldwide. These diverse committees bring different cultural perspectives and national experiences to make collective decisions about curriculum, assessment and pedagogy. MYP and PYP have very little prescribed content, offering instead a pedagogical framework amenable to the inclusion of local content. Whilst globalization's impact on international education remains unknown, cultural diversity and respect remain a key platform for IB programmes.

2.6 A BACKGROUND TO THE EDUCATIONAL SETTING IN INDIA

What I object to is the artificial arrangement by which foreign education tends to occupy all the space of our national mind, and thus kills, or hampers, the great opportunity for the creation of a new thought-power by a new combination of truths. It is this which makes me urge that all the elements in our own culture have to be strengthened, not to resist the Western culture, but truly to accept and assimilate it; to use it for our sustenance, not as our burden; to get mastery over this culture, and not to live on its outskirts as the hewers of texts and drawers of book-learning.

Rabindranath Tagore⁶

There is a significant body of literature on the History of Education in India. Aggarwal, Allender, Chopra, Dash, Kumar, Jeffrey, Seth, Pathak, and Whitehead are amongst the more modern commentators. The intention in this review is, however, only to provide

⁶ Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) born in Bengal, revered Poet, Philosopher, Musician, Writer, Educator, Nobel Laureate. In addition to his literary activities, Tagore managed the family estates. A social reformist, in 1921 he started an experimental school at Shantiniketan where he implemented his Upanishadic ideals of education, an early iteration of today's 'international education'. From time to time, he participated in the Indian nationalist movement. Gandhi was his devoted friend. Tagore was knighted by the British Government in 1915, but resigned the honour several years later as a protest against British policies in India.

a cursory overview of the development of education in India to provide background to the educational regimes, policies and initiatives pertinent to this study.

2.61 THE EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

Formal education in India was well established as early as 1200 BC. The system of education during the Vedic era from 3000 BC to about 500BC revolved around the Gurukulas (Pathak, 2007, pp28-34). Gurukulas were the centres of learning which promoted the four Vedas – the original source of philosophy in South Asia. The Vedas Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharva contain 20,358 verses in total (Aggarwal, 2007, p3) and these were passed down through an elaborate oral tradition. *Shravana* (listening), *Manana* (meditation) and *Nidhidhyasana* (realisation and experience) were the classical methods of teaching and learning adopted in the Vedic era (Joseph and Thomas, 2008 p116). The ultimate aim of education was self realisation which could be attained by seeking truth (*satyam*), doing good (*sivam*) and realizing the beauty of the spirit.

In the post Vedic era, many features of the previous era were eroded, specifically the place of women and access to "education centres" as the Brahmanic religion took hold in India and the consolidation of the caste system led to discrimination in education. Traditional Hindu education was tailored to the needs of the Brahman but during the Mughal rule (1526-1858), Muslim education was similarly elitist, although more on a socioeconomic basis than by caste. During the medieval period, Muslim education consisted of basic literacy, numeracy as well as study of the Koran, Logic, Science, Islamic laws and philosophy. The main educational institutions of this period were *Maktabs* (elementary schools) *Madrasas* (seats of higher learning) *Khanqahs* (places of moral and religious learning), *Durgahs* (philosophical establishments and *Karkhanas* which provided technical training and apprenticeship. Rote learning was encouraged.

2.62 THE BRITISH COLONIAL LEGACY - Macaulays Minutes and Woods Despatch

We in India have become so barbarous that we send our children to school with the grossest utilitarian motive unmixed with any disinterested desire for knowledge; but the education we receive is itself responsible for this....

Sri Aurobindo⁷

The present system of education came into existence during the British colonial period (1757-1947) when in 1757 the British East India Company undertook responsibility for education in India. The Charter Act of 1813 established a sum of

"not less than one lakh of rupees in each year to be set apart and applied to the improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India".

The Charter Act led to a period of controversy between two divergent schools of thought, one arguing for mass education, vernacular medium and indigenous knowledge versus the argument for English medium class education propagating European knowledge. Lord Macaulay in his (in) famous Minutes of 1835 confirmed the latter interpretation of this Charter Act by his pronouncement that English was the most desirable medium of instruction. Macauley was a reformist and believed in the doctrine of improvement; i.e. improvement of the masses through a filtration process. Macaulay maintained that

"at present we must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, --a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population".

Wood's Education Despatch, formed the basis of the education policy of the East Indian Company's government in India after 1854. It proposed a comprehensive scheme for the diffusion of practical knowledge. According to Allender, 2003, the dispatch of 1854 was considered the most significant India Office education directive of the nineteenth century. It urged the spread of education beyond elite groupings taught in English or the classical languages. It focused on the idea of government education for 'the masses' in the vernaculars, rather than relying on the outdated notion of downward 'filtration', which had depended on the elite of Indian society

⁷ **Sri Aurobindo Ghose** (1872-1950) Professor, poet, philosopher, yogi, nationalist. Aurobindo was one of the most important leaders of the movement for India's freedom from British rule (1905–10), before turning to developing his own vision and philosophy of human progress and spiritual evolution. A proponent of integral education.

passing on their Western knowledge to the poorer classes. Accepting that 'the improvement and far wider extension of education both English and vernacular' was the 'sacred duty' of the Government of India, its main recommendations were:

- 1. the establishment of a separate department of education
- 2. the foundation of universities at the three Presidency towns
- 3. the establishment of teacher training institutions for all types of schools
- 4. the establishment of new government colleges and high schools if necessary
- 5. the establishment of new middle schools
- 6. greater attention to vernacular and indigenous schools for elementary education
- 7. the introduction of a system of grants-in aid to support privately managed institutions
- 8. education of minorities, notably women and the Muslin communities
- 9. authorship in the vernacular languages

Pathak (2007, p47) contends that Wood's Dispatch of 1854 was a landmark in the education of India and many things in education even today owe their genesis to it. It has, he says, been referred to by many educationalists and historians as the 'Magna Carta' of Indian Education because it provided a well organized, structured and graded system of education and administration. This seems somewhat unwarranted acclaim given that many authors historically have critically assessed the legacy of problems inherited from the British implementation of a colonial model of education in India. Whilst concurring that the 1854 despatch foreshadowed the need to establish a bureaucratic structure to administer and impart western education,

Whitehead (2003, p 5) maintains that it was never the intention of the British to establish a popular state system of schooling across India. The Indian people were to be encouraged to establish and maintain their own schools assisted by government grants-in aid. The development of colonial education in nineteenth century India was this far from uniform. Bengal, for example, had a high proportion of privately run, predominantly Hindu schools. Bombay by contrast had more government schools whereas Madras had a greater missionary presence. Regardless, for more than a century, from 1860 to the late 1960s, many hundreds of British university graduates served in India and other colonial outposts establishing and maintaining education systems based on the western model (Whitehead, 2003, p 71).

By tying entrance and advancement in government service to academic education, colonial rule consolidated a legacy of an elitist education system. During the colonial period, educational inequalities acquired new layers with English medium instruction increasingly favoured by the local elites (Chopra and Jeffrey, 2005, p16). Education served as a "gatekeeper," permitting an avenue of upward mobility to the few able to muster sufficient resources. In the 19th century, postprimary students were mostly Brahmans. By the early 20th century, several powerful cultivator castes had also realized that education provided a passport to political power. The members and leaders of the nationalist organisations founded in the latter half of the nineteenth century – most of them western educated – singled out western education as one of the most important instruments through which the British were transforming India (Seth, 2007, p159).

Educational progress prior to World War II was slow. Aggarwal (2007, p119) identifies four phases of the National Education Movement during this period. Following the partition of Bengal, national consciousness rose and universal primary education was championed by local educationists. Gokhale between 1910 and 1913 (p126) attempted to make the government accept the principle of compulsory education. Gokhale's work was taken up by Vithalbhai Patel and in 1918, the *Patel Act* became the first law on compulsory education in India. Another major development pre-Independence was the *Warda Scheme of Education*, 1937 inspired by the *Nai Talim* philosophy of Gandhi.

2.63 POST INDEPENDENCE POLICY DIRECTIONS

Today the Indian education system is one of the largest education systems in the world. With ever increasing social inequity, it is increasingly imperative that this system can meet the needs of India's billion+ people. Pathak (2007) contends that after 1947, education was seen as a means for social upliftment. Post Independence, the Gandhian view, which maintained that education would be a means for challenging unequal material and social structures, was upheld at least in education discourses (Tamatea, 2005). Gandhi's model of education would develop in students the life skills to facilitate economic independence and personal liberation obtainable by all regardless of wealth, class or status. These 'outcomes' resonate with the liberal-humanist goals

of the *Dakar Framework*. Gandhi's inclusive education would not only provide basic skills to all including the 'starving millions of India' but impart 'the art of feeling one with the poorest in the Land' (Gandhi in Richards, 2001, p. 53). Nehru's⁸ writings, however, as summarised by Chopra and Jeffrey (2005, p17) suggest a wider vision for education in the agenda for 'development' and nation building. Education was to inculcate scientific rationality and modernisation, improve India's human capital and enhance the lives of individual citizens through expanding access to the historically excluded sectors of the population; i.e. scheduled castes and tribes and women.

Since independence, educational policy and progress has been reviewed in the light of the goals of national development and priorities that are periodically set. In 1964, the Central government appointed a committee under the stewardship of Dr. D.S. Kothari, then chairman of University Grants Commission (UGC) to frame a national policy which would give shape and direction to an independent India's school education system. The resultant Kothari Commission Report on Education (1964-66), is still regarded, as the most in-depth study of primary and secondary education in Indian history. The Kothari report advocated a common school system. The subsequent National Policy on Education, 1968 emphasised quality improvement and a planned, more equitable expansion of educational facilities. The NPE, 1986 and its Programme of Action (POA) was updated in 1992, after a review by the Acharya Ramamurti Committee, to provide a comprehensive policy framework for the development of education up until the end of the century, assigning specific responsibilities for organizing, implementing and financing these proposals (Aggarwal, J. and Aggarwal, S., 1989) The goals of the 1986 National Policy demanded vastly increased enrolment and gave new impetus to the non-formal education system. Revised and expanded programs focused on involving voluntary organizations and training talented and dedicated young men and women in local communities as instructors.

⁸ **Jawaharlal Nehru** (14 November 1889–27 May 1964) Indian statesman, leading figure in the Indian independence movement, Nehru was the first, and the longest-serving, prime minister of India, from independence until 1964.

2.64 CHALLENGES and MORE RECENT EDUCATIONAL POLICY INITIATIVES

A consequence of defining the NPE was that educational quality in India was highlighted as problematic. Many initiatives have been developed over time to address the ongoing quality debate. The Restructuring and Reorganization of Teacher Education (1987) created a resource to support the upgrading of teachers' knowledge and competence. The establishment of Minimum Levels of Learning (1991) laid down levels of achievement at various stages and revised textbooks. Curriculum load at all stages in the system was the focus of the Yashpal committee appointed by the MinHRD in 1991. Its report was published by NCERT under the title 'Learning Without Burden'. Based on the Yashpal committee recommendations, NCERT developed national curriculum frameworks in 1998, 2000 and 2005.

Box 2.1 THE SIX "Education for all" GOALS

- Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
- Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
- Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate schooling and life skills programmes

- Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
- Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
- Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Source: UNESCO (2000) p8.

The *Dakar framework* was adopted in April 2000 at the World Education Forum in Senegal, and consequently India adopted the **Movement to Educate All (2000)** aiming to achieve universal primary education by 2010 through micro planning and school-mapping exercises, bridging gender and social gaps. *Education for All* comprises six interrelated goals that together reflect a holistic conception of educational development [Box 2.1]. Attention has focused on goals that pertain to schooling: universal primary education, gender parity and quality. Further high-profile

international meetings held in recent years have raised expectations that political commitments to achieve the Millenium Development Goals by 2015 would translate into radically higher levels of better coordinated, better targeted predictable aid. These commitments need to be translated into international action⁹.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), launched by the Government of India in 2001 is key amongst the programmes designed to achieve the goal of universalisation of Elementary Education. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan is a response to the demand for quality basic education all over the country. SSA aims to provide useful and quality elementary education to all children in the 6-14 age group by 2010 through community-ownership of the school system¹⁰. A number of initiatives, including distribution of free textbooks and computers, target disadvantaged children specifically the educational needs of girls and scheduled castes and tribes¹¹.

External funding from the European Commission, DFID and the World Bank began in 2002. SSA covers all 35 States and Union Territories in India, reaching out to about 194 million children in formal and informal schools such as Bridge Classes and Alternative Education Centres. SSA seeks to open new schools in those places which do not have schooling facilities. It aims to strengthen existing school infrastructure through provision of additional class rooms, toilets, drinking water, maintenance grants and school improvement grants. As of mid 2009, the programme had succeeded in enabling full enrolment at the primary level. At the upper primary level, considerable improvement is needed to ensure full enrolment and gender parity. 12

⁹ Spielman, P.J. September 28, 2008 Global leaders pledge \$4.5 Billion to send kids to school

¹⁰ Information from the National Portal of India downloaded 17 December, 2007 http://india.gov.in/sectors/education/sarva_shiksha.php

¹¹ The Indian caste system describes the system of social stratification and social restrictions in the Indian subcontinent in which social classes are defined by thousands of hereditary groups, *jātis* or castes. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, formerly known as the 'Depressed Classes', are explicitly recognized by the Constitution of India. Official lists specify which castes and tribes are referenced. 'Scheduled Castes' include Untouchables or Harijans.. (Details are on http://ncst.nic.in/index.asp?langid=1)

¹² European Commission Reference: EuropeAid/128-772/L/ACT/IN 2009 p4

2.65 INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS: Directive Principles and National Bodies

Typically, Governments are ascribed a key role in educational planning and implementation. Under the Indian Constitution, responsibility for education is shared between central and state governments. The Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act, 1976, shifted education from the "State List" to the "Concurrent List", thus giving both Central and State Governments jurisdiction over it, concurrently. The concept of concurrency was given operational meaning in the National Policy on Education, 1986. The objective of incorporating education in the Concurrent List was to facilitate the development of all India Educational Policies with concurrency providing "Meaningful Partnership between the Centre and States". The central government sets policy, stimulates innovation and plans frameworks. State governments are responsible for school operations and ongoing management of the education system. This division of responsibilities has exacerbated regional problems as states have differing resources. In general the southern, richer states do better than the poorer, northern ones.

The Central Advisory Board of Education established in 1935, continues to play a lead role in the evolution and monitoring of Government educational policies and programmes, (Singh, V., 2004, p65) the most notable of which has been the National Policy on Education, 1986 revised in 1992 and the Programmes of Action, 1992. The NPE 1986 envisaged the establishment of residential schools, Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas, to identify and support talented rural children. At the national level, a number of organizations, societies and institutions including the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) and National Open School (NOS) have been established to support educational development. Several autonomous societies have also been established to promote education in special contexts. Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan, a society managing the Central Schools was founded in 1967 with a four-fold mission: to cater to the educational needs of children of transferable Central Government employees by providing a common education programme and developing a spirit of national integration and a sense of 'Indianness'

among children; to pursue excellence in the field of school education; and to initiate and promote innovation in education in collaboration with national bodies.

Recent amendments to the Indian Constitution, specifically the **73rd and 74th amendments** have included mechanisms to promote decentralised management of educational development and community participation in the promotion of education through *Panchayati Raj* Institutions and Local Bodies. A number of amendments have provided for free and compulsory elementary education as a fundamental right, for all children aged 6-14 years notably the Constitutional (86th Amendment) Bill, in December 2002, and subsequently the **93rd Constitutional Amendment** argued that elementary education is a fundamental duty of parents.

"it shall be a fundamental duty of every citizen of India who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child/ward between the age of six and fourteen years".

These principles and those of equity and non-discrimination are now some years later enshrined in the "Right to Education" Act enacted in August 2009. The most salient features of this Act are:

- Free and compulsory education to all children of India in the six to 14 age group
- No child shall be retained, expelled, or required to pass a board examination
- A child who completes elementary education (up to class 8) shall be awarded a certificate
- A fixed student-teacher ratio and mandated improvements in the quality of education
- 25% private school admission reservation for the economically disadvantaged in Class 1
- School teachers need an adequate professional degree within five years or face job loss.

2.7 THE CURRENT EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE IN INDIA

"In no country has universal elementary education been achieved without the state assuming the primary responsibility. Why is the state in India so reluctant? The only convincing answer is that Indian society does not regard children as a collective responsibility. We tend to look upon children as a parental burden; so we pursue the debate on compulsory schooling by assuming that if a child is not at school, it is the parents' lookout. Few of us realise that the nation loses when children don't attend school."

Krishna Kumar¹³

Over the past decade, India has demonstrated a remarkable pace of change, including passing the 1% threshold for gross expenditure on R&D as a proportion of GDP in 2004. India is now the world's fourth largest economy in terms of purchasing power

¹³ **Krishna Kumar**, Director of the National Council for Education Research and Training (NCERT) http://www.theotherindia.org/education/krishna-kumar-on-the-state-of-elementary-education-in-india.html

parity, and is expected to overtake Japan to become the third major economy within 10 years. Some predictions anticipate that India's global share will rise from 6 to 11% by 2025, i.e. to about 60% the size of the US economy¹⁴. However these increases are not benefiting all or even the majority. The *right to education* is the single most important development agenda in India today. To achieve its potential as an economic power, India must empower its substantial population through universal education and health care to improve its UNDP Human Development Index ranking which remains considerably below that of many other developing countries. In 2007, the HDI¹⁵ for India was 0.612, which gives the country a rank of 134th out of 182 countries with data. The relatively low levels of literacy and educational levels in South Asian countries were considered (Tilak, 1994, p 178) to be and still are a major bottleneck in reducing poverty and in making progress in terms of socio economic development.

Table 2.2 : Percentage of Indian primary school age children in school (2000 and 2006 compared)

	2000	2006	% Change 2000 to 2006 5.9	
Male	79.2	85.2		
Female	72.3	81.4	9.1	
Urban	82.5	88.5	5.9	
Rural	73.8 81.5	81.5	7.7	
Poorest 20%	66.1	69.4	3.2	
Second 20%	69.2	81.2	12.1	
Middle 20%	78.8	87.5	8.7	
Fourth 20%	82.1	92.2	10.1	
Richest 20%	89.1	95.7	6.6	
Total	75.9	83.3	7.5	

Data source: India Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2000, India DHS 2005-06.

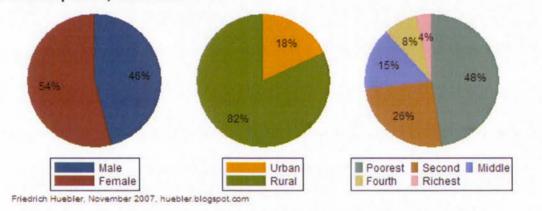
With 35% of its population under the age of 15, India's education system faces enormous challenges. Although India's education system has expanded exponentially over the past five decades, its current achievements are still grossly inadequate for the nation to realise its economic and social vision for 2020. The net enrolment rate in primary schools is around 83% and less than 60% of children attend secondary schools. In actual numbers this translates to about 21 million primary age children out of school. India is the country with the largest number of children out of school.

¹⁴ Taken from http://www.economywatch.com/indianeconomy/indian-economy-overview.html

¹⁵ Figures from the Human Development Report 2009 published on http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_IND.html

As a result of the increase in primary school attendance, the number of primary school children out of school fell by almost one third from 30 million in 2000 to 21 million in 2006 (see Table 2.2), a pattern observed for both boys and girls, and for residents of urban and rural areas. However, disaggregation by household wealth reveals that one group of children did not follow the nationwide trend (Figure 2.4). Among the poorest 20 percent of all households, the number of children out of school grew from 9.4 million in 2000 to 9.8 million in 2006. Although the primary school net attendance rate among children from the poorest households grew by 3 percentage points from 2000 to 2006 (see Table 2.2), this increase was not strong enough to keep pace with population growth in the poorest segment of the Indian population.

Figure 2.4 : Children of primary school age out of school by sex, area of residence, and wealth quintile, India 2006



Data source: India Demographic and Health Survey 2005-06.

Overall, 26 percent of all children between 6 and 10 years live in the bottom 20 percent and a further 23 percent in the second lowest quintile i.e. nearly half of all Indian children out of school come from the bottom 40 percent of society. Most of them are rural children and more than half of the children out of school are girls. A large number of children drop out from the system in both rural and urban areas before reaching Grade V (Table 2.3).

Other groups of children 'at risk', such as orphans, child-labourers, street children and victims of riots and natural disasters, do not necessarily have access to any schooling at all. The drop out rate was 40 per cent at the primary level and 55 per cent at the upper primary level in 1999-2000. The retention rate at primary level improved from

53.4 percent in 2003-04 to 58.1 percent in 2004-05, but this increase /improvement is still too low if India is to achieve its stated goal of universal primary education by 2015. Out of approximately 200 million children in the age group 6-14 years, only 120 million are in schools and net attendance in the primary level is only 66 per cent of the enrolment. Severe gender, regional, and caste disparities exist. Less than 7 percent of any given cohort pass the 10th standard (16+ years of age) public examination.

Table 2.3: Statistical data on Indian education 2004 vs 2007

Education Indicators	2004	2007	
Pupil / teacher ratio (primary)	40	40*	
Percentage of repeaters, primary (%)	3	3	
Survival Rate to Grade 5	73	66	
Primary to secondary transition rate (%)	85	85	
Public expenditure on education :			
as % of GDP	3.8	3.2	
as % of total government expenditure	10.7	10.7*	

Data source: UNESCO statistics, 2005, 2007 * figures not updated

In a developing country like India, education could have an empowering and redistributive impact. Substantive improvements in literacy rates are undeniable. Male literacy increased from 56.5% in 1981 to 64.2% in 1991; women's literacy increased from 29.9% in 1981 to 39.2% in 1991¹⁶ and the total literacy rate went from 16.67% in 1951 to 65.38% in 2001. However, the official claim that India has achieved 66% literacy is dubious, since recent surveys indicate that even many of those in school are unable to read and write. In a nationwide sample, 10% of government school students in Maharashtra between Class II and Class VII were unable to read, write or do arithmetic, and 25% of school children could not write a sentence at the age of 14. The 2007 UNDP report quotes a lower adult literacy rate of 61% (Table 2.4).

Dreze and Sen (in Lall, 2005) argue that "literacy is an essential tool for self-defence in a society where social interactions include the written media. It is also an essential tool to enable a functional democracy. Widespread illiteracy prevails in India because

 $^{^{16}}$ UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Program of *Education for All* and published in National Studies: India.

the Government and States have neither made primary education compulsory nor provided adequate resources to equip schools with needed infrastructure and teachers". The Gross Enrolment Ratio for upper primary education (Standards VI-VIII), grew steadily from 1951 to 1991, but appears to have actually fallen since then.

Table 2.4 Official Literacy levels in India (UNESCO Statistics, 1990, 2005, 2007)

Literacy rates		1990 India	2000 - 2004 India*	2007 India	2007 Illiterates India	2007 Regional Av (South and West Asia)
Adult (15+) M % F	MF	49.3	61.0	66	269,815,793	64.2
	М	61.9	73.4	76.9	95.674,132	74.4
	F	35.9	47.8	54.5	175,242,614	53.3
Youth (15-24) %	MF	64.3	76.4	82.1	40,412,416	79.8
	М	73.4	84.2	86.7	15,660,892	84.4
	F	54.2	67.7	77.1	24,751,524	74.8

Data source: UNESCO* and UNICEF** statistics 17

Recent NCERT reports confirm the high drop-out rate, low levels of learning and achievement, inadequate school infrastructure, poorly functioning schools, high teacher absenteeism, a large number of teacher vacancies, poor quality of education and inadequate funds. The quality of the education that young people in Indian receive still varies widely according to their means and background. In India's 600,000 villages and multiplying urban slum habitats, 'free and compulsory education' is in fact rudimentary basic literacy instruction dispensed by barely qualified 'para teachers'. Many children drop out without learning or continue in the school system with little ongoing learning. High dropout rates from both primary and secondary school, combined with low enrolment rates at the higher levels deprive tens of millions of children of their rights to participate in India's economic boom.

"With 59 million children out-of-school and another 90 million in school learning very little, India's education system fails large numbers of its young people.... Such is the condition of a country which boasts that it is now a part of the global "knowledge economy". Kaushik, 2007

http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/india_statistics.html#5 and http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=210

Many critics, as identified by Kaushik (2007), of India's education policies, argue that given society's vested interest in child and low cost labour, total school enrolment is not actually a goal of the government. In India, education can be construed to be a tool used by one social class to prevent the rise of another. Middle-class Indians frequently distinguish between the children of the poor as "hands," who must be taught to work, and their own children as "minds," who must be taught to learn. Being born into a poor household significantly raises the risk of deprivation. In the Philippines, there is a four-year education gap between the richest and poorest households. The gap in India is seven years. ¹⁸

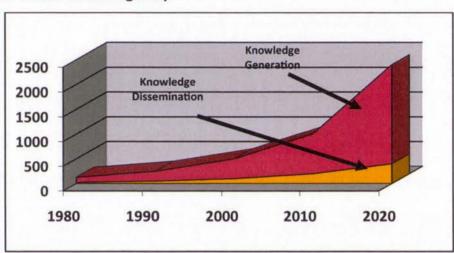


Figure 2.5 India's Knowledge Gap

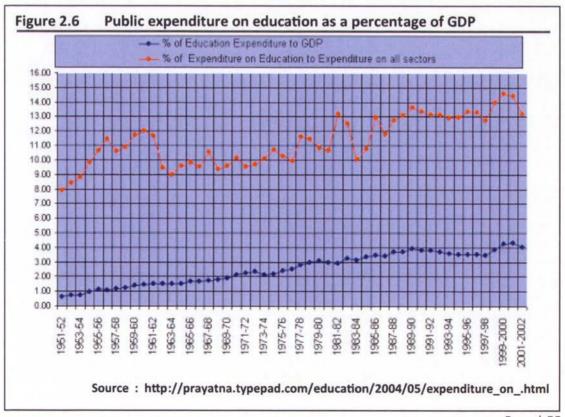
Source: Jacobs and Asokan(2003) p7

So whilst there is a constitutional commitment in India to free and compulsory education for all children up to fourteen years of age, as Pathak (2007) notes, the vast majority of students undertaking high school studies continue to be from high-level castes and middle to upper-class urban families. Despite India's commitments under education for all to IT development in education and SSA use of ICT and Education Satellite to supplement school education and notwithstanding the fact that the spread of IT, telecommunications and the Internet have created far wider access to a much greater range of knowledge, there is a still a growing gap between the rate of knowledge generation and knowledge dissemination in the country (Figure 2.5).

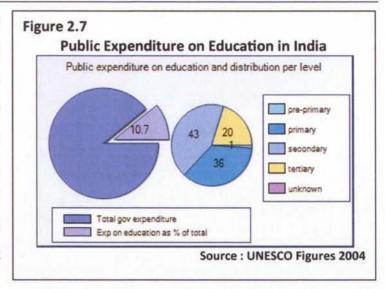
¹⁸ According to the UNESCO (2010) EFA Global Monitoring Report

India's knowledge gap is not easily quantified. Jacobs and Asokan (2003) nonetheless attempted to measure it by examining progress on literacy, education, technology application, R&D and growth of the media. In India, the Department of Information Technology in the Ministry of Communications is responsible for formulating, implementing and review policies in relation to information technology. In terms of IT education and IT enabled education, the Department of Information Technology is responsible for imparting ICT skills as well as encouraging ICT use in the teaching learning process. In 2009, the government initiated a stakeholder dialogue on formulating a draft national policy for ICT in education. (as detailed in the Infodev report, 2010, p3). Such plans require substantive investment.

Despite the fact that successive governments have pledged to increase spending on education to 6 per cent of GDP, (Lall, 2005) actual spending has hovered below 4 per cent (blue line in Figure 2.6). The government's education expenditure as a percentage of GDP has never risen above 4.3% of GDP, despite a target of 6% having been set as far back as 1968 by the Kothari Commission. The Central Plan outlay for education has, nonetheless increased substantively over the years, in real terms from Rs 1,825 crore



in 1995-96 and Rs 4,700 crore in 1999-2000 to Rs 5,450 crore in 2000-2001 although the tertiary sector share remains somewhat disproportionate (Figure 2.7). By 2008, the financial allocation for education had reached Rs.34,400 crores (Box 2.2).



Tilak maintained in 1994 (p182) that public investment allocations for education should not be made in an *ad hoc* manner or on a "residual" basis:

"Economic criteria should serve as a baseline in making investment decisions in education....."

In 2007, the finance minister, Chidambaram, used the backdrop of strong economic growth to invest more significantly in health and education; an essential investment if

India is to leverage its "demographic dividend" of a young and growing and ever poor labour force but his controversial 2008 budget then focused on further education as the centre of its social sector reforms (Box 2.2) and the burden of *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* was shifted to the states. These decisions led to a questioning of the Government's commitment to implement the constitutional guarantee of the right to education.¹⁹

Box 2.2 Budget 2008 Allocations for Education

- Education at the center of the social sector reforms
- Rs. 34,400 crore to be allocated for education
- Rs, 13,100 crore to be allocated for Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan
- Rs. 8,000 crore allocated for Mid-Day Meal Program
- 6,000 model high schools to come up
- 16 central universities to be established
- 3 IITs to be set up in Bihar, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh
- Rs. 85 crores allocated for the development of a knowledge society

Source :

http://www.economywatch.com/budget/indiabudget-2008/ Downloaded 29 Feb, 2008

¹⁹ The Asian Age Sunday 2 March 2008

The 2009 Budget, after the re-election of the UPA, again delivered on higher education with public expenditure on schooling still not meeting the needs of an increasing number of children entering school each year but the 2010 Budget provided evidence with a 16% increase in primary and secondary education funding that the central government is committed to funding the *Right to Education* Act. Central government's allocation for education in 2010/11 rose from 260 billion rupees to 360 billion²⁰ rupees with

- 15,000 crore for Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
- 1,385 for Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti
- 1,700 crore for Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan
- 1,167 crore for Adult Education and Skill Development
- 9,440 crore for National Programme of Mid Day Meals in Schools

The eleventh five year plan²¹ (2007-2012), signalled stronger determination on the part of the UPA government to strengthen India's human resource base. The Plan proposed to increase the allocation for education to 19.9% of total planned expenditure. In terms of education, the eleventh five year plan aims to:

- Reduce the dropout rates in elementary school from 52.2% in 2003-04 to 20% by 2011-12
- Develop minimum standards of educational attainment in elementary school, and monitor effectiveness of education to ensure quality
- Increase the literacy rate for persons of age 7 years or more to 85%.
- Lower the gender gap in literacy to 10 percentage points
- Increase the percentage of each cohort going to higher education from the present 10% to 15% by the end of the 11th Plan.

To assess the progress of States and Union Territories towards the goal of Universalisation of Elementary Education, an Educational Development Index (EDI), has been developed by the National University of Educational Planning and Administration (NUEPA). Kerala was ranked No. 1 among the 21 major states (largest geographically) in the latest composite EDI prepared for the primary and upper primary levels of schooling for 2006-07. The EDI was developed on four broad parameters of access, infrastructure, teacher related indicators and elementary education outcomes. Figure 2.8 is copied from the latest NUEPA report released in 2008. The top 8 states include the five southern states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu,

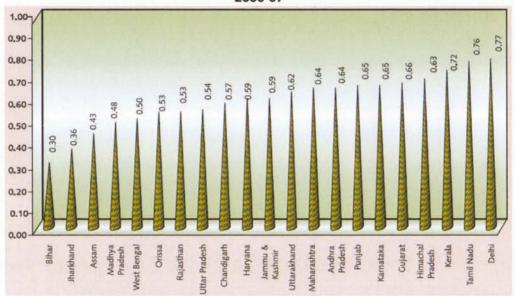
²⁰ Taken from online article *Budget 2010: Education gets a 16pc allocation hike* February 26, 2010

²¹ Accessible on http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/welcome.html

Pondicherry, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh and the three northern states - Delhi, Chandigarh and Himachal Pradesh. Standards in Bihar are undisputedly bottom of the league and significantly below Jharkand, its neighbouring state. West Bengal is also relatively low. Educationally backward states receive priority in allocation of funds under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and in capacity building through training.

Figure 2.8

Educational Development Indices at Primary Level for Major States in India
2006-07



Source: NUEPA Report: Elementary Education in India: Analytical Report 2006-07 p177²²

Educational focus in India until recently has been fixed on access rather than quality. Educational debates have also been particularly concerned with the traditionally secular emphasis within education, which was put under pressure in the mid 2000s with the electoral successes of avowedly Hindu political parties. During the period of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party's rule (1998–2004), concerns about the 'saffronisation' (invoking the color of the religion and party) of education took center stage in policy debates as well as in media coverage of educational shifts (Kumar in LaDousa, 2007). In 2000/01, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) issued a National Curriculum Framework for school education under the slogan of 'Indianize, nationalize and spiritualize'. The framework called for the purging of all foreign elements from the curriculum in state schools. These included the British legacy as well as aspects of Indian culture which were seen as having been introduced

²² NUEPA Report 2006-07 available on http://dise.in/ar2005.html

during the Mughal era²³. The new policy involved a massive textbook revision. The revisions were contested by a petition to the Supreme Court that argued that the NCERT had not followed the correct procedures of consultation with the states and that it had tried to introduce religious teaching, which is forbidden by the Constitution. However, the Supreme Court rejected this petition.

The rise of religious nationalism over this period highlighted a phenomenal contradiction in government focus. Kamat (2004) noted that whilst on the one hand, the Indian State was liberalizing its economic and social sectors, paradoxically it was introducing a *saffronised* Hindu nationalist curriculum in schools across the country. In terms of social integration, the development of a Hindu-centric education system was highly contentious and raised major political concerns (Jeffrey in Chopra and Jeffrey, 2005 p 22). The curricula changes introduced by the BJP-led government demonstrated a shift albeit temporarily from the Nehruvian tenet of secular education and they diverted attention from the more deep-seated structural problems in the system. In 2004, India's Congress Party assumed control of parliament from the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party. They were re-elected in 2009 with a larger majority. While the Congress dominated United Progressive Alliance government (UPA) remains in power, BJP policies to downgrade Bharartiya languages and intensify the propagation of Sanskrit will not be implemented but education remains a key issue in Indian politics with its ongoing challenge to concurrently address equity and improve excellence.

India has set a goal of becoming a "developed country" by 2020. To achieve this goal it will need to not only meet the U.N.'s Millennium Goal for education but also ensure that at least 10% of its population have a quality university level education by that time. Kaushik (2007) and others question whether these goals are achievable in a country that still suffers more than 30 percent illiteracy and where about one-quarter of primary-school-age children are not in school²⁴. The EFA Global Monitoring Report,

²³ The **Mughal Empire** was established in India by 1526. Mughal emperors ruled most of South Asia throughout the late 17th and early 18th centuries after forming alliances with Indian Maharaja.

Different sources indicate quite inconsistent figures around the number of children in India not in school. In 2005, UNESCO changed the definition to include all primary school age children not in school. UIS 2007 data notes

2008, did indicate though that there was a high chance of achieving Universal Primary education by 2015. There is, however, a serious risk of not achieving adult literacy by 2015 and gender parity is also at risk. If India is to become an economic superpower, it must expedite socio-economic reforms and take steps to overcome the significant bureaucratic, institutional and infrastructure bottlenecks inherent in the system.

The challenge for the UPA Government (2004-2009) was to move beyond political pressure and push through more comprehensive and substantive reforms, rather than simply undoing the policies of its predecessor. Although all the states have recognized that more widespread curriculum and examination reform is needed, no comprehensive plan to link curricular changes with new teaching, learning, teacher training, or assessment methodologies has been implemented. The present Indian government has acknowledged these challenges but actually improving the standards of education in India will be a critical test for the current Congress-led government. It will need to resolve concerns over the content of the curriculum, as well as tackling the underlying challenges for improved educational provision. As Jacobs and Ashokan (2003) have identified, quantitative expansion of the educational system will provide access to more young people, but it will not ensure that the education provided is of adequate quality to keep students enrolled nor will it dramatically improve their capacity for social adaptation and achievement.

88% of girls and 91% of boys are now in primary school in India. But net enrolment in high school is only 53%. UNICEF quotes a figure of 20% of Indian children aged 6 to 14 who are still not in school. The Government claims that the figure has reduced to 10 million children who are not in school. Ramakant Rai, country head for the National Coalition for Education, Delhi, maintains in an article by Page in The Times (2 April, 2010) that the Government is dishonest about the number of children not in school as the national census in 2001 showed that there were 85 million children who had either never attended school or dropped out. The World Bank reports that the number of children out of school declined from 25 million to 8.1 million between 2002 and 2009. Kaushik's figure of 59 million children out of school is quoted at various points in this study with this caveat around lack of consistent data.

2.8 STRUCTURE AND NATURE OF THE INDIAN SCHOOLING SYSTEM

"Education has continued to evolve, diversify and extend its coverage since the dawn of history. Every country develops its system of education to express and promote its unique socio-cultural identity and also to meet the challenges of time".

Schooling in India generally starts at the age of 5. There are broadly four stages of schooling - Primary, Upper Primary, Secondary and Senior Secondary. Children may attend 3 years of preparatory school before joining the first standard. Schools can be managed by the government, municipal corporations or privately through trusts and individuals. Decisions regarding the administration of education are largely the concern of the states and there continues to be variation in the organisation and structure of education up to secondary stage between the states even though in 1977, the Government of India accepted a common education pattern of 10+2+3 years i.e. 10 years of primary and secondary schooling followed by 2 years of Junior College and 3 years of Degree College.

		tages of Schooling indication of the co	in India responding age group of stud	dents for each stage)		
		Stage	Classes / Duration (with exceptions, if any)	Corresponding Age Group of Students (Indicative)		
	Sch	ool Stages	I-XII	6 - 18 Years		
1.1	Elementary		I-VIII (I-VII a few States)	6 - 14 Years		
	1.1.1	Primary	I - V (I - IV in a few States)	6 - 11 Years		
	1.1.2	Upper Primary	VI - VIII a few States) (V - VII in a few States)	11 - 14 Years		
1.2	2 Secondary 1.2.1 High School /Secondary School		IX - XII (VIII - XII in a few States)	14 - 18 Years		
			IX - X (VIII - X in a few States) (I - IV in a few States)	14 - 16 Years		
	1.1.2 Senior Secondary School		XI - XII	16 - 18 Years		

Adapted from the Govt of India Min HRD website http://www.education.nic.in/sector.asp#milestone

According to the NCERT Report released in 2006, there were 1.04 million elementary schools in India in 2004-05; nearly 87% of which are in rural areas. In total, 66% of all primary schools in India are run by the Department of Education; 4.34% of schools are

run by the Tribal and Social Welfare Department and 19.39% schools are under Local Body management. An increasing number of schools are privately managed. Amongst privately managed schools, 37.73% are *Government Aided* and the remaining 62.27% are *Private Unaided* schools.

The education system in India has always been highly stratified. Under this tiered system, children self-select into private unaided, government-aided and government schools on the basis of ability to pay and social class. The socio-economic elite aspire to send their children to English-language schools affiliated to CBSE (Central Board of Secondary Education), CISCE (Council for the Indian Schools Certificates Examination) or increasingly to schools offering an international board curricular e.g. IB. Next in the pecking order are English medium government aided schools affiliated to state-level examination boards to which the children of the middle class are sent (Yasmeen, 2004).

of the education pyramid are shabby, poorly managed government/municipal schools, which cater for the children of the poor majority and teach in the vernacular. 25 As long ago as 1964, the Kothari Commission on Education roundly condemned this separate, unequal school system: "... education itself is tending to increase social segregation and to perpetuate and widen class distinctions." All private schools are affiliated either to the relevant state board or to either the CBSE or the CICSE boards. There are 33 different educational boards in India. A relatively small number of schools are affiliated to different boards like the Madrassa boards, the Central Tibetan School Administration or "foreign boards" like the IB and Cambridge. CBSE has a relatively high profile in comparison to other boards because its jurisdiction is extensive countrywide. 8,979 Schools, including 141 abroad, come under the purview of CBSE and its centralised syllabus.²⁶ CBSE originated from the Uttar Pradesh Board of High School and Intermediate education set up in 1921, and was among the first education boards established in Independent India. In 1952, the Board was reconstituted as CBSE, under the control of the central government, with

²⁵ Summiya Yasmeen (2004) Swelling support for common schools downloaded 15 February, 2009

responsibility for the educational needs of children of people with transferable positions employed in central government services across the country.

The CISCE, which conducts the Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE) for class 10 students and the Indian School Certificate examinations as a pre-University qualification is not directly associated with the Government. CISCE has about 1,800 affiliated schools throughout India. CISCE was established in 1958 by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, with the assistance of the Inter-State Board for Anglo—Indian Education. It was registered in 1967 under the Societies Registration Act No. XXXI of 1860 and in 1973 it was listed under the Delhi School Education Act 1973 as a public examination board. The ICSE Examination has been designed to provide an examination in a course of general education, through the medium of English. All candidates are required to enter and sit for seven subjects and evidence "Socially Useful Productive" work. "Socially Useful Productive" work.

2.9 PRIVATISATION OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN INDIA 2.9 PRIVATISATION OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN INDIA

In our Municipal Schools, money is not the issue. But why are private schools better than our schools? Is it because, the private schools are better managed and have committed staff. In municipal schools too, we need teachers who will look after every students' basic all round development.

Pravinsinh Pardeshi, Pune Municipal Commissioner Pravinsinh Pardeshi, Pune Municipal Commissioner Quote in the Sunday Times, p2, 16 November 2008

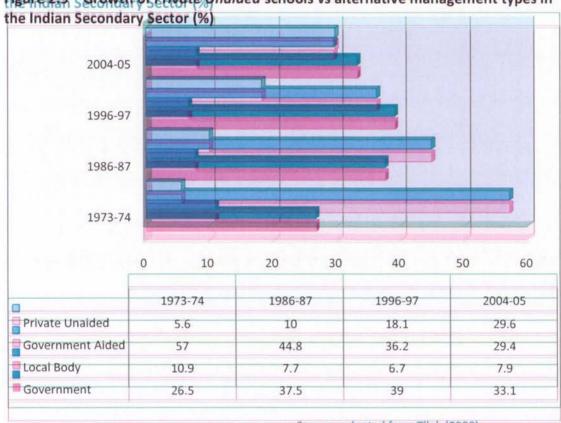
Throughout Asia there has been an expansion of private schooling and an increased reliance on private tuition and institutes like cram schools arguably to compensate for grossly inadequate and/or outmoded state systems. The increased privatisation of schooling has been particularly marked in India.

Ravi Kumar (2008) argues that these trends are indicative of a neoliberal assault on education in India facilitated by government privatisation policies. Neoliberalism as an ideology presumes the rise of privatisation is based on a perception of market-based efficiency as a means of improving public service. Singh, 2004 accordingly attributes increased privatisation to the liberalisation, privatisation and globalization seen in the of India's New Economic Policy adopted in August 1991. In actuality, though, in wake of India's New Economic Policy adopted in August 1991. In actuality, though, in

2009, the Education sector remains one of the least liberalized sectors of the Indian economy. Regardless of the regulatory environment, however, new models of private schools are proliferating in India. Even the poor now send their children to private schools. Some private schools charge as little as \$1 to \$3 (Rs60-Rs200) a month. Such schools are spreading rapidly in shanties, lower income urban areas and even in

Figure 2.9 Growth of Private Unaided schools vs alternative management types in Figure 2.9 Growth of Private Unaided schools vs alternative management types in

villages across India.



Source: adapted from Tilak (2008)

Source: adapted from Tilak (2008) Table 1 page xvi

The *de facto* privatisation of schooling in urban India can be confirmed through the government's own websites²⁷. The DISE Analytical Report 2006 -2007 shows that in three of India's largest states more than 65% of children attend private schools. In urban Maharashtra the figure is 66.9%, 66.3% in Tamil Nadu, and in Uttar Pradesh 65.1%. Private schools are often preferred by those living in the urban areas, because of the provision of better educational infrastructure and the use of English language as the medium of instruction. The percentage increase in new independent Higher

National University of Educational Planning and Administration - District Information System for Education available on http://www.dise.in// and through the National Portal of India http://india.gov.in/sectors/education/index.php

Secondary schools opened between 1995 and 2007 was 27.58% (DISE Report 2007 p43). In the secondary sector, the percentage of *private unaided* schools rose from 5.6% of all Indian secondary schools in 1973-4 to 29.6% by 2005 (Figure 2.9). The proportion of

government aided schools dropped over this period.

Table 2.6 Enrolment share of private schools in India

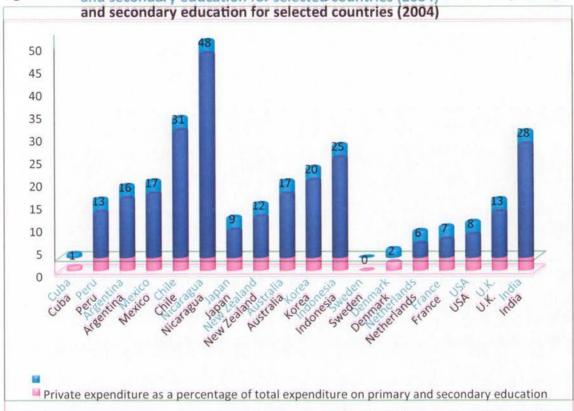
	pubOfficialiata published data	Household survey data			
	1993	1993	2002	2006	
	1993	1993	2002	2006	
Rural Primary	2.8	10.1	5.8	19.5	
Rural Primary	2.8	10.1	5.8	19.5	
Rural	6.5	7.9	11.1	20.4	
Ruralr/middle Junior/middle	6.5	7.9	11.1	20.4	
Rural Secondary	6.8	10.1	14.3	22.8	
Rural Secondary	6.8	10.1	14.3	22.8	
Urban Primary	25.7	26.2*	28.9	NA	
Urban Primary	25.7	26.2*	28.9	NA	
Junior/middle	18.8	15.4*	39.1	NA	
Junior/middle	18.8	15.4*	39.1	NA	
Urban Secondary	11.5	11.2	32.4	NA	
Urban Secondary	11.5	11.2	32.4	NA	

Source: Kingdon (2007) based on enrolment by school management-type in the All India Education Surveys for various years (NCERT, 1982; 1992; 1998; 2006). See Appendix Tables 3a and 3b.

The 7th All India School Education Survey (2002) conducted by NCERT, determined that out of a total of 63,576 secondary schools in rural areas, 29,071 (45.72%) were privately managed. Of these, 16,694 (26.25%) were private aided and 12,377 (19.47%) were private unaided. In urban areas the figures are much higher. Official statistics Kingdon's report and tend to underestimate private school enrollment (Kingdon 2007). Kingdon's report and India, private schools' share of total enrol data, (Table 2.6) shows that in urban India, private schools' share of total enrolment in 2002 was between 30 and 40 percent at the different levels of schooling. Published estimates in 2009 are much higher.

According to UNESCO figures, India has one of the highest rates of privatisation of schooling in the world (Figure 2.10). There is a direct correlation between the significant economic growth evidenced over the last decade in India and the growth in privatisation of schooling. Demography is also impacting educational provision, 60% of the population in India are under 35 years of age, and with an increasing population, demand for school places is increasing. Diaspora and NRIs lured by fresh economic opportunities are returning back home to India.

Figure 2.10 Private expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure on primary Figure 2.10 ar Private expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure on primary



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics - UIS/FS/07/04 2 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics - UIS/FS/07/04 2

In India, households pay more than one quarter (28%) of the costs to send their children to primary and secondary school. These fees pose a very real barrier for the children of poor families. Yet at the same time, households assume just 14% of the costs for university education, which typically benefits more well-to-do students. Expenditure surveys indicate official figures underestimate; 30% of rural households with children and 50% of urban households use private education. One third of education spending goes to private institutions. In a peripheral area of Delhi visited by Tooley (2007), 60% of parents sent their children to private schools. Official figures from Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh, also reported by Tooley (2003), show 61% of all students are in *private unaided* schools.

As noted in the World Bank, 2009 Report on Secondary Education, India has a long history of multiple management models at the secondary level, which provides opportunities for further experimentation and reform, particularly with respect to public-private partnership models. There is great diversity at the state level in the mix

of government, private aided, and private unaided schools for secondary education. Some states (e.g. Bihar, Jharkhand, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh) have large government school systems, while others (e.g. West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat) have predominantly private aided systems, and others (e.g. Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan) rely mainly on private unaided schools.

In any debate about the relative merits of public versus private financing of educational provision, equity issues are always on the agenda. Governments have a clear responsibility to provide all children with a quality primary education free of charge. However, it is widely acknowledged that the government sector in India lacks the capacity to provide "education for all" without support from the private sector. Official reports acknowledge the dismal and widespread failings of government education for the poor. Many studies confirm that learning achievements in both primary and secondary schools are very low, signalling poor quality schooling (Tooley, 2003; Jacobs and Asokan, 2003). Poor outputs can be directly attributed to poor school facilities, minimal inputs and teacher absenteeism. Mooij (2008) examines the paradox that whilst the need for universal education has become widely accepted, and the importance attributed to education has never been as great as it is now; government schools do not seem to have benefited. As Baird (2009) notes political factors in India play a serious role in private education choice. Government spending on education has an inverse relationship with private enrollment: the more governments spend on education in a given state, the lower private enrollment is.

Tooley (2006, 2007) and Desai et al (2008) provide strong arguments and conclusive research contending that a low-cost private education sector would actually appear to be serving the poor in developing countries, including India. Private schools appear to Tooley and other's findings contradict the be more cost-effective than public schools. Tooley and other's findings contradict the conventional wisdom of protractors such as Brighouse (2004). Advocates for privatisation claim that privatisation ensures accountability and efficiency of educational institutions, improves the quality of courses and makes such institutions more accessible (Jimenez et al, 1991; Tooley, 1999b). Tooley concludes that privatisation not

only plays a key role in plugging the gaps in diminishing public sector budgets and reducing budgetary pressures but also in filling the void for quality educational provision.

The very fact that slum-dwellers are sending kids to private schools in large numbers is the best evidence that private schools are better, whatever the experience in the US or Europe.²⁸

While the impact of private school attendance on student performance needs further exploration, existing studies find that on the whole, children from private schools perform better on various measures of cognitive skills than those from public schools. Desai et al's Desai et al's (2008) results show substantial inter-state variation in the scores of government and private school students. Private school advantage seems to be located in states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarkhand i.e. states known for poorly functioning public institutions. Studies in a number of other contexts by Jimenez et al (1991) such as Thailand and the Dominican Republic parallel these findings. Student achievement is higher in private schools than in public schools — and students achieve more in elite than in non-elite schools. Differences in teachers' backgrounds and teaching practices account for some of this difference in achievement. Private education appears to benefit the poor by expanding their choices and providing greater accountability to parents through higher levels of teacher commitment.

There are a number of critics who dispute these arguments. Brighouse (2004) believes that such arguments rely on an over-optimistic attitude regarding the operation of markets, which involves a failure to appreciate the diversity of quality in the various states. Desai et al (2008) suggested that

It may be worthwhile examining the differences in classroom environment between government and private schools and the processes through which these occur before shifting our attention to private schooling as the panacea for the ills of public education.²⁹

Jeffrey et al (in Chopra and Jeffrey, 2005 p60) reiterate the concerns that have been raised regarding the social inequalities arising from the privatisation of education. They

Swaminathan, Anklesaria Aiyar

²⁸ From arti**cle by Swaminathan, Anklesaria Aiyar** 14 June 2009 Back to school: An open letter to Kapil Sibal

²⁹ Quote by **Desai, 5 et al** NCAER India Policy Forum New Delhi July 15-16, 2008

observed that the current distribution of secondary school pupils among private institutions in Uttar Pradesh, by caste/community, by gender, by school class and by school suggests that inequalities are likely to rise further. Carnoy, (2000b) a leading education economist, had similarly deduced in a more generalised debate that:

'Afterivatization reform would likely increase educational inequality without improving educational effectiveness. In terms of our core values approvatization could also leave the educational system worse off than it actually is, despite all its flaws'.

n Singh's

Newton Singh's (2007) arguments for the State to renew its legitimacy as the public authority in education in this context of widespread privatisation in India, illustrates his alignment with Carnov's principles. his alignment with Carnoy's principles. Newton Singh maintains that the existing government schools need to be improved and new curriculum introduced so as to counter the private schools. Tilak and Sudarshan, in 2001, ruled out the possibility that private schools are competing with the public sector in rural India. They concluded, erroneously as this study shows, that the private sector was likely to remain small in size in the foreseeable future. They found that parental educational background influences schooling choice and that private schools do not fill a "demand gap" influences schooling choice and that private schools do not fill a "demand gap" created by the absence of a public sector school; rather, private schools are found in locations where public schools already exist. The authors concluded that private schools "may strengthen the forces of inequity further." They argued that instead of schools "may strengthen the forces of inequity further." They argued that instead of y) demand, private schools meet "differentiated" (quality) meeting unmet (quantity) demand, private schools meet "differentiated" (quality) demand, attracting children from higher-income groups or from advantaged social groups. Tooley, De and Srivastava's work, however, independently and unequivocally groups. Tooley, De and Srivastava's work, however, independently and unequivocally refutes Tilak's conclusion that pr refutes Tilak's conclusion that private schools are only attracting children from advantaged groups.

Since India embraced the market in the early 1990s, parents across all strata of society have acquired a reason to invest in education; they have observed the salaries and lifestyles generated by the emerging new economy in cities like Hyderabad and they want to ensure that their children have some prospects in this new economic order ... Once parents understand that education is a passport for their children into the new India, they demand better education!

3.1 THEORETICAL and METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY

3.1 THEORETICAL and METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY

This thesis employs the trend of the adoption of International Baccalaureate programmes in national schools around the world, particularly in India, to explicate the phenomena of privatisation and marketisation of educational provision. This study attempts to interrogate the claim that the IB in India is functioning as a tool to support the corporatisation of educational provision and the marketisation of educational practices. A key hypothesis espoused by many observers is that the IB is being adopted in India out of expedience with the purpose of establishing a market niche rather than through a genuine commitment

to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.

IB mission statement www.ibo.org

The IB schools in India provide a unique case study of the adoption of the programmes in national schools in a non-western context. In order to understand contemporary trends in relation to the increasingly widespread privatisation of schooling and adoption of 'international' adoption of 'international' curricula in India, multivariate approaches were utilised; information from a wide variety of sources both from within the school communities and in the wider education sector was sought. A case study or methodological triangulation research strategy was adopted, using a mixed methods approach to produce a broad profile of all the Indian schools that have implemented IB programmes in recent years.

Mixed methods research, according to Johnson et al, (2007 p112), is increasingly being articulated and recognised as a major research approach or research paradigm. Mixed methods research is an approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints. Based on the commonalities in various definitions by key authors in this field such as Creswell, Morgan, Teddlie and Tashakkori; Johnson et al (2007) offer the following definition:

is the type of research in which a researcher ... combines

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher ... combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.

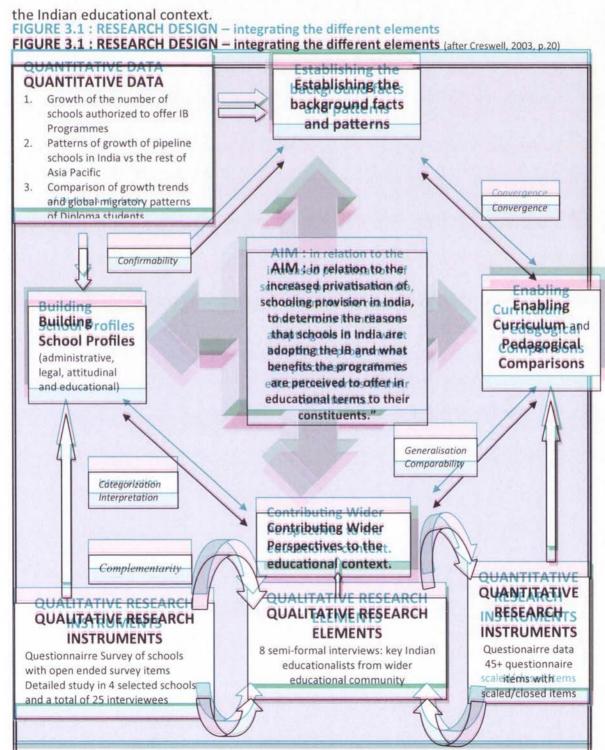
The *mixed methods* approach to this research specifically involved gathering numeric information (e.g., through IB Data sources and the questionnaire instruments) as well as text information (open ended item responses, interview transcripts, newspaper articles, government documentation, academic literature, business and curriculum analyses and so on) so the final report incorporates both quantitative data and adopts Creswell's Triangulation qualitative information. The research design (Figure 3.1) adopts Creswell's Triangulation *Mixed Methods* Design (2005).

QUANTITATIVE QUALITATIVE (Data & results) + QUALITATIVE (Data & Results) Interpretation contend that

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p16) contend that 'the bottom line is that research approaches should be mixed in ways that offer the best opportunities for answering The multiple sources of da important research questions'. The multiple sources of data collected in this study were used to triangulate and validate conclusions and to develop theories about the patterns and models that emerged. Interpretative analysis aimed to appreciate the complexities and drivers for adoption of IB programmes in India from different schools' points of view. schools' points of view. The positivist dimensions of the study were subsequently progressively mediated by this more interpretivist and constructivist approach where the emphasis was not just on establishing facts, relationships and causes but also on understanding the social phenomena driving change. The assumption guiding the interpretive/ constructivist elements of this particular research is that reality is socially constructed (after Lincoln and Guba, 2000 in Lichtman, 2006). Capturing the realities of the Indian context is complex. Rather than a single objective reality, there are multiple realities, each connected to intricate socio-political realities, the complexity of sociocultural supported behaviours and defined by individual perspectives.

Hence the research paradigm adopted in this study was informed by the work of social Weiß as detailed in Chapter 1, (theorists such as Appadurai, Ball, Beck, Rivzi and Weiß as detailed in Chapter 1, (Section 1.4 p5) with their assumptions about the complex set of mediations that interconnect

state and citizens, culture and economy, education and social class. The social nature of the research enterprise in this study is also acknowledged. The researcher's of the research enterprise in this study is also acknowledged. The researcher's perspectives are without doubt limited by a non-Indian background. As an outsider with attitudes, values and beliefs emanating from a liberal western perspective, the researcher has acknowledged personal bias in interpreting socio-political realities in



research's logic of inquiry includes the use of induction, deduction and Mixed method research's logic of inquiry includes the use of induction, deduction and abduction (Johnson, R. B. and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p 16). In establishing the research paradigm for this particular study, the problem was which philosophical position would best underpin the mixed methods research approach adopted especially in view of the debates and concerns that mixed methods research can potentially result in combining logics. Although both positivist advocates and the constructivist/ interpretivist purists have long advocated the incompatibility thesis (ibid, p 14) which posits that qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, including their associated methods, cannot and should not be mixed, recent work on combining qualitative and quantitative methods, has understandably emphasized a largely pragmatist stance. "Pragmatism offers an epistemological justification for mixing approaches and ds...Pragmatic logic methods...Pragmatic logic dictates the use of that combination of methods and ideas tentative answers to one's that will help one best frame, address, and provide tentative answers to one's research question[s] research question[s]" (p16). Johnson et al. (2007) believe that pragmatism provides a philosophy that supports paradigm integration and helps mixed research to coexist with the philosophies of quantitative and qualitative research. Other mixed methods writers (Morgan, 2007; Maxcy, 2003) have similarly argued the ascendency of pragmatism as the most useful philosophy to support mixed methods research. As recommended by Greene (2006), there is value in comparing and contrasting the inferences that emerge from examining the findings of a study from multiple worldviews and perspectives. Pragmatism, therefore, was adopted as an appropriate philosophy for integrating the multiple perspectives and approaches in this study.

3.2 SURVEY RESEARCH : ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRES

3.2 SURVEY RESEARCH : ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRES

Research Instruments

Research Instruments: A survey questionnaire was designed and made available online using *surveymonkey*¹ to administer and collect responses. This primary questionnaire was used to directly survey all schools that were authorized (at the end of 2008) or that were formally intending to offer any one of the three IB programmes in India. Heads of School and Programme coordinators were targeted but responses

¹Surveymonkey is a tool used to create and publish custom surveys and collect and view results graphically and in real time. http://www.surveymonkey.com/

were accepted from Project Sponsors, Board Chairs and teachers. Hardcopy samples were also distributed at IB regional workshops in Mumbai in November, 2008. Ethics approval to carry out this survey was granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee on 8 September, 2008 (Appendix 1 and 4).

The Indian IB Schools Profile Survey

The Indian IB Schools Profile Survey was divided into several different response types. The Survey utilised a combination of quite specific responses from drop down menus in addition to questions that required a scaled response. The survey was designed to obtain sufficient information to establish:

- A comprehensive profile of IB schools in India in relation to their legal status, the nature of their managing bodies, the composition of their student body and their wider community involvement.
- 2. The key factors that influenced the schools decision to adopt IB programmes
- 3. Perceptions of the nature and forces affecting educational change in India
- 4. Perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of the privatisation of schooling

The questionnaire (Appendix 2) had a total of 11 Questions for the Coordinators group and an additional 3 questions in the survey sent to Heads. These three additional questions sought information about the legal and business status of the school management. Text boxes were included for additional written responses.

The Likert type scale for responses regarding the factors influencing a schools decision to adopt the IB was based on a series of semantic differential items where respondents were asked to rate their opinion on a linear scale between 2 endpoints. There were 5 possible responses scaled from Not Significant to Highly Significant. Respondents were also asked to rank the same items in order to correlate and triangulate responses to the same items. The specific items included in the questionnaire as possible factors influencing a schools decision to adopt the IB were a combination of statements

- i) compiled from a list of anecdotal reasons given by schools in a pre-study
- ii) aimed at evaluating the relative importance of factors in the following domains:
 - i. The Educational value of the IB programmes
 - ii. Market forces
 - iii. Global Cultural Capital
 - iv. The availability of support services

and aimed at weighing the four key competencies² of the IB against the perceived 'value proposition' from a stakeholder perspective. perceived 'value proposition' from a stakeholder perspective.

Responses to specific items related to educational change and privatisation i.e. *Perceptions of the nature and forces affecting educational change* and *Perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of the privatisation of schooling in India* were presented on a traditional 5 point Likert scale. This scale had values with both positive and negative direction so that the respondent could indicate agreement or disagreement with the statement. There were 5 possible responses; *Strongly disagree, Disagree, Undecided, Agree, Strongly agree*. Responses to these items were used to produce summated rating scales.

Pilot Study :

Pilot Study: The questionnaire was trialed, with 5 schools all of which had been authorized for at least 3-4 years, to gauge responses and level of accessibility of questions. Questions and instructions were then modified depending on the feedback so that the survey could be disseminated to the wider group of schools. The pilot study was undertaken to ensure that respondents could

- 1. Understand the language used in the questionnaire
- 2. Understand the questionnaire instructions
- 3. Provide meaningful responses

It was assumed that respondents in schools would be familiar the terminology related to the IB *Standards and Practices*³ and with the terminology associated with the implementation and delivery of the IB programmes which is explicit in all IB programme guides and subject guides. The pilot only resulted in minor amendments.

Sample Selection, Survey Sample Size and Validity Sample Selection, Survey Sample Size and Validity

The online survey was sent to a total of 213 potential respondents including 123 Programme coordinators + 50 authorised school heads + 34 candidate school heads. Hard copies were distributed to a further 35 teachers and school representatives for

² As defined on page 35, Chapter 2 of this study; The IB has 4 key competencies: curriculum development, provision of assessment service, professional development delivery, support for schools and quality assurance for programme implementation

³ The IB *Standards and Practices* is the official IB document that sets out the standards and practices that schools are expected to demonstrate in relation to the authorization and evaluation processes for IB Programmes. The 2005 publication is to be replaced in 2010 by a revised version.

purposive sampling. A total of 127 respondents completed the questionnaire, equivalent to a 53% response rate. Responses were obtained from at least one respondent at 41 of the 50 schools authorized at the time of the survey i.e. an 82% response rate. Statistically, the response rate represents a 5.5% margin of error, at a confidence level of 95% (or less than 4.6% margin of error at a 90% confidence level).

Table 3.1 Response Rates to "The Indian IB Schools Profile Survey"
Table 3.1 Response Rates to "The Indian IB Schools Profile Survey"

RESPONSE RATES		
RESPONSE RATES	Number of	Population Size
Canalinguas and Enginess	Responses	1214
Coordinators and Teachers	82	123+
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	45 127	84+ 207+
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	127	207+
Authorised Schools (as at Nov 08) responding	41	50
Authorised Schools (as at Nov 08) responding	41	50
Candidate Schools (Nov 08) responding	11	34
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS SUBMITTING AT LEAST	56 56	n/a 84+
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS SUBMITTING AT LEAST	56	84+
ONE SURVEY RESPONSE		

A total of 84 authorised and candidate schools were targeted. Because the sample size was relatively small, responses were needed from 70 schools in total to achieve a 5% margin of error, at 95% confidence level, (or at 90% confidence level from 65 schools) to ensure that the survey results are representative of the IB schools population. The response from the authorized schools considered on their own indicates a margin of error 6.6%, at a confidence level of 95%.

This margin of error and the 53% response rate overall was acceptable as a relatively good response rate that can be attributed to two contributing factors: on the one nd the concept of an "IB community" is fairly established amongst schools which hand the concept of an "IB community" is fairly established amongst schools which have implemented an IB programme and on the other, schools which are currently implementing tend to be fairly compliant with "IB related" requests for information. It implementing tend to be fairly compliant with "IB related" requests for information. It is believed that the Questionnaire response rate was further improved by established relationships and some personal contact in the form of telephone conversations and

⁴ Utilizing http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html

during school visits. Differences in response rates between the authorized school group and the candidate school group can be explained in these terms.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS FROM SURVEY 3.3 DATA ANALYSIS FROM SURVEY

Data was collected separately for the two groups to whom the survey was sent i.e. Coordinators and Teachers versus Administrators (see Appendices 3 and 4). Means were computed for each Likert item responses for both groups separately. The standard deviation was also computed for each item to give an indication of the spread of opinion (as measured by the average distance from the mean). This data is shown in Table 3.3 in the original order. A low standard deviation signifies that most responses cluster around the mean and there is not a lot of variation in respondents' perceptions cluster around the mean and there is not a lot of variation in respondents' perceptions and opinions. SD values ≥ 1 have been highlighted in and opinions. SD values ≥ 1 have been highlighted in Table 3.2 to indicate a wider spread of opinion over these items. Table 3.3 features some of the items where there was marked inconsistency of response within a group. Those items where views were most polarized were those related to the educational rigour/standards of the Indian curriculum and items related to privatisation and commercialisation of education (Table 5.4). Views on educational change (Table 6.1) tended to be more consistent.

T-Tests were also used to compare the means between the two groups (Table 3.2). The P value shown is a probability, with a value ranging from zero to one. When the P value is small, the difference between the sample means is unlikely to be a coincidence. For over 88% of the Likert scale items, there was no significant difference between the two groups surveyed. Only 5 items in total (out of 45 items in the survey) actually showed a significant difference in means between the two groups, therefore it was considered appropriate to combine both sets of data for examination in Chapters 4-6 rather than presenting the responses from the two groups as discrete (as in Appendices 3 and 4). This Likert data is analysed further in Tables 4.5, 4.8, 5.4 and 6.1; and Figures 4.11 and 4.12 and discussed in detail in the following three chapters. These elements of the survey and statistical treatment aimed to produce quantifiable, reliable data that is generalizable to the larger population of implementing IB schools.

Table 3.2a Statistical Comparison between Different Groups of Respondents
Table 3.2a Statistical Comparison between Different Groups of Respondents

KEY: Coordinators Administrators

KEY : Coordina	1013	Admin	Maria Para					
EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, EDUCATIONAL/CHANGE,	Mean	Count	Std	Mean	Count	Std	two-	Statistically
RBOVATISATION ANDA		N	Dev		N	Dev	tailed P	Statisticall
REGULATION IN INDIA	3.90			3 80	AR.		value	significani
Question 1. Educational change	3.90	81	0.92	3.89		0.02	0.0510	NO
					45	0.83	9.9519	NO
Question 2. Globalization forces	4.15	81	0.67	4.22	45	0.67	0.5752	NO
Question 3. Focus is shifting	4.06	81	0.93	4.02	45	0.94	0.6214	NO
Question 4. The skills needs of a	3.66	79	0.93	3.47	45	0.88	0.2670	NO
knowledge economyn prescriptive	4.04	3.1	0.87	3.80	45	0.39	0.2475	NO.
Question 5. Shift from prescriptive	4.04	81	0.87	3.80	45	0.89	0.2475	NO
classroomsteachinglum load in the			1.12			1.07	0.0274	YES
Question 6. Curriculum load in the	3.61	82	1.12	4.07	44	1.07	0.0274	YES
Indian curriculumatch Between	3.75	1.7	1.03	3.89	44	1.04	0.5021	NO
Question 7. Mismatch between	3.76	82	1.03	3.89	44	1.04	0.5021	NO
developmental capacities of								
children and curricular			1.06			1.17	0.6096	
Question 8. Assessment models	3.51	81	1.06	3.61	44	1.17	0.6096	NO
Ouesties O. Percetal expectations	4.00	0.0	0.86	4.00		0.48	0.5777	N.O
Question 9. Parental expectations of education are changing	4.09	82	0.86	4.00	45	0.88	0.5777	NO
Question 10. The status of the	274	01	0.00	2.45	4.4	0.00	0.1025	NO
teaching profession will influence	3.74	81	0.92	3.45	44	0.98	0.1025	NO
Question 11. The IB will influence	3.83	81	0.75	2.76	AF	0.02	0.6299	No
educational policy and practice	3.03	01	0.75	3.76	45	0.83	0.6299	NO
Question 12. Educational	4.43	81	0.63	4.29	45	0.63	0.2343	NO
development (for the masses) litist	4.43 A R.G	01	0.03	4.23	43	0.05	0.2343	NO
Question 13. IB is seen as an Elitist	4.39	82	0.78	4.40	45	0.65	0.9419	NO
programme in India	1100	02	0.70	1.10		0.05	0.8366	140
Question 14. The Bican gain tance	3.99	81	0.77	3.96	45	0.80	0.8366	NO
widespread University Acceptance	4.70	21	0.70	4.20	4.4	0.79	1.0000	NOTAT
Question 15. Demand for the IB	4.20	81	0.70	4.20	44	0.79	1.0000	NOTAT
will continue to grow in India.		102				1.04	0.6645	ALL
Question 16. Growth of the IB in	3.68	81	0.95	3.60	43	1.04	0.6645	NO
India is driven by educational		-	0.00	0.00			0.0043	110
vision and 17 Growth of the IB In	4.04	75	0.95	3 91	404	0.74	0.3968	NO
Question 17. Growth of the IB in	4.04	79	0.85	3.91	44	0.74	0.3968	NO
India is driven by market forces							0.2263	
Question 18. Volume and quality	4.08	80	0.79	4.22	45	0.70	0.2263	NO
of schooling opportunities	351	1.1	1.05	3.24	15	1.28	0.2039	NO.
Question 19. Restrict	3.51	81	1.05	3.24	45	1.28	0.2039	NO
commercialization			1.22			1.24	0.1900	
Question 20. Only educational	3.01	82	1.22	2.71	45	1.24	0.1900	NO
trusts and societies to establish								
schools n 21 Businesses and		22	1.07	2,50	A1/2	1.09	0.4375	AIC.
Question 21. Businesses and	3.33	82	1.07	3.50	44	1.09	0.4375	NO
companies encouraged						1.09	0.0365	YES
Question 22. Continued growth	3.50	78	0.92	3.11	45	1.09	0.0365	YES
will exacerbate social divisions to Question 23. Better regulation to	2.02	70	0.00	2.21	10	1.29	0.0034	YES VERY
assure standards in private	3.92	79	0.86	3.34	44	1.29	0.0034	YES VERY
schools			1.07	1=1=4/5		1.71	0.0357	VEC
Question 24. Protection of the IB	2.87	70	1.07	2 25	12	1.21	0.0257	YES
reputation and brand (sarion	2.07	79	1.11	3.35	43	1.21	0.0257	
Question 25. IB authorisation	3.49	78	1.11	3.86	44	1.07	0.0758	not quite
Standards should be stricter	3.43	70	1.11	3.00	4.4	1.07	0.0758	not quite

Table 3.2b Statistical Comparison between Different Groups of Respondents
Table 3.2b Statistical Comparison between Different Groups of Respondents

REASONS FOR ADOPTING IB				Melan			two-	
REASONS/FORSADOPTING IB	Mean	Count	Std Dev	Mean	Count	Std Dev	Eatiled P	Starfstir Stargett
PROGRAMMES		870	1.19	2.07	NA COLUMN	1.49	value	signif
1. Parental Demand				3.07	12		-010010	NO
	3.31	80	1.19		43	1.49	0.3316	
2. Teacher Demand	2.65	78	1.21	2.41	44	1.33	0.3122	NO
3. The educational value of a broad	4.70	79	0.89	4.71	45	0.79	0.9502	NO
based holistic education for students							0.8992	
4. The academic rigour of the IB	4.43	80	0.85	4.45	44	0.82	0.8992	NO
programmes in with Indian Board	2.0%	7.8	1.39	3.09	0.0	1.57	0.6113	NO
5. Dissatisfaction with Indian Board	2.95	78	1.39	3.09	44	1.57	0.6113	NO
Curricula			1.39			1.45	0.0041	YES
6. The elite image associated with	3.44	75	1.39	2.65	43	1.45	0.0041	VES/
the IB	2.65	7.9	1.46	7 /19	4.3	1.49	0.1022	very
7. Market Pressure (e.g. other local	2.95	78	1.46	2.49	43	1.49	0.1022	NO
competitor schools are taking on the	2.55	/0	1.40	2.43	45	1.43	0.1022	110
programmes)			1.38			1,42	0.0703	not
8. Market Opportunity	3.51	73	1.38	3.02	43	1.42	0.0703	not
o. Market Opportunity		2007		100000000		52000	10200 0000000	
 The reputation, brand and market 	4.00	74	1.01	1.75	44	1.24	0.1021	quite
9. The reputation, brand and market	4.09	79	1.01	3.75	44	1.24	0.1021	NO
value of the IB programmes		100000	1.21		-	1.33	0.2297	20,000
10. The fees and costs associated	3.23	77	1.21	2.95	43	1.33	0.2297	NO
with implementing the IB								
programmes were seen as value for								
money lovides an internationally	4.47	RT	0.91	443	44	0.87	0.8135	NO
11. IB provides an internationally	4.47	81	0.91	4.43	44	0.87	0.8135	NO
recognized qualification for								
University entrance overseas					.w.ac		0.5370	
12. IB programmes meet the need	4.54	80	0.79	4.44	45	0.99	0.5370	NO
for an international education in an								
increasingly interconnected world	4.46	80	1.97	4 14	4/4	1.15	0.1715	NO:
13. The IB Diploma was seen as a	4.40	80	0.92	4.14	44	1.15	0.1715	NO
more educationally challenging " or	90.7			1000				
option than other "international" or							0.0000	
Indian Board programmes		70	0.00	4.24	4.5	4.04	0.2366	NO
14. The pedagogy and assessment	4.34	79	0.88	4.31	45	1.04	0.2366	NO
practices associated with the IB	O WYS	3.5	112		1000	4 40	0.0115	1000
programmes i solication system	4.06	81	1.12	4.44	45	1.13	0.8116	NO
15. The Indian education system	4.06	80	1.12	4.11	45	1.13	0.8116	NO
needs to produce internationally						4.04	0.4220	
minded global citizens			4 00			1.01	0.4328	
16. The values dimension of the IB	4.23	80	1.03	4.38	45	1.01	0.4328	NO
curriculum and its emphasis on		10.00	* **		7-	4.24	0.5750	100000
community service and to develop	2.50	80	1.16	2.04	47	1.31	0.5750	NO.
17. The school needed to develop	3.68	80	1.16	3.81	42	1.31	0.5750	NO
wider regional and international educational alliances			1.10			1.24	0.5054	
A TOTAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY O	0.70	0.0	1.18	271	42	1.24	0.5254	110
18. Access to Teacher Professional	3.73	82	1.18	3.74	43	1.24	0.5254	NO
Development is available work for	3.99	8.1	0.07	1.73	45	1.34	0.2123	NO.
19. The IB provides a framework for	3.99	81	0.97	3.73	45	1.34	0.2123	NO
school improvement			(aprilage)	-		1.11	0.2113	1 to 1 to 1 to 1
20. Consultation and guidance is	4.08	79	0.97	3.84	45	1.11	0.2113	NO
available to support the implementation of IB programmes								

Table 3.3. Questions where Probability distribution shows marked inconsistency of

Table 3.3. Questions where Probability distribution shows marked inconsistency of response (with polarization) within a group but additionally between the two groups (Coordinators

(row above) and Adminis	trators (below) sagree		Undecided	Agree	Strongly	Rating	Response
	Strongly	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly	ARatinge	Response
I. Assessment madels	Disagree	TE GOL	1.4.2%	43.6%	Agree	Average	Count
8. Assessment models associated with Indian Board examinations are	0.0%	25.9% (21)	14.8% (12)	42.0% (34)	17.3% (14)	3.51	81
outmoded						3.61	
	0.0%	27.3%	11.4%	34.1%	27.3%	3.61	44
20. Only educational	(0)	(12)	(5)	(15)	(12)	3.01	87
20. Only educational trusts and societies should be allowed to establish and run	6.1% (5)	36.6% (30)	25.6% (21)	13.4% (11)	18.3% (15)	3.01	82
private schools						2.71	
	17.8%	31.1%	22.2%	20.0%	8.9%	2.71	45
24 Protection of the IB	(8)	(14)	(10)	(9)	(4)	2.87	74
24. Protection of the IB reputation and brand could become	8.9% (7)	30.4% (24)	31.6% (25)	22.8% (18)	6.3% (5)	2.87	79
problematic						3.35	
	7.0%	18.6%	27.9%	25.6%	20.9%	3.35	43
25. Ilt Standards and	(3)	(8)	(12)	(11)	(9)	3,49	78
25. IB Standards and Practices for smooth be authorisation should be	0.0%	26.9% (21)	19.2% (15)	32.1% (25)	21.8% (17)	3.49	78
stricter						3.86	
	0.0%	18.2%	9.1%	40.9%	31.8%	3.86	44
	(0)	(8)	(4)	(18)	(14)		

3.4 ESTABLISHING PATTERNS - BACKGROUND QUANTITATIVE DATA

3.4 ESTABLISHING PATTERNS - BACKGROUND QUANTITATIVE DATA

In addition to the quantitative data obtained from the survey, data and statistics to track trends related to growth and uptake of the IB were obtained through a number of the IB information systems both centrally and regionally. This data was collated and graphed to document and analyse trends showing growth patterns for the IB programmes in India from 2002 to 2009 (Chapter 4). The specific information tabulated, graphed and analysed, (Figures 4.1-4.10 inclusive, Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.5, 6.6 and Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5) includes:

- The growth in the number of schools authorized to offer the IB Diploma in India in comparison to growth globally and in Asia Pacific
- 2. Patterns of growth with respect to interested (pipeline) schools in India
- 3. The trends in the numbers of Indian Nationals studying the IB Diploma
- 4. The changing Diploma Pass Rates and Volume for Indian Nationals
- 5. International flows of mobile Indian IB Students at the Tertiary Level

3.5 DETAILED STUDY IN SELECTED SCHOOLS

3.5 DETAILED STUDY IN SELECTED SCHOOLS

Four schools were selected for more detailed study. One was a well established private school that has adopted IB programmes and the other three were newer schools that had adopted the IB from start up. Three of these case study schools were established and managed by Trusts and the other was run by a Society with extensive experience in the tertiary sector and 25 years involvement with State Board schools. Very few schools indicated through the survey that they were private proprietary schools run for-profit (as detailed in Chapter 5). The identifiable for-profit schools were already well known to the author and thus were not directly selected. Two of the Case Study schools chosen were in the Greater Mumbai area, one school is located near Delhi and the fourth in Pune. Each of the schools chosen for more detailed study fit national schools rather than being the category of the category of 'private unaided' national schools rather than being 'International Schools Schools' catering predominantly for the children of expatriates. Each of the case study schools chosen had adopted IB programmes in the preceding 5-7 years. All four schools were visited by the researcher and semi structured interviews were held with a minimum of 5 key people from each school -including a member of the Board, the Head and Coordinator(s) in addition to a number of teachers. Ethics approval for working in the case study schools was granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee on 8 September, 2008 (Appendix 5).

In total, 25 educators were individually interviewed across the four schools. Interviews were recorded using a combination of field notes and audio recording and the resultant information transcribed. The survey provided a framework of substantive and general topic codes, which the interview process followed. Because the overarching goal of the case studies was to 'qualitise' the quantitative da overarching goal of the case studies was to 'qualitise' the quantitative data from the survey and to generate a descriptive account of the trends and events that were being observed, the qualitative data from these interviews was not codified and 'quantitised' 'quantitised'. The interview responses pointed to the detail behind each item promoting a more composite investigation. The purpose of the mixed analysis of

⁵ Utilising nomenclature detailed by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p9)

interview transcripts and survey responses was development of a comprehensive overview of the complexities of private schooling provision in India (Chapt 5.3; 5.4 and 5.7) and the construction of a profile of the IB schools in India (Chapt 4.3).

3.6 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS 3.6 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

A second research instrument was developed consisting of a set of semi-structured Interview Questions (Appendix 6). The target interviewees were members of the IB Indian Development Council or those who hold roles with state boards, educational NGOs or Indian Universities. Additional contacts through the Central Institute of Education at the University of Delhi and at various colleges in Pune and Mumbai were targeted. Eight educators were interviewed in relation to this study. Interviewees were given an advance copy of the questions. Ethics approval of the procedures and instrument was granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee on 8 September, structured interviews were conducted "for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information focused on the content specified by the research objectives" (Cannell and Kahn, 1968 as quoted in Cohen and Manion, 1994, p271).

The semi-structured interview schedules contained mostly open ended questions and the schedule was set up so that there was a combination of direct and indirect questions and of open ended response and forced response items. The semi-structured format enabled interviewees to focus attention on their own particular area of expertise and on their own preoccupations and perceptions as well as on the pre-selected issues. Every effort was made by the interviewer to conduct the interview with maximum objectivity, so that respondents were not unduly influenced. The interviewer took the role of constructing and subsequently interpreting the reality of the person being interviewed (Lichtman, 2006, p117). The potential for interviewer bias has already been acknowledged in relation to this task. Several of these interviews evolved into individual in-depth discussions which were in effect as described by (Rubin "a conversation between interviewer and participant." and Rubin, 1995 in Lichtman (2006) "a conversation between interviewer and participant." Response modes in general were unstructured. Interviews were recorded using a

combination of field notes and audio recording and then transcribed.

PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

3.7 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

3.7

Relatively few problems were experienced in the course of this study. The greatest challenge was in accessing accurate data about the legal structure of the IB schools in India and interpreting this information suitably in the Indian regulatory context. This data was needed to determine the extent to which the privatisation of schooling in India is being commercially driven. Responses from survey respondents were incomplete or sometimes they proved conflicting when two respondents from the same school responded to the same question in different ways. The original survey data was supplemented or confirmed by additional information accessible on the public website and in the school files.

However, it was only as a result of a series of informal conversations with school promoters, that the nature of the joint venture model (Figure 5.3) being adopted by many of the newer projects was clarified. Consequently, as the majority of private IB schools in India are operated and managed by entities with more than one registration, unraveling exactly which schools are being operated for profit, and/or the level of profiteering proved virtually impossible. Schools could only be designated proprietary, if the respondent and the school records clearly indentified an individual owner/family or business as the sole management arrangement. Most survey respondents were not necessarily aware of these legal complexities. Given the specificity of the regulatory environment in India and the social, institutional and political context of the country, the generalizability of many of the findings of the study to other parts of Asia Pacific or globally is doubtful.

The study has a number of other limitations. Although the characteristics of the IB Programme respondents varied (by years of experience with the programme as well as by experience with specific IB programmes), the data was not aggregated by demographic characteristics. The survey itself, fails to effectively differentiate by programme in terms of perception. The survey was conducted across programmes but the reasons for schools, parents and students selecting the IB Diploma may well be quite different from the reasons why schools choose to implement the PYP.

Furthermore, the survey fails to differentiate between assessment at the DP level, which is prescriptive, externally examined and moderated by the IB as compared to assessment models for the other two programmes.

It is important in drawing conclusions from the data obtained that whilst those factors indicated on the tables and figures presented in this study (Tables 4.5, 4.8, 5.4 and 6.1; and nstrued to be the key factors that underscored schools' Figures 4.11 and 4.12) are construed to be the key factors that underscored schools' decisions to adopt the IB programmes initially, decision makers may not have fully appreciated the impact of adopting IB programmes until after the programmes were implemented. Another key limitation of this study is that it has does not provide an ethnography of how the IB is operationalised by Indian schools and students nor has it attempted in a serious way to look at social class difference nor explore caste issues or the role of "ethnocentricism" of class in Indian schools adopting the IB programmes.

The appropriateness of the survey and questionnaire methodology for eliciting comprehensive responses in the Indian cultural context could be questioned. Conclusions drawn from participant's perceptio Conclusions drawn from participant's perceptions may only be as valuable as the participant's sense of efficacy and may not represent the rationale and reasoning of participant's sense of efficacy and may not represent the rationale and reasoning of the key decision making parties at the time the IB programmes were introduced. It is possible that educators in the schools themselves were not fully cognisant of the initial true motivations of the Trust or school project sponsors. Some respondents may have answered beyond their immediate knowledge or expertise particularly those who were not in the school at the time the school decided to adopt the programmes. The Board or owners' personal motivations for adopting IB programmes may well be The Board or owners' personal motivations for adopting IB programmes may well be different to those publically conveyed to the wider school community and used as a rationale for the change or initiative. The perceived need for some respondents to obtain permission from their Board or school administrators in order to be able to participate in the survey proved problematic in a number of places particularly the reluctance of participants at regional workshops to engage with the survey. With respect to the educators interviewed, there was varying familiarity with the level and nature of educational reforms and changes in India.

There are a number of reasons why Likert scaling as a bipolar scaling method, may be subject to distortion. Respondents may avoid using extreme response categories (central tendency bias); and agreed with statements as presented (acquiescence response bias); or tried to portray themselves or their group in a more favorable light (social desirability bias)⁶. Issues of response set and faking may have occured (response set is the tendency of the subject to respond in the same way, regardless of the content of the items. Faking occurs when subjects give deliberately inaccurate indications of their attitudes). The survey questions to determine the significance of different factors in a schools decision to adopt IB programmes would have benefited from a larger scale of 7 or 10 alternatives for each item rather than just 5 on a gradated scale. Some participants had problems interpreting the ranking exercise on the hardcopy version of the survey. Sampling errors were minimal as noted in section 3.2 but non-sampling errors may have also been present in terms of questions being perceived as leading or ambiguous or from data entry errors. The candour of respondents in identifying drivers for the adoption of the programmes, particularly given the author's role with the IB, could with some justification be questioned. given the author's role with the IB, could with some justification be questioned.

There were a number of ethical challenges associated with this study. Firstly, a great deal of information and materials was obtainable because of the existing provider i.e. service relationship with the researcher. There are confidentiality issues and data information issues related to the use of this information in a different context and every effort has been made to respect these. Some of the survey information in particular is confidential in that it can affect teachers' tenure and/or status in schools particular is confidential in that it can affect teachers' tenure and/or status in schools or it could impact adversely on the reputation of individual schools. Many of the issues raised in this study have an element of business sensitivity and/or a political dimension. For this reason, data and responses have been anonymised in the reporting within this thesis.

⁶ From article on Likert Scales on http://psychology.wikia.com/wiki/Likert_scales downloaded 17 November, 2007

CHAPTER FOUR THE IB IN INDIA – BUILDING A PROFILE THE IB IN INDIA – BUILDING A PROFILE

4.1 THE HISTORY OF THE IB IN INDIA 4.1 THE HISTORY OF THE IB IN INDIA

The history of the International Baccalaureate (IB) in India is a recent history. A decade ago, only six schools in the country were authorised to offer IB programmes. Four of these schools were authorised between 1997 and 1999. Between the end of 2001 and the end of 2009, a further 61 schools in India received authorisation, although two have subsequently withdrawn. This chapter considers the profile of these Indian schools now adopting the IB and seeks to identify the growth patterns and growth drivers behind this significant shift.

In 1976, Kodaikanal became the first school in India to offer the IB Diploma. Kodaikanal is the second longest established IB world school in Asia and was amongst the first 20 IB authorized schools in the world. Founded in 1901, as an American boarding school for the children of missionaries in India, Kodaikanal International School has celebrated more than 100 years involvement in Christian international Today Kodaikanal is still recognized as one of India's more education. Today Kodaikanal is still recognized as one of India's more prestigious academic independent schools. The school ranked second amongst India's most academic independent schools. The school ranked second amongst India's most Respected Schools in the EW-C Fore Survey of Schools² against criteria such as academic reputation, competence of faculty, leadership/management quality, integrity/honesty, infrastructure provision. The school is located in Tamil Nadu, in the Palani Hills in what is often described as the "Princess of Hill Stations". Kodaikanal is Palani Hills in what is often described as the "Princess of Hill Stations". Kodaikanal is the only hill station in India established during the British Raj by Americans.

After 30 years delivering the IB Diploma Programme successfully, Kodaikanal undertook the implementation of the IB Middle Years Programme in 2004. The school was authorised to offer the MYP in December, 2006. Kodaikanal is now a candidate imary Years Programme. By 2009, Kodaikanal's long connection with school for the Primary Years Programme. By 2009, Kodaikanal's long connection with the IB included involvement of staff as qualified IB assistant examiners and workshop

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¹ http://www.kis.in/place/introduction.html

² Available on http://www.educationworldonline.net/index.php/page-article-choice-more-id-1921

leaders, representation on the IB Governing Council and regional committees, hosting of IB workshops, and the design of school based pilot courses. Kodaikanal remained the only IB World School in India for 6 years after its authorisation until June 1982 when the American Embassy School in Delhi adopted the IB Diploma.

It was a further 15 years before the third IB school in India, Mahindra United World College was established near Pune and authorised to offer the IB Diploma in March 1997. The other "early IB schools" in India, include the American School of Bombay 1997. The other "early IB schools" in India, include the American School of Bombay authorized in April 1998, Chinmaya International Residential School in October 1998 and the Canadian International School in Bangalore authorised to offer the Diploma in April 1999. Chinmaya was the first "Indian" IB school. The school is run by the April 1999. Chinmaya was the first "Indian" IB school. The school is run by the Chinmaya Mission founded in 1953 by Swami Chinmayananda. The Chinmaya Mission operates more than 75 schools in India, only one of which is an IB school. Most of the Chinmaya schools are regular schools registered under the state and/or national boards. The Mission also runs many health care facilities and has 24 temples in India and 7 abroad. The Chinmaya International Residential School, located in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, is a co-educational secondary school offering classes from Standard V. The medium of instruction is English. Chinmaya is also affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), for Standard X and Standard XII examinations. With the exception of Chinmaya, all the "early IB schools" could to some extent the exception of Chinmaya, all the "early IB schools" could to some extent be classified as " "as defined in Chapter One. All of the "early" group classified as "international schools" as defined in Chapter One. All of the "early" group are registered as non-profit trusts with the exception of the Canadian International School in Bangalore, which is publically acknowledged to be a proprietary school. CIS was originally founded by a Canadian business group but is now locally owned.

Mercedes Benz International School in Pune was the first school in India to be authorized to offer the MYP and also the first school in India authorised to offer the PYP programme. Both authorizations took place in 1999. Mercedes Benz is now a three programme school. The school is located in Hinjawadi, a fast developing InfoTech Park in Pune's urban InfoTech Park in Pune's urban-rural belt. The school is run by the Mercedes-Benz Education Academy which was established in 1998 as a non-profit trust with seven Page | 87

founding members. The Academy is registered under the Societies Registration Act 1850, as well as under the Bombay Trust Act. Following an initiative by Mercedes Benz to open a German medium school in 1995, the international school was established in response to the need for a high quality suitable education by families associated with the rapid growth of multinational companies in Pune. The number of students grew more significantly in the mid 2000s, with a rise in expatriate enrolment being attributed to the school's proximity to Talegaon, a growing hub of international attributed to the school's proximity to Talegaon, a growing hub of international companies like General Motors and Volkswagen.

The American School of Bombay was the first school in India to be authorised by the International Baccalaureate Organization to offer all three programmes: the IB Primary Years Programme, IB Middle Years Programme and the IB Diploma Programme. The school has subsequently discontinued its MYP Programme. The American School of Bombay was established in 1981 by a group of International parents with just 12 students in a room at the American Consulate. In common with "all over the world, the goal was to offer an the foundation of "international schools" all over the world, the goal was to offer an educational programme that would help students make an easy transition from one international setting to another. In November, 1998 the school moved to its new state of the art campus in Bandra Kurla Complex, a Mumbai suburb. The American School of Bombay then became an IB World School in December 1998. The school is managed by the American School of Bombay Education Trust which is set up under the terms and conditions laid down by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

In 1995, the IB Organisation appointed a Regional Representative for South Asia, Farzana Dohadwalla, who is based in Mumbai. She is still in this role. Initially the Regional Representative provided a first point of contact for the organization and support for South Asian schools interested in implementing the IB programmes. Accountabilities in the role are now more focused on the provision of a cultural and strategic overview for managing growth on the subcontinent and on the development and management of programme recognition, particularly University recognition in India. Consultancy and support for implementing schools and authorized schools is

provided by the programme teams in the Singapore Regional Office. In the medium-longer term, the IB may consider establishing a full Branch Office in India.

By 2003 with an increasing number of Indian schools adopting the IB programmes, Heads and Coordinators decided to establish an Association of IB schools. The SAIBSA Association (the South Asia IB Schools Association) was formerly launched at the IB Asia Pacific Annual Regional Conference held in Mumbai in March 2004. Amongst the purposes given for the establishment of this Association were:

- 1. To support networking and provide communication among the International Baccalaureate schools in South Asia
- 2. To support the goals and objectives of the International Baccalaureate Organization and the International Baccalaureate Asia-Pacific office
- 3. To work cooperatively with the IB Indian Development Council in matters of admission to colleges and universities in South Asia.
- To provide and sponsor in-service professional development opportunities for teachers, coordinators, and administrators of International Baccalaureate schools in the region in coordination with IBAP
- To coordinate and sponsor activities among the students of IB schools in the region 2006
 SAIBSA constitution 2006

There were 66 authorised IB World Schools in India (at 31 March, 2010) offering one or more IB programmes; 19 schools were authorised to offer the PYP Programme, 7 schools offered the MYP Programme and 62 schools were authorised to offer the Diploma (see Figure 4.1 for 2001- 2009 data). Only four schools in India though offer the full continuum of three IB programmes (Figure 4.2).

4.2 GROWTH OF THE IB IN INDIA 4.2 GROWTH OF THE IB IN INDIA

Don't limit a child to your own learning, for he was born in another time ath Tagore

Rabindranath Tagore

4.21 GROWTH TRENDS FOR IB SCHOOLS IN INDIA

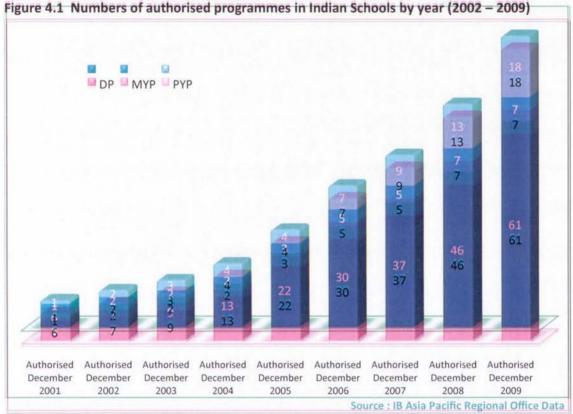
4.21 GROWTH TRENDS FOR IB SCHOOLS IN INDIA

It is only over the last five years that schools in India have shown a marked interest in adopting IB programmes in significant numbers. The number of authorised IB programmes increased more than seven fold over the seven year period from the end of 2002 as shown in Table 4.1. The growth in pipeline schools has been even more significant (Table 4.3).

Nonetheless it is worth remembering that the IB's footprint in the Indian K

Nonetheless it is worth remembering that the IB's footprint in the Indian K-12 sector is minute. The number of schools participating in IB programmes as a percentage of all Indian schools is still absolutely infinitesimal by Indian standards. As many as 59,339 and 97,929 schools in India were being administered by *Private Aided* or *Private Unaided* managements respectively in 2005 (NCERT figures) yet only 65 of these schools were authorised to offer an IB programme by the end of 2009 (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Numbers of authorised programmes in Indian Schools by year (2002 - 2009)



Source : IB Asia Pacific Regional Office Data

Table 4.1: Growth in the number of authorized IB Programmes in India (2002-2009)

	Authorised Das at 311 December 2002	Authorised Dest 3 per December 2003	Authorised Destater December 2004	Authorised Deat 3 per December 2005	Authorised Desegrer December 2006	Authorised Dear 3 per December 2007	Authorised Dest 3 per December 2008	Authorised Deargree December 2009
DP							46	61
DP	7	9	13	22	30	37	46	61
MYP							7	7
MYP	2	2	2	3	5	5	7	7
PYP							13	18
PYP	2	3	4	4	7	9	13	18
TOTAL	- 11	14	19	29	42	51	66	86
TOTAL	11	14	19	29	42	51	66	86
					Sour	e : IB Asia Pa	cific Regional	Office Data

Source : IB Asia Pacific Regional Office Data

Figure 4.2 Numbers of Indian Schools Offering Different Combinations of IB

Numbers of Indian Schools Offering Different Combinations of IB

Source of data : www.ibo.org Source of data : www.ibo.org

The IB estimates that by January 2010 over 775,000 IB students at more than 2,800 schools in 138 countries were enrolled in IB programmes. Over the past ten years, the number of students has grown between 10% and 20% each year, resulting in significant levels of sustained growth globally. By the end of 2008, India had the sixth largest number of IB authorized schools and programmes in the world (Table 4.2) albeit that the USA had 17x this number. Globally, at the end of 2008, there were 3,025 authorized programmes being offered in 2,493 schools in 132 countries worldwide. By the end of 2009, this number had increased to 3,412 authorized programmes offered in 2,815 schools. Although the IB is now present in 138 countries, in reality IB world schools tend to be concentrated in only a few countries (Figure 4.3) i.e. the developed English speaking countries. Bagnall (1994, p 6) noted that even in the 1990s, 43% of IB DP programmes were in North America; by 2010, that percentage has risen to 48%. Of the 3,025 authorized programmes at the end of 2008, 1,685 programmes i.e. 55.7% of the total programmes globally were offered in just four countries, the USA, Canada, Australia and the U.K. In early 2010, this percentage held at 56%, i.e. 1,910 out of 3,412 programmes, reflecting strong ongoing growth of IB programmes in the U.S.A. and U.K. In terms of schools, 60.5% of a total 2,870 schools are in these four countries.

Table 4.2 Top 10 countries globally in terms of IB presence as at 31 December, 2008 Table 4.2 Top 10 countries globally in terms of IB presence as at 31 December, 2008

10 countries globally in terms of IB presence as at 31 December, 2

Note that a single school may offer one or more pr	programmes.
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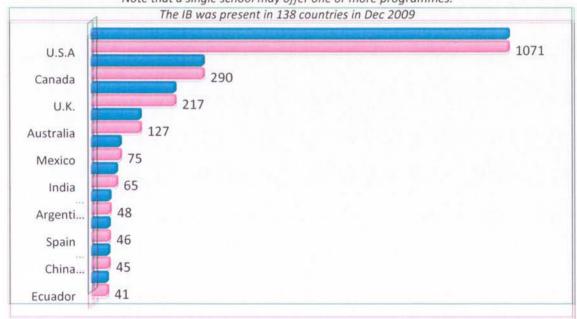
Country	Numbers of IB: World	Numbers of pauthorizeds	Numbers of Authorised Programmes Numbers of Authorised Programmes			
	Schools	programmes	PYP	MYP	Diploma	
	948	1067	PYP	MYP	Diploma	
1. USA	948	1067	149	284	634	
2. Canada	267	290	38	128	124	
3. U.K.	171	181	9	7	165	
4. Australia	1,1,7	1,47	43	48	56	
5. Mexico	67	94	30	18	46	
6. India	50	66	13	7	46	
7. Argentina	47	56	7	3	46	
8. Spain	46	54 60	2	7	45	
9. China (excl Hong Kong)	39	60 60 43	11	16	33	
10/o\$wedenDE	2,37)3	3,435	450	669	1,326	
WORLDWIDE	2,493	Sour 3,025 ata:	490	679	1,856	

Figure 4.3

Source of data: http://www.ibo.org/facts/schoolstats/progsbycountry.cfm

Figure 4.30 countries worldwide in terms of IB presence as at 31 December, 2009
Top 10 countries worldwide in terms of IB presence as at 31 December, 2009

Note that a single school may offer one or more programmes.



Source of data: http://www.ibo.org/facts/schoolstats/progsbycountry.cfm Date: 1 January 2010

Nonetheless the rate of uptake of the IB in India exceeds growth rates in most other countries albeit from a smaller base. The proportion of Indian IB Diploma schools in Asia Pacific more than doubled from 6.8% of the total at the end of 2002 to 15.6% over the four years to the end of 2006 (refer Figure 4.5). In 2007 and 2008 there was a marked increase in the growth of the authorized Diploma schools overall in Asia

Pacific and much of that growth could be attributed to India which at the end of 2008 had 18.6% of the Diploma schools in the region. By the end of 2009, there were 286 IB Diploma schools in 27 countries in Asia Pacific with 20% of these located in India.

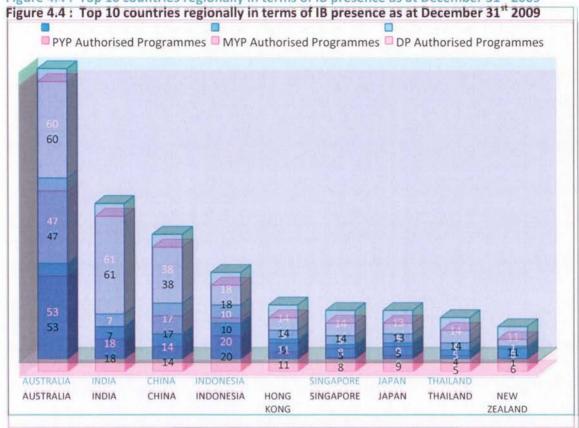


Figure 4.4: Top 10 countries regionally in terms of IB presence as at December 31st 2009

Data Source: http://www.ibo.org/facts/schoolstats/progsbycountry.cfm date: 1 January 2010

By June 2009, India had as many authorised Diploma programmes as Australia (Figures 4.4 and 4.6). In early January 2010, 28.8% of the total 555 IB authorized programmes in Asia Pacific were in Australian schools and 15.5% of the programmes were in Indian schools. India has had a slower uptake of the PYP and MYP in comparison to Australia but a higher uptake of the Diploma comparatively. Worldwide, there are now more Indian nationals than Australian nationals studying for the IB Diploma. In 2008, a total of 754 Indian nationals completed the IB Diploma in India. This figure represented a more than six-fold increase since 2004. In 2008, there were 1,034 Australian IB Diploma students in Australia, an increase of 67% in the same time frame. In 2009, the number of Indian nationals rose a further 32% to 993, whilst the number of Australian nationals completing the Diploma in Australia held steady at 1,028. Because the majority of DP authorisations in India have occured in the last three years, in the next

2 years, as these first cohorts come through the system, the number of Indian nationals completing the programme will significantly surpass the number of Australians studying the programme in their home countries (refer Figure 6.6 on p213).

A key difference with respect to cohort size between Australia and India is that in most Australian schools, the IB Dipoma is offered as a choice but the national state pre-University curriculum remains the option for the majority of the school cohort whereas in India, the majority of students in an IB Diploma school study the full Diploma. Results from the schools survey (Table 6.2) confirm that relatively few Indian schools offer an alternative curriculum or dual pathway at the pre- University level (less than 20%). Indeed the Indian Boards are reluctant to affiliate schools which have authorisation to offer alternative foreign board credientials at the same level.

Figure 4.5: Figure 4.5: Comparison of numbers of DP authorised schools in India with Comparison of numbers of DP authorised schools in India with numbers in Asia Pacific as a whole 2002-2009 DP programmes in Asia Pacific DP programmes in India 286 2009 61 247 2008 46 216 2007 37 192 2006 30 160 2005 1 22 132 2004 13 111 2003 103 2002

Source: IB Asia Pacific Regional Office Data

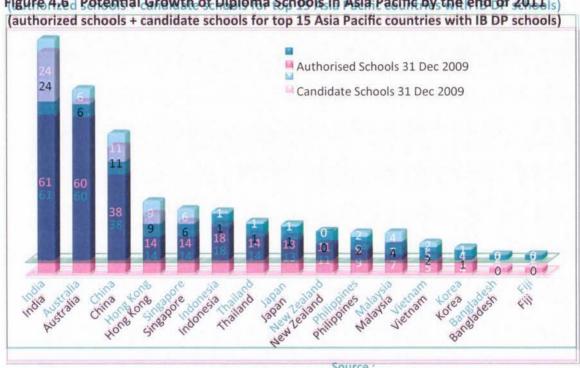
The figures for potential growth of Diploma schools in Figure 4.6 represent maximum projections. Not all the candidate programmes documented in Figure 4.6 and Table 4.3 will translate into authorised programmes nor will they do so within the 2011 time frame. Nonetheless by the end of 2011, it is anticipated that interested Indian schools

will have translated their escalating interest in the Diploma programme into a comparably higher authorisation rate. It is projected that the number of authorised DP schools will double before the end of 2011 from the 2008 figures to around 85 schools. Notwithstanding a major slowdown in the world and Indian economies, growth of IB Diploma schools in India is predicted to continue at about 20% year on

year over the foreseeable future.
Figure 4.6 Potential Growth of Diploma Schools in Asia Pacific by the end of 2011
Figure 4.6 Potential Growth of Diploma Schools in Asia Pacific by the end of 2011
Figure 4.6 Potential Growth of Diploma Schools in Asia Pacific by the end of 2011

Figure 4.6 Potential Growth of Diploma Schools in Asia Pacific by the end of 2011

Figure 4.6 Potential Growth of Diploma Schools in Asia Pacific by the end of 2011



Sour



Source: IB Asia Pacific Regional Office Data

Globally though the proportion of DP schools in India is still only 2.5%. Figure 4.7 illustrates how this proportion rose annually between 2003 and 2007. A sharp spike in the number of Diploma authorisations in the UK in 2008 and five postponements of DP authorisations in India held proportions constant in 2008 and similarly in 2009. Table 4.3:

Table 4.3 of Growth of interested and candidate (pipeline) programmes in Indian Patterns of Growth of interested and candidate (pipeline) programmes in Indian

	Letter	Nos of	Letter	NoScho	ols (200	5-2009)	Letter	Nos of	Letter	Nos of
DP	Letter Intent Intent 2005 2005	Nos of candidate programs 2005	Letter Intent Intent 2006 2006	Nos of candidate programs 2066 2006	Letter Intent Intent 2007	Nos of candidate programs 2007	Letter Intent Intent 2008	Nos of candidate programs Dec 2008	Letter Intent Dec 2009	Nos of candidate programs Dec 2009
NPP	8	10	9	10	11	29	28	31	31	24
MYP	132	260	5	250	10	5	12	8	10	9
PYP	12	20	15	20	20	21	32	20	26	24
Total Total	23 23	36 36	29 29	35 35	41	55 55	72 72	59 59	67	57

Source: IB Asia Pacific Regional Office Data

At the end of 2004, the IB Asia Pacific Regional Office was working with a total of 44 (i.e. 33 interested and candidate + 11 authorised) IB programmes in India. Four years later, by the end of December 2008, the IB regional staff were working with a total of 197 IB programmes (Table 4.3) in 131 Indian schools which were either formally interested, in the process of implementation or that had already been authorized to offer IB programmes in India. This increase equates to a 45% compound annual growth rate (CAGR) in pipeline schools over a four year period. Although the growth rate for interested and candidate schools slowed in 2009, by 2020 based on a much more modest CAGR it is still forecast that there could be close to 700 authorised programmes in India. The question is how big is the addressable market? Is it in fact large enough to realise this level of growth?

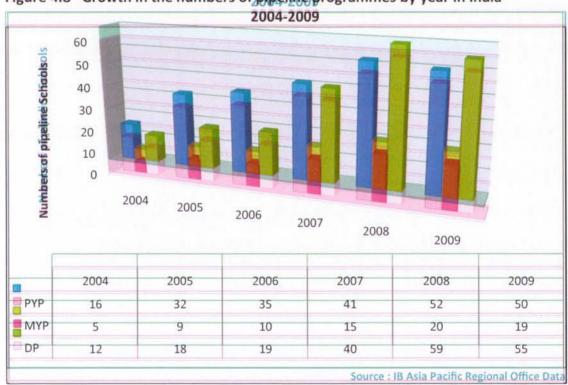
Table 4.3 and Figure 4.8 highlight the strong growth in interest in adopting the IB programmes evident between 2004 and 2008 but reflect a manifest slowdown in the growth of pipeline schools in 2009. School promoters and governors became notably more cautious in the 2009 economic climate with a number postponing plans to construct schools or implement IB programmes. Indicative of this general lack of business confidence, the Sensex Index had a particularly rough ride during mid/late

2008, falling more than 65% from its high of nearly 21,000 in January 2008 to just over 8,000 by March 2009 but then strongly rebounding back to end the 2009 year at 17,464. In the 2008/09 fiscal year to March 31, India's economy grew 6.7 percent, its weakest growth in six years and well below the rates of around 9% achieved the previous three years. India though has emerged remarkably unscathed by the global financial crisis of 2008/09, still managing at its lowest level to record an economic growth rate of 5.8% in Q1 2009. Subsequently then the economy has recovered to realise an annual 7.9% growth rate in the quarter through September 2009³. This is the highest figure for 18 months, prompting the finance ministry to revise upwards its

growth forecast for the current fiscal year 2009/10 to around 8 percent.

Figure 4.8 Growth in the numbers of pipeline programmes by year in India

Figure 4.8 Growth in the numbers of pipeline programmes by year in India



Source : (BoAsia Pacific Regional Office Data (figures at 31 December each year)

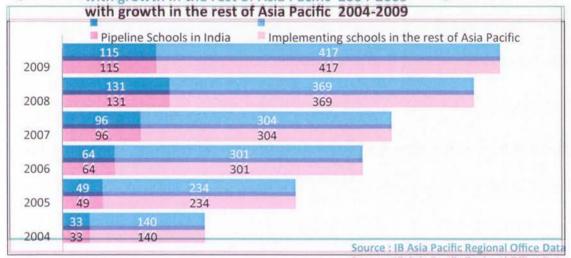
Figure 4.8 also visibly highlights the fact, that interest and growth in the IB in India is clearly strongest in the Diploma programme and also notable in the PYP programme. Interest in the MYP, though growing, remains relatively moderate in Indian schools. The key underlying explanation for the observed lower MYP growth lies in the fact that in the Indian system strong emphasis is placed upon results in the 16+

³ India economy to grow 8 pct in FY '11, adviser says-report Hindustantimes,2 Jan 2010

examination held at the end of the 10th Standard and MYP has no formal examination at the end of the 5 year programme. As noted, growth in the numbers of pipeline schools (Figure 4.8) noticeably exceeds growth in the number of authorised programmes. Implementation of both the MYP and PYP programmes generally takes between 2.5 and 3.5 years from the time when a school first submits an application for candidacy until it becomes authorised. Authorisation to offer the Diploma takes a minimum of 15 months from the submission of the application for candidacy. These implementation timeframes account for the apparent disparity in growth rates when comparing authorization figures with pipeline school growth rates.

Figure 4.9 Comparison of growth in the numbers of implementing schools in India

Figure 4.9 Comparison of growth in the numbers of implementing schools in India



Source File Asia Pacific Regional Office Data Figures as at 31 December each year

The proportion of Indian schools implementing IB programmes relative to the numbers of pipeline schools overall in Asia Pacific increased significantly year on year in recent years with the exception of 2009 (Figure 4.9). In the four year period to December 2008, the number of Indian pipeline schools quadrupled whilst relatively in the rest of the region, the number of pipeline schools did not quite triple. Whilst growth has been generally strong across the region, notably in Hong Kong, China, Indonesia and Australia, the percentage of pipeline schools in India grew steadily from 19% at the end of 2004 to 26% of the total implementing schools in the region by the end of 2008 but then this percentage fell back noticeably in 2009 to 22%. Although IB growth slowed down in general in 2009, clearly promoters and schools in India proved more cautious than elsewhere in the region.

The majority of the schools authorized to offer the IB Programmes in India are concentrated in four main centres: Mumbai, Pune, Delhi and Bangalore with schools in secondary cities such as Ahmedabad and Hyderabad also increasingly showing an interest in IB programmes (Table 4.4). By October 2009, for example, 22 of the 65 IB schools in the country were located in and around Mumbai with a slightly lesser percentage i.e. 54 of the 206 IGCSE schools in India⁴ also following this trend. Comparatively there are 65 ICSE schools and 32 CBSE schools in the Greater Mumbai area so by 2009 there were more "international programme" schools in and around area so by 2009 there were more "international programme" schools in and around Mumbai than 'All India' Board schools; once considered the crème de la crème of Mumbai than 'All India' Board schools; once considered the crème de la crème of schools⁵. 80% of all IB authorized and candidate schools are located in just seven of the eight megacities that are amongst the top 10 fastest growing cities in India.

According to data compiled by Economic research firm, Indicus Analytics 2008, these in terms of "market size"; calculated from 18 cities are also amongst the top ten in terms of "market size"; calculated from 18 indicators of income, consumption, awareness and market infrastructure. Thus uptake of IB in different parts of India is directly correlated to economic activity and growth in the higher per capita income areas of the country. An increasing number of multinational companies are establishing themselves in India and this has resulted in a concomitant rise in the number of businesses, industries and consulates with bases in the major metros. The 2001 census identified 35 cities / urban areas with a population of more than one million people in India. In total, some 108 million Indians, or 10.5 per cent of the national population, live in the country's 35 largest citi per cent of the national population, live in the country's 35 largest cities. The 1 Million population threshold is often used by Education Market Analysts like Iteology or Parthenon to assess addressable market share in the premium plus school sector. The patterns of IB and IGCSE growth in these metros reflect the creation of a wealthier middle class and the availability of new economic opportunities attracting an Indian Diaspora (NRIs) back home to locations where IT industries are situated. This

Anahita Mukherji

Data from artible by Ahahita Mukherjin 30 October 2009 in Numbai is international school sapitat in Mumbai

⁵ Quote by Anahita Mukherji, 22 September 2009 More international than ICSE or CBSE schools in Mumbai

geographic distribution of IB programmes emulates trends evident in the broader private school market.

Table 4.4:

Table 4.4:

IB Growth in relation to economic growth in different locations in India

Rank Rank NByt Mkt size*	City City	State State	"Market "Market size" *	Consumer Copsumer Spends 2007-08 Rs Crore	Economic Economic Growth Rate**	Population Population (millions)	Percentage of Percentage of IB Authorised + Candidate Schools in India***
1	Mumbai Mumbai	Maharashtra	1,000	86,140	8.5% 8.5%	16,370	29.1%
2	Delhi Delhi	Delhi	790	66,620	8.4% 8.4%	12,791	17.4
3	Kolkata Kolkata	West Bengal	613	54,940	6.3% 6.3%	13,217	0
4	Chennai Chennai	Tamilnadu	363	26,030	6.2% 6.2%	6,425	3.5%
5	Hyderabad Hyderabad	Andhra Pradesh	258	21,340	7.8% 7.8%	5,534	9.3%
6	Bangalore Bangalore	Karnataka	255	26,160	10.3% 10.3%	5,687	8.1%
7	Ahmedabad Ahmedabad	Gujarat	221	12,370	10.1% 10.1%	4,519	4.6%
8	Pune Pune	Maharashtra	207	13,710	7.4% 7.4%	3,756	8.1%
9	Surat Surat	Gujarat	124	17,570	11.5% 11.5%	2,811	0
10	Nagpur Nagpur	Maharashtra	105			2,123	0
TOTAL	top 10 cities top 10 cities						80.2% 80.2%

^{**}Figures are index of market size of towns calculated from 18 indicators of income, consumption, awareness +market infrastructure

* data compiled by Economic research firm Indicus Analytics 2008

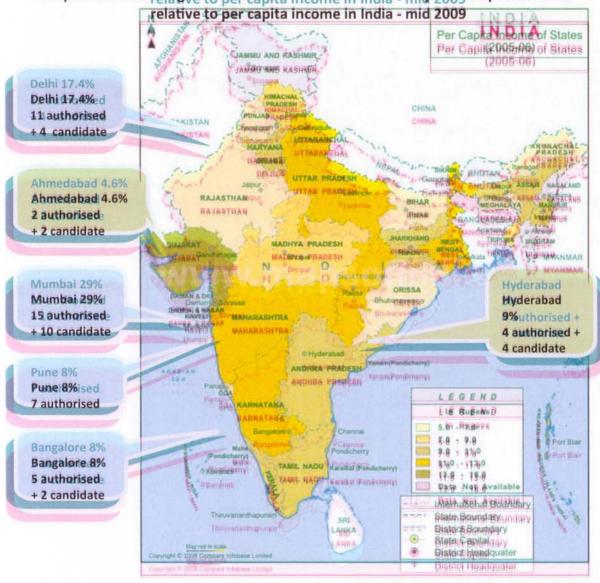
Sources: India Today - R K Swamy BBDO Guide to Urban Markets (and) India's national consumption of 2001 and National Council of Applied Economic Research's (NCAER) Rajesh Shukin and Fulfie Capital Research's Regis Purushethauran (and) Rediff News

Rankings Feb 06 2008 http://specials.rediff.com/money/2008/feb/06sld1.htm

The notable exception to these patterns is Kolkata, which is clearly an anomaly. Kolkata has no IB authorized schools and only 4 pipeline programmes. Several explanations have been proffered to account for the general lack of interest from schools in Kolkata. Firstly it has been suggested that the more communistic leaning state of Bengal does not provide a climate conducive to the establishment of private school projects that aim to cater to the upwardly mobile. Allegedly Bengalis are comfortable with their own state curricula which has long enjoyed a reputation as one

of the more rigorous state boards. The national Boards CBSE and ICSE have also not grown as significantly in Bengal as in other parts of the country and Cambridge figures also reflect a comparable trend with only 8 Cambridge Centres in West Bengal in comparison to 69 in Maharashtra (Sept 2009, CIE website figures). Figure 4.10

Figure 4.10 dia showing concentrations of IB schools in 7 major metropolitan areas Map of India showing concentrations of IB schools in 7 major metropolitan areas



SOURCE: IB Regional Office Data mid 2009

Figures indicate the total of Authorised + Candidate Schools and the Regional Office Data mid 2009

Figures indicate the total of Authorised + Candidate Schools and the Regional relative to the total

Map obrained from Maps of India

http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/india/percapitaincome.htm#bot1

There has been relatively little interest in the IB in the 'Boomtowns' -

There has been relatively little interest in the IB in the 'Boomtowns' – the next set of 7 big population cities with high expenditure per household; cities like Surat,

08 was the country's

Coimbatore and Nagpur. Despite the fact that Surat, in 2007-08 was the country's most prosperous city, having seen the number of its middle class households almost double between 2004-05 and 2007-08. There are also no authorized schools in Kerala or in East India as yet and very few interested schools are officially in contact with the IB from these parts of the country. Hence, access to an IB education in India is restricted not only according to ability to pay but also geographically to the more prosperous metropolitan areas.

4.22 GROWTH DRIVERS: FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS' DECISIONS TO ADOPT 4.22 GROWTH DRIVERS: FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS' DECISIONS TO ADOPT

4.22 GROWTH DRIVERS: FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS' DECISIONS TO ADOPT IB PROGRAMME(S)

While parents with transferable jobs in India prefer national boards like CBSE and ICSE, which offer their children continuity of curriculum, those with transferable jobs across the globe, are now increasingly opting for international boards of India, September 2009⁶

Anahita Mukherji, The Times of India, September 2009⁶

Many reasons are cited by schools for adopting IB programmes. No one reason on its own ever drives the decision and reasons differ between institutions and settings. Generally speaking though the reasons cited by schools and stakeholders are related to one of four broad categories:

- 1. The Educational value of the IB programmes (E)
- 2. Market forces (M)
- 3. Acquisition of international credientials and associated Global Cultural Capital (G)
- 4. Provision of support services by the IB e.g. teacher professional development (S)

These categories are not exclusive and there is some overlap between them. Respondents citing the *educational value of the programmes* may relate to the academic rigour, the pedagogy and assessment methodology or the values and holistic nature of the programmes. Results from the survey conducted for this study suggest that the factors underpinning schools' decisions to adopt IB programmes do in suggest that the factors underpinning schools' decisions to adopt IB programmes do in fact mostly pertain to the perceived educational value of the programmes (Table 4.5 and Figure 4.12).

⁶ Anahita Mukherji

⁶ Quote from article by **Anahita Mukherji**, 22 September 2009 *More international than ICSE or CBSE schools in Mumbai*

Table 4.5

Table Acators' Perceptions of the Factors Influencing the adoption of IB Programmes

	FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS DECISION TO ADOPT IB PROGRAMME(S) FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS DECISION TO ADOPT IB PROGRAMME(S)	categoryor	Likkert Likkert Score
1.	The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students		1-5
1.	The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students The IB programmes meet the need for an international education in an	E	4.70
2.	The IB programmes meet the need for an international education in an	G/E	4.50
	increasingly interconnected world	G/E	4.50
3.	is provides an internationally recognized qualification for University	G	4.46
3.	IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas	G	4.46
4.	The academic rigour of the IB programmes	F	4.44
4.	The academic rigour of the IB programmes The pedagogy and assessment practices associated with the IB	E	4.44
5.	The pedagogy and assessment practices associated with the IB	E	4.33
3.	programmes	E	4.33
6.	The IB Diploma was seen as a more educationally challenging option than		
6.	The IB Diploma was seen as a more educationally challenging option than	E	4.31
7.	other "international" or Indian Board programmes at this level The values dimension of the IB curriculum and its emphasis on community	E	4.31
7.	The values dimension of the IB curriculum and its emphasis on community	6	4.28
	service	E	4.28
8.	The Indian education system needs to produce internationally minded	G	4.08
8.	The Indian education system needs to produce internationally minded	G	4.08
9.	global citizens Consultation and guidance is available from the IB to support the	9	4.00
9.	Consultation and guidance is available from the IB to support the	S	3.99
	implementation of its programmes The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes	S	3.99
10.	The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes	M	3.97
10.	The reputation, brand and market value of the 16 programmes	M	3.97
11.	The IB provides a framework for school improvement	E	3.90
12	Access to Teacher Professional Development is available through the IB		2.74
2157	The schnol needed to develop wider regional and international educational	S	3.74
13.	The school needed to develop wider regional and international educational	6	2.72
170	alliances	S	3.72
14.	Market Opportunity	М	3.33
15	Parental Demand	T/A	2 33
15.	Parental Demand	М	3.23
16.	The elite image associated with the IB	М	3.15
17.	The fees and costs associated with implementing the IB programmes were		975
77.00	seen as value for money	M	3.13
	The state of the contract of the state of th		
18.	Dissatisfaction with Indian Board Curricula	E	3.00
19.	Market Pressure (e.g. other local competitor schools are taking on the	1 Voltage	- 46
	programmes)	M	2.79
20	MARK Next Unit Andrews		
20.	Teacher Demand	E	2.57

The survey indicated conclusively that the educational value of a broad based holistic education for students was considered overwhelmingly to be the number one factor influencing schools decision to adopt the IB programmes. 77% of all respondents believed that this factor was highly significant in determining their schools decision to

adopt IB programmes (Figure 4.12) and 62/127 i.e. 49% of all respondents ranked this factor as the top factor amongst the 20 different factors suggested for their schools choice. A further 30 respondents rated *a broad based holistic education* amongst the top five reasons so in total 92 i.e. 73 % of all respondents identified this as one of the top five factors.

Table 4.5

Table 45p Ten Ranked Factors considered to have influenced the Schools Decision b. Top Ten Ranked Factors considered to have influenced the Schools Decision

to	introduce IB Programmes (Rankings)	% of
RANKING RANKING	TOP 10 FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS DECISION TOP 10 FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS DECISION TO ADOPT IB PROGRAMME(S)	resp%refents respondents ranking amfactortop amongst top
1		5
1 2	The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students	73%
2	The IB programmes meet the need for an international education in an increasingly interconnected world	49%
3	moreasingly interconnected world	
3	IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas	48%
4	Chirance overseas	
4	The pedagogy and assessment practices associated with the IB programmes	40%
5	The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes	39%
6	The reputation, braild and market value of the 18 programmes	3370
6	The academic rigour of the IB programmes	37%
7 8	The elite image associated with the IB	27%
8	The values dimension of the IB curriculum and its emphasis on community service	24%
9	Parental Demand	23%
10		
10	Market Opportunity Data Source : Survey of Indian Schools conducted November 2	18%

Data Source : Survey of Indian Schools conducted November 2008 –March 2009

In working with schools around the region, anecdotally one of the more common reasons given for schools wishing to adopt IB programmes is the fact that IB programmes actively aim to promote international awareness and intercultural understanding:

To encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right

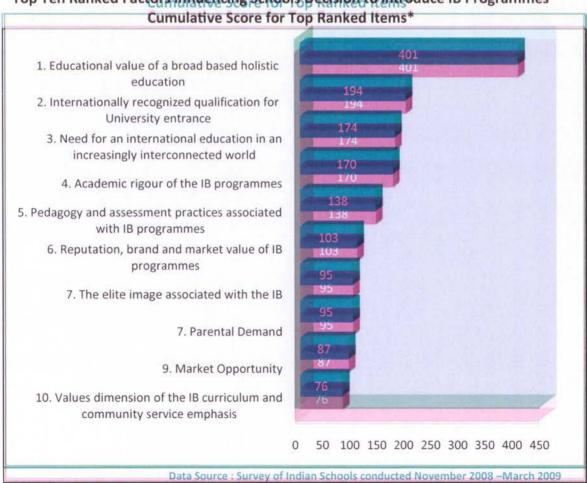
IBO Mission 2002

IBO Mission 2002

One of the key distinguishing factors of IB programmes is that they offer an international curriculum with external international standards yet in Spahn's international curriculum with external international standards yet in Spahn's (2001) study of American schools adopting the Diploma programme, only 17% of the cited this as a reason. Tarc's writings also support the view that American respondents cited this as a reason. Tarc's writings also support the view that academic rigour is the major focus in North American IB schools. In contrast, in this study of Indian schools, there was strong agreement from both groups of educators i.e. 89% of all the Coordinators and Administrators who participated in the survey felt that the need for the Indian education system to produce internationally minded global citizens was a significant or highly significant factor in determining whether schools adopt IB programmes. 23% of respondents ranked it amongst the top five factors. The phrase internationally minded global citizens was not defined for the survey however.

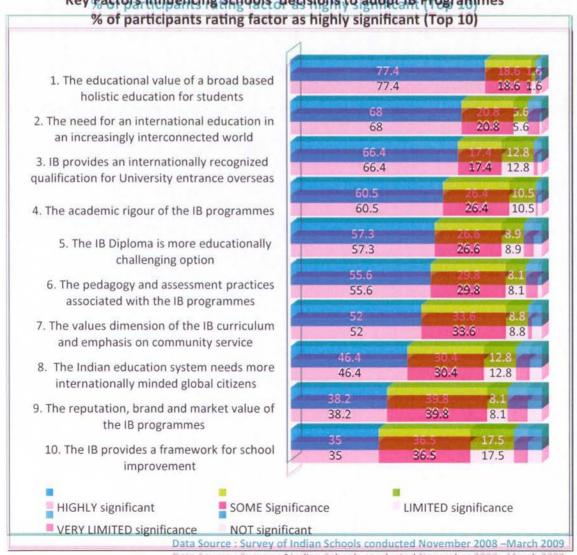
Figure 14-1 Ranked Factors Influencing Schools Decision to introduce IB Programmes
Top Ten Ranked Factors Influencing Schools Decision to introduce IB Programmes

Figure 4.11



The extent to which there is a common understanding of international mindedness beyond the need for young people to be able to operate on a global stage is impossible to ascertain. An understanding of the need to move towards more of an appreciation of the interconnectedness of how we operate in terms of understanding the importance of sustainability, environmental responsibility and the obligations of Paris's study in 2003 provided evidence that at the global citizens was not evaluated. Paris's study in 2003 provided evidence that at the local level in South Australia both public and private schools are coming to terms with the concept of educating for the twenty-first century with global perceptions. Schools are opting for the chance of educating global citizens. Paris found that IB schools in South Australia perceive the adoption of IB curricula as one means to achieve this.

Figure 4.12
Figure 4.12ey Factors Influencing Schools' decisions to adopt IB Programmes
Key Factors Influencing Schools' decisions to adopt IB Programmes



The results from the online survey administered as part of this study (Figure 4.11 and 4.12) also certainly support the contention that the development of *Global Cultural Capital* is perceived as a key advantage of the IB programmes in that the *IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas* and *the IB programmes are perceived to meet the need for an international education in an increasingly interconnected world*. Paris (2003) similarly concludes that common reasons for choosing the IB Diploma in South Australia are its privileged and elite status, and securing a high tertiary entrance ranking score into local and world universities. Marketing by many Indian schools and educational agencies centres on university recognition expounding the competitive advantages for IB students applying to Universities abroad. (Box 4.1).

BOX 4.1 EXEMPLAR SOURCE MATERIAL (FROM PUBLIC WEBSITES) BOX 4.1 EXEMPLAR SOURCE MATERIAL (FROM PUBLIC WEBSITES)

Exemplar 1: What are the Top 4 reasons for choosing IB?

Exemplar 1: What are the Top 4 reasons for choosing IB?

- The IB Diploma has earned a universal reputation for rigorous assessment, giving students access to the
 top colleges and universities in India and the world. IB is fast becoming the program of choice for Indian
 students preparing to pursue higher education abroad.
- The IB curriculum equips students with the tools needed to succeed in higher education, such as selfconfidence, preparedness, research skills, organizational skills and being actively engaged in self learning.
- 3. Some universities even offer scholarships to IB diploma holders. University admissions around the world are getting more competitive by the day. Admission officers are increasingly looking for other evidence that a student will succeed in the university such as exposure to a quality curriculum, research abilities, international outlook and social service all enhanced by IB.

http://www.spice.org/htm/Schooling/Schooling/KindsOfCurriculum/ibfaqs.htm downloaded September 6,2008 Exemplar 2 : Quoted Benefits of the IB Diploma Programme

Exemplar 2: Quoted Benefits of the IB Diploma Programme

- a) World Renowned pre-University Course
- b) Accepted by the AIU for admission into Indian Universities
- Students with good scores could receive course credits or advanced standing at many colleges and Universities abroad
- d) Helps the student to develop a truly global perspective
- e) Enhances self esteem through its Thinking Oriented Knowledge System

http://ibdp.svkm.ac.in/whyibdp.htm

Exemplar 3: New School Inauguration

Exemplar 3: New School Inauguration

TREAMIS campus was inaugurated on July 9, 2007 by Mr. N.R. Naryana Murthy, Chairman of Infosys Technologies...

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Narayana Murthy asked the government to encourage schools like TREAMIS which will train our next generation to add value to global business. He told the parents that we live in a competitive world and for India to succeed we have to become global citizens. With TREAMIS, their children will learn to stand in confidence with other people, people from other cultures. Professor Ramaswamy stressed the importance of inculcating values in students at an early age. He praised the TREAMIS philosophy of including universal values in its curriculum.

http://www.treamis.org/news5.html downloaded December 27, 2007

But it is not just recognition of the IB Diploma that is important; it is the style of teaching and learning. Respondents in the case study schools continuously emphasized the requisite skill set developed through participation in the IB programmes "self-confidence, preparedness, research skills, organizational skills and being actively engaged in self learning" as being the most important reasons students and parents planning to seek admissions abroad chose to study the IB Diploma. The nuances of a passport for university entrance overseas versus educational preparedness are further elucidated in Chapter Six.

All schools have their own different set of reasons for adopting IB programmes and these reasons may be contextually embedded. In his relatively similar study of schools in the United States, Spahn, 2001 found that the principle reason identified for schools adopting the IB was to raise academic standards (p103). Schools that came under pressure because of a drop in standards saw the IB as a way to boost their academic standards. In this study in the Indian context, the IB programmes were also valued highly by the vast majority of respondents (Table 4.5 and Figure 4.11) for their academic rigour and for their pedagogy and assessment practices. Three of the top four factors identified by this study relate to the intrinsic educational value of the programmes. On both ranking and rating scales amongst all respondents, academic rigour was regarded as the fourth most important factor.

In 1994, Bagnall concluded from his doctoral studies in Australian and Canadian schools offering the IB Diploma that "schools offering the IB Diploma that "the IB is as important for the 'symbolic imposition' it bestows on holders of the IB as it is for the stated intentions of educating the whole person." educating the whole person." In this study in the Indian context, whilst the fact that the IB does provide an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas was seen as a major consideration, responses to the survey and from the case study interviewees did not support the contention that global cultural capital was unequivocally valued over the intrinsic educational value of the programmes. These survey results would not therefore support an unqualified extrapolation of Bagnall's conclusions into the Indian context.

contend that students and parents were '

Authors such as Bagnall, 2008 contend that students and parents were "as interested in for the advantages that it bestowed on them as for its academic value". taking the IB for the advantages that it bestowed on them as for its academic value". questioned 'who are these students who are regarding the world Bagnall (2008, p124) questioned 'who are these students who are regarding the world as their "field" rather than their nation or state?" He maintains that these are the as their "field" rather than their nation or state?" He maintains that these are the students that are attracted to the IB and see it as an avenue to gain an advantage in the competitive global field. Chapter six identifies the harsh realities of the competitive local field for Indian IB students and the pragmatic necessity for them to be able to engage in a global field.

It was contended by many of the study participants that affiliation with an international organization facilitates a wider vision of educational practice within the school. As a consequence of the opening up of the Indian economy and accompanying technological sea-change, many higher income parents and educators have become acutely aware that teaching life/ soft skills for professional and personal success is as important as developing academic capability. Stakeholders increasingly realise that examination success does not necessarily translate into workplace success. It requires something more than rote learning and memorising textbooks to be successful and the missing link is often the acquisition of life skills — capabilities which prepare young people to cope with life's diverse challenges.

Parents are often quoted as being the key drivers of educational change in South Asia. Demand for a more "international style of education" is quite often said to be a parent Demand for a more "international style of education" is quite often said to be a parent driven demand rather than a school management driven initiative yet the perceptions of educators in this survey were that whilst parent demand was of some significance in influencing schools decisions to adopt IB programmes, it is not highly significant in itself. Administrators, however, all report in interview, the increasing sophistication of parent choice in recent years. Noteworthy, in the survey results, is the complete unimportance of teacher demand in driving the growth of the IB. This is undoubtedly indicative of the relatively low status of teaching as a profession in South Asia. Teaching has for many years been a gender biased profession seen as a respectable second income for middle class women. Within the hierarchical institutional

structures in private Indian schools, teachers' opinions are not traditionally structures in private Indian schools, teachers' opinions are not traditionally empowered.

Market reasons for adopting IB programmes such as market pressure and market opportunity do not rate as highly as was hypothesised at the outset of this study. Less than 25% of respondents rated market drivers as highly significant and fewer than 20% ranked market opportunity amongst the top five factors driving the adoption of the IB in Indian schools. The Likert score (2.79) of less than 3 for Market Pressure signifies that the majority of respondents found this factor to be of very limited significance in influencing their schools decision to adopt IB programmes. Market opportunity was seen as having some significance by only about 50% of respondents. The caveat in discussing the role of the market as a growth driver is the huge unrequited demand for quality education in "good" schools. Given Indian unrequited demand for quality education in "good" schools. Given Indian demographics, supply simply does not meet demand. Participants in the case study schools always discussed the notion of marketisation from this perspective.

In addition to the factors put forward in the survey (Table 4.5), a number of respondents linked the synergy between their school's mission and that of the IB as a key reason linked the synergy between their school's mission and that of the IB as a key reason why their school had chosen to adopt IB programmes:

The IB Mission blends with the aims and objectives of our school

The school's mission and philosophy aligns itself in the same mould as that of IB. Our School has been a student -centric school aiming at overall development, right from its inception. IB fits into this prescription very well.

The IB Learner Profile is very much aligned with the Mission of our school--they are a natural fit and mutually enhancing.

Respondents also variously and additionally commented that

The school decided to take on the Diploma in the early '70s and did so as it had decided to become an International school. At the time many of the benefits which now keep us in the IB did not exist. The school looked at the international curricula available at the time and decided on the IB as it was the best fit philosophically.

Our school and the IB are both not-for-profit. This is another common element between our two organisations. This is in contrast to other IB schools in India that are floated to cater to

elite kids at a significantly high cost. The average fee at our school is less than \$10 dollars! Although we plan to increase it in future to at least significantly cover the operating expenses.

The limited number of students per teacher which enables one to one interactive learning and also mentoring, which is crucial at the adolescent period is a key factor. Intra disciplinary and inter disciplinary approach are facilitated through the curriculum. The core component develops the softer skills of the child's persona.

The proprietors wanted to be the first to start an IB world school in India with all the three programmes for a marketing reason. They also appreciated the values of the IB, but this was secondary. They hired trained expatriates and spent rigorously training the staff.

Earning (money) is the chief motivating factor for schools starting IB in Mumbai. Further, lack of restrictions on the fee structure means school improvement can be a possibility with the IB fees, while getting full support re syllabus and implementation of IB programmes.

4.3 PROFILE OF INDIAN IB SCHOOLS 4.3 PROFILE OF INDIAN IB SCHOOLS

"Most of the schools are branding themselves with the IB logo just to attract the elite.

Besides, these schools get a lot of foreign students. The schools offering the IB diploma first need to understand what IB is all about."

Om Pathak

Quote by Om Pathak, Chairman of Selagui School⁷

This study focused on both the international and national schools in India that have already implemented or are planning to implement IB programmes. The survey and case studies sought to build a profile of the IB schools in India identifying when these schools were founded, and comparing them with each other in terms of their legal status, educational vision, ownership, governance and market niche. The profile that emerged (Table 4.7) for schools adopting the IB in India, is that they are private *unaided* schools catering for students in 3-18 year old age group, predominantly from the top 20% of society in socioeconomic terms. Over 60% of schools reported that their student body came from this sector. The schools are an equal mix of boarding/day and day pupil only schools with 43% of all schools offering Boarding facilities.

India has an established tradition of boarding schools. Traditionally, many of these boarding schools were located in picturesque rural or hill station locations. Nainital Dehradun, Mussorie (Uttaranchal), Sanawar (Himachal Pradesh), Darjeeling (West Bengal) and Ooty (Tamil Nadu) are all places with well respected boarding establishments. These schools have a legacy dating back over a hundred years.

⁷ Reported in http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/In-the-IB-League/articleshow/1012826.cms on 7 February 2005

Table 4.6 A Profile of IB Schools in India

a. Nature of Schools adopting IB Programmes	Numbers	Percentage of
a. Nature of Schools adopting IB Programmes	Numbers	Percentage of Total in sample
Navioralizat / a and leasther 2 const	18	270/
New project (open less than 2 years)	18 26	27% 39%
Relatively New School 2-8 years, opened after 2000		1,122,122
Established School (8-15 years, opened after 1995)	7	10.5%
More established School (15+ -25 years)	15	
Older well established School 25+years, data)*	15,	22%
TOTAL SCHOOLS (with Complete Survey data)*	67	100%
Political Added	62	070/
Private Aided	62	97%
Private Unaided	2	3%
	5	201
Boarding School only	25)	9%
Boarding and Day students	20	35%
Day students only	32	56%
A D CC 1 1 1/2 10	43	770/
Age Range of Students (3-18 years)	48	77%
Age Range of Students (11-18 years)	4	7%
Other	9	16%
0-250) Small Schools (0-250)-500)	22	40%
Smaller Schools (251-500) 1000)	10	18%
Mid – Range schools (251-300)	15	28%
Larger Schools (1901-1500) udents)	3	5%
Large Schools (1500 plus students)	5-	9%
TOTAL SCHOOLS (with Complete Survey data)		370
b. Composition of Student body	55 Numbers	Percentages
b. Composition of Student body	Numbers	Percentages
"# i.e. schools with less than 30% Indian	7	15%
"International Schools"# i.e. schools with less than 30% Indian	7	15%
Nationals	5	10%
National private schools with a proportion of internationally recruited	5	10%
students and/or expatriate students	37	75%
National private schools with predominantly Indian national students	37	75%
>70%		
Socioeconomic Grouping Schools with a majority of students		
Socioeconomic Grouping: Schools with a majority of students	10	24%
top 10% socio economic strata	10	24%
top 20% socio economic strata	15	37%
top 50% socio economic strata	15	37%
lower 50% socio economic strataith verifiable DATA**	b	2%
TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS WITH VERIFIABLE DATA** Bata Source : Survey of Indian Schools Nov 2008 – March 2009		

In the context **Data-Source** 2 Survey of Indian Schools Nov 2008 – March 2009 crosschecked against school files # In the context of this study, an "international school" is defined as one with a high percentage of globally mobile students from a diverse range of nationalities and a relatively low proportion of Indian national students *The Number of schools with verifiable data varied according to criteria being applied.

In total, 18 of the IB World schools⁸ authorized in July 2009 offered residential facilities. A number of these boarding schools are "newer projects" — facilities. A number of these boarding schools are "newer projects" — arguably seeking to emulate models that "worked" for the old English speaking elite. to emulate models that "worked" for the old English speaking elite.

In recent years, there has been a sharp rise in the number of "start up" private In recent years, there has been a sharp rise in the number of "start up" private unaided schools in India. A migration to quality is being observed in the growth of so called "international schools" called "international schools". More than two thirds of the schools adopting the IB programmes are either brand new projects or relatively new schools opened since 2000. One guarter of all IB schools are new start ups. The figures deduced from this study compare to the data quoted in a recent Venture Intelligence report that noted of the 70 international schools located in 9 of India's major cities, half were set that "of the 70 international schools located in 9 of India's major cities, half were set up in the last 5 years alone. In total, this is 60% of the 117 international schools operating in India in 2008" operating in India in 2008". This factor explains the fact that 40% of all the IB schools statistically are small size schools with a student body of less than 250 students. Startup schools generally plan to build to capacity over a 5 year period. Most new schools in general seem to be targeting 750-1000 students. The larger IB World Schools typically are older established schools with 'all India' Board curricula that have added typically are older established schools with 'all India' Board curricula that have added the IB Diploma programme.

Relatively few IB schools in India are truly International. The majority are "national Relatively few IB schools in India are truly International. The majority are "national private schools with predominantly Indian national student populations" private schools with predominantly Indian national student populations" (Figure 4.13). In this context an "international school" is defined as one with a high percentag In this context an "international school" is defined as one with a high percentage of globally mobile students from a diverse range of nationalities and a relatively low proportion of Indian national students. However, many schools which offer an overseas curriculum other than the Indian state board examinations designate themselves "international". These schools do not actively seek to promote themselves "international". These schools do not actively seek to promote international-mindedness. The Council for International Schools defines clearly that

⁸ Residential schools in India which offer the IB Diploma programme include Bangalore International School, Canadian International School, Chinmaya Residential School, G D Goenka, Good Shepherd, Indus International, Kodaikanal, Mahindra United World College, Mercedes Benz, Navrachana, Pathways World School, Sharad Pawar, The International School of Bangalore, The Selaqui School, and Vishwashanti Gurukul.

⁹ Council of International Schools website http://www.cois.org/page.cfm?p=54&newsid=23 downloaded 01052009

those schools that are striving to offer an 'international' education should have an those schools that are striving to offer an 'international' education should have an emerging collective mission: to develop young people equipped and disposed to make a difference in a world of daunting complexity and increasing challenge. Thus schools designating themselves 'International' should aim to develop in young people the designating themselves 'International' should aim to develop in young people the requisite understandings, knowledge and skills and, critically, the sense of moral purpose required to listen to diverse opinions, to know their own minds, and to make a stand for what they believe.

Figure 4.13

Figure 4-13 In India - International Schools? Schools with International Programmes? IB Schools in India - International Schools? or Schools with International Programmes?



Data Source: Survey of Indian Schools Nov 2008 –March 2009 crosschecked against school files
Data Source: Survey of Indian Schools Nov 2008 –March 2009 crosschecked against school files
It is undeniable that often the only thing "international" about many of the emergent
It is undeniable that often the only thing "international" about many of the emergent
IB schools in India is the fact that these schools are offering a curriculum from outside
of India. Many schools label themselves as international to brand themselves as
offering foreign curricula. Indeed International schools are defined for the purposes of
as 'schools majorly affiliated with international
the EW-C Fore Survey of Schools as 'schools majorly affiliated with international
examination boards such as the International Baccalaureate; Cambridge International
and College Board.'
and College Board.' Their student body and teaching faculty are exclusively or
predominantly Indian nationals.

ols have attached 'national" labels such as Canadian or Singapore in Some schools have attached 'national" labels such as Canadian or Singapore in addition to "even though they are not particularly targeting or catering addition to "International" even though they are not particularly targeting or catering to students from these nationality groups. These nationalities might well be a relative

minority in the school. Less than 10% of the students at the Singapore International School in Mumbai are Singaporean nationals although the school does have a connection with the Singapore Consulate and works closely with the Singapore Teachers Union "to monitor and Teachers Union "to monitor and audit its instructional programmes with strict quality control on the teaching processes throughout." control on the teaching processes throughout." A Canadian or a Singaporean school could therefore be more accurately described as a *private national* school offering elements of curricula from these countries¹¹. The school in point of fact may openly define its "internationalism" this way:

The Canadian International School is a true "international" school in that we follow two internationally recognized curricula and employ a majority of foreign trained and experienced teachers. 12

Cambridge and Thompson, (2004) believe that in many less developed countries, schools offering "international education" provide opportunities for the children of schools offering "international education" provide opportunities for the children of the socioeconomic elite of the host country to turn their backs on their own educational system and embrace the values of the economically developed world. Many of these students and their families may be upcoming members of the who see their own interests, and/or the interests of their transnational capitalist class who see their own interests, and/or the interests of their nation, as best served by identification with the interests of the capitalist core and the transnational corporations domiciled in them.

In reality, the strength of a title is not measured by the power to subvert (and hence the sheer number) of its holders, but by the social capital with which they are endowed, which they compound by virtue of the distinction which objectively constitutes them into a group and can also serve as a basis for intentional gatherings. (old boys associations, clubs, etc.)

Bourdieu.

Bagnall

Bourdieu, 1977 p. 12, in Bagnall, 2008.

Page | 115

Singapore Teachers' Union (STU) to be actively involved in its key areas of operation according to its website http://www.sisindia.net/html/affiliation.htm The Singaporean curriculum is embraced by a number of schools in South East Asia and generally supported by Educare.

Conversely whilst the British School in Delhi has only 36% British passport holders (1/3 of whom are ethnically Indian), and 25% of its students are Indian nationals, it does caters for more than 60 nationalities in total. The school has different roots – it was started by a group of British parents, and it has the support of the British High Commission

¹² Quoted from Canadian International School Bangalore public website http://www.cisb.org.in/hs.html

valuable than domestic practices'

was notable in the 1960s and Asia and are already establi Jeddah, Doha, Dubai, Riyadh. consideration also being give level. The CBSE Board in India to create a separate curricu board. This curriculum is aimi International Baccalaureate a

An increasing number of the wish to establish further cr recognised bodies like the C

The transnational capitalist of Page Holds certain transnational practices to be more at(Sklairp 1291ce): 8) sintegration all education may be identified as one of these 'transnatiskial practices' assisting in the maintenance of the privileged position of the tran fair to conclude from this pro file that the IB schools in India do provide an education Most of this stakeholder group though appear to be members of the new-economy elite rather than the old English speaking elite. that a shift to meritocracy is uprooting the old elite:

India's age-old tragedy, was talent, everyone ended up in the that, in a system where roles were assigned by birth and not mingly in India. But it is ong spot. Today, not all goes swimmingly in India. But it is regularly refreshed, fortified by the rigors of having to earn the lives they enjoy. n cong spot. Today, not all goes swiming a nation's elite is more

Concurrently and as an outcome of India's increasing importance as a global e player, there has been real prowing increasing important player, there has been real prowing the same series of Indian overseas schools being with the number of Indian overseas schools being established in major capital (ities all around the world. This trend is now notable in American International Schools or British schools abroad 1970s and in the manner in which Japanese and German schools abroad (supported by their national governments) have emerged in the last few decades. The Global In dian International Schools network of schools is now present across Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, New Zealand, Thailand, India and Vietnam. d schools are now also proliferating in major capitals in Shed in all the major centres of the Middle East e.g. CBSE is the preferred curriculum in these schools with ⁿ to adoption of the IB Diploma at the upper secondary has now (June 2009) formed an international committee lum for schools outside India that are affiliated to the ^{ng} to be on par with other international curricula like the

> ³ Schools in India offering international curriculum also edibility by seeking accreditation from internationally Ouncil of International Schools (CIS). The accreditation

nd Cambridge International Examinations.

process is becoming internationalised and more commercialised. Bona fide national and international accreditation agencies now work in many countries. CIS is the premier worldwide accreditation organisation for international schools. The CIS Accreditation Service manages a peer to peer Accreditation Programme which encourages school improvement through a process of continuous self-study and peer evaluation as laid out in 'The CIS Guide to School Evaluation and Accreditation'.

Internationally recognized School Accreditation is also often awarded by one or more of approximately eight regional American based associations. These include the Middle States Association (MSA) and the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) — the two bodies active in India. Obtaining accreditation is a lengthy process, involving the faculty and administration with assistance from parents, in the preparation of the Self-Study document. This process generally consumes an entire school year and involves a significant effort on the part of the staff. CIS and NEASC also collaborate in a joint evaluation process for American / International Schools. In June 2009 there were only 5 schools in India with CIS Accreditation — these schools are all IB World Schools. A significantly larger group have applied or are in process but as private schools they are ofttimes challenged by the expectations around separation of governance and management common in schools in western, developed country contexts which is at odds with the Family Trust or business backed Foundation model of governance found in Indian private schools.

4.4 IB STRATEGY IN RELATION TO INDIA 2000 – 2008

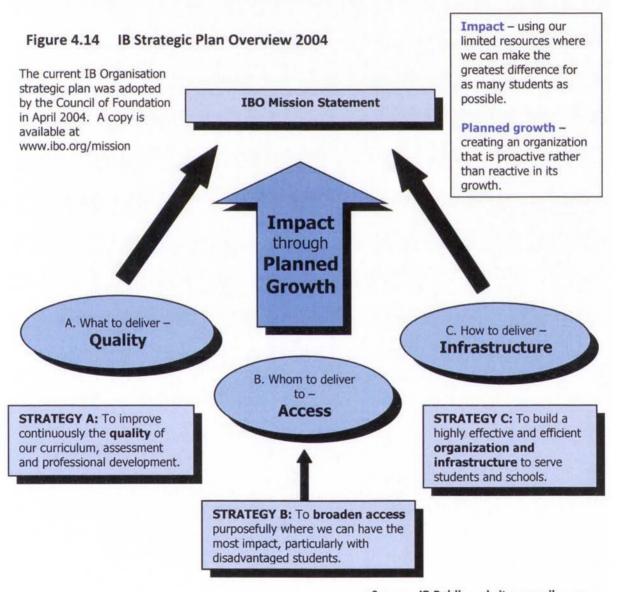
Perhaps most challengingly of all, I cannot believe that all nations will speak exactly the same language of international education. We are not trying to force everyone into a common mould, particularly not an IB mould. Instead, I would envisage a series of different dialects developing....

George Walker ex Director General IBO "To Educate the Nations" (2002) p150

Despite no active marketing over the past decade, student numbers in the three-IB programmes globally have grown by upwards of 15% year on year. Traditionally, the IB has never marketed its programmes as such. Growth has been driven by reputation and word of mouth. In 2004, the IB Organisation undertook a comprehensive strategic

planning exercise and publicized its current strategic plan. Through this plan, the organization affirmed its commitment to planned growth in order to maximize its impact globally. It is the rate and direction of growth that presents the IB with its greatest challenges. Planning growth is necessary to address two key questions which are relevant globally:

- How can the organisation ensure that the growth of the IB benefits schools and students worldwide, not just the economic elite who can most easily afford highquality programmes?
- How can the organisation sustain double-digit growth rates while maintaining the IB's reputation for quality and innovation?



Source : IB Public website www.ibo.org

These questions are particularly pertinent in the context of this study in India. In other words, it is the "planned" in "planned growth" that is the strategic issue for the IB. In 2004, when this strategic plan was being developed, changing growth patterns for the Indian subcontinent were already becoming evident and the regional office banded Indian *private unaided* schools in Band 2 identifying India as a country where the IB has strong potential to reach critical mass in the private sector in the medium term and high potential for impact in terms of its mission.

In August 2005, a group which was to become constituted as the Indian Development Council (IDC) was formed. The primary function of the IB-IDC is to advise and guide on the implementation of the Strategic Plan and Mission Statement of the IB Organisation. Specifically the role of the Indian Development Council has been concerned with identifying strategic actions to

- Target enhanced Government and University Recognition of both MYP and Diploma
- Raise Media Profile and understanding of the programmes
- Support the further strengthening of local networks and the South Asia Association of IB schools
- Address the need for locally available affordable workshop training
- Train more host country national workshop leaders and build capacity in terms of an extended pool of IB trained Indian teachers
- Develop new models of workshops that will address the paradigm shift in educational practice often associated with the adoption of IB programmes
- Promote a consistent climate of academic honesty in Indian IB Schools
- Ensure that IB schools are meeting legal and other regulatory frameworks
- Identify and implement a portfolio of educational access projects to demonstrate the IB mission

Source : Minutes IBIDC Meeting held Mumbai, August 2005

Today the IB actively seeks to make an IB education available to students of all ages regardless of their personal situation. During the July 2006 retreat, that the IB Council of Foundation further articulated the access strategy, in particular defining access as "enabling more students to experience and benefit from an IB education regardless of personal circumstances". The Council approved a report, From Growth to Access that articulated the key issues, arguing for a change in paradigm and proposing a series of

¹³ http://www.ibo.org/mission/strategy/documents/FromGrowthtoAccess.pdf

strategies for broadening access. A further retreat in February 2008 qualified the scope of the 'access agenda' and identified key work areas moving forward.

The Advancement division was established in January 2009 as part of the IB's restructuring efforts. The IB's strategic plan of 2004 expresses a commitment to planned growth – i.e. creating an organization that is proactive rather than reactive in its growth. Today, over 60% of all IB schools are in the four major English speaking countries (Figure 4.3). By extending outreach to target countries and regions, the IB could achieve a more geographically, culturally and linguistically varied Community. By funding initiatives with the potential to dramatically increase access beyond current operational paradigms, the organisation will realise "a fundamentally inclusive and diverse composition of IB schools" in the long term. ¹⁴ The Advancement Division is not only concerned with increasing access to the IB's existing programmes by targeting schools and teachers where the IB has strong potential to grow its impact and level of engagement through intervention and support, it is also concerned with enabling access to a better quality of education (based on IB principles and practices) for students, teachers and educational bodies in more disadvantaged schools and communities.

4.5 A WIDER ROLE FOR THE IB IN THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY

The IB is without any doubt a mission driven organization. We challenge schools to demonstrate what they have done to fulfil the mission of the organization, to inculcate in their students the desire to work towards a better and more peaceful world, where people, with their differences, can also be right.

Dr. Monique Seefried, President IB Board of Governors

Speech to the IB World Heads Conference, San Francisco, October, 2007

There was a resounding commitment from the survey respondents (Table 4.7) and from the interviewees in the Case Study Schools to the notion that the IB should contribute to educational development in India. More than three quarters of respondents believe that there should be a requirement for all IB World Schools to be involved in educational projects for the educationally disadvantaged e.g. with municipal schools or with educational NGOs working with children in slums or rural areas. The spirit of

1

¹⁴ Internal document: *IB Access and Advancement, Vision Goals and Strategy* Draft June 2009

philanthropy in India and commitment to addressing the needs of the disadvantaged amongst educators is humbling and heartening. With 59 million children out of school the task is daunting.

In the populist Indian media, the IB is portrayed as highly elitist. With increasing pressure on the Government to monitor privatisation and commercialisation of schooling, it is important for the IB to redress this image by engaging more seriously across the less advantaged education sectors.

Given its rating as a premium schooling brand and its global acceptance, the city's elite are only too happy to join up, at whatever price.¹⁵

Over the past few years, many parents of Mumbai's elite have become enamoured of the IB programme..... The most powerful force fuelling international education in Mumbai is the relentless march of globalisation. As a part of the city's economy integrates rapidly with the world's, the elite driving this change want their children to get an education that gives them a global orientation.¹⁶

Table 4.7 A Wider role for the IB in the Indian Educational Sector?

- Respondents Views

WIDER IB ENGAGEMENTS	NUMBERS OF RESPONDENTS	% of Respondents In agreement
The IB will have an influence on educational policy and practice in India	87/126	69%
The IB should contribute to educational development (for the masses) in India	118/126	94%
There should be a requirement for all IB World Schools to be involved in vertical educational projects for the educationally disadvantaged e.g. with state aided schools	89/117	76%

Data Source: Survey of Indian Schools conducted November 2008 -March 2009

Through the IB Advancement Division, and supported by the IB Indian Development Council plans are underway to become involved in a series of service projects in several of the major metropolitan areas. The *Believe in India!* programme¹⁷ aims to

¹⁵ Quote From DNA – a Mumbai Daily Saturday, August 19, 2006

¹⁶ Quote from *A brand new world view* Nov 23, 2009 http://in.news.yahoo.com/32/20091123/1053/tnl-a-brand-new-world-view.html

¹⁷ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article by **Anahita Mukherji** January 20, 2010 International education may soon reach the common man

partner clusters of schools within India, giving both communities the opportunity to learn about one another, while working together to improve access to a better quality education. Some of the strategies involve

- i. Training teachers in student-friendly, interactive learning, and empowering local staff to become "teacher leaders" a train the trainers model
- ii. Mentoring of students in key areas of learning, e.g. English and IT.
- iii. Refurbishment of partner schools with funding and resources from IB partners
- iv. Providing opportunities for administrators from the partner school to shadow administrators at the IB school, to observe procedures and planning processes

A number of schools are already undertaking this kind of community service (as identified in Table 4.8 and 4.9) although the sustainability and real impact of this work has not been substantively evaluated. One of the major advantages of undertaking school improvement projects collectively is that the IB can undertake the needs analysis and articulate cohesive training activities across a group of IB schools and a group of partner schools.

Table 4.8 Wider Service commitments of IB Schools in India (2008)

WIDER SCHOOL COMMITTMENTS	NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS	% of Responding Schools
Number of schools offering scholarship programmes 18	21	45%
Numbers of schools supporting a CAS or community service programme that involves working with municipal schools?	34	72%
Numbers of schools supporting a CAS or community service programme that involves working with rural schools?	33	70%
Numbers of schools supporting other programmes with educationally disadvantaged communities?	35	74%
Numbers of schools with programmes involving teacher training?	24	51%
Numbers of schools with an association with an educational NGO?	22	47%
TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS RESPONDING TO SURVEY	47	100%

Data Source: Survey of Indian Schools conducted November 2008 –March 2009

All three IB programmes include a community service component requiring action and reflection. According to the IB *Standards and Practices*¹⁹ for authorisation, IB World Schools are required to ensure that:

¹⁸ The majority of scholarship programmes offered by IB schools are limited and related to academic merit rather than to socio-economic need. It will be several years before the impact of the *Right to Education* Act, 2009 with its requirement to provide 25 percent reservation for economically disadvantaged communities to Class One in all private schools is felt.

- Opportunities are provided for students to develop the skills and attitudes that lead to taking action.
- Community and service is part of all students' MYP experience in every year of the programme.
- The school provides appropriate resources and staff to support the delivery of creativity, action, service (CAS).
- · There is an appropriate and varied CAS programme.
- Opportunities are provided for students to choose their own CAS activities and to undertake activities in a local or international environment as appropriate.

Table 4.9

EXAMPLES OF CAS PROGRAMMES IN TWO INDIAN IB DIPLOMA SCHOOLS

SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
Relationships with these establishments and NGOs has been built up over a long period of time 1. Shenbaganur Home for the Orphans 2. Bethania Foundation for HIV Affected Children 3. Mercy Home for the Aged 4. Bethania Kids Home for Children from Tsunami affected families 5. Green Team: Palani Hill Conservation Council, Recycling Program, Lake Cleaning, Student EXNORA (Environmental Awareness Program), 6. KR-home for children of the local community (Day Care Centre), 7. Fourvirre Home - Home for teenage Tribal girls (Orphanage), 8. CSI - Polio Home (Physically Challenged - Home & School), 9. Village Development Projects Poondi Village (Fencing) Perungadu (Tribal Village) Thamaraikulam (School Building) 10. Education for all: English to Tamil Students for CSI Middle School 11. Computer Skill Training for CSI Middle School	The following involvements exemplify the school's commitment to wider service in the community: 1. Pratham is a Non- Governmental Organisation that works towards eradicating child labour and providing them with education as an alternative. 2. Working with Project Aashray to provide leisure, human comfort and interaction to underprivileged children affected by HIV AIDS. Working with the Committed Communities Development Trust (CCDT) 3. Muktangan – weekly visit to assist with the education of disadvantaged children 4. Weekly visits to a slum in Malad where nderprivileged children through Indo-French NGO

A key aspect of the IB Diploma is the service requirement for students as part of the CAS i.e. <u>Creativity</u>, <u>Action</u>, <u>and Service</u> component. Students in the Diploma are required to do 150 hours of CAS activities throughout the two year programme. In many IB world schools community service is inculcated into the fabric of the school's culture and ethos. Many schools have an impressive portfolio of service projects and long standing commitments locally with a range of charities (Table 4.9). In India, the opportunities for genuine service work are extensive and a number of schools and their students have built relationships with local schools, and local NGOs as part of

¹⁹ EXCERPTS from: **IB Programme standards and practices** published September, 2005

their ongoing Community Service projects. A number of IB schools have had great success in offering their premises for after-school use to local communities. Though there are extra expenses for security and utilities, this can be one of the most cost efficient and powerful contributions to a community, particularly if coupled with volunteer teacher support for classes.

4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The IB has evidenced growth rates of close to 25% year on year over the last 6-7 years in India in terms of the numbers of schools adopting its programmes. The key drivers for this uptake have been identified. These drivers represent a mix of educational vision, international dimensionality and pragmatic rationale. Schools in India are reportedly adopting IB programmes in response to a demand for a more broad based holistic education for students that will meet the need for an international education in an increasingly interconnected world. Economic growth, a burgeoning middle class with global aspirations and the dearth of student places in the upper market segment is driving a boom in the establishment of premium 5* infrastructure schools. These trends collectively pose questions about the actual size of the addressable market for the IB in India in the medium and long term.

A profile of the Indian schools that are adopting IB programmes has been established. The key strategic question that arises from scrutiny of this emergent profile is whether the next phase of growth of the IB in India will also derive predominantly from additional new school projects or could future growth come from the more established, reputed schools in India? If the IB wishes to have genuine influence and engagement educationally in India, should the organisation be more proactive in working with established Indian Board schools, particularly those serving a wider cross section of society and not just the elite? It is apparent that market forces are driving the growth and development of new private school projects and by association the adoption of IB programmes. The next chapter scrutinizes the changing education market and the business of schooling in modern day India and it examines the regulatory environment in which these private IB schools are operating.

CHAPTER FIVE THE IB IN THE INDIAN EDUCATION MARKET - PRIVATISATION, COMMERCIALISTION AND LEGALITIES EXPLORED

5.1 OVERVIEW - PRIVATISATION OF SCHOOLING IN INDIA

'Private schools have the advantage of being 'incentive compatible', in the sense that it is in the interest of the parents to keep an eye on the teacher, and in the interest of teachers to be responsive to parental demands (unlike in the government primary school, where the teacher is paid irrespective of his performance)'.

Drèze and Saran (1993), p. 39-40 in Kingdon, (1996).

All schools currently authorised or intending to offer IB programmes in India are *private* schools and the vast majority of these are *unaided*. As *private unaided* schools, these IB schools receive no support whatsoever from the State or Central Government. It has already been established that India has one of the highest rates of privatisation of schooling in the world (Figures 2.9 and 2.10). *Private unaided* schools in India can range from reputed traditional institutions to expensive new boarding schools for the elite and "international schools" for the urban rising middle classes to low-end teaching establishments in shanties and villages across the country. In India, increasing privatisation in the primary and secondary sectors exemplifies a privatisation model of *shifting sectoral balance* (after Bray, 2002, p43) since the balance has shifted without any active redesignation of existing institutions; even though the government sector has expanded, the private sector has expanded more. This extensive involvement of the private sector in educational provision raises concerns about the lack of cohesive regulation and consistent enforcement of regulations for the establishment and management of educational institutions, particularly at primary and secondary level.

Private education is now very much a public issue in India, especially if it is being offered in a commercialised for profit environment. Generally speaking, it is public policy—the laws, regulations, and policies instituted by the government that establish the ground rules for educational entrepreneurship. In many western countries, it is deregulation that has promoted increased privatisation and commercial interests in the education sector. Paradoxically though in the Indian educational context, the three driving forces for the proliferation of private schools are underprovision, standards and overregulation. As Tooley and Dixon, 2006, rightly contend, responsibilities for education have been

transferred *de facto* to the private sector, through the rapid growth of private schools, rather than *de jure*, through reform or legislation. The complete inability of the public sector to provide sufficient quality educational services is a major driver of privatisation. The lack of cohesive regulation in this potentially lucrative market rather than deregulation has instigated the unregulated proliferation of private educational provision for all strata of society.

New private school projects are being launched and managed by a wide spectrum of quite different types of providers. Charitable trusts, which run as many as 50,000 schools in the country, are traditionally and still ostensibly the most common backers of new educational projects. Many established educational trusts in India run chains of institutions. A number of these trusts were established by inspired and visionary educational entrepreneurs with limited resources and over time many have evolved with committed leadership. The Hyderabad (Sind) National Collegiate Board established in Mumbai by K.M Kundnani after partition, for instance, now manages 29 centres of learning. There are numerous cases in India of family trusts that have governed and managed some of the most reputed schools and colleges in the country through several generations. India has a long established tradition of philanthropic and charitable engagement (Viswanath and Dadrawala, 2004) and a long history of altruistic involvement in education. Philanthropy has evolved as a family attribute. If an individual achieves success in their lifetime, then it is unquestionably their duty to help others. The public establishment of a high profile and visible family trust ascribes a legacy and social status to a family.

Nonetheless, skepticism about the integrity and business activities of many trusts abounds¹. School billboards even advertise themselves as being "run by an ethical trust." There is a widely held view that a number of boards running "educational trusts with charitable status" are chaired by former ministers, top politicians or big time

¹ As exemplified in the proliferation of articles like: 'District admn issues showcause notice to educational society for 'breach of trust' Posted: Feb 04, 2009 http://www.indianexpress.com/news/district-admn-issues-showcause-notice-to-educational-society-for-breach-of-trust/419033/0

industrialists and property developers who name schools in honour of a parent, and charge high tuition fees in order to build up a portfolio of highly elitist high status institutions that provide solid returns for their investment. There are also noteworthy political connections with several of the trusts running the newer IB schools particularly in Maharashtra. Some IB schools are named after prominent politicians or industrialists, a few of whom have been embroiled in a level of scandal. In recent years, an increasing number of trusts and foundations have been set up by companies, rather than by families. Notionally all surpluses or profits should be reinvested back into trust activities; although again there is a public perception that many allegedly siphon and divert money into other businesses. Certain business models make this legally feasible.

Religious affiliated missions, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian have for many years also involved themselves in educational activities and provision. Education was an integral part of the missionary commitment, and church life and ministry. Churches and schools existed side by side. Since the directives of Wood's education dispatch of 1854, which prescribed government withdrawal from the education field in favour of 'private effort' whenever possible (Allender, 2003, p283), church schools have filled a niche. The Catholic Bishops' Conference of India has set up more than 13,000 schools² in addition to colleges and universities during its centuries-old presence in India. Parents allegedly opt for Catholic schools to give children, daughters in particular, a solid moral education.

In the new millennium, the business sector and individual entrepreneurs are increasingly entering the education market and are in the business of building and managing schools or chains of schools. Most of these promoters have no previous involvement in education. In much of the literature and certainly in the media, this privatisation of schooling is portrayed as being synonymous with commercialisation for profit³.

² From the Survey on Catholic Educational Institutions in India 2005-2006 available on www.cbcisite.com/survey

³ As exemplified in the proliferation of articles like: **Regulatory framework to check commercialization of Education** December 19, 2007 http://indiaedunews.net/Today/

Traditionally though private schools in India were always, in principle, not- for- profit. This was largely the case for three reasons. Firstly, affiliation with many state boards and with the all-India education boards is restricted to not-for-profit institutions. These bodies will only affiliate schools run by trusts or societies and in some cases Section 25 limited companies. Secondly, in many states of India there is actual legislation restricting the recognition of schools to trusts or societies e.g. the *Delhi Schools Education Act*, 1973. Lastly, in states like Andhra Pradesh, specific legislation has been enacted prohibiting the commercialisation of education. Nonetheless, progressively more schools are overtly proprietary in nature.

Srivastava's study (2008) demonstrates that privatisation and private schooling do not operate in an institutional vacuum — in fact, they hinge on it. Srivastava contends that any analysis of an emerging or existing privatised school sector must take, as one of its central aims, an analysis of the institutional framework (formal and informal) that scaffolds it because that framework will alter how the sector develops and the way it operates. This chapter then duly aims to consider the regulatory environment in which these schools are being established and aims to probe the spectrum of school operators from genuine philanthropic trusts to declared business enterprises. In this discussion, there are obviously very significant reasons for differentiating between these essentially different kinds of private school. Nevertheless there are also a number of common issues associated with privatisation of schooling whether for profit or not-for-profit.

The aim of this chapter is to delineate between the different entities operating the *private unaided* schools that are seeking IB authorization and consider the market in which they are operating. The perceived advantages and disadvantages of privatisation for the Indian schooling sector are considered. Furthermore, the complexities and risks for the IB directly associated with operating as a curriculum provider to Indian private schools in the current legal and regulatory environment are explored. Regulation of private education is not a heavily researched area. Research on regulation of

⁴ Andhra Pradesh Education Act, 1982 specifically referenced by Tooley, 2004 and Dixon and Tooley, 2003

education in developing countries and transitional economies tends to concentrate on higher education rather than on primary and secondary schooling which is the focus of this study.

5.2 TRUSTS AND SOCIETIES AND NOT FOR PROFITS

The School should be run by a Registered Society, a Trust or a Company (under Section 25(1)(a) of the Companies Act 1956) for educational purposes. It must not be run for profit. The constitution of the Society/Trust/Company running the school should be such that it does not vest control in a single individual or members of the same family.

CISCE Board Regulations

Dadrawala's 2008 IRNL Country Report provides a brief overview of India's categories of not-for-profit organizations and the laws governing them. While these details principally focus on national all-India legislation, state laws and regulations are also important. Many states have enacted additional laws, adapted from the national laws, to govern not-for-profit entities. Charity Commissions and Registrars are state entities, not national ones. Thus, regulation of not-for-profit organizations varies from state to state. Only state law details specific to the major Acts identified as relevant to the schools in this study are included in this section.

In India, non-profit and public charitable organisations can be registered as **trusts**, **societies**, as a **private limited non profit company**, or as a **section-25 company**. Non-profit organisations in India operate independently of the state and are self-governed by a board of trustees or 'managing committee' made up of individuals who generally serve in a fiduciary capacity. They are expected to produce benefits for others, outside the membership of the organisation; and are 'non-profit-making', in as much as they are prohibited from distributing a monetary residual to their own members.

1. Trusts

Trust Law in many parts of the Commonwealth was based on the foundational Trust Law of England and Wales. Under common law, a trust is an arrangement under which the settlor entrusts his property to certain persons or trustees, who become the legal owners of the trust property but hold it for the benefit of third parties, i.e. the

beneficiaries. Correspondingly, clauses of the Indian Trusts Act 1882⁵ protect the use of trust properties and assets for the benefit of the beneficiary. The beneficiary has a number of rights including

- * Rights to rent and profits (section 55)
- * Right to transfer beneficial interest (section 58)

The powers and rights of the trustee are also wide ranging and include:

- * Rights to title deed (section 31)
- * Right to reimbursement of expenses (section 32)
- * Right to apply to court for opinion on management of trust property (sec.34)

The basic constituents of a trust are transmutation of trust property, declaration of purpose and the beneficiary.⁶ Based on the Beneficiary Principle, private trusts can be established for non-charitable purposes as well as religious or charitable purposes.

A number of IB Schools are run by Private Trusts rather than by Public Trusts. Public and private trusts differ in their nature⁷. The difference between a public and private trust is essentially in its beneficiaries. A private trust's beneficiaries are a closed group, while a public trust is for the benefit of a larger cross-section of society and has a public purpose. Private trusts are created and governed by the provisions of the *Indian Trusts Act*, 1882, whereas charitable trusts are generally controlled over and beyond this Act. In comparison, public charitable trusts are not-for-profit entities created for either religious or charitable purposes such as poverty alleviation, educational development or medical aid. There is no national law (except the broad principles of the *Indian Trusts Act* 1882) governing public charitable trusts. Only a minority of states have enacted legislation to regulate Public Trusts (notably Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh). Public trusts are generally irrevocable.

An <u>NGO</u> can only be created under a public trust act⁸. A trust registered in one state has the scope to operate in any number of states. In <u>Maharashtra</u>, all organizations registered as a 'Society' are by default also registered as Public Charitable Trusts under

⁵ Specifics of the Indian Trusts Acts are on http://www.vakilno1.com/bareacts/indiantrustsact/indiantrustsact.html

⁶ Details available in article by Kumkum Sen Posted January 07, 2008

⁷ Information on http://www.india.gov.in/business/taxation/public_pvt_trust.php downloaded 15 April, 2008

Betails are accessible on http://www.ngosindia.com/ or on http://www.cafindia.org/pages/register_charity.htm

the Bombay Public Trusts Act⁹, which regulates all public charitable trusts in the state. In Maharashtra, there is a Charities Commission with reportedly draconian powers, to ensure the charitable status of Trusts. With minor changes, the Bombay Public Trusts Act also operates in the state of Gujarat. In contrast, in the Delhi region and Haryana state there is no charity commissioner, only a set of rules and regulations. Individuals, families, or businesses can register a private trust in Delhi and are then able to operate country wide under less stringent rules. In the absence of a Trusts Act in a particular state or territory, the general principles of the Indian Trusts Act 1882 apply.

Trusts, whether public or private, are subject to taxation under the Income Tax Act, 1961. Under this Act, wholly charitable and religious trusts are exempt from tax. To receive charitable status, an organisation requires Income tax clearances under 12 A Clause of the Income Tax Act. A notified approval from the Director General Income Tax Exemptions may be obtained under Section 10 (23C) for three assessment years at a time, subject to certain specified conditions. The Income Tax Act gives equal treatment to trusts, societies and section-25 companies in terms of exempting income that allows donors to claim rebates against donations made to non-profit organisations 11.

There are no restrictions on Indian NPOs' business/commercial/economic activities. However, profits must be applied fully towards charitable objects. Under amendments to Section 11(4A) of the Income Tax Act 1961, a not-for-profit organization is not taxed on "income from a business that it operates that is incidental to the attainment of the objects of the organisation, provided the entity maintains separate books and accounts with respect to the business". If this is not done, the NPO will lose its income tax exemption. Public trusts are not permitted to engage in commercial activities. Educational trusts may be entitled to benefits from the state such as land at

⁹ Details of the Bombay Public Trusts (XXIX of 1950) can be found on the Maharashtra Government site http://www.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/Beed/other_social_charity.html downloaded 17 May 2009

¹⁰ Kumkum Sen Posted January 07, 2008 http://www.business-standard.com/india/storypage.php?autono=309868

¹¹ Taxation details are specifically detailed on http://www.india.gov.in/business/taxation/public_pvt_trust.php

concessionary rates, and also tax exemptions, as they are considered to be socially beneficial agencies. However, because the income from private trusts is available to specified beneficiaries and not to the public at large, a private trust does not automatically enjoy the privileges and tax benefits available to public trusts or NGOs.

It is probably fair to say that there is a lack of public confidence in private trusts with non-profit status. The perception is that a significant number of the newer private educational trusts in India belie their non-profit status. Yet if these educational trusts are constituted as Private Trusts they do not legally have to be not-for-profit. Every major business house has its own foundation or trust, with associated tax exemptions. There have been a number of well publicized scandals and it is a matter of public record and common perception that trusts often provide a convenient means of tax avoidance. Cash generated through the trust often comes back into the businesses (as shown in figure 5.3). According to reports in the Indian Express in February 2008, the finance ministry has been concerned for some time that a number of business organisations register charitable trusts only to take advantage of the tax benefits under Section 11 and 12 of the Income-Tax Act. A proposal has been tabled aiming to check the misuse of these tax benefits. The need to legally redefine the concept of "charitable purpose," to ensure that tax benefits are not misused 12 is recognised.

In most cases, educational trusts appear to run and grow their operations (as illustrated in Figure 5.6) exclusively on fees paid by students rather than with new endowments or renewed philanthropy. Patronage of groups outside recognized trust charities and the gifting of monies is not common practice. Some Trusts on occasion have reportedly collected substantial "cash for favours." There are documented cases from this study, of businesses making offers of donations to reputed trusts on the proviso that 50% or 80% is returned to them in cash i.e. the erstwhile donors are seeking to money launder.

¹² **Surabhi** (Feb, 2008) 'Charitable' trusts may come under FinMin scrutiny downloaded December 29, 2009

2. Societies

All societies are governed by the Societies' Registration Act 1860. Almost all the states in India have adopted this central Act albeit with modifications for creating state level authorities for registering various types of not-for-profit entities. Unlike trusts, societies may be dissolved. Societies are membership organizations that may be registered for charitable purposes. For IB schools that are exclusively run by a society, the parents' membership status and the nature of their relationship with the governing council can result in rapid turnover of governing members and significant participatory politics.

A number of reputed schools in India are run by Societies. Doon School is one such example. Doon School was founded in 1935, by a group of influential Indians following the registration in 1929, of the Indian Public Schools' Society (IPSS) as a non-profit organisation, under the *Indian Companies Act*. The IPSS owns the school and governs it through a Board of Governors. The Government reserves the right to appoint nominees to the Board of Governors because the Doon School occupies 69 acres of government land on the Chandbagh Estate in Dehra Dun. The Government can exert some control over the activities of *private unaided* schools run by Societies, if they occupy government land by representation on the Board.

3. Section 25 Companies

According to section 25(1)(a) and (b) of the *Indian Companies Act*, 1956, a section-25 company can be established 'for promoting commerce, art, science, religion, charity or any other useful object', provided the profits, if any, or other income is applied for promoting only the objects of the company and no dividend is paid to its members.

Schools registered under Section 25 follow normal corporate practices, which are not as bureaucratic as working through the Charities Commission. Section 25 companies are very economical to operate and relatively efficient in relation to Trusts. A section 25 Company as a federal enactment has well laid down procedures. Section 25 companies have existed for more than 125 years. The section 25 clause existed in

many countries during the days of the British Empire and survives largely unchanged in the Companies Act of many ex-colonies.

Table 5.1 Comparison between a trust, a society and a section 25 company

	Trust	Society	Section-25 Company
Statute /Legislation	Relevant State Trust Act or Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950	Societies Registration Act, 1860	Indian Companies Act, 1956
Jurisdiction	Deputy Registrar/Charity commissioner	Registrar of societies (charity commissioner in Maharashtra).	Registrar of companies
Authority	Charity Commissioner	Registrar of Societies	Registrar of Companies
Registration	As a trust	As a Society In Maharashtra, both as a society and as a trust	As a company u/s 25 of the Indian Companies Act.
Registration Document	Trust deed	Memorandum of association and rules and regulations	Memorandum and articles of association. and regulations
Stamp Duty	Trust deed to be executed on non-judicial stamp paper, vary from state to state	No stamp paper required for memorandum of association and rules and regulations.	No stamp paper required for memorandum and articles of association.
Members Required	Minimum – two trustees. No upper limit.	Minimum – seven managing committee members. No upper limit.	Minimum three trustees and not more than twelve Directors
Board of Management	Trustees / Board of Trustees	Governing body or council/managing or executive committee	Board of directors/ Managing committee/ Governing council
Mode of Succession	Appointment or Election	Appointment or Election by general body members	Election by members of the general body

Source: modified from *Charities Aid Foundation* Caf India and http://www.ngosindia.com/resources/ngo_registration.php

Trustees of charities are expected to be independent. There are no restrictions, however, stopping a committee/members of a society or private trust all being from a single family. It is, additionally, ordinarily possible for another legal person to influence the selection of directors, officers, or trustees – e.g. by making a donation contingent on the donor's right to appoint a member of the board. A for-profit company can exert significant influence in this manner. Any company can, in the process of founding a public charitable trust, reserve the authority to appoint and remove trustees and to influence major policy decisions. This is typical of a form of public charitable trust known as a 'corporate foundation.' The for-profit founder, or "settler" typically exerts direct control over Corporate Foundations in this manner. In

the case of a Section 25 company or a society, members always have the right to remove directors and thus to influence policy. These members can include for-profit entities. Therefore, it is possible that any Indian charity establishing and governing a private school, may be controlled, directly or indirectly, by a commercial entity.¹³

5.3 PROFILING PRIVATISATION IN RELATION TO THE IB SCHOOLS

India's hunger for the English language is manifested in the names of its schools... It is easy to imagine an Indian variant of the kind of school satirized by Dickens and Waugh – schools born out of similar middle class ambitions

lan Jack, Article in The Guardian p35, 6 February 2009

This study sought to identify the extent to which the privatisation of schooling in India is being commercially driven by considering in the first instance the legal structure of these schools. However, although the vast majority of IB schools in India are ostensibly run as not-for-profit entities by Trusts and/or societies, a large proportion are run and managed by entities with more than one registration. It was therefore impossible in actuality to determine with any precision the for-profit versus not-for-profit status of these schools. Data collated from a range of sources (Table 5.2) cautiously indicated that about 30% of IB school bodies are registered as a Society, 33% as Private Trusts and a slightly larger number 39% as Public Trusts. More than half of all schools that are involved with the IB are part of a larger network of schools and/or educational institutions run by the same trust or company and a significant proportion of these entities are run by a single family.

Since according to many state law or Board regulations, private schools should only be operated by non-profit entities, proprietor or business operated for-profit schools could technically be unlawful institutions in many states in India. To circumvent the impediment created by these regulations, a number of profit-seeking entrants to the education market, in recent years, have adopted a multiple registration structure. School project sponsors, adopting this model, normally in the first instance constitute themselves as charitable trusts or societies to own and operate the school. This entity secures approval from the educational board, enrols students and collects fees. The

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¹³ NGOs India Downloaded on 3 May 2009 from http://www.ngosindia.com/resources/ngo_registration1.php

project sponsor at the same time sets up one or more management or infrastructure companies to provide facilities, administration, uniforms and services to the educational institutions (see Figure 5.1). In this way, it is possible for much of the operational surplus to be extracted in the form of rent, fees or revenue share.

Table 5.2 Legal Status of IB Authorised and candidate Schools in India 2009

SCHOOL CLASSIFICATION		Proportion Schools Sampled	
Private Aided	2	3%	
Private Unaided	70	97%	
Registered as a Private Trust under the India Trusts Act 1882	23	33%	
Registered as a Public Trust under various State Public Trust Acts	27	39%	
Registered as a Society under Societies Registration Act 1860	21	30%	
Registered as a Company under Section 25 of the Companies Act 1956	5	7%	
Registered as a Business or Company under different legislation	8	11%	
Registered as BOTH a Society and a Trust	4	6%	
Multiple legal entities* involved in school operations(Figure 5.3)	8	11%	
OTHER type of legal entity	3	4%	
Sole owner	4	6%	
Family business**	22	31%	
School is part of a larger network OR chain of educational institutions run by the same trust or company?	38	54%	
TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN DATA SAMPLE	72	100%	

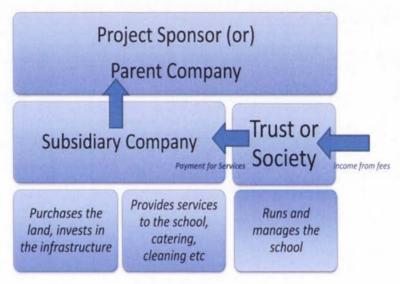
Source: Survey data,+ data from public website,+ data in school files, +interviews **Note:** *1. Subsidiary company associations are not generally declared only a Trust interest

**2. Many trusts are intergenerational family concerns that could be construed to be family businesses

A number of Trusts also legitimately enter into joint venture agreements with for profit companies. The Trusts act as the educational providers, running and managing the schools whilst the partner responsible for developing and maintaining the infrastructure is a commercial entity. Many Trusts seek venture capital for new school projects from high net worth individuals or companies. This major financial outlay can conceivably in some cases be embarked on more in the spirit of community social responsibility than a venture with serious prospects of a return on investment in the short or medium term.

Many newer IB school projects are simply registered under the Companies Act but it is unclear from the data available whether these entities all meet the criteria of section 25 and could be classified as not for profit. When two entities are involved, oftimes the members of the Trust and the Company Directors are the same set of individuals. Often the trustees or the members on the Board of IB Schools are from a single family. In some cases, there is a tripartite agreement between a trust, a company and the Government. Some school managements are registered as both a Society and a Trust and this arrangement is seemingly more transparent. All in all untangling the convoluted, multifarious legal status of IB schools in India is hugely complex.

Figure 5.1 Trusts as businesses? Or Business in collaboration with a Trust? – a legitimate pathway to ensure rates of return for Business Investment in the K-12 education sector



5.4 THE EDUCATION MARKET IN INDIA

"To understand the perennial issue of disadvantage in education, we also have to understand relative advantage and how it is increasingly accomplished through choice behaviours in stratified educational markets"

Doherty, 2009

Educational provision in India is highly stratified. The Parthenon Group's analysis (2009) identified four verticals in the Indian Primary and Secondary School (i.e. Kindergarten to Grade 12 (K-12)) Education Market potentially providing investment opportunities. In reality, a minimum of seven or eight distinct market segments exist (Figure 5.2). According to Angel Broking Education Sector Report (2009) estimates, there are about 10-12,000 private schools in segments charging fees over Rs 1,000 per month. There are also huge numbers of very low cost *private unaided* schools catering for students

who pay as little as Rs. 2,400 - Rs.7,000¹⁴ per annum as well as schools in the moderate range where tuition costs are typically above this level but still below Rs. 30,000 p.a. Some investors operate across segments but there are entrepreneurs operating exclusively in the lowest fee segment (Tooley, 2007). These lower cost *private* unaided segments compete directly with the *private* aided market segments and the government sector in terms of market.

5.41 THE EDUCATION MARKET IN INDIA - OPPORTUNITIES AND PROFITS

"While education should provide attractive rates of return for private equity, investing in this industry comes with its own set of challenges like the current regulatory structures and non-availability of scale businesses"

Vikram Utamsingh, Head-PE Advisory Practice, KPMG India. Private Pulse on Education, Venture Intelligence Report, April 2009

The private education sector in India today caters to 460 million students. This market is estimated to be worth approximately US\$44.8 billion. The K-12 segment, which includes students from kindergarten to the age of 18, alone is believed to be worth more than US\$20 billion. According to a 2008 CLSA (Asia-Pacific Markets) report, this market as a whole is pegged to grow at a Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of 16% to become a UD\$80 billion market by 2012¹⁵. Market growth across the Indian K-12 private education sector is in excess of 10% per annum. A Parthenon Group Business Analysis (2009) calculated that "International Indian School" Enrolment and Tuition Fee Growth achieved 19% CAGR for the period 2003- 2008.

A separate January 2009 report by IDFC-SSKI, shows that India's current spend on education is 5% of average household income, showing a CAGR of 8.6% versus consumption growth of 3.2% from 1995-2005. Going forward, IDFC expects the consuming class - i.e. households with annual income higher than Rs.90,000, to grow from 28% of the total population in 2002 to 48% in 2010. The report predicts 14% CAGR in private spends on education (\$80 billion by 2012). There are huge opportunities. Opportunities in the K-12 market emanate from two factors – the rapid growth in demand for private schools, and the attractive economics of operating a

¹⁴ Exchange Rates March 2010 average from x-rates.com USD\$1.00 = Rs45.4982 and AUD\$1.00 =Rs 41.48

¹⁵ Quotes from a 2008 report by CLSA Asia Pacific Markets on http://www.financialexpress.com/news/pe-firms-target-lucrative-education-sector/490017/ downloaded 17 July 2009

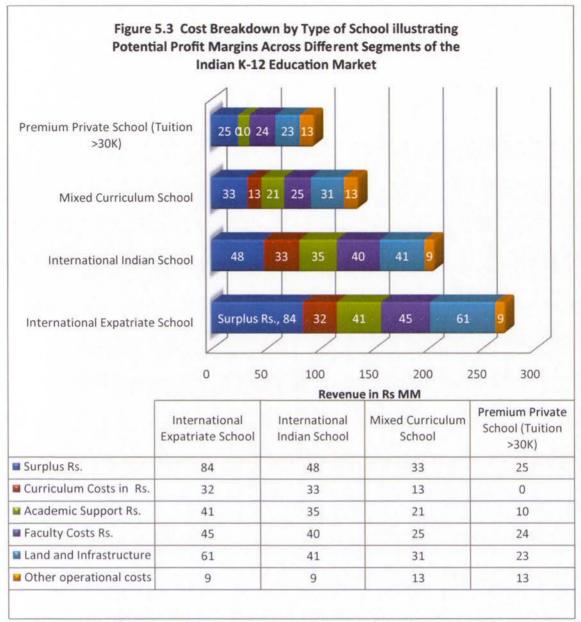
school (Figure 5.3) particularly in the top four verticals. For *International Expatriate Schools*, the percentage of potential surplus is estimated at 31% and 53% without land and rental costs although a higher differential than indicated for faculty costs might have been expected in this segment given the number and costs associated with employing expatriate teachers.

Figure 5.2 Stratified Private Provision: The Indian K-12 Education Market with 7 Distinct

Vertical Market Segments (illustrating curriculum breakdown by Type of School)

	Rs 4.5B	Rs 6.4B	Rs 2.8B	Segment market value = Rs. 29.6B	Segment market value ?	Segment market value ?	Segment market value ?
100%	Other						
80%	UK	UK curricula	CBSE	All-India Examination Boards CBSE or ICSE	CBSE ICSE	Indian State Boards	Indian State Boards
40%			UK**	(CSL	Indian State Boards		
20%	IB	1B surricula	IB curricula				
0%	Int' I Expat Schools	Int'l Indian Schools	Mixed Curricula Premium Schools	Premium Private Schools (Tuition >30K annually)	Moderate Fee Private Schools e.g. Catholic schools (Tuition Rs.12- 30K)	Lower Fee Paying Private Schools (Rs.7.5- 12K)	Very Low Fees "Affordable Private Schools" < Rs.7K p.a.
Student	80% expat	85% Indian	97% Indian	100% Indian Students	100% Indian	100% Indian	100% Indian
Teachers	70% expat	97% Indian	100% Indian	100% Indian Teachers	100% Indian	100% Indian	100% Indian
No of Schools	Approx 20	Approx 120	Approx 250*	Approx 1000 schools	>10,000 schools	?	73-300,000*

Source: adapted/updated* from The Parthenon Group "Indian Education Overview" education report 2009 and by using the EW-INRB Survey of most respected Schools in India plus estimates from * Tooley and Orient Global 73,000 APS = Gray Matters Capital figures on http://www.graymatterscap.com/affordable-private-school-initiative UK Curriculum** = Cambridge examinations (note Chapter 6 comments: curriculum mix in Indian IB schools)



Source : adapted from The Parthenon Group Business Analysis 2009 of Annual Reports, Parthenon Interviews, Parthenon Survey of Schools **Note** 2008 Figures based on average fee level and enrolment level by segment

Notwithstanding the caveat that Land and capital costs for new school projects tend to be prohibitive in India's metros, for the *International Indian School* segment and the *Mixed Curriculum School* segments in which the IB is predominantly working, the potential surplus for private investors is 23-24%, according to the Parthenon Group's Analysis 2009. This report is based on actual numbers of schools currently operating in these Premium and Premium Plus segments. A limitation of their analysis is therefore, that it has not scrutinized the potential addressable size of these segments. In the top four verticals /market segments, the potential surplus margins appear to make this a

fairly low risk investment but a base assumption is that these market segments are far from saturation. Detailed analysis of the addressable market and the potential surpluses for the Low Fee paying market segment are not available to include in this study but there are business groups gearing up to exploit opportunities in this sector. A key component of a business plan for any segment is a value chain analysis, defining the limits and scope of value-adding activities to develop low-cost differentiation strategies. However, assessing capability to deliver value adding activities (see Footnote³²) and better quality at the right price point is particularly imperative in this low fee segment. Orient Global and Gray Matter Capital are the most notable of the groups recently moving into the Low Fee or "Affordable Private School" Sector. They are noteworthy in terms of their expectations of scale and their business models for scalability. Both are also significant in that they are not Indian companies.

Market studies show that Indian households are willing to spend about 9% of their disposable income on education for children. Consequently, there are a number of reasons why entrepreneurs and businesses are investing in the education sector:

- 1. **High rates of return:** Across segments, Earnings Before Interest and Taxes (EBIT) margin ranges from a low 15% to over 40%. The internal rate of return (IRR) for these businesses can be in excess of 30%
- 2. **Favourable pricing:** Partly driven by the supply demand imbalance, price growth in more attractive segments is higher than inflation
- 3. **Scalability:** Insufficient supply and overwhelming demand offer opportunities for operational scale growth and top-line growth
- 4. **Revenue predictability:** In sectors such as private education, multiyear enrolment and knowledge of attrition rates allows firms to better predict their revenue streams
- 5. **Negative working capital:** Student fees are collected annually or semiannually prior to actual enrolment, while costs are incurred over a period of time
- 6. **Counter-cyclicality:** Enrolment in sectors such as tertiary education improves as the economy worsens. Increase in unemployment can result in an increase in enrolment **Venture Intelligence Report, 2009**

Despite the overall optimism for the education market and the possible returns, potential investors have a number of reservations. According to the Venture Intelligence Report, 2009, the topmost reservation is the regulatory uncertainty surrounding "for profit" ventures in the K-12 and higher education sectors and the lack of scalability of ventures in "non formal" sectors. The lack of quality teachers and political interference also feature in the list of concerns. While the K-12 sector figures

among the top education sectors in terms of scalability, it rates poorly in terms of availability of investible businesses. Investors need to actually establish new projects. Investors also find it difficult to find good pre-school and test preparation companies.

Given that most schools are structured as non-profit trusts, the surplus retained within the trust can only be marginal, perhaps less than 5% of the total annual income from tuition and admissions. During the course of this study, it became apparent that the profits are being made at the supplier level, from involvement in school management to provision of equipment and infrastructure lease. When considering the regulatory restrictions on the sector, *Venture Intelligence* similarly concluded that there were only two routes for corporate participation in the K-12 sector. Potential investors seeking profits can enter indirectly into the education market through investment in companies providing school management or other allied services, (Figure 5.1) or "they can invest directly into schools affiliated to foreign boards such as Cambridge or the International Baccalaureate, which are not as restrictive regarding their requirements for schools to demonstrate *not for profit* status" (Venture Intelligence Report, 2009, p20).

Schools with an IB or Cambridge affiliation are some of the highest fee charging schools in India and could rightly be classified as neo-elite schools. Given though that admission into premium schools in India is generally accompanied by the payment of illegal under the counter capitation fees, fee comparisons are not straightforward. The relatively high fees charged by IB world schools are in part linked to the cost of authorization, the annual basic fees and examination fees for the IB Diploma but also to the costs associated with meeting IB standards for authorization. IB standards require library and laboratory facilities beyond those found in most Indian schools. Teacher training requirements impose professional development costs on premium private schools far in excess of historical budget allocations in this area. Nonetheless offering the IB Diploma in an established school already offering Indian Board exams seems to add a premium of at least 40% to the fees charged for local students in Standard XII local Board exams. This premium is indicative of the elasticity of demand

created by the value proposition of 'international' programmes. For some of the older established schools, which have 'added' the IB Diploma and/or the IGCSE qualification, this premium is exploited to generate much needed surplus cash flow to reinvest into tired school infrastructure.

Table 5.3:
Range of School Fees at Senior Secondary Level (IBDP) for IB World Schools in India 2009

Fees in the Range of:	Under USD5,000	USD5,000- USD 10,000	USD 10,000 - USD15,000	>USD15,000	
Numbers of Schools in range	3	17	4	8	

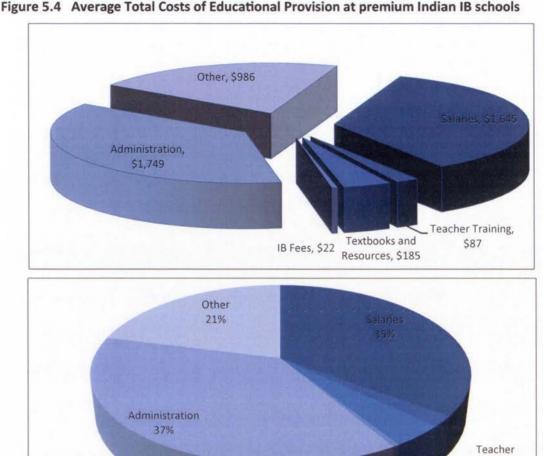
Data source: Information accessible on schools' public websites for the 2009-10 school year
Fees do not include additional fees such as registration, capitation, boarding or extracurricular
The Diploma was set as the benchmark, and fees are generally 15-20% lower for primary school age students

Exchange rates USD\$ Equivalent = USD\$1=43 rupees as at: 27 July 2009

Table 5.3 shows a sample of all the authorized and candidate IB Diploma schools that had published information on their public website. The table shows the range of variation in School Fees and indicates that the majority of IB Diploma schools are in the USD\$5,000 - USD\$10,000 fee range. Whilst competitive with private school fees in a developed country like Australia or New Zealand, these fees are found in a country where the average salary for a High School Teacher is officially in the range of Rs.109,875 to Rs. 234,660¹⁶ i.e. USD\$ 4,870. In reality, though Indian teachers in these neo-elite IB schools can reportedly actually almost double these salaries.

The market in India has become very competitive for well qualified, IB trained and experienced teachers but none-the-less the ratio of student fees to teacher salaries is remarkably high in comparison to comparative ratios for fee: salary in International Schools or Private Schools in developed countries. In the latter contexts, the ratio tends to vary between 3:1 and 2:1 depending on whether the school is run by a not-for-profit foundation or by proprietary interests. These comparative figures confirm the high margins that can be generated by private providers in the Indian context. Another recent business analysis commissioned to help develop affordable business models for IB schools indicates that the costs per child per annum in a 5* star IB school in India average USD \$4,489 (Figure 5.4).

 $^{^{16} \} Figures \ from \ http://www.payscale.com/research/IN/Job=High_School_Teacher/Salary \ downloaded \ 27 \ July \ 2009$



Source: Adapted from the Nurture Avenue - an unpublished report November 2009

Of the eight schools in the highest fee range category, three were the truly "International Schools" with a significant proportion of expatriate students and overseas teachers; and therefore higher overheads. The other five schools in this fee bracket are '5* star' schools which offer very impressive facilities by any standards but charge extortionate fees by Indian standards. Not all schools publish fees data on their website and this includes a number of other '5 star' institutions not accounted for in this data. In economic terms, this data would support the contention that schools are using the IB brand to provide a differentiated market and to justify a price premium. A number of parents are reported to support the high fee base of IB schools in that it protects the elite status of the school. These parents in choosing a school for their child often buy into the 5* star facilities and infrastructure and the elitist reputation more than they buy into the educational philosophy of the school.

Training

Textbooks and 2%

4%

IB Fees Resources

1%

5.42 BUSINESS INTERESTS IN THE IB MARKET

'Education has never been commerce in this country. Making it one is opposed to the ethos, tradition and sensibilities of this nation ...commercialisation is positively harmful, it is opposed to public policy.'

Unni Krishnan (All India) Supreme Court decision of 1993, Para 164, S. C. 2244

Market opportunity and the entry of competition into education has led to a blossoming of an entrepreneurial culture in modern day India. When interviewed regarding his recent book, Khanna (2008) discerned that

"Indian entrepreneurs are running faster that the rules and laws can keep up with. So they are creating the rules as they go along. Entrepreneurship is, after all, doing things in new ways, ahead of social norms and customs"

Outdated laws and the bewildering slew of regulations have until recently restricted direct business involvement in the education sector. However, shifting socio-economic realities and an emerging knowledge economy backdrop have resulted in an even higher premium being placed on quality education. An acute demand supply mismatch together with increasing pressures to provide quality education, underscore the necessity for a real transformation of India's education sector. There is a considerable need to establish significantly more secondary schools as well as tertiary institutions.

Operating a school is potentially highly profitable. *Venture Intelligence* in their 2009 report estimate that most premium schools operate at *Earnings Before Interest and Taxes* margins of 40-50% or higher. Globally but most notably in the Middle East and South Asia, a growing number of business houses and consortiums are exploiting these opportunities and getting involved in the education business. Education companies are emerging, with chains of schools and universities, potentially benefitting from economies of scale. Many of these companies are operating across multiple segments of the market rather than specialising in one segment (Figure 5.6).

Most project sponsors lack prior experience in the education sector. They are not educationists. Up until now these investors in IB education projects in India have been Indian nationals or of Indian background. Typically, many companies are involved in construction and property e.g. Suncity Realtors in Delhi, or the Hiranandani group in

Mumbai and have a need to provide schools (and hospitals) inside their developments. Now some have aspirations to set up chains of private schools within India or across the region. Examples include Emaar Education 17 which uses the brand "Raffles." and the Springfield group. Emaar Education already runs six international schools and nurseries in Dubai; an international school in both Singapore and India; Raffles Campus Schools of Hospitality in Dubai, Singapore and Vietnam; and they have plans for campuses not only in India, but also in Dubai, Singapore, Hong Kong, China and Vietnam. The Emaar group plans to establish a portfolio of over 100 educational institutions, including nurseries, international schools, business schools and universities with emphasis on an integrated model of education from the earliest developmental levels through to Tertiary level.

A number of the companies moving into the education market are part of a larger business group. A business group is by definition "a set of firms which, though legally independent, are bound together by a constellation of formal and informal ties and are accustomed to taking coordinated action" (Khanna and Rivkin, 2001 p 47-48). In India, a particular phenomenon is the number of large trading houses operating in the country. For example, DRS International School is an initiative of the DRS Group - a well known business house with diversified interests, and a combined turnover in excess of 200 crores. The DRS group has staked its presence in the education field, opening DRS International School in Hyderabad in 2003 and establishing a chain of preschools across India under the brand name DRS KIDS in 2005.

From a humble beginning in Fabrication and Construction in the early 1960's, the Ajmera Group from Mumbai, is another business group that has evolved into a leading conglomerate increasingly engaged in the education sector and entering the premium schooling sector. A USD \$29.2 billion corporation, the Aditya Birla Group 18 parent company operates in 25 countries. Globally the Birla Group is a metals powerhouse, number one in viscose staple fibre, the world's fourth largest producer of insulators

¹⁷ Information adapted from public website http://www.emaar.com/index.aspx?page=emaareducation

¹⁸ Information adapted from public website http://www.adityabirla.com/the_group/index.htm

and 11th largest cement producer globally. Birla group companies function in 12 states across India and provide educational opportunities for 40,000 children of employees. Trading groups (diversified companies) are relatively common in transitional economies where voids in the supply chain exist because of an undeveloped economy. Companies can or need to expand and diversify to take advantage of gaps in the market e.g. property development companies typically need to build schools because government cannot provide the necessary supporting infrastructure for new developments. These business groups are seeking to take advantage of the internal market for capital, labour and knowledge. If these school initiatives are part of a large development project, initiated within a large diversified company, there is a reduction in risk. This operational model works well in a developing country context with market imperfections, high levels of regulatory frameworks but weak institutional arrangements.

There is a relatively small niche of extremely wealthy families that own some of the large business conglomerates in India e.g. the Ambani family, the Tatas, or the Birla family. One branch of the Ambani family established the Dhurubai Ambani International School in Mumbai in memory of its patriarch, Dhurubai Ambani, the multi billionaire founder of Reliance Industries who consolidated the family fortune through import and export industries such as spices, polyesters and textiles and later through diversified interests in petrochemicals, telecommunications, IT and energy.

"As power brokers in their nations' economies, these families often exert tremendous influence in the halls of local government as well"

Desreno and Pereira, (2003)

The founders of EduCo Ventures, a new company founded to set up educational institutes across the Indian subcontinent, come from business families in eastern India that have traditionally been involved in the export, hospitality, and jute industries. Because of their power and influence, schools and educational institutions established and run by these business conglomerates (or their associated trusts) can circumvent and navigate regulatory environments fairly readily.

Besides Emaar, another example of an education business active in India and /or the Middle East is the Abraaj Capital-backed GEMS (Global Education management Systems) group that allegedly "provides a unique brand of holistic education to 85,000 students from 124 countries, employing 6,200 education professionals, specialists and staff from over 50 nationalities." GEMS was established by the Education entrepreneur, Sunny Varkey, operating out of Dubai. The group targets all market segments and now operates in 9 countries across three continents. ¹⁹ GEM's Business Model follows a management or owned schools model, in which schools are categorised as mid-market, mid-market plus, premium and premium plus. Similar standards are maintained in each school according to its market. As reported by Menon (2008), GEMS is planning to set up 200 schools in India; 50 of which are planned in the next 2-3 years. Initially, GEMS schools will focus on the premium end of the market because as Varkey rationalizes,

"India has entered a new era of economic growth, and with that comes an increased need for providing world class, international education, within the country".²⁰

Not all the major players in the K-12 premium or high end education market sectors are necessarily interested in the IB at this point in time. The Ryan International Group²¹ run India's largest chain of private K-12 schools (120 schools with 220,000+ students) offering ICSE or local boards. In 2009, Everonn Education Ltd, pioneers in the field of technology-enabled education, launched *EDUCATING INDIA*, a nation-wide initiative across varied age groups. Ambitious plans were announced to establish 200 K-12 schools, 500 skill development centres, 10 engineering colleges and 27 business schools in various parts of the country.²²

By means of bridging the gap between the available resources and the educational needs of millions, EDUCATING INDIA focuses on supporting socially motivated individuals with the 'prerequisite assets and will', in spreading quality learning across the country, while enhancing the employability quotient of every Indian student"

¹⁹ http://www.gemsworldacademy-dubai.com/server.php?show=nav.01p001001

²⁰ Taken from article by **Bindu D. Menon** (Feb 28, 2008) Dubai's GEMS to corporatise school education

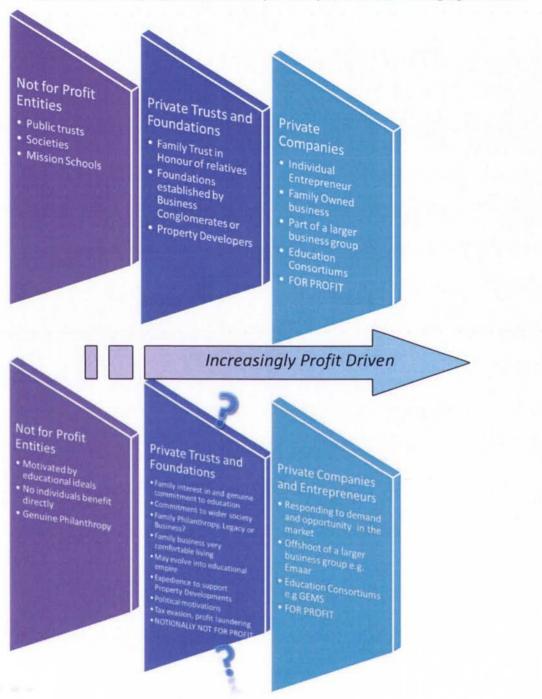
²¹ Information adapted from public website http://www.ryaninternational.org/future.html

²² Quote by **P. Kishore**, Founder & Managing Director, Everonn Education Limited in article by Nadhiya Mali, (Sep 15, 2009) Everonn Education Launches "EDUCATING INDIA" initiative in Education

Everonn's plans in the K-12 segment include pre-schools, block level schools, district-headquarter level schools, high-end and international schools. The Ryan group also has bold plans to venture into Professional Higher Education.

Figure 5.5 Different levels of Business Involvement in Indian Education

– an overview of the spectrum of non-profit to profit entities managing IB schools



Another model for a highly successful chain of private schools is the franchised "Delhi Public Schools". The DPS Society²³ is a non-profit, non-proprietary educational body recognized within India for its relatively progressive approach and by the reputation of its original five Delhi Public Schools, all well established, well regarded, traditional high achieving schools. These original Delhi Public Schools have been established for more than 50 years. DPS expansion beyond this original group of schools has really only escalated since the middle of the 1990s. At the end of July 2007, there were reportedly 120 DPS schools but the group has continued to expand so presently under its auspices, there are as many as 130 schools, within and outside India. The DPS society uses surplus funds from its core schools and franchisees to subsidise some village school projects.

The GD Goenka Education Trust²⁴, named after the late Gayatri Devi Goenka, mother of the Chairman, Shri Anjani Kumar Goenka, is another group proactively franchising and expanding the number of schools under its aegis. By mid 2009, there were 9 GD Goenka "Public Schools" following CBSE curricula, 1 IB School, and 3 further Public schools in the pipeline. The GD Goenka group are developing the concept of an *education city* with programmes ranging from Nursery to MBA level. This *education city* contains GD Goenka World School offering IB and IGCSE curriculum and GD Goenka World Institute offering Undergraduate and Postgraduate Degrees from Lancaster University, U.K. The promoters of the Vidya Global School are pursuing a similar concept. The Vidya Global school campus, located on the Vidya Knowledge Park, founded by wealthy industrialists, is planned to provide the site for more than six first rate institutions.

The "Indus World School" group is a chain of <u>co-educational</u>, <u>K-12</u> schools promoted by the Nalanda Foundation. This group (not involved with the IB at all) opened its first two schools in 2005 and have now expanded in seven cities. By 2016, according to their website they plan to establish 250 "Indus World Schools" globally and 600+ Anandas (pre-schools) across

²³ Information adapted from public website http://www.dpsfamily.org/

²⁴ Information adapted from public website http://www.gdgoenka.com/

India²⁵. In late 2009, Shriram Properties and Career Launcher partnered with the IWS group to open a chain of 25 Indus World Schools in townships developed by Shriram.²⁶ According to the agreement signed, Shriram Properties plan to develop the infrastructure and Career Launcher, Nalanda Foundation will provide the education expertise. The challenges arising in relation to these franchising models include quality assurance and the need to ensure that all schools utilizing the brand adhere to consistent standards and practices.

There are potential reputational risks for foreign Boards like the IB or Cambridge in being associated with private educational conglomerates. An example is the recent takeover of *The New Era* School, a State Board school, previously run by a separate charitable trust, by the Aditya Birla Group of schools. This group is now the target of a case filed in the High court against the school management's decision to move its SSC section (State Board) to new premises to make way for an IGCSE and eventually IB school on the existing premises. The petition states that the school management is commercializing education with this practice and denying an affordable education to children whose parents cannot afford an "international" curriculum. Cases have been cited of the takeover of educational trusts, by business interests, when educational institutions are sited on expensive urban real estate.

A significant number of established Trusts and Societies have multiple commitments across the education sector in addition to running and managing an established chain of schools as illustrated in Figure 5.6. A number of these (generally family run) trusts have a group of established institutions at both school and tertiary level and run a range of establishments targeting quite different socio-economic groups, levels and educational fields. This model of Educational Trust seems more prevalent in the west of the country. Schools in the Trust portfolio may have different ratings and a formulaic apportioning of resources. In general, only one or two of the schools run by

²⁵ Information adapted from public website http://www.indusworldschool.com/iwschool/PartnerWithUs.html

Information sourced

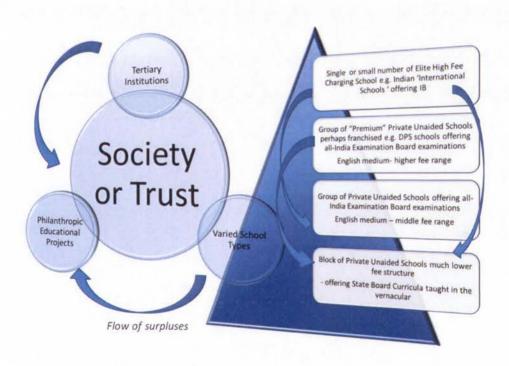
http://media.careerlauncher.com.s3.amazonaws.com/CLinmedia/BusinessLine_16Sep09.jpg downloaded 27 September 2009

the trust is an IB school (Figure 5.6). The other more elite schools in the portfolio of institutions may be premium schools affiliated to CBSE or ICSE whilst in the segment below this group, the schools are typically affiliated to the State Board. Fees, facilities and resources are apportioned accordingly. Surplus revenues may support the Trust's philanthropic activities with more marginalized communities and schools. Typically though these large Education trusts do not directly support external educational NGO's nor do they fund needy educational groups outside their own Trust's auspices. They are not funding agencies or grant-making foundations.

Figure 5.6 Multiple involvements across the education sector

– a pattern typical of larger Educational Trusts running a group of institutions

(illustrating flows of capital and cross subsidization of different fee segment institutions. Surpluses generated also provide venture funding for new educational enterprises broadening the Trust's portfolio of educational institutions). **Note** these trusts do not seem to be involved in the very LOW fee segment nor do they appear to have Government Aided schools in the mix.



Several noteworthy examples of trusts/societies that typify the multiple involvement model include the National Education Society²⁷, the Navrachana Education Society²⁸, and the Calorx Foundation. Only the National Education Society has a school in the very lowest fee paying segment. The SVB UMT School in the Dharavi Slum in Mumbai is

²⁸ Information adapted from public website http://www.navrachana.org/Home.asp

²⁷Information adapted from public website http://www.nesinternational.org/institutions.asp

amongst those schools that charge fees less than Rs 300 per month. Tooley estimates that there are as many as 300,000 of these schools in the low income neighbourhoods and shanties of India's metropolises. The Navrachana Education Society, a registered charitable trust, was established in 1965. It now operates:

- Navrachana International School offering all three IB programmes
- Navrachana Sama, an independent, co-educational, CBSE English medium school, one of the premier schools of Gujarat.
- Navrachana Vidyani Vidyalaya, affiliated to the Gujerat State Education Board
- Navarachana College of Education, an English medium B.Ed college
- Navprerna established in 1999, a School for under privileged children

The Calorx Foundation²⁹, Ahmedabad is a not for profit, professionally managed foundation registered under the Indian Trust Act. The Foundation has focused its activities on K-12 education since its inception in 1995. The Calorx Foundation (also a franchisee of the DPS Society) launched the first Delhi Public School in western India with 450 students, in 1996. Since that time the Calorx Foundation has been actively engaged in establishing a number of other educational projects including:

- Calorx Pre-school (3 centres)
- The Delhi Public School, Bopal, launched in 1996
- Prerna, a special education school for dyslexic children, launched in 2001
- Visamo Kids Foundation, a shelter for the underprivileged children, 2002
- Post Tsunami Relief and Rehabilitation work, 2004
- The Calorx School, an (IB) school, launched in 2007
- The Delhi Public School, East Ahmedabad, launched in 2008
- Calorx Public School Mundra, launched in 2008
- Calorx Teachers University, Ahmedabad announced in June, 2009

Surplus revenues may be also be utilised to support expansion of the Societies' activities and for building new institutions. The Mahatma Education Trust³⁰ that runs the three Dr. Pillai Global Academy Schools which offer the IB Diploma also has 40 other institutions with more than 30,000 students in total. In a career spanning 40 years, Dr. Pillai has created over 40 institutions, including 5 schools, 11 degree colleges, 5 teachers training institutes, and 6 professional colleges for Architecture, Engineering, Information Technology, Media, and Management Studies. As a number

³⁰ Information adapted from public website http://www.mes.ac.in/home/default.asp

²⁹ Information adapted from public website http://www.calorx.org/

of the business chains and trusts target all market segments, they effectively have a range of quite differentiated educational institutions under their umbrella.

Additionally, Trading Houses may have a number of separate trusts rather than a single legal entity running their associated educational institutions e.g. the Birla Group, which runs 42 schools, operates a number of Trusts and charitable entities. Educational bodies also set up multiple trusts. The reasons for establishing a number of different trusts is generally political e.g. to expedite an arrangement that is not consistent with the original Trust's undertakings or that is not sanctioned by all the Trustees. The National Education Society (NES), founded in 1983, today along with its fellow trust Saraswathi Vidya Bhavan (SVB), comprises 47 institutions with about 26,000 students in total, ranging from pre-school to post graduate level. The Galaxy Education System encompasses four separate trusts JHC Trust, PV Patel Smarak Trust, KJ Bhalodia Trust and SMOS Trust. There are 6 institutions besides The Galaxy International School (which offers the Diploma), operating under these trusts, two of which are Gujerati medium.

Since independence, a clear pattern has emerged of successful trusts and providers that have built up reasonably substantial scale across the Indian education market. Chains or consortiums of schools and educational institutions have the advantage of economies of scale. Running a huge network of schools enables shared resources and information and common training to teachers across the whole system. The chains ostensibly aim to combine high quality education and multi-curricular expertise together with optimum operational efficiency. Margins achieved in more exclusive schools and colleges can be used to support the operation of schools for financially disadvantaged communities.

The DY Patil Group, the Shri Vile Parle Kelavani Mandal (SVKM) Trust and the Symbiosis Society have all established themselves as influential players in the Maharashtra State educational arena. All three groups have multiple enterprises in the tertiary sector but are now venturing into the "international" school sector. Shri

Vile Parle Kelavani Mandal is a Public Charitable Trust registered under the Society's Registration Act XXI of 1960 No. 773 of 1934-35 and the Bombay Trusts Act 1950 (Bombay XXIX of 1950) No. F30 (BOM) 1953. The Mandal was formed in 1934 and over the past 75 years has grown into an educational foundation *promoting global thinking consistent with national interest*³¹ at more than 25 institutions, covering all major fields of education. SVKM runs mostly diverse colleges of higher education but its 'international school' was opened in 2007 and authorised to offer the Diploma in May 2008. Symbiosis is one of India's leading educational Institutions with an established reputation over more than 30 years. The Symbiosis Society³² has established a total of 36 academic institutions (also predominantly tertiary) spread across 17 campuses around Pune. Symbiosis has also established one international school in Pune and is planning a further project in Lavasa, a newly developed hill station.

The DY Patil Group³³ has been active in the field of education for over two decades. Currently it runs and manages three deemed universities, at Navi Mumbai, Pune and Kolhapur. The group has established more than 100 institutions in total including more recently its three "International" schools in Pune, Nagpur and Mumbai. The DY Patil group has also established academic alliances with a number of overseas universities. Some of the perceptions of profit making by these groups may well arise out of the fact that the surplus from each enterprise is used to expand and buttress new initiatives as well as supporting their rather modest philanthropic activities. Notfor-profit Trusts by law must evidence their involvement in philanthropic enterprises. It is undeniable that the standard of living enjoyed by family members engaged in the "family business" that many of these large Education Trusts have become, is observably even enviably high.

Businesses also utilise a multi segment approach (Figure 5.6) to capture market share and establish brand equity (illustrated in Figure 5.7). A noteworthy example of an Indian

³¹ Information adapted from public website http://ibdp.svkm.ac.in/SVKM International/aboutus.html

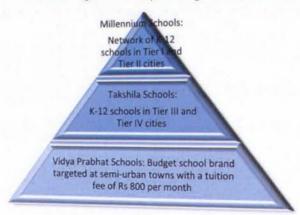
³² Information adapted from public website http://www.symbiosis.ac.in/

³³Information adapted from public website http://www.dypatil.com/

company having significant scale is Educomp Solutions Limited³⁴, which works with over 15,000 schools. Educomp set up in 1994, is a globally diversified education solutions provider and the largest technology driven education company in India. The involvement of companies such as Educomp in the education sector has, according to Tooley, a real upside. He argues that they have the potential to solve the 'information asymmetry problem' for consumers of private education through brand names offering a consistent known 'quality' and they have the resources to invest in research and development with real implications for financial efficiency and educational effectiveness. Eduschools for example are all "powered" by the Millennium Learning System (MLS). MLS provides an underlying school ecosystem specifying the school's culture, philosophy, infrastructure, curriculum, lesson plans, learning levels and curricular activities. Like the Dubai-based GEMS, EduComp has adopted a corporatized approach to school education achieving scale at cost by customising teaching and streamlining teachers training.³⁵

Figure 5.7 "Educomp Solutions" Business Model

- targeting different market segments and providing the educational solutions



Roots to Wings: Educomp's own pre-school brand; currently 170 pre-schools operational EuroKids: 50% stake in Eurokids, the largest pre-school chain in India with over 450 pre-schools Adapted from published information on http://www.educomp.com/CompanyProfile.aspx

³⁴ With an employee base of over 4500 professionals, Educomp serves over 7 million learners and educators across India, USA and Singapore. Educomp has 27 offices worldwide; 20 in India and a track record of implementing large scale Public-Private-Partnership projects. Currently it has a client base of over 7,000 of these projects. Details are accessible on http://www.educomp.com/

³⁵ In a number of private school chains, the script i.e. detailed lesson plans, is designed centrally, and differentiated by segment then circulated to schools for implementation. Teachers have limited opportunity for innovation and are effectively technicians rather than professionals. Educational programmes are products. Different products are offered at different price points. Like franchised food chains, some education consortiums have opened numerous branches in different cities. The net result of a large number of branches i.e. "production units" is the ability to sell large quantities of product to amass profit.

Shahid Siddiqui (2009) Corporatisation of education

Determining the extent to which the IB schools in this mix are *not for profit* and the extent to which the profits from the IB school are being used to drive the business group's other philanthropic or non-philanthropic endeavours in education is hugely problematic. Because many private IB schools in recent years have been started in India by business houses or groups that are not knowledgeable about education, in a number of these schools, situations have arisen because of tension between Management and the Governance bodies of the schools. There is ofttimes a lack of appreciation on the part of the backers about the holistic nature of education and a tendency on the part of school promoters to maintain a visible presence and offices in the school where they remain involved in the day to day management of the school.

Problems establishing a positive culture and ethos within these schools arise when or if the teachers are treated as expendable commodities. A number of issues are specific to business motivated trusts where school sponsors are not educationists. The trustees come from a business background and operate within a market focused, profit driven paradigm. These issues include HR contractual issues e.g. where teachers are forced to repay all professional development costs if they leave the employ of the school. Admissions practices are evident in some schools, that pressure management to enrol students with learning or behavioural difficulties in order to achieve enrolment targets without due consideration being given to the school's ability to meet these students' special needs. Conflicts between management and trustees/project sponsors are not uncommon with Heads and Principals having little real power over decision making in the school. With high turnover of staff and limited institutional history, institutional pride and standing suffer in newer schools struggling to establish their reputation.

5.5 THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK IN INDIA FOR IB SCHOOLS

We need to have an independent accrediting agency that accredits at the entry point by giving a provisional certificate, and when the institution is built, by giving a final certificate so that the intake can take place. We need to get the government out of this and give it to an independent regulator. But all of this needs a lot of work and a lot of consensus across the board, and I think once we do that, then anybody should be able to enter.

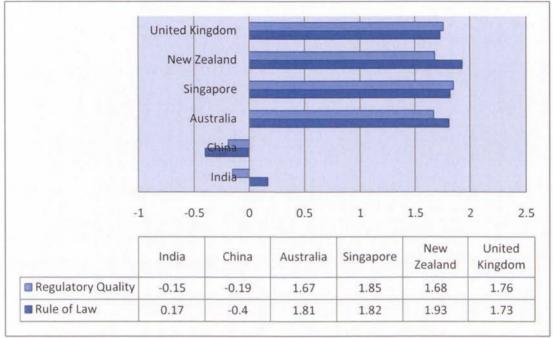
Kapil Sibal Human resource development minister
Tue, Jun 9 2009 CNBC-TV18

In India, the International Baccalaureate functions as a 'foreign board.' Currently there is no system whatsoever requiring the registration of 'foreign boards' as curriculum or service providers (e.g. legislation consistent with the type of regulation prescribed under the ELT Act, 2007 in Victoria, Australia or by the NZ Qualifications Authority). There are no clear guidelines for affiliation of schools in India to foreign boards. Schools that wish to offer a curriculum other than the state board curriculum should obtain a 'no objections" certificate (NoC) from the State Ministry of Education to do so. Respective Boards issue certificates to run schools only after the State Government issues the NoC. In some states, however, there is currently no requirement by the education department to get an NoC to run an "international" school e.g. in Andra Pradesh. If the requirement actually exists in a given state, it is not always enforced.

Regulatory quality and Rule of Law are both problematic in India (Figure 5.8). There is a bewildering slew of regulations and a number of the laws are archaic. The seemingly highly regulated environment is in reality mired down in a confusing array of conflicting regulations easily circumvented. Overly detailed laws further aggravate the problems. In 2007, the National Knowledge Commission noted that the regulatory system for the tertiary sector was over-regulated but under-governed. This is without doubt the case in the primary and secondary sector also. The majority of problems identified with privatisation and particularly with commercialisation of education in India are a direct result of the lack of regulatory consistency and compliance. In considering the regulation of *private unaided* schools serving Low-Income families in Andhra Pradesh, Dixon and Tooley, 2005 exposed the fact that two regulatory regimes exist, one that is set out 'on paper' in the Education Acts and associated rules, and another that operates 'in practice'. Generally, it was found that the regulations 'in practice' are

consistent with market principles. Conversely, the regulations set out 'on paper' are not conducive to entrepreneurial innovation and market discovery.

Figure 5.8 Comparative Rule of Law and Regulatory Quality, India versus other countries, 2008

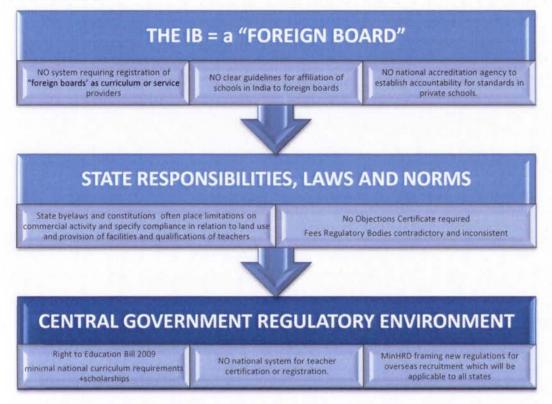


Source: World Bank data obtained from http://info.worldbank.org/etools/kam2/KAM_page2.asp
Figure 5.9 Summary of Jurisdiction in which IB schools are operating in India

There are no clear policy guidelines and/or legislative frameworks for project sponsors setting up *international schools* in India, and in fact there is no tight legislative framework restricting the establishment of new schools (Figure 5.9). Rules governing the appointment of foreign teachers and employment laws controlling their entry into India are specified by the Ministry of Human Resource Development from time to time but these rules remain unclear and are subject to negotiation on an ad hoc basis. Currently there is no national accreditation agency or its equivalent that would function to establish accountability for maintaining standards in private schools. The National Knowledge Commission in its 2007 report highlighted the current issues related to the management and governance of education in India. There is a multiplicity of management structures and government departments in the administration of school education. This creates confusion, unnecessary replication and possibly inconsistent strategies across different schools. There must be greater

co-ordination between different departments of government on school education policy, even while ensuring more autonomy to the local community in matters of day to day management of schools.

Figure 5.8 Comparative Rule of Law and Regulatory Quality, India versus other countries, 2008



5.51 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT REGULATORY INITIATIVES

In recent years, both the authorities and the media have noted the increasing trend amongst private schools to opt to affiliate to foreign boards. The label "International School" is no longer uncommon in India. Tensions are becoming apparent as growing numbers of Indian students are involved with International Baccalaureate (IB) or Cambridge International Examinations curriculum in these international schools. Firstly, there is no formal mechanism at the present time to regulate functioning of schools affiliated to foreign boards. Conscious of a trend where some schools previously affiliated to the all India Boards are adopting IB and/or Cambridge, key functionaries of Indian education boards have exerted some political pressure on the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MinHRD) to stop existing schools

converting from CBSE to IB or Cambridge and/or adopting other overseas curriculum such as the Ontario curriculum.

Responding to these trends and pressures in August 2007, a committee appointed by the Ministry of HRD and headed by former education secretary, P.R. Dasgupta recommended a regulatory approach towards international schools. The committee felt that this was necessary as long as these schools were admitting Indian students. It was proposed that every school, which affiliated

Box 5.1

The Statesman

HRD ministry pushing for strict norms for international schools

NEW DELHI, May 8, 2008: The ministry of human resource development is all set to put strict norms in place for regulating functioning of international schools in the country. For this, the HRD ministry is likely to place a new policy before the Cabinet for its approval tomorrow. The ministry intends to bring the curriculum, fee structure and even the number of foreign teachers appointed in such schools under its scrutiny.

The idea is to make them adhere to certain rules, which are not place in the case of international schools at present. Sources said the new rules would even fix the percentage of foreign teachers appointed at international schools. At present, there is no bar on the number of foreign teachers appointed at such schools. Moreover, the ministry wants to ensure that all international schools operating in India inculcate values relating to Indian culture, secularism and diversity in their curriculum and co-curricular activities.

A senior HRD ministry official said since the number of international schools operating has risen significantly recently, a well-defined policy is required for regulating such institutions. "Till now such schools were not required to take government approval. But now international schools will have to take due permission before starting their operations. They will also have to obtain a no-objection certificate from the concerned state or Union territory before applying for affiliation," an official said. "A committee will be set up by the ministry to regulate their affiliation to foreign boards," he added. Schools run by foreign missions for their nationals will, however, be exempted from the proposed guidelines.

Published in the Statesman May 8, 2008

itself to an education board outside India, would have to make an application to the central government as well as seek a NoC from the government of the state it was located in. Another recommendation by the committee was that no foreigner should be appointed as Principal in these schools. Additionally, it was suggested that new schools could not be called *international* unless they actually have a critical mass of foreign i.e. "international students." Advisors suggested that any regulatory framework should make it mandatory for schools seeking affiliation to foreign boards to dedicate 60% of its capacity to foreign students whilst the remainder could be Indian students.

Although education in India is a state matter and under the jurisdiction of the Educational Ministry of each state, in early 2007, the central government in New Delhi

began framing new regulations for overseas recruitment that will be states applicable International schools. that is schools operated foreign organisations in India and/or Indian schools affiliated to foreign boards, will be required to submit annual reports to a committee set up to oversee their functioning. The establishment of a committee. which would include representatives these international schools was also recommended provide to continuous monitoring. The National Knowledge Commission, in early 2008, also reinforced the need for both enabling and regulating mechanisms for private unaided schools and advocated for

Box 5.2

THE MAN HINDU

Bill to regulate international schools may be delayed

New Delhi (PTI): The Government's move to bring a Bill to regulate international schools operating across the country is likely to get delayed. The Bill, prepared by the HRD ministry, to regulate the international schools and appointment of foreign teachers in the international institutes has been referred to a Committee of Secretaries after the Prime Minister's Office suggested that it should be examined by the committee.

Despite a Cabinet note was moved last week, the PMO said the matter should be examined by the committee before being taken to the Cabinet, Government sources said. At present, the Government does not have any information about the number of international schools in the country, their fee structure, course curricula and functioning. These schools are affiliated to International Baccalaureate (IB), Cambridge Public School System, Vancouver School Board and many other international school boards.

The Government basically monitors the academic activities in schools affiliated to Central Board of Secondary Education, Council for Indian School Certificate Examination and the other State boards. Of late, a number of international schools have started functioning in the country.

As per the Bill, there will be a standing committee in the HRD Ministry to look into the functioning of these schools. The institutes need to obtain permission from the committee, sources said. The Bill lays down a set of norms to be followed by these schools which touch upon the areas of fees, textbooks, syllabus, examination system and appointment of foreign teachers. It has been prepared on the basis of recommendations of the P.R. Dasgupta Committee, which was set up to look into the functioning of these schools. The Bill also stipulates what kind of facilities these schools need to create for offering education to students here.

The Hindu Sunday, January 18, 2009

transparent, norm-based, straight forward procedures for the recognition of private schools to reduce harassment and bureaucratic delay. The MinHRD confirmed in mid 2009 its intent to set up an appropriate national level accrediting body to monitor the quality of both government and private schools.

In 2007, the central government muted making it mandatory for all schools on Indian soil to offer scholarships to some percentage of their student population from socially disadvantaged sectors of society. With the tabling of the *Right to Education* Bill in late 2008 and the passing of this Bill on the 4th August 2009, such clauses are the new reality. The Bill, when originally tabled, did contain a number of provisions considered

contentious by many of the IB schools. To the surprise of many, these provisions survived the scrutiny of the Group of Ministers. The requirement for *private unaided* schools to set aside 25% of total class capacity at the entry level for socially and economically weaker students from the neighbourhood, and the restriction on donations or capitation fee for interviewing the child or parents as part of a screening procedure are in the final version. Private schools are also now required to participate in socially useful programmes, although the majority of IB schools already do so through IB community service. Schools also have to ensure that they meet certain minimal national curriculum requirements e.g. the teaching of environmental education is now mandatory by law.

The Right to Education Bill, 2009, seeks to provide education to children aged between 6 to 14 years. Whilst the bill speaks about quality education, it does not define educational outcomes but focuses on inputs; it specifies standards for physical infrastructure, teacher-pupil ratio, and the qualifications of teachers. Although the legislation has been acclaimed as momentous, questions remain about the kind of education that will be provided. The track record of the government school sector is so inconsistent that the enactment of this Bill does not automatically inspire confidence that the legislation in itself will guarantee the establishment of accessible adequately equipped schools, staffed by committed teachers with the requisite skills to provide effective, quality education.

Although the government talks of Public Private Partnerships in almost every infrastructure area, the *Right to Education* Bill did not mute guidelines for government schools working with the private sector. In the current political and economic climate, control and intervention by the central government in broader education matters remains ambivalent and appears at times to be consciously minimized. Pressure from State Boards and the complexity of India's party politics as well as real ideological differences confuse the policy position.

Over the last decade in both the industrial and service sectors, Indian government policy has been to privatise and assume the role of regulator. Education is one of the last sectors to be rationalized and liberalized. Whilst parties in the Government may well support liberalisation of the education sector, politically a large sector of Indian society is ardently opposed to commercialisation in the education sector. The liberalisation debate will intensify as India's policy planners struggle with a ineffectual public-education system amid continued resistance to the commercialisation of education but it is not beyond comprehension that the government will, following its increased mandate after the 2009 elections, initiate a similar concerted transition to regulator in the educational sector. The MinHRD has intimated that it seeks to simplify the existing restrictive legislative environment and introduce an accreditation framework for all schools. It is hoped that timeframe for this initiative is short term rather than long term.

5.52 STATE RESPONSIBILITIES, LAWS AND NORMS

The 42nd Constitutional Amendment in 1976 made education a shared responsibility between the Union and State governments but largely the domain of the state and thus under the jurisdiction of the Educational Ministry of each state. By the late 1930's, most states had legislation compulsory primary schooling. Legislation pertaining to secondary schooling generally came later e.g. in Bengal, the *Primary Education (rural) Act* was passed in 1930 but the Board of Secondary Education was not established until **1951** after the *West Bengal Secondary Education Act* 1950 was enacted.

Schools whether state aided or private unaided must comply with the state education board's bylaws and constitutions in order to be granted recognition and affiliation. These byelaws in many states place limitations on commercial activity and specify compliance in relation to land use and provision of facilities in addition to qualifications of teachers and adoption and use of state board, curricula, text books and examinations. Tamil Nadu, for example, has one of the most comprehensive sets

of rules - the Grant-in-Aid Code under the *Madras Education Rules* (now, the Tamil Nadu Education Rules) - for setting up a school, was originally framed in 1956. The Code sets norms not just for the building but also for sanitation, hygiene, fire and general safety. Additionally, there is the *Tamil Nadu Recognised Private Schools* (Regulation) Act, 1973. In Maharashtra, as in most States, an NOC is needed to start a school but thereafter the schools have to fulfill the conditions of the Examination Board whose curriculum they are imparting. This poses issues for the IB that sees itself as a curriculum authorizing body rather than a school accrediting or affiliating body and thus does not assume responsibility for ensuring wider compliance with established rules and norms.

The commercialisation of education and the regulation of private school fees is likely to remain a huge political issue at both state and central government level. The ability or otherwise of schools to make a profit is regulated through case law (Unni Krishnan (All India) Supreme Court decision of 1993) rather than through legislation. The Court's main concern was that education should not 'be a matter of commerce'. Although challenged successfully in the TMA Pai case, ³⁶ the legal position of *private unaided* schools with respect to fees and quotas remains opaque and seemingly contradictory. Quoting the *Delhi School Education Act*, Justice Kapadia in 2004³⁷ determined that in the fixation of a school's fee structure, several components have to be taken into account and only capital expenditure can be made by schools from their surplus funds. A dissenting judgment³⁸ by Justice Sinha in 2004 ruled that schools could maintain their accounts as they deemed fit and they could transfer funds to their parent trust and use the surplus for developing new institutions as the "spread of education was the need of the hour."

³⁶ In the case of Unni Krishnan & Ors. v. State of Andhra Pradesh & Ors. (Unnikrishnan) the Supreme Court did not recognize a fundamental right to establish an educational institution under Act 19(1)9g) of the Constitution and agreed to the Government's right to have a say in the matter of fees. The 11 judge bench in T.M.A. Pai Foundation & Ors. v. State of Karnataka & Ors. (2002) overruled Unnikrishnan and held that privately promoted institutions that did not receive Government financial aid have a fundamental right to administer themselves.

³⁷ Thakore, Dilip (April, 2004) Supreme Court's double whammy for elite schools

³⁸ Details on http://www.indianexpress.com/oldStory/45932/ New Delhi, April 27, 2004

Court judgments talk of a "reasonable surplus" for educational establishments, without clarifying the scale of profits that constitute a reasonable surplus. The moot point, frequently distorted, is whether the discretionary power with which the courts vest government departments and officials will be exercised fairly and transparently and in the interests of education in India. Corruption taints private school regulation. As Dixon has shown, (in Baird, 2009 p19) for example, government recognition can be bought with a bribe—if a school operator can afford a bribe, the government official has the incentive to put the stamp of recognition on that school.

Noting the burgeoning of private schools, the NKC proposed a slew of measures in early 2008, including the regulation of fee structures and the instigation of transparent admission processes for *private unaided* schools.

"The monitoring of private schools, in terms of ensuring a transparent admission process, regulation of fee structures as well as meeting minimum set standards for quality of teaching and infrastructure, requires attention." ³⁹

Concerns that the large scale commercialisation of education is not conducive to the maintenance of educational standards, had in the past resulted in a number of states enacting legislation specifically to restrict commercialisation. The *Maharashtra Educational Institutions* (*Prohibition of Capitation Fee*) Act, 1987 and the *Karnataka Prohibition of admission of students to the un-recognised and un-affiliated educational Schools* Act, 1992 were originally enacted to curb excessive fees and "unlicensed schools" by prohibiting the admission of students to un-recognised and un-affiliated institutions. The *Andhra Pradesh Education* Act 1982, states that surplus funds i.e.

"all the monies that remain unused with the institution at the beginning of each academic year, after providing for all the objects, needs, requirements or improvements of the institution during the previous three academic years'

must be reinvested into the educational institution to enhance its development.

Responding to political pressure, a number of State Governments have, more recently, put in place *Fees Regulatory* Bodies. The impetus for these measures came in early 2009 when private schools nationwide proposed above inflation school fee increases

³⁹ Quote by NKC Chairman **Sam Pitroda** published in The Economic Times, 15 Feb 2008

after the sixth pay commission awarded substantive retroactive rises in teacher salaries. In January, 2009, the Delhi cabinet approved a fee increase for *private unaided* schools⁴⁰ categorizing schools based on the monthly tuition fees. Schools charging tuition fees up to Rs.500, Rs.1,001-1,500,and above Rs.2,000 per month were permitted to make an increase of up to Rs.100, Rs.300, and Rs.500 in tuition fees respectively. In a parallel move in December, 2009, under the *Tamil Nadu Schools* (*Regulation of Collection of Fee*) Act 2009, the state government constituted a committee headed by Justice Govindarajan to regulate fee structures in private schools across the state.

In May 2009, the Joint Secretary to the Maharashtra Government, A.M. Bhattalwar, similarly sent a directive to all ICSE/CBSE/IGCSE/IB Education Officials and school representatives in Maharashtra, stating that these schools should not increase fees without the approval of the fees regulation committee. In August, 2009, the state issued a further resolution in relation to the issuance of *No Objection Certificates* to CBSE/ICSE/IB/CIE schools which restricts fees to those approved by the State Fee Assessment Committee. In May 2009, the State government also constituted a committee headed by S.L. Bansal, to examine the financial implications of the Sixth Pay Commission for recognised *private unaided* schools. The committee in its report submitted on October 16, 2009, upheld the rights of *private unaided* schools to decide their own fee structure. This recommendation led to widespread parent protests and a court order in December, then upheld the original May 2009 Government Resolution preventing fee increases. A revised policy, based on the Bansal recommendations, is due in April 2010 but in the interim, contradictory government resolutions released on 23 February and 4 March, 2010 indicate that this matter is far from resolved.

A number of Indian educationists have argued that fees regulation in schools would go a long way towards the promotion of affordable education. Conversely, others believe that whilst profiteering in education should be stopped, schools must have the

⁴⁰ Delhi cabinet has given its nod to a fee hike for recognised un-aided private schools Published on 1/29/2009

freedom to develop themselves. Restrictions on fee increases place severe limits on investors control over returns on investments and thus arguably discourage investment in the education sector. Some recent policy statements indicate a more liberal environment ahead for private participation⁴¹. The Minister, Kapil Sibal announced in February 2010, that the fees of private schools cannot be regulated and that each school had the right to fix the salaries of its teachers⁴² but Sibal's assertion flies in the face of the state initiatives to regulate fees that have been outlined and contradicts provisions in the Delhi School Education Act, 1973, and similar Acts which stipulate that remuneration of teachers in private schools cannot be less than their counterparts in government schools. A great deal of confusion surrounds the extent to which the Right to Education Act when it is implemented on 1 April 2010, will override all the various state legislation that has been enacted over time on these matters.

5.53 INDIAN EDUCATION BOARD CONSTITUTIONS AND BYELAWS

Besides the 46 state boards of education, there are two notable Central Boards, CBSE and CISCE. These 'All India' education boards have similar constitutions and byelaws to each other. CBSE functions under its Constitution, Clause 9 (iv) which empowers the Board to "affiliate institutions for the purpose of its examinations provided that the Board shall not accord affiliation to any institution without the concurrence of the State Government concerned if such institution is in receipt of a regular maintenance grant-in-aid from the State Government." CBSE Board⁴³ affiliates most categories of schools from all over India and increasingly schools abroad including:

- i) Government or Government aided schools
- Schools run by autonomous Organisations under the Government like Kendriya ii) Vidyalaya Sangatha, Navodaya Vidalaya Samiti, Central Tibetan Schools
- iii) Schools run directly by Government Departments such as Defence, Railways
- iv) Schools managed directly by Public Sector Undertakings or by reputed societies
- V) Private, unaided schools established by Societies registered under the Societies Registration Act 1860 or under Acts of the State Governments as educational, charitable or religious societies having non-proprietary character or by Trusts
- vi) Indian schools abroad (catering to Indian expatriates and the Indian Diaspora) constituted as Trusts or Foundations.

⁴¹ CLSA Report 14 March 2009 p3

From article In Times of India *Private schools free to fix their own fees, says Sibal* published Feb 20, 2010

⁴³ CBSE's public portal is http://www.cbse.nic.in/welcome.htm Details of affiliation byelaws are published online http://164.100.50.30/AffiliationByeLaws.pdf

Both CBSE and CICSE Boards detail specific requirements for schools such as classroom space per student, land area per student and minimum levels of facilities and resources. Schools must submit certification from the Municipal/Fire Authorities regarding sanitary conditions and fire safety. Both Boards prescribe minimum qualifications for Heads and for teachers to teach various subjects in Classes IX to XII and require schools to adhere to labour regulations. They also specify the nature of the School Managing Committee; its constitution, powers and functions. In many ways these Boards are fulfilling a dual role - firstly as a curriculum and examination provider and secondly as an accreditation body ensuring compliance with Government or state regulations. In contrast the 'standards and practices' required of schools seeking authorization to offer IB programmes are solely concerned with the school's capacity to deliver the programmes effectively: its philosophy, its organizational structures, teaching and learning practices, curriculum documentation and quality and practices in relation to students. Adherence to land use bye-laws, safety matters and compliance with Government regulations for teacher qualifications is considered by the IB to be a matter for accreditation authorities, which in many developed countries are government controlled agencies.

CBSE has always insisted that even private unaided schools must be non proprietary and obtain State clearances. The Chairman/Secretary of the governing body must submit a list of trust/society members with their details and an affidavit duly attested by a magistrate, stating how the members are related to each other. CBSE has in the last few years changed its byelaws to enable companies to establish *private unaided* schools, however, it has maintained its non-profit stance. An amendment has been made in the affiliation bylaws of the board. CBSE will now affiliate private unaided:

"Schools run by a society/trust/company registered under Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956, duly constituted and registered under the provisions of Central/State Acts not getting any regular grant-in-aid from any government source(s)".

Similarly CICSE⁴⁴ requires that :

⁴⁴ Conditions for the Affiliation of Schools to the Council for Indian School Examinations are detailed on http://www.cisce.org/affiliation.jsp

The School should be run by a Registered Society, a Trust or a Company (under Section 25(1)(a) of the Companies Act 1956) for educational purposes. It must not be run for profit.

To many commentators, this stance by the all Indian Boards regarding not-for-profit status is viewed as retrograde in that it limits the private sector in its ability to address shortfall and demand in particular education segments.

5.54 TEACHER TRAINING AND REGISTRATION

It is a hope that once minimum common standards of teacher education are enforced the next step will be to accredit institutions in terms of quality standards.

Professor A. N. Maheshwari Chairperson, NCTE, INDIA 2008

In India, nationwide standards for teacher recognition are not enforced and there is no national system for teacher certification or registration. Currently, the qualifications required for teachers vary widely among states, and between government aided and non-government-funded schools. Certification for teaching at the elementary level is conferred by the State Department of Education. The coursework required to attain this certificate takes two years to complete and the

curriculum varies between states. The credential achieved is a diploma that again may be titled differently in different states. A postgraduate B.Ed. degree from an accredited University is generally required to teach high school.

Until 1995, the standards, curriculum and examinations for teacher education and certification in India were determined by each state and each university individually and

Box 5.3

MINIMUM ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

- a. Principal / Headmaster / Headmistress: must possess a postgraduate academic qualification from a recognised University and a recognised teacher-education qualification.
- Vice-Principal / Senior Master / Senior Mistress: must possess a postgraduate academic qualification from a recognised University and a recognised teacher-education qualification.
- c. Teachers in Classes/ Standards XI and XI I (Higher Secondary): Master's Degree in the relevant subject with Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or its equivalent OR Two years' integrated M.Sc.Ed. course or an equivalent course.
- d. **Teachers in Classes/Standards IX and X (Secondary):** Must be trained graduates in the subjects they teach.
- possessing professional qualifications from a recognised teacher training institution i.e. Graduate with Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or its equivalent. OR Four years' integrated B.Sc., B.Ed. or equivalent
- f. Teachers in Pre-Primary and Classes /Standards I to V.
 Trained teachers with Kindergarten or Primary School training from recognised institutions. Diploma or certificate in elementary teachers training of a duration of not less than two years. OR Bachelor of Elementary Education (B.El.Ed.) or Graduate with Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or its equivalent.

NCTE (Determination of minimum qualifications for recruitment of teachers in schools) Regulations, 2001

therefore standards varied even more widely than today. In 1995, The National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) was set up as a statutory body in 1995 in pursuance of the National Council for Teacher Education Act, 1993 and given a broad mandate with legal powers to determine and enforce standards of teacher education throughout the country. The main objective of the NCTE is to achieve planned and coordinated development of the teacher education system throughout the country, and the regulation and proper maintenance of norms and standards in the teacher education system. It is though quite common practice for schools that are not funded by the government to hire uncertified teachers.

The Norms and Standards proposed by NCTE are compatible with those increasingly required in more developed countries e.g. to gain registration with the Victorian Institute of Teaching, an applicant needs to possess four years of approved tertiary study, including an approved course of primary or secondary teacher education. Before commencing employment, all prospective teachers and all teachers currently employed in Victorian primary, secondary and special education schools must be registered with the Victorian Institute of Teaching. The NCTE, however, whilst setting similar guidelines, has stopped short of becoming a licensing authority or Teacher Registration Board.

5.6 TRADEMARKS AND BRANDING ISSUES

The adoption of IB programmes in many of the new start-up schools in India represents a marked shift from the traditional market associated with IB World Schools. A number of entrepreneurs have seized upon the new educational market paradigm that has evolved over the last decade. Many of these educational project backers undeniably seek to create niche market schools on the back of IB branding to marketise the programmes. Symes (1998, pp. 133-134 in Whitehead, 2005), claims that

'the entry of competition into education has led to a blossoming of an entrepreneurial culture; which is most marked in school advertising and prospectuses'.

Doherty, 2009 has identified in the Australian market how the IB has been branded by schools as 'challenging and elite' in order to target academic high achievers with

university entrance in mind and provide appeal to the strategic parent, the aspirational student, and the tactical school in search of such clients. Symes and Doherty's observations are also pertinent in the Indian education market. The institutionalization of marketing practices in schools is evidenced by substantive budgets, the development of promotional websites, brochures and videos and the establishment of development office with a director of international marketing.

In the last decade, it has become apparent that educationally, the programmes of the International Baccalaureate Organisation have become globally branded products (Cambridge & Thompson, 2001). As with other globally branded products, there are many who would seek to exploit this brand for profit. A significant number of start-up schools will often naively or shamelessly market their projects with assurances that they will be offering IB programmes or by implying that they have already been authorized to offer programmes long before they have even embarked on the implementation process. In the South Asia context, where respect for intellectual property and protection of trademarks has not enjoyed a strong reputation, protection of trademarks and branding is an ongoing challenge for the IB organization.

When applying for registration of trademarks in a given territory, trademarks have to be considered distinctive in order to be accepted. Obtaining a trademark registration is a long process and involves several stages of examination and challenge. In 1995, the IB first started registering its logos as trademarks, starting with the original IB corporate logo. In 1998 it decided that the most important mark to claim was the word mark "INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE", which was registered successfully, notwithstanding the challenges in some jurisdictions. In 2007, following the rebranding exercise, the IB began registering the trilingual corporate logo, followed in 2008, with the trilingual "IB WORLD SCHOOL" logo. The *Rules and Policy for use of IB intellectual property* were revised to reflect restrictions on the use of trademarks.

The IB has five active trademarks but over 400 individual registrations in more than 80 different countries and for six different classes of goods and services. This gives the IB,

as trademark owner, the right to say how the mark will be used. **Registered marks** should be used consistently, in the way in which they were registered, so that they become recognizable as standing for the organization. The five registered marks are:

INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE

BACCALAUREAT INTERNATIONAL

BACHILLERATO INTERNACIONAL





In India, the IB has registered IB trademarks since 1999, including International Baccalaureate® (WORD) in 3 languages, and the IB World School logo. Following the rebranding exercise undertaken by the organisation in 2007, registration of the new trilingual IB logo is still currently underway in India with the initial application having been made in July 2007. The IB trademarks are also registered through the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) in 53 territories in the International Registry thus giving the IB protection by reputation. The organization has to continuously monitor trademark registrations globally that contravene IB branding practices. In India, in particular the business interests associated with schools and school groups regularly seek to register variations of "world school" under a whole range of different trademark categories in direct contravention of the IB's Rules and Regulations.

The Trade Marks Registry⁴⁵ was established in India in 1940 and presently it administers the Trade Marks Act, 1999 and the rules thereunder notably the Trademarks Rules 2002, allegedly to guarantee adequate protection for domestic and international brand owners, in compliance with the WTO's Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs). The Trademarks Act gives protection to well-known trademarks and provides for registration of conventional applications. A trademark includes the shape of goods, their packaging and colour combinations. Applying false trademarks or trade descriptions and selling goods or providing services with false descriptions is a recognised offence. The Trademarks Act has enacted criminal remedies over and above the civil remedies that were previously available. It has also given more powers to the courts.

⁴⁵ The Office of the Registrar of TradeMarks is under the Controller General of Patents Design. Major new elements of the Trademarks Act (in force since 2003) are detailed on http://www.patentoffice.nic.in/tmr_new/default.htm

The term of a trademark has been increased to 10 years, renewable upon expiration. In India, if a trademark owner does not use a trademark in respect of the goods or services for which the mark has been registered, he may lose his rights over the trademark. As a measure to protect international proprietors, the Act defines a well known mark in relation to any goods or services to be a mark well-known to a substantial segment of the public using such goods or receiving such services. Further, the Trademarks Act has increased the grounds on which trademark infringement can be claimed, such as likelihood of confusion, likelihood of dilution or disparagement of a registered trademark, comparative advertising and spoken use. The term 'use' has been expanded for the purpose of ascertaining infringement. If a trademark is not registered in India, a foreign trademark owner can initiate a passing-off action against the potential infringer. In a suit alleging trademark infringement, a court may grant an injunction; award damages; direct an account of profits to be produced; or issue an order requiring delivery of the infringing labels and marks for destruction or erasure. In India, copyright exists only in the form or expression of the work and not in the idea. India is a signatory to both the Berne Convention and the Universal Copyright Convention. Five years ago, the trend for new school projects to seek IB authorisation from the outset threatened to spawn a whole industry of educational consultants purporting to be experts on the IB and freely using IB copyrighted materials. With vigilance and tight restrictions on the use of IB copyright and branding and increased service levels to implementing schools in India directly from the IB Regional Office, the activities of these aspirant consultants is now significantly less prevalent.

5.7 PRIVATISATION PERSPECTIVES

In the last 20 years....privatisation has become a major force, you could say, in the context of education......today private education is a public issue, and it is a major issue, on which we actually don't have full-blown concepts to take a view. It's not easy today to take a view on whether we deride privatisation of education or whether we see it as a resource.

Krishna Kumar (2007) Interview with La Dousa p139

Views regarding the advantages and disadvantages of privatization of schooling vary widely in the educational research literature. In general, there is huge angst publically about privatisation and commercialisation of education in India. Krishna Kumar's

quote summarises the dichotomy of opinion on the topic. An overwhelming majority of the survey respondents (Table 5.4) and case study participants strongly agree though that privatisation is a positive force for educational provision in India but draw the line with encouraging business promoters to be providers. Privatisation has increased and is undeniably increasing the volume and quality of schooling opportunities in India.

Table 5.4 Perspectives on Privatisation in the Indian School Context

	VIEWS on PRIVATISATION AND REGULATION in India	% of respondents agreeing	SCORE 1-5
1.	Privatisation has increased the volume and quality of schooling opportunities in India	87	4.13
2.	Growth of the IB in is being driven by market forces	78	3.99
3.	There needs to be better regulation (e.g. a government controlled accreditation process) to assure standards in private schools in India	72	3.71
4.	IB Standards and Practices for authorisation (affiliation) should be stricter	60	3.62
5.	The Government should restrict commercialization in the education sector	55	3.41
6.	Businesses and companies should be actively encouraged to become private providers establishing and running private schools	52	3.39
7.	Continued growth in the private education sector will further exacerbate social divisions in Indian society	45	3.36
8.	Protection of the IB reputation and brand could become problematic in the Indian context	35	3.04
9.	Only educational trusts and societies should be allowed to establish and run private schools	31	2.90

Source: Survey of IB Schools in India conducted November 2008 to March 2009

Respondents were pragmatic and specific about the needs of the education sector at all levels specifically the demand for more places and the demand for a better quality of education. The sense is that if private companies and businesses can deliver then they are providing a public service for Indian society. There is agreement that the private sector, as well as being innovative, often provides creative social responsibility programmes, subsidised places and student loan schemes. Whilst privatisation should not be seen as a panacea to all the various problems of supply and quality in Indian education, indisputably if the Institutions established by commercially oriented

private entrepreneurs were disallowed, it is difficult to see how the gap created by the exclusion of private investors from this sector could be filled by the state or non-commercial enterprises. Private investors are meeting a defined need.

Participants in the study though did note a number of dangers and problems associated with allowing commercial businesses to establish and manage schools in India. A key concern about privatisation is its market-orientation. "Commodification of education may lead to excessive emphasis on skill, employment and corporateoriented education at the cost of basic sciences and the vast pool of traditional knowledge, thereby creating an imbalance among various streams of learning." The corporatization of schooling provision may increasingly mean that decisions concerning academic planning and teacher recruitment are based on financial principles rather than educational principles. The danger is that in a corporatised environment, academic auditing measures are reduced to the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of holistic educational provision become unimportant. A key challenge of privatisation and corporatisation of schooling provision is that with this business model, students and parents become the customers buying an educational product. With business-transaction dynamics pervading the school, the teacher's primary role is to satisfy customers not teach students. Principals become CEOs rather than educational leaders. Their role is ensuring productivity and guaranteeing that customers' needs and demands have been met.

The leadership in any institution determines the culture and ethos of the institution. The purpose of education in its broadest sense arguably includes the socialisation of young people and the reproduction of culture. Education is a social enterprise. The values of commercially driven establishments; individualism, competition, self-interest, and efficiency are potentially juxtaposed to the values that the IB seeks to promote. Indeed modern business orthodoxy and values generally sit in direct contrast to the heterodox tradition of Indian thought and philosophy. The globalist worldview advanced by neoliberal ideology does not generally complement the more pluralist perspective (promoted through the IB) that there are several values which

may be equally correct and fundamental, and yet in conflict with each other⁴⁶. The Vedic value system⁴⁷ that still permeates Indian society has an axiology that does not distinguish between social and individual values since both are perceived as an intricate part of fundamental universal values. The ability to mitigate against any potential conflict of values in a privatised environment depends very much on the individual ethics of the promoters and their ability to model and promote trust and social values amongst the school community. The influence of large scale education corporations on what is funded and valued in schools is untested.

The privatisation and commercialisation of many historically public functions or charitable roles has already exacerbated existing inequitable situations which favour part of the community at the expense of the rest. There are genuine concerns that commercialisation of education could mean further marginalisation of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, women and vulnerable sections of society. Social divisions are already pronounced in India Society, but many respondents concur with Singh's sentiments (2007, p109) that

Through the new type of private schools emerging, the existing social and class divide tends to further perpetuate, creating a new form of cultural capital exclusively for a few section of the population. This reproduction of social and class divide is less a result of direct reproduction based on inherited wealth and incomes, and has more to do with the mediated patterns, for example, access to well-paid employment.

Atkinson (2007, p359 in Beck (2007) argued that transnationalisation is only a minority problem. But as Beck maintains, this is not true, because the immobile parts of the population are also affected by the transnationalisation of inequality.

There is a view that the need for privatisation of schooling would be mitigated if the Indian Government proactively promoted education as a social good, rather than a commodity, through legislative, cultural and budgetary means. Higher levels of funding would enable the Government to prioritise higher quality public education over privatisation policies. Privatisation is as noted by Belfield and Levin (2002) fast

^{46 &}quot;...others with their differences can also be right" quote from the IB Mission statement

⁴⁷ The foundation for the Indian vedic values system include **Tyaga** (renunciation), **dana** (liberal giving), **nishtha** (dedication), **satya** (truth), **ahimsa** (non-violence) and **upeksha** (forbearance).

becoming a widespread global trend promoted by Governments when considering education reform, as it eases the pressure on governments to meet increasing demand and relieves them of excessive costs. In general, the World Bank (and other supranational agencies) has encouraged reforms which lean towards privatization of the education system (ibid, p32). In India, there does not seem to have been this level of institutional support for privatisation. The Indian Government has by default created an education market by enabling a system wherein schools compete with each other to offer the highest quality education.

Respondents were ambivalent about whether the Government should restrict commercialization in the education sector. A number were diametrically opposed to any commercial involvement whatsoever in education. Others were extremely philosophical about the realities of being able to mobilise the education sector unless there were real incentives for investors. Such disparate views are clearly shaped by each individual's frame of reference. A number of participants in the study felt it was unrealistic to expect promoters to resolve the countries' educational needs without any return. Overall, respondents may not all endorse the active encouragement of businesses and companies as private providers establishing and running schools but nor are they willing to restrict and limit the management of private schools to educational trusts and societies.

5.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In delineating between the different entities operating the *private unaided* schools that are seeking IB authorization and in assessing how business driven and commercialised these private providers are, it has to be concluded that a number of the new schools even though they are ostensibly set up as trusts or societies represent some of the worst aspects of crony capitalism in India. Business interests are colluding to exploit the huge opportunities in the premium school market sector. Notwithstanding there are still many readily identifiable school project sponsors, particularly amongst the well established Trusts, who have a genuine commitment to supporting the needs of

India's upcoming knowledge economy and who are filling the huge gap that exists in the provision of quality education across most strata of Indian society.

The key question that this study sought to answer was the extent to which the growth of the IB in India is being driven by market forces rather than by ideological educational vision? 78% of respondents agree that growth of the IB is being driven by market forces but market forces were not necessarily seen as a highly significant factor in the schools decision to adopt IB programmes so it is necessary to unpack exactly what those market forces are and how they interconnect with the growth of the IB. When choosing a curriculum programme, schools may not be working with detailed knowledge about the educational principles underpinning it or the specifics about how the curriculum is transacted. Rather they may be simply focused on the connotations and image associated with the brand.

In Chapter four, it was established that two of the key reasons for schools adopting the Diploma programme are the demand for a more broad based holistic education and the fact that the IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas. It is these demand-side pressures that are driving the market. The following chapter will weigh ideological educational vision against the pragmatic educational realities in modern day India and unravel some of the issues and paradigms impacting real educational development.

CHAPTER SIX THE IB IN THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Soon after joining the International BaccalaureateI described it as 'the torch bearer for international education'. This was not intended as rhetoric but rather as recognition of the responsibilities that came with the decision to develop the Middle Years and Primary Years Programmes. No longer was the IB a pre-university niche player in international schools but a potential contributor to mainstream education across the world.

George Walker, Former Director-General IB²

6.1 INTRODUCTION – CHANGING EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS!

By 2020, the people of India will be more numerous, better educated, healthier and more prosperous than at any time in our long history.

Gupta (2002) Vision 2020

In India, as in the other BRIC countries, there is much conjecture about the potential for economic and social transformation. Indisputably, though, ongoing transformative change in India is reliant on the challenges that face the Indian education system being addressed. One of the more recent salient and positive trends with respect to Indian education has been the steady increase in numbers progressing through the system. Economic incentives for acquiring secondary schooling are very high and there is a strong demand for secondary schooling in India; however, greater participation continues to be hindered by a combination of affordability and a constrained supply of secondary schools. Nonetheless as secondary education has become more accessible, there has been a corresponding explosion in demand for higher education.

Over the next two decades, according to McKinsey (2007) figures, as the country's population becomes more widely distributed across the income spectrum, India's middle class will grow from about 5 percent of the population to more than 40 percent. This will create the world's fifth-largest consumer market. Already the Indian middle classes number more than 250 million people and are growing rapidly. This growing class of upwardly mobile, assertive consumers is demanding better healthcare, better transport and better education for their children. They are putting enormous pressure on existing school places in "good" schools, questioning

¹ Walker, G. (2000) 'International education and national systems' in Walker, G (2002) To Educate the Nations p96

² Walker, G. (2009) A new approach to access – Internal Paper presented to the Board and the SLT June 2009

established education practice and examination systems and demanding improved access to tertiary education at a time when the Indian system lacks the capability to expand both capacity and quality to meet these demands.

India, then, continues to struggle with the age-old problem of improving educational standards quickly and at scale. To place India's educational challenges in perspective, however, Kingdon (2007) notes that India does well relative to Pakistan and Bangladesh but lags seriously behind China and the other BRIC countries, especially in secondary school participation and youth literacy rates. Current pressures impacting education in India include demographic shifts, urbanisation, massification, rapid globalisation, the impacts of technology, and the national and global mobility of students, programmes and institutions. These trends will continue. There is a critical need for reform of the curriculum at primary and secondary school level and an overhaul of assessment models at Class X and XII level.

Increasing competition in global markets has underpinned the conviction that countries need constant innovation to maintain their position. The pressing questions for education in India are: does the Indian education system nurture the creativity necessary to be innovative? How do students develop the capacity to work with others in teams and to innovate, and is there adequate provision in the curriculum for development of these skills? Should more emphasis be placed on "soft" skills such as the IB Learner Profile attributes? One of the key challenges in India is to engage the community in the notion of what it means to be educated. One requisite is for educators and students to expand their definition of success beyond marks achieved on the Board examinations and to personalise schooling so that every student has the opportunity to learn. The challenge is to have schools viewed as enterprises that acknowledge the realities of globalisation and the impact of new *technoscapes*³ but which value a holistic education. Reflective of these pressures, the key value proposition identified by educators in IB schools in India for adopting IB wholly relates

³ This terminology is used in relation to Appadurai's [1996, p. 26]) framework of 'scapes' detailed in Chapter 1 Section 4.1 page 6

to the perceived educational value and academic rigour of the IB programmes. More than 80% of survey respondents (in Chapter 4) cited educational and academic factors such as the educational value of a broad based holistic education, the need for an international education in an increasingly interconnected world and the associated pedagogy and assessment practices as key reasons schools chose IB programmes.

This background established, how then are the issues and trends confronting education in India being resolved? Following the recent general elections in early 2009, which saw the United Party Alliance returned to power, the newly appointed Human Resource Development Minister, Kapil Sibal, reiterated his commitment and resolve to begin what will undoubtedly prove to be a controversial process of reform. This chapter seeks to overview the shifting educational focus in the Indian education system at a national and at a curriculum and pedagogical level, in order to contextualize the uptake of the IB in that educational environment. An evaluation of the relative value of the IB Diploma as a global university matriculation qualification is considered in a climate of limited and highly competitive tertiary education opportunity within India itself.

6.2 PERCEPTIONS OF INDIAN EDUCATORS REGARDING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

"The Indian Curriculum is changing the IB way, moving toward inquiry based. CBSE the more established Board will take the lead. There is a changing notion of the profession. In India, starting with lighting the fire with teacher education, the motivation for going into teaching is gendered, it is perceived as a safe occupation for women. Teaching needs to be promoted as a non-gendered profession. IB could be instrumental, schools are prepared to pay more now for teachers therefore they are attracting a different group of well qualified people going into education"

Comment from Survey Respondent

Survey respondents were asked to respond to a range of questions regarding educational change and trends in India (Table 6.1). Interviewees were also asked

- 1. What do you believe are the major pressures and influences on education and schooling in India today?
- 2. What kinds of changes are taking place? What are the major trends that you see occurring with respect to teaching and learning?
- 3. What do you perceive to be the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Indian Board examinations?

Table 6.1 Educational Change in India - Perceptions of Educators

Educational Change in India To what extent do you agree/disagree that :	Likkert Score 1-5	% Strongly Agree or Agree
The IB is seen as an elitist programme in India	4.39	91.3
Globalization forces are a major factor driving educational change in India	4.18	91.3
Demand for the IB will continue to grow in India.	4.20	87.2
Parental expectations of education are changing amongst the educated classes in India	4.06	84.3
There is a shift from prescriptive classroom teaching to participatory interactive group learning	3.95	83.3
Educational change is really happening within and across the entire Indian education system	3.90	80.2
Focus is shifting from marks and grades to the need for a more holistic well balanced education	4.05	78.6
The IB <u>can</u> gain widespread University Acceptance amongst Colleges and Universities throughout India	3.98	77.0
In the Indian system there is a mismatch between the developmental capacities of children and curricular expectations and teaching and learning methods	3.81	75.4
Curriculum load in the Indian curriculum is a consequence of the high volume of obsolete and redundant facts	3.77	69.8
The status of the teaching profession in India has improved in the last decade	3.64	69.6
The IB will have an influence on educational policy and practice in India?	3.81	69.0
Growth of the IB in India is being driven by educational vision	3.65	65.0
The skills needs of a competitive knowledge economy are understood by Indian educators	3.59	62.9
Assessment models associated with Indian Board examinations are outmoded and no longer relevant in today's world	3.55	60

Source of Data: Survey of IB schools November 2008-March 2009

The vast majority of respondents strongly concur that the IB is regarded as an elitist programme in the Indian context but even so, they believe that demand for the IB will continue to grow. There is wide agreement that globalisation is a major factor driving educational change and that parental expectations of education are changing not only amongst the educated classes in India – poorer parents too are agitating for and supporting better educational opportunities for their children in the new India. Parents are demanding a less stressful, more child-centred holistic approach to schooling. In apportioning cause and effect, it is indisputable that there is a discernible shift at least in rhetoric from prescriptive classroom teaching to participatory

interactive group learning and the focus is shifting albeit very slowly from marks and grades to an appreciation of the need for a more holistic well balanced education. Certainly educational policy discourse on 'quality' improvement frequently refers to 'child-centred' pedagogic renewal and reform of assessment models. These educational shifts are slowly but perceptibly occurring within and across the entire Indian education system.

Traditionally in India, teaching as a profession has not been well regarded. As long ago as 1969, Shils (as cited in Ginsburg et al, 1988) noted that

"The Indian academic profession has suffered from having been born under three unlucky stars. It was unable, because of the poverty of the country, an unfortunately chosen constitutional model and an uncongenial cultural tradition, to develop vitality as an intellectual community with a variety of overlapping, more specialised intellectual subcommunities." (p 466)

Kumar (2005b, p21) believes its status has plummeted further. Whilst most respondents agree that the status of the teaching profession in India has improved in the last decade, there are concerns with respect to the ongoing status of the profession. It is feared that, in this neoliberal era, economic rationalism and managerialism, combined with commercialisation and globalisation, may produce erosion of trust and a degradation of teaching as a profession. Given the margins available to teachers in the premium elite "international school" sector i.e. access to salary levels of more than 30-40% above those paid to teachers in other private unaided schools, teaching at least in this market segment is more highly regarded than previously. It would appear that there is a qualification and salary differential and a greater degree of gender balance in the IB schools than is evident amongst teachers working in other segments.

A significant percentage of respondents believe that the IB will have an influence on educational policy and practice in India and that the IB can gain widespread University acceptance amongst Colleges and Universities throughout India. As evidence and in response to perceived pressure from growth of the IB and Cambridge in India, CBSE has recently formed an international committee to create a separate curriculum for schools outside India that are affiliated to the CBSE board. The committee, which

includes Principals of CBSE schools in Dubai, will work towards a curriculum that aims to be at par with other international curricula⁴. On the whole, whilst the survey indicates that a solid majority of respondents agree that

- 1. In the Indian system there is a mismatch between the developmental capacities of children and curricular expectations and teaching and learning methods (SD=1.03)
- 2. Curriculum load in the Indian curriculum is a consequence of the high volume of obsolete and redundant facts (SD = 1.12)and
- 3. Assessment models associated with Indian Board examinations are outmoded and no longer relevant in today's world (SD=1.1.7)

views were generally polarized on the survey. The interviewees themselves, however, were distinctly balanced about the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Indian system. There was a strong sense of loyalty to the existing system and its perceived rigour. The discipline derived from rote learning is cited as a virtue and the acceptability and the ready international market for Indian educated graduates is quoted as evidence. Respondents challenged the meaning of developmentally appropriate educational practices and rigorous curriculum arguing that these are socially constructed. What is considered inappropriate in western contexts might well be considered appropriate in the Indian situation.

6.3 CURRICULUM, ASSESSMENT AND PEDAGOGY - COMPARISONS, DIRECTIONS AND SHIFTS

In the present state of affairs, learning has been reduced to a part-time activity and teaching, instead of being broad based, it has been narrowed down to mere coaching. The final public examination at the end seems to dictate every movement in the classroom at all stages.

B.N.Dash (2004) Trends and issues in Education p249

Successive Commissions and Committees set up by the government have emphasized the necessity to make the curriculum and assessment more interesting, relevant, creative and useful for students. The National Curriculum Framework 2005 clearly articulated these needs. The National Knowledge Commission 2007 Report similarly emphasised the following:

2.11 Curriculum reform remains an important issue in almost all schools. School education must be made more relevant to the lives of children. There is need to move away from rote-learning to understanding concepts, good comprehension and communication skills and learning how to access knowledge independently

⁴ Afshan Ahmed, Dubai, Jun 27, 2009 "CBSE plans separate curriculum for schools outside India" Khaleej Times

2.12 Changes in the examination system are required, especially at Board level but also earlier, to ensure that the pressure for rote-learning is reduced

Nonetheless it appears that in a majority of schools across the country, emphasis on rote learning and memorisation of facts remains the norm. Until very recently, concerns over literacy levels, and the related issue of access to schooling, took precedence over debate around curricular content and assessment methodology. In the Indian system, there is an excessive dependence on examination based indicators yet examinations for certification do not reflect the quality of secondary education. In the last few years, the debate has shifted toward the content of school curricula and the nature of teaching and learning.

6.31 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IB AND INDIAN BOARD CURRICULA

The problem with our education system is that it is too bulky and the students are made to learn too much, too fast. It's clear we need immediate and rapid reforms.

Dr. Shyama Chona, Principal, Delhi Public School R.K Putnam⁵

Public debate around education derides the performance of government and municipal schools and the implicit assumption is that private schools particularly those in the upper market segments are performing well. However, this myth was challenged by the Educational Initiatives and Wipro Consultancy Study in 2006, which found that even in the 'top' schools in India, students seemed to learn mechanically and are only able to answer questions based on recall. Aggarwal (2008, p83) concluded that secondary education in India has been neglected in relation to the primary and tertiary sectors and consequently does not meet the requirements of modern Indian society. He identifies a list of defects in the secondary system:

- 1. It is bookish in nature
- 2. It is examination dominated
- 3. It is geared to university education
- 4. It prepares for clerical jobs, by and large
- 5. It is not self-employment oriented
- 6. It does not develop dignity of labour
- 7. It does not develop the necessary manpower for various industries
- 8. It is English dominated
- 9. The methods of teaching are usually dull and mechanical
- 10. It fails to develop good work habits

-

⁵ Reported in In *India Today* (2006) p48

Updating and revision of syllabi for the different school subjects is part of NCERT's responsibilities; reflecting its major objective as a research organization dedicated to education reform and modernisation. However, despite the Central Government (through NCERT) advocating national educational strategies and directions, conflicting initiatives by the different States confound consistent curriculum reforms within the country. In mid 2009, for example, the Government of Maharashtra issued a directive that all English medium schools affiliated to the 'All India' and Foreign Boards i.e. CBSE, CISCE, IB, and Cambridge are nonetheless required to:

- 1. adhere to the curricula of the Maharashtra Board for Stds I-V!
- 2. implement the State curriculum for Standard I to V from the next academic year (2010-11)
- 3. follow the three language formula up to Standard VIII
- 4. Marathi should be taught as a second language.

This policy is not particularly practicable for a mobile population within India itself and will have significant implications for those premium schools marketing themselves as "international" and/or those aiming to implement PYP⁶. Naturally, there is considerable resistance to this directive in *private unaided* school circles and a number of trusts and promoters are readying themselves for a court battle.

It is widely acknowledged that there is a high level of curriculum overload in the Indian system. An analysis of the Indian Board Science curriculum (by Sinha and Tripathy, 2005), for example, provides clear evidence that over time progressively more concepts have been added to the original 1960 science curriculum without any evaluation or reassessment of the existing content. Between the 1960s and the present day, the knowledge base of science has grown exponentially. This cumulative impact on the curriculum continued until very recently when academicians, parents, teachers and students began asserting that perhaps Indian students were overburdened with reading materials at the cost of learning processes. Sinha and Tripathy found that many concepts included in the syllabi and in textbooks are repetitive with outdated information still included. There is no scope to bring new knowledge and scientific

⁶ On May 25, 2009 the state department issued a government resolution (GR) declaring the phased introduction of Marathi as a compulsory subject for Stds I to IV in English and non-Marathi (e.g. Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati) medium schools. Yet the establishment of a Cambridge centre offering IGCSE, or IB authorization to offer the Diploma has no influence whatsoever on the curriculum being offered in the primary section of the school yet this subtlety is not generally appreciated by education officials or by parents choosing a school for their child.

understandings into the curriculum. Transaction of the science curriculum has become mechanical with understandings communicated solely through textbooks. There is no room for independent scientific investigation. This pattern is repeated in other subjects. Pant (2006, p16) concurs that in reality, students memorise a lot of facts and theories in Science but learn very little of the processes and attitudes.

For Indian schools considering educational alternatives for their students, interest in adopting the IB Middle Years Programme, which does focus on "learning to learn," has not been as pronounced as interest in the Diploma programme (and PYP). Secondary schools are generally affiliated to either a state board or to one of the 'All India' boards to offer the Class X Higher School Certificate (HSC) examination. There is huge societal buy in to these examinations by all classes of society. The economic compulsions of employment make Indian education competitive. Combined with this pressure there is a strong tradition of Class X examinations as a rite of passage amongst the children of the more educated Indian community. Parents and communities are highly wedded to Class X examinations as an indicator of reflective social success and are consequently very reluctant to have children follow a programme like the MYP, which does not have external examinations although it does provide certification. MYP certification is not widely appreciated or understood.

Consequently, in the last decade, Cambridge has captured significant market share amongst the emerging Indian private "international school" sector with the majority of these schools registering as CIE Centres and offering the IGCSE examinations. CIE claims to be "the world's largest provider of international qualifications for 14-19 year olds." CIE's assessment provision is designed to meet the needs of two segments of education, international and independent schools operating individually or as consortia of schools, and national examination systems operated through a number of government contracts. In mid 2009, there were more than 1,100 registered Cambridge International Centres worldwide, with over 200 of these located in India.

⁷ http://www.cie.org.uk/docs/profiles/media/CIE%20facts%20and%20figures.pdf

⁸ Taken from the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicates Annual Report 2005-2006

Nearly three quarters of Indian IB schools adopting PYP and DP offer the IGCSE examinations (as evidenced in Table 6.2) and more than one-third offer CBSE or ICSE board exams. Typically, those also offering CBSE/ICSE are established schools that have added the IB Diploma more recently. The current Government proposals to abolish Board exams at Class X, muted in mid 2009, may impact these patterns.

Table 6.2 :
Alternative Educational Programmes Offered in IB Schools in India (June 2009)

PROGRAMMES ON OFFER	Numbers Offering	Percentage of Schools Surveyed
Cambridge Primary Programme	7	11%
Cambridge Lower Secondary Programme	7	11%
Cambridge IGCSE	46	74%
Cambridge A Level	12	19%
Other International programmes e.g. AP, Ontario	4	6%
CBSE HSC Class X	8	13%
CBSE HSC +2	6	10%
ICSE HSC Class X	15	24%
ISE HSC +2	8	13%
Schools affiliated with other Indian Boards e.g. State Boards	5	8%
Schools accredited by an international accreditation agency (e.g. CIS, WASC)	6	10%
TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS WITH VERIFIABLE DATA	62	100%

Source of Data: Individual School Websites crosschecked with file data and survey data Some schools are counted a number of times e.g. one school offers IBDP, ICSE and IGCSE

India's educational system has traditionally been oriented towards clearly focused disciplines e.g. "hard sciences" or commerce. In contrast to many state curricula that encourage more streamed specialization and disciplinarity at this stage of schooling⁹, the IB Diploma is generally described in terms of its balanced, reflective, integrated and holistic approach to education. The recently completed comparative analysis of the IB Diploma with CBSE and ICSE pre-University qualifications (Krishnan et al, 2009) identified some key comparators between the three pre-University qualifications in terms of their curriculum models. It specifically analysed the stated aims and objectives of teaching each of the designated subject areas Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, English, Economics and History, and provided an analysis of course

⁹ As noted in the Australian Council of Educational Research (2006) report, p3

content and associated learning processes and skills, and the standard of performance in terms of assessment schemes. Some of the key conclusions reached subject wise, highlight the differences between IB and the Indian boards:

While specifed aims and objectives of teaching history by the CBSE and ISC board appeared to be more discipline centered, it is the IB course, which aimed at a balance between discipline, learner and society centeredness.

Though, all the three boards have laid emphasis on the understanding of economic concepts and the ability to apply them in varied situations ... the IB course has specifically taken care of the effective development of analytical, critical and evaluative abilities of the learners. The Indian boards in their stated aims, have chosen to

Box 6.1

How is IB different from, say, CBSE? Is it only for gifted children? Can my 'normal' child cope up with IB?

The IB programme is more practical and application-based. It has a broader spectrum of subjects that lead to all-round development.

IB examinations test students' knowledge, not their memory and speed. There are no examinations till the Middle Years Programme (Class 10). The focus of the IB pedagogy is on 'how to learn' rather than 'what to learn'.

There are no prescribed textbooks; students can choose their own books.

The purpose of IB is to produce global citizens.

The IB curriculum is more challenging than educational boards like CBSE and ICSE. But the challenge is in the quality of assignments, not in the amount of work assigned.

Rohit Tikmany | January 24, 2005 http://www.rediff.com/getahead/2005/jan/24ib.htm

develop sensitivity towards contemporary economic issues in India.

The hexagon core of the IB Diploma requires a Theory of Knowledge course and this has been a particular area of challenge in Indian schools where students with little background in critical writing, philosophy or epistemology find the transition from Indian Board curriculum to IB studies particularly problematic. All of the IB programmes are premised on core values of active global citizenship, critical enquiry and intercultural understanding with a strong tradition in the study of languages. Indian central and the state board curricula have generally adopted a 3 language requirement at primary and lower secondary level. Students are taught in different language medium but whatever the language of instruction they learn the state language, Hindi and English. English as the medium of instruction used to be the prerogative of the wealthy classes but English is rapidly gaining traction in India even in low fee paying schools. There is, however, a dearth of teachers competent in English and able to teach in these various sectors yet parents still continue to flock to English medium schools (both municipal and private) forcing class ratios as high as 85 in Mumbai Municipal Schools with significant consequences for learner outcomes.

It could be argued that language choices are indicative of the levels of 'national mindedness' being promoted in IB schools in India. India has more languages than any other country - fifteen main languages and hundreds of other languages (Cheney et al, 2005 p2). So the fact that very few schools offer Hindi A1 (11 schools globally but only 4 in India in 2009 i.e. 48 students in total) is understandable. It is not the mother tongue of most students. But even fewer students study their state language at mother tongue level. Besides Urdu, 9 students offered Bengali A1. The majority of Indian students study Hindi B SL or a European Language as their second language. Heyward (2002) defines intercultural literacy as the competencies, understandings, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities necessary for effective crosscultural engagement. It could be hypothesized that this pattern is reflective of the perceived lack of economic currency and global cultural capital that competency in mother tongue conveys. Students are only targeting intercultural literacy in as much as it enhances global market competitiveness. The extent to which these trends will erode the cultural legacy of this group of students and the degree to which the IB is implicated is an area of focus the IB should be concerned with.

6.32 ASSESSMENT CHALLENGES – THE IB in the MIDST OF REFORM INITIATIVES

For curriculum reform to be successful, it is necessary to make major changes in the examination system. This applies equally to some of the national school boards (such as CBSE) and the state level boards. It is also crucial to push for such reform in the annual examinations held by schools, where the testing must be focussed on language and comprehension, numeric and quantitative skills, and ability to use knowledge creatively.

National Knowledge Commission 2007

The Indian Education System is generally marks-based. The examinations system at Class X and XII level is highly competitive and very high stakes. It is blamed annually for a high number of cases of depression and suicides amongst students. The NKC Report 2007 highlights an over-emphasis on details and memorization of facts rather than on understanding and accessing knowledge independently. This overemphasis is reflected in the pattern of examinations. Board examinations in which marks are awarded based on the ability to recall lots of details or on rapidity of response or on the ability to do large numbers of sums in a limited period through practice in pattern recognition, are not sufficiently discriminatory and may end up providing misleading

results. Examination pressures force schools to ensure that memory and pattern recognition skills are developed at the expense of genuine understanding. This pressure is also emulated in the annual examinations which many schools continue to run even for very junior classes such as Class III and Class V. Performance in such examinations then becomes the basis for choosing students who will be eligible for scholarships or who gain entrance to *Navodaya Vidyalayas* and similar schools. The NKC recommends that forcing children to undergo a large number of examinations in different subjects, with an emphasis on memory rather than comprehension, must be discouraged at the primary level.

The tendency to link quality with visible indicators and accountability can only exacerbate the problem that the discourse of quality is attempting to address. Guile (in Lauder, 2006) emphasizes the need in educational policy terms to consider how educationists can foster the appropriate capabilities for learners to participate in knowledge cultures. If policy makers are serious about considering the relationship between education and the knowledge economy, they need to move away from the emphasis on credentials acquired through batteries of tests and exams.

The recent comparative analysis of the IB Diploma with CBSE and ICSE pre-University qualifications (Krishnan et al, 2009) identified some key comparators between the three programmes in terms of their assessment models.

All the three boards with a little variation have emphasized on Mathematics assessment based on procedure, accuracy, answers with reasoning and interpretation. IB has a little edge over the two Indian boards as its portfolio work enabled the board to have a better insight into the learning processes resulting in a relatively comprehensive assessment.

The application of mathematical skill and processes was found in the presentation of course content only in IB Biology. All the three boards have drawn questions directly on the concepts and required application skills outlined in the respective Biology curriculum guides. In the IB assessment scheme, the application and analysis of data were taken care of and the use of calculators was encouraged, whereas it was absent in the CBSE and ISC schemes.

The uniqueness in the IB assessment scheme in Economics was the development of a portfolio of commentaries based on application of economic theories and principles to the real world situations drawn from the course content. The external assessment in the form of written examination was based on interpretation of historical sources as well as theoretical content drawn from all the sections of the syllabus. The internal assessment in IB was well structured

and detailed whereas it was absent in the other boards. The assessment in the CBSE and ISC courses was only external in nature and the questions for the written examination were drawn directly from the course content. The assessment of multiple perspectives arrived by analyzing a variety of primary historical sources was encouraged by the IB board only.

Neither of the Indian Boards have mechanisms in place for the assessment of internal coursework. Another key difference between the IB diploma and the Indian Boards is that the IB grading system is criterion referenced which means that each IB student's performance is measured against well defined levels of achievement. These criteria are consistent from one examination session and the next and are applied equally to all schools. ICSE and CBSE by comparison are norm referenced models of assessment.

Although the prime focus of the CBSE Board is declared on its website to be 10

- Innovations in teaching-learning methodologies Reforms in examinations and evaluation practices.
- Skill learning by adding job-oriented and job-linked inputs.
- Regularly updating the pedagogical skills of the teachers and administrators by conducting in service training programmes and workshops

these particular changes are happening at an incredibly slow pace. In mid 2009, the MinHRD minister, Kapil Sibal, muted the idea of transforming CBSE into an International Board¹¹, which like the IB and Cambridge would be offered to students around the world as an alternate system of learning and evaluation. This curriculum is due to be launched in April, 2010¹². CBSE is undoubtedly the most innovative board and the board, most in line with policies and practices advocated by NCERT, however, skeptics have questioned the skillsets, understandings and inclinations within CBSE needed to actually make it competitive as a curriculum provider in the international market. Marketing and selling a curriculum internationally will not automatically make CBSE an "international education" provider. Reportedly, the Sciences, English and Mathematics curricula will remain largely unchanged for the international board, but the Social Sciences curriculum has been revised. Internationalising the curriculum is almost certainly a challenge that will extend well beyond adding some non-Indian exemplars into the History syllabus.

¹⁰ CBSE website http://www.cbse.nic.in/welcome.htm

¹¹ **Urmi Goswami** Sibal plans to pull global students in CBSE schools Article in Economic Times 5 Nov 2009

¹² Anubhuti Vishnoi CBSE to go international next week Posted: Thursday, Mar 25, 2010

The argument nonetheless is that CBSE already has a global brand, with schools affiliated to it in 23 countries¹³. The aim is to internationalise CBSE so that it becomes an option not only for Indians or Indian expatriate students. Leveraging on its global presence, CBSE will seek to become the "best gateway for higher education in India." According to the MinHRD,

"The focus will be on countries that send a large number of students to India for higher studies.students opting for India as destination for higher education will opt for CBSE." This would make Africa, West Asia and South East Asia, the initial catchment area for the "international CBSE."

The idea of transforming CBSE into an international board is part of the effort to make India a global education player.¹⁴ This effort would form part of the reform process in school education currently being undertaken by the ministry.

CBSE is also reportedly planning to move to grades rather than marks. The Grading procedure, finalised by a committee headed by CBSE chairman, Veenith Joshi, will use a nine-point scale which will start from A1 (with 91-100 marks, exceptional), A2 (81-90, excellent), B1 (71-80, very good), B2 (61-70, good), C1 (51-60, fair), C2 (41-50, average) and so on. In a circular dated September 20, 2009, CBSE released a schedule and set of guidelines for schools to convert to a 'Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation' system, which will require them to conduct formative and summative assessment of Class IX students in their second term, commencing October, 2009. The use of the term 'formative' is totally misleading in this directive, however, as grades from coursework will be incorporated into the final grade. This so named 'formative' assessment will be based on a whole range of grades from interviews, quizzes, project work and practical assignments.

The minister had proposed making all class X board examinations throughout India optional for students continuing in the same school, by 2010. The long-term goal appears to be that the state boards will affiliate to a uniform system. The realities are

¹³ Over 10,000 schools are affiliated to the CBSE, with 125 of them outside the country, mostly in Gulf countries. Most of the 25 schools affiliating to the international CBSE board are thus from the Middle East.

¹⁴ **Urmi Goswami** 5 Nov 2009, *Sibal plans to pull global students in CBSE schools* Article in Economic Times

though that doing away with the various class XII board examinations and moving to a single examination will take some time because of state differences in the quality of examination boards. The minister has confirmed that the proposal for making the class X examination optional was a long pending one and nothing would be done without consensus.¹⁵

Undaunted by critics within his own party, the Minister's proposals are highly controversial. However, it still remains to be seen whether these changes are implemented as proposed. In September, 2009, it was announced¹⁶

It's official. There will be no Class X board examination in CBSE schools in 2011. While there will be a board exam for Class X in 2010, grading system, based on continuous and comprehensive evaluation by schools, will kick in this year itself. Students in schools with classes only till X will have to take an "online/ offline/on demand" assessment test for seeking admission in Class XI.

Yet just 2 months later, after much controversy, Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, declared that the scraping of the Class 10 examinations is an experiment that is still being debated and that he felt no decision should be taken in haste¹⁷. Nonetheless, HRD Minister Kapil Sibal has confirmed the government's endeavour is to have one examination nationwide after Class XII for university admissions¹⁸. On February 16th, 2010, he announced that all school boards across India will have a common curriculum in science and mathematics for Classes X and XII from the 2011 academic year to give students a level playing field and help them in competitive examinations¹⁹.

These proposals are not new. The proposed reforms have been part of an ongoing debate for several years. In 2005, the Kerala government introduced a grades-based system in the hope that it will help students to move away from the relentless competition and rote-learning and enable schools to focus on creative aspects and personality development as well. The National Curriculum Framework in 2005 had proposed making the class X board examinations optional. The NCERT focus group on

¹⁵ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: Sibal's not the one to be bogged down by critics - 1 Jul 2009

¹⁶ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: Class X exams optional from 2011; grading from this year Sep 07, 2009

¹⁷ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: Abolition of 10th board exam still being debated: PM 14 Nov 2009

¹⁸ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: Sibal makes a case for private investment in education sector 16 Jul 2009

¹⁹ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: Common maths, science course for all schools from 2011 16 Feb 2010

examination reforms reiterated this idea in 2006. In early 2008, the *Lok Sabha* called an all-party meeting to review the schooling system to make education less stressful, more student-friendly and more relevant. Many educators still believe that these reforms at Class X are only a small step in the right direction.

"It's half a measure. The real problem is the Class XII exam. That gives real stress to students and teachers and it creates an irrational system where a girl with 92.2% marks gets into Delhi's Lady Shri Ram College and another one with 92% doesn't." ²⁰

6.33 CURRICULUM TRANSACTION and PEDAGOGY IN INDIAN IB SCHOOLS

"Dynamic Learning is entirely fruitful for living beings. The static education in the classroom on the other hand causes a divorce between the body and the mind without initiative. The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence."

"A teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. A lamp never lights another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame. The teacher who has come to an end of his subject, who has no living traffic with his knowledge merely repeats his lesson to his students can only loads to their mind. He cannot quicken them Truth not only must inform but also must inspire if the inspriation dies out and the information only accumulates then truth losses its infinity. The greater part of our learning in the school has been a waste because of most of our teacher their subjects are like dead specimens of once living things with which they have a learned acquaintance but no communication of life and love"

Rabindranath Tagore²¹

Despite Tagore's admonishments more than seventy years ago and the high profile of his wise words posted prominently in many educational institutions around the country, there is little evidence in the majority of Teacher Training institutions and classrooms that educators and teachers understand the import of these ideas and know how to transact them in their everyday reality. As Jacobs and Asokan (2003) and many others have identified, many of the teaching methods established in India's schools are based on outdated practices that have outlived their value and utility.

"Simultaneous with the quantitative expansion of the educational system, there needs to be a concerted effort to experiment with new approaches to education that will increase the quality and speed of knowledge transmission."

The National Curriculum Framework 2005 proposed a new paradigm of schooling to support child-centric education and an attempt to link it with life outside school.

²⁰ Quote in newspaper article by **Shobhan Saxena,** (2009). *Rote learning vs free thinking* posted 13 September

²¹ Both Quotes are from **Rabindranath Tagore** (1861-1941) Nobel Laureate; revered Poet, Philosopher, Musician, Writer, Educator, social reformist.

Kumar (2004) contends that child-centredness cannot be disseminated as a slogan, nor can joyful learning take place unless teachers are given a theoretical understanding and self confidence to sustain the pedagogy, and not merely exhorted or pressurized to follow it for the sake of certain outcomes. Despite policy direction from the NCERT, the reality is though in many classrooms in India little has changed. Constrained by limited resources and huge class sizes of 60+ in the Government Sector and 45-55 in the lower fee paying state board sector, teachers understandably retain a very teacher centred approach. In a majority of schools across the country, as the National Knowledge Commission Report, 2007 affirms, the emphasis on rote-learning and memorizing facts remains the norm.

Rajput (2003) in the Vision 2020 Education Paper noted that qualitative improvements in education should reflect a change in pedagogical methods and lay emphasis on several dimensions, including:

- A shift from methods that emphasize passive learning to those that foster the active interest and ability of children to learn on their own.
- A shift from rote memorisation to development of children's capacity for critical thinking.
- A shift from traditional academic to practically relevant curriculum.
- A shift from imparting information to imparting life values such as independent thinking, self-reliance and individual initiative that are essential for success in any field of endeavour.

Efforts to improve the "quality" of education for all in government primary schools in India has admittedly seen some shift towards child-centred teaching. Sriprakash (2009) examined the *Nali Kali* "Joyful Learning" programme, an example of a pedagogic reform implemented in rural primary schools in the southern Indian state of Karnataka but his analysis reveals how the social controls of knowledge acquisition can remain unchallenged, and hidden, by the rhetoric of this child-centred pedagogy. Teachers are as uncomfortable with the weaker control of knowledge acquisition in the *Nali Kali* pedagogy as they are when they are first implementing IB programmes in the elite *private unaided* sector.

The major issue then directly implicating successful IB programme implementation is the fact that as Shotton asserted in 1998²², "India persists to predominate in a paradigm of didactic pedagogy".

Most local teachers struggle with: student-centered (or activity-centered) approach, facilitating discussion in a mature and focused way, maintaining discipline without resorting to being authoritarian and abusive, promoting the IB values in their teaching.

Quote from a teacher in an IB authorized school

So these issues are not restricted to the middle and lower strata schools. Chengappa and Maheshwari, (2006) in their article²³ "What's wrong with our teaching?" collated the results of a major survey of students in 142 of India's top private schools. This study revealed a significant gap in learning in key subjects. When compared to students in 43 other countries, Indian schools performed well below international levels. Chengappa and Maheshwari paint a dismal picture of student learning in the country's premier schools. They concluded that:

- Students appear to be learning mechanically rather than truly understanding the concepts
- Students performed exceedingly well only when the answers could be mugged up from textbooks but perform badly on those needing interpretation and analysis
- Performance on questions testing comprehension was far below acceptable levels
- Students slotted learning into artificial compartments and their ability to apply what they learnt to real life situations was extremely poor
- Class IV students in Indian schools performed far below average by international Mathematics and Science standards
- Language is being learnt less as integral and useful and more as a subject for a test the focus is on grammar

Mayank Sinha, a student, who switched to an IB school after completing Class X at an ICSE school, was reported as believing that:

"The Indian board exam system encourages rote learning at the cost of real learning. The IB creates deep-sea divers and the Indian curricula create long-distance swimmers in the ocean of knowledge."²⁴

A parent quoted in the Times of India, June 2007, makes a similar distinction when relating her impressions of an IB school

"Here the pressure is not on cramming for exams. Children are busy researching for projects round the year, applying themselves intelligently and without fear of failing, as they can appear for appraisals twice a year and get their credits."

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²² Quote in Book Review by **Rita Chawla-Duggan** of Shotton, J.R. (1998) *Learning and Freedom : policy, pedagogy and paradigms in Indian education and schooling* New Delhi, Sage Publications

²³ This article was based on the Wipro Consultancy article

²⁴ Shobhan Saxena, 13 September 2009, Rote learning vs free thinking Taken from a Newspaper on-line article

as does a Teacher from the Doon School, also quoted in the Times of India²⁵

"The IB creates an environment where experiences and opportunities are created in the classroom thereby encouraging an inquiring mind. In IB the student gets to plan, research and arrive at a conclusion, whereas in the present Indian curriculum both student as well as the teacher are racing against time to complete the mandatory hours for the year-end examination."

In the middle and higher fee category of *private unaided* schools, where class sizes are relatively smaller but generally still 40+, the quality of teaching and learning seems highly dependent on the style of leadership and whether school leadership inspires and enables a more progressive culture and ethos in the school. In general though the pressure to cover a huge quantity of content and the highly prescriptive nature of the Board required texts dictates a teacher centred focus. There is little time for individual student needs or teaching for understanding despite the contention of Sanjiv Kumar, who runs three branches of DPS schools, that "CBSE Board's progressive reforms are in sync with a learner-friendly environment that these international schools boast of." Being a good teacher according to Beck, 2008, includes the capacity to make use of all major approaches and to refine each of them. Working with student competencies means being able to stimulate the learners' ability to reproduce existing knowledge; being able to discuss and challenge existing knowledge and able to apply subject discourses to simple and complex problem solving.

Students need to think about ways in which not only the world but the cosmos is much more complex than we have hitherto imagined. If they embrace complexity, they will not jump to ready solutions. They will not think in formulaic terms.....

Azim Nanji²⁶

These are not skill sets routinely found in Indian classrooms.

In Indian schools in general there is a need to orient students more towards independent and continuous learning. According to the National Knowledge Commission Report of 2007, in several states, learning results have improved considerably upon providing inputs for communication and comprehension in language and basic mathematical skills using activity-based and imaginative pedagogical strategies. The NKC maintains that the focus of primary schooling in

²⁵ Also in the article by **Shobhan Saxena**, 13 September 2009, *Rote learning vs free thinking*

²⁶ Azim Nanji, Director of the Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS), London, U.K. IB Peterson lecture, Geneva, May 2003

particular must be on good language and communication skills, basic foundation maths and inculcation of self-learning and critical examination through innovative teaching methods. It is also important to ensure that the curriculum contains locally relevant content that children can relate it to their own lives. It is on these understandings that IB philosophy and practice is predicated.

"The appraisals are not based on one correct answer. So the child thinks, reasons and ratifies with personal response"

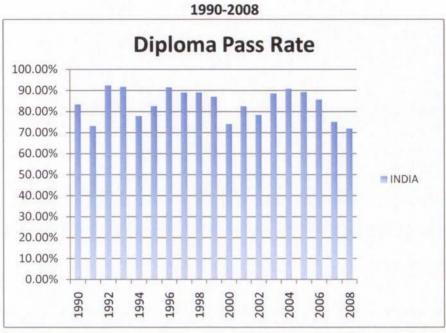
Comment from respondent PYP teacher

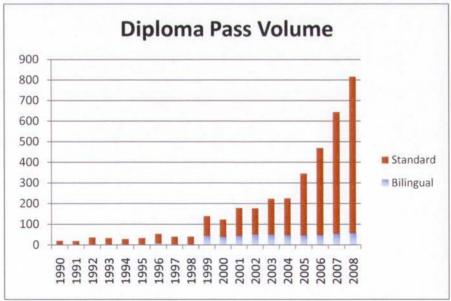
Cross-cultural differences in learning configurations can be readily found in the academic literature. Balagangadhara and his colleagues (in Van Oord, 2007) have mostly drawn comparisons between Western and Asian culture, stressing the difference between theory-oriented learning in the former and performative-oriented learning in the latter. Van Oord (2007) contends that the theory-oriented way of teaching that has evolved from the Christian paradigm has led to the emergence of conceptual learning as the dominant kind of learning. Likewise, he argues that Asian ritual has had the functional equivalent role as orthodox theology has had in the west. In Asian culture, performative learning appears to dominate over other kinds of learning. The debate needed is the extent to which teaching and learning practices in Indian schools are cultural rather than institutional.

For many students transitioning from the Indian school system into an IB programme is a challenge, particularly at the senior secondary level. Learning configurations theory may inform discussion about that challenge. For many years, the numbers of Indian nationals sitting the IB Diploma remained fairly insignificant. Once the first cohorts from the newly authorized schools began sitting the Diploma in more significant numbers, however, in about 2006, a worrying decline in Diploma pass rates was identified (Figures 6.1). An observable pattern has emerged. Schools new to the Diploma typically have a lower pass rate in the first few years. On tracking the pattern in individual schools it is apparent that after two or three years, pass rates begin to steadily improve then level off (if the student typology is consistent year on year) as teachers become familiar with the methodologies of the Diploma and schools prepare

students more effectively to enter the programme. Most respondents in the case study assessed that it takes students coming from the Indian Board schools up to six months to develop the requisite skills to tackle the DP programme. Established schools perform as well or better than the global average.

Figure 6.1 Changing Diploma Pass Rates and Volume for Indian Nationals by year



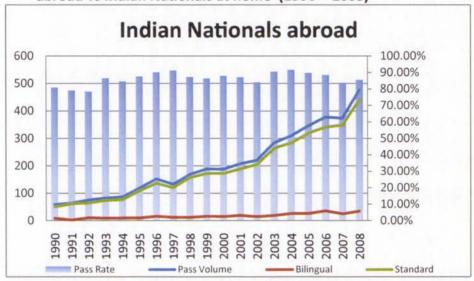


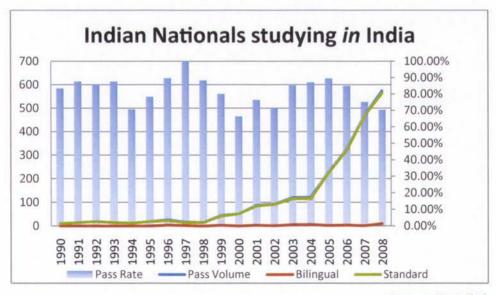
Source: IB statistical data

An increasing number of expatriate and emigrant Indian nationals are studying for the IB Diploma around the world. Figure 6.2 shows that by 2008 the numbers of Indian nationals studying at home in India was about the same as the number of Indian

nationals abroad undertaking the course. Interestingly, the global average pass rate for students who study the Diploma abroad is significantly higher in general than for those who study the IB in their home country. The pass rate for Indian nationals abroad has hovered between 80-85% annually over the last five years — consistent with or slightly above the global average.

Figure 6.2 Changing Diploma Pass Rates and Volume for Indian Nationals abroad vs Indian Nationals at home (1990 – 2008)





Source: IB statistical data

With increasing numbers of students within India, however, there has been a marked slide in pass rates over the last three years to below 70%. Figure 6.1 illustrates the decline in pass rates for Indian nationals worldwide in recent years as the number of Indian nationals completing the IB Diploma increases year on year.

It is believed that these trends are reflective of the challenges faced by both teachers and students in making the paradigm shift to an educational model that demands research and writing skills and the demonstration of critical and analytical thinking. Students used to rote learning have difficulty with tasks that require a broader skill-set in the cognitive domain: application, comprehension, analysis and synthesis of knowledge. Teachers in newly authorized schools are challenged to expand their pedagogical repertoire beyond teacher centred coaching to student directed activity in order to facilitate the development of these skills. A student teacher relationship of mutuality rather than traditional teacher control and student passivity is necessary for this new curriculum transaction archetype.

6.4 UNIVERSITY ACCESS and GLOBAL CHOICES

"Besides, studying in an international school prepares my kids for an easy transition to colleges abroad."

Parent comment reported in the media

6.41 HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

It needs to be recognised that societal, parental and peer pressure are also responsible for increase of stress among the schoolchildren, particularly as they have to compete for the few places available in premium academic institutions.

M.A.A. Fatmi, Minister of State for Human Resource Development.

THE HINDU Tuesday, Mar 18, 2008

Indian education system has its both negatives and positives like the lack of quality institutions in India, and the large student base. So both these factors are working as bait to attract foreign universities to India. These universities are collaborating with Indian institutes to make a confident foray into the country's education system and to fill the voids that have been left by the Indian system.

Quote from report "Education Services Market in India (2007)" by RNCOS

Asia's first modern universities were established in 1857 in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The system of higher education in India has seen impressive but nonetheless inadequate growth since then and since independence. Total enrollment in higher education has increased from 0.1 million in 1947 to 10.5 million in 2005-06²⁷ and to a substantive 12 million in 2009²⁸ but only 7 per cent of Indians in the 18-24 age group are currently entering higher education. These patterns in India mirror other transitional economies where there is a dearth of quality tertiary provision. This global

²⁷ Figures obtained from the market research report "Education Services Market in India (2007)" by RNCOS

²⁸ Figures obtained from Netscribes (India) Pvt. Ltd., Higher Education - India Aug 2009

inequality is then reflected in the number of Indian students moving to OECD countries for higher education (Figure 6.4).

An analysis of the tertiary education growth drivers in a recent *Netscribes* 2009 Study identified a growing middle class with the ability to afford a private education, India's demographic advantages, a poor perception of alternative education streams, growing private players due to large demand-supply gap and expenditure on foreign education. Recent initiatives by the government to address these challenges include the introduction of National Commission for Higher Education and Research (NCHER), the Foreign Educational Institutions Bill of 2007, provisions for higher education under the 11th Five Year Plan, the Congress to the Foreign Educational Institution (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill, 2010 seeking to allow foreign universities to set up campuses in the country and the passing of the *Right to Education* Bill.

In recent years, the higher education system in the country has seen similar if not more pronounced changes than the changes already described in the schooling sector with the emergence of a whole new class of private education provision, including private institutes, distance education providers, the introduction of self-financing courses in public institutions, and the eligibility of foreign education providers to enter the market. The National Commission for Higher Education and Research (NCHER) Bill, for example, is arguably an overdue response from the Central government to meet the demand for effecting changes in higher education. Both the Knowledge Commission and Yash Pal Committee have according to Panikkar²⁹ (2010) placed their trust in an all powerful commission to 'rejuvenate' a system which had been stagnant for long. India's Higher Education Market is now estimated to be worth INR 6.5 Billion and is expected to grow at 12% per annum according to the Netscribes report. Investment in higher education has been a critical issue for the viable development of higher education system in the country. The "Indian Education Services - A Hot Opportunity" 2009 study found that public expenditure on education is significantly lower than that of many developed or developing countries.

²⁹ Quote from Interview with G. Krishnakumar published in The Hindu, 01 March, 2010

"One of the major reasons for low education funding in India is the relatively low involvement of private sector investments. The private sector should come forward in the endeavor to ensure that higher education is of high quality and at par with the international standards"

Senior Analyst at RNCOS

In seeking to address educational infrastructure needs, the Indian government enhanced its focus on education in the eleventh Five Year Plan, aiming to set up at least 30 central universities, 8 IITs, 7 IIMs, 10 NITs and 20 IIITs. This will require huge investments that could be met through the development of appropriate public-private partnerships. There also exists high potential for the growth of educational institutions funded and managed solely by private providers or foreign Universities, particularly in the educational fields of medicine, management, or certain branches of engineering, where seats in publicly run institutions are particularly limited.

India already has one of the world's largest and most diverse tertiary education systems. According to information obtained from the University Grants Commission website³⁰, in early 2009, there were 388 Degree granting institutions (as of 16.8.2007) including those registered under Section 2 (f) of the UGC Act, 1956. Of the 232 State universities and 11 Private Universities, 161 universities are recognized by the UGC for grants under Section 12B of the UGC Act. These Degree granting institutions comprise:

- 221 State Universities, including 41 in Maharashtra, 35 in Tamil Nadu, 35 in Uttar Pradesh, 25 in Karnataka, 24 in Andhra Pradesh, 22 in Rajasthan and 21 in Gujarat
- 24 Central Universities
- 11 Private Universities
- 114 Institutions Deemed to be Universities
- 13 Institutions of National Importance and
- 5 Institutions established under State legislations.

The number of colleges affiliated to these institutions had risen to 17,625 by 2005 and is estimated at more than 20,000 at the beginning of 2010.

According to the National Knowledge Commission, though, this number is simply not enough in terms of both quantity and quality to meet India's ongoing and future

http://www.ugc.ac.in/inside/statistics.html downloaded 8 May, 2009 The RNCOS, Jan 2010 report however indicates that India has over 400 universities and more than 20,000 colleges serving the current student base and notes that if the country wishes to achieve its target of getting 21 Million students enrolled for higher education annually by 2012, it will require huge investments for the development of its higher education infrastructure.

needs for higher education e.g. the country has not been able to adequately meet the constantly growing needs for medical professionals in the country. This is reflected in the fact that there remains shortage of healthcare service professionals i.e. doctors and nurses among others, with extensive disparities existing not only between urban and rural India, but also between various states of the country. RNCOS analysis (2010) concludes that if India wants to increase its doctors to patient ratio to the global average of 15, the country would require several million more doctors to meet the growing demand for healthcare services.

Kaushik (2007) also contends that educational resources must be expanded by government at all levels but the Indian Government has argued that it is committed to achieving advanced economy status through a 'leap frog' process. Standards of education in Indian Universities and Colleges vary considerably. It is understood that nations with strong research universities are better able to compete in the international marketplace of ideas and innovation. Any country — especially in the developing world — striving to participate in the global knowledge economy must recognize the power of such institutions to transform society.

"We have failed to understand the basic difference between a college and a university which led to a confusion about deemed-to-be-universities. An institute which is not creating wealth through research, interdisciplinary studies and does not have centres of excellence cannot be called a university"

Kapil Sibal, Minister of Human Resources and Development³¹.

When the policy for higher education in India was originally formulated, a two-tier system was adopted: the Central universities were established under the responsibility of the Central Government and State Universities under the control of the State Governments. Most of the Universities in India are affiliating universities, which prescribe curriculum and examinations for the courses to be offered at the affiliated colleges. Most of these affiliating Indian universities are extremely large and unwieldy bodies limited in their ability to assure academic standards and provide good governance. The University of Delhi for instance had 83 listed Colleges in February, 2009. The average College has between 5,000 and 10,000 registered students.

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³¹ Quote from online newspaper article *Innovation and research to steer India's knowledge economy* Feb 15, 2010

Mumbai similarly has more than 80 affiliated colleges. The NKC has rightly identified the need to create more appropriately scaled universities.

The University Grants Commission (UGC) holds a large measure of responsibility for negotiating the excellence versus equity dilemma. Higher Education in India is controlled and maintained by the University Grants Commission. The UGC was established in 1952 as a statutory body of the Government of India in order to evaluate and maintain standards in universities. The UGC is the only grant giving agency that has been vested with both providing and coordinating funds, and determining and maintaining standards in institutions of higher education.

On the one hand there are the IIMs and IITs that rank among the best institutes in the world and on the other hand there are number of colleges in the country that do not even have basic infrastructure and where resourcing and the quality of teaching and learning is questionable. Only six Universities in the whole country rank in the world's top 400 according to the 2009 Times Higher Education - QS World University Rankings, which were released in October 2009. Jawaharlal Nehru University appears in the top 100 subject ranking for the arts and humanities and the University of Delhi and the University of Calcutta make the top 200. The well documented skills gap in India reflects the narrow availability of high-quality college education in India. It is estimated that although more than 3 million students graduate from Indian universities every year, only 25% of engineering graduates and 10-15% of other graduates have the necessary skills for immediate work. Most jobs today require skills³² that schooling and university degrees in India do not impart.

In an ambitious effort to increase the number of institutes of excellence as well as upgrade standards, the Indian government is actively courting agreements with recognised top institutions. An example of the type of co-operation envisaged is the planned tie-up with Imperial College, which involves support with the establishment

³² Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: Published:15 October, 2008 *Skills shortage in India*

of an Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) at Ropar³³. Yale University has agreed to collaborate as a "small measure" by developing an India-Yale Leadership Program in areas like curriculum development, faculty development and academic planning.

Over 11 million students study at conventional universities, specialty institutions, professional and generic colleges, management institutions, and institutions for medicine and engineering. The medium of instruction in these institutions is invariably English except for a few that teach arts subjects or humanities in regional languages. Many argue that the present admissions procedures in professional education and especially the IIMs are skewed to favour those who have social or economic privilege. While it is important for India to produce top quality graduates, it is equally important that the opportunity to gain a degree is not restricted to privileged communities. Tilak (1994, p 182) identified this trade-off between mass education and higher education in India nearly twenty years ago. Genuine political will is needed to correct these inequities.

Competition for places in the top Colleges is fierce. St Stephens College of the University of Delhi, for example, received more than 21,000 applications for just over 400 seats in 2009. Consequently the cut-off percentages for admissions in 2009 evidenced a steep rise of between one and five per cent.³⁴ Economics saw a rise of one per cent across the board, taking the 2009 cut-off to a 97 per cent average for Commerce stream students. Maths (Hons) also saw a rise with the cut- offs reaching 94.5 per cent. Securing a place at some of the top colleges in India e.g. St Stephens or Hindu College of the University of Delhi is arguably at least or more difficult than securing a place at an Ivy League institution, like Harvard.

³³ Taken from a Times of India Newspaper on-line article: *India to ink 5 education MoUs with UK* Jan 11, 2010

³⁴ Taken from a Newspaper on-line article: St Stephen's cut-offs leave little room at the top Posted: Jun 18, 2009

6.42 IB RECOGNITION IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES – STATUS, ONGOING ISSUES AND DIRECTIONS

In April 1994, a recognition and acceptance agreement for the IB Diploma was approved by the Association of Indian Universities. Consequently, he IB Diploma is recognised as an entry qualification for all Universities in India. Notwithstanding this agreement, however, students undertaking studies for the IB Diploma and wishing to enter Indian Colleges and Universities, there have been three major issues impacting the success of their applications. Firstly, the timing of the Indian school year and HSC+2 examination session is different from the IB sessions. The July 5th release date for examination results from the IB May session examinations is late in comparison to the Indian HSC exam results. HSC exam results are issued in the first week of June. By the time that the IB declares results, most reputed colleges have closed admission for overly subscribed courses, leaving IB Diploma students out of contention for a place. Most university college places in India are allocated by the end of June.

The second major issue is the pressure to produce a percentile equivalence to IB Diploma grades because of the hugely competitive nature of admissions into leading Indian colleges. Beginning with the May session, 2005, the IB agreed to issue to IB Diploma candidates, a marksheet detailing percentage equivalence. For a number of courses in India, an equivalence certificate will not preclude the requirement for students to sit the common entrance examinations. As many as 200 applicants for a single place can be separated by a decile of a percentage point. There is no mechanism for establishing equivalence between the various state board examinations themselves and no mechanism for the foreign boards. Percentile breakdowns for major Board examinations are not easily obtainable. Hence if an examination board in Kerala awards a 94%, this is treated as equivalent to a 94% in Maharashtra or a 94% in Bihar or on the IB. The issuance of equivalence mark sheets by the IB for students applying to Indian students is not scalable nor is it an academically defensible tool under scrutiny. With CBSE moving towards grades, IB grades may also become more commonly understood and accepted.

Additionally, there is a need to get predicted grades accepted by more universities. Currently only the University of Mumbai gives eligibility and provisional entrance on the basis of predicted grades. For this approach to become more universally acceptable the ongoing reliability of the predicted grades from the schools needs to be assured. Any such arrangements need to be negotiated separately with individual universities and colleges rather than through the UGC. Predicted grades from schools new to the Diploma understandably tend to have a lower level of reliability. Inexperienced teachers statistically are overly optimistic in their predictions.

Table 6.3 Transcript Requests by Indian national IB Students for Tertiary Study in India 2008 and 2009

Most Popular Colleges Ranking	No of Transcript requests 2008	No of Transcrip requests MAY2009
St Xavier's College, University of Mumbai	60	45
Jai Hind College, University of Mumbai	46	29
H R College, University of Mumbai	47	116
D.Y Patil College, Pune	36	2
Narsee Monjee Institute of Management studies, SVKM, Mumbai	27	28
Symbiosis Institute of Management Studies, Pune	23	14
Narsee Monjee College of Commerce and Economics, Mumbai	21	95
Lady Shri Ram College for Women, University of Delhi	14	16
Christ College, University of Bangalore	11	0
Manipal University, Karnataka	10	16
FLAME - Foundation for Liberal And Management Education	10	2
Other Colleges (86)	181	
Total Transcript Requests for Colleges within India	486	N/A

Source : internal IB statistical data May and November 2008 Sessions collated

(Note individual students can request more than one transcript) 2009 Totals are not added due to the large number sent to over arching bodies e.g. AIU or University of Mumbai

Although in reality these agreements exist, translating them into access for students to Universities and Colleges in India is not always simple. College Principals and Admissions personnel are faced with vast numbers of students applying for very limited numbers of seats. Information regarding policies is not well disseminated or absorbed at the numerous affiliated Colleges. Scale is always a factor in India. An analysis of the colleges that IB students applied for within India during 2008 indicate the patterns of understanding and appreciation of the relative qualities of IB Diploma students at a relatively limited number of Colleges.

From the 1,330 Indian nationals globally who studied for the IB Diploma in 2008, the IB received a total of 486 transcript requests for applications to tertiary institutions in India. A significant proportion of these requests were for colleges of the University of Mumbai. Whilst there are more Indian candidates in the Greater Mumbai area compared to other parts of the country, it is believed that these figures reflect to a significant degree the pro-IB policy supported by the Vice Chancellor and senate of the University of Mumbai and levels of understanding developed by the principals of some of the more renowned Colleges such as St Xaviers, Jai Hind and HR College. These colleges are well known as being receptive to IB students with appropriate grades.

6.43 INDIAN IB STUDENTS AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL OPTIONS

In cities, middle-aged graduates of India's leading colleges struggle to get their children into the same schools. With children of humbler backgrounds aiming higher than ever, even a 90 percent score on the entrance exam is no longer enough. This is the secret reason why, in a new age of Indian opportunity, many rich Indians still send their children abroad for college: not to escape India, but because their children are unable or unwilling to compete in an increasingly fair society.

Anand Giridharadas International Herald Tribune, January 29, 2009

"I want to pursue undergraduate education in the UK and thought that doing my Plus-II from an international board would give me better foothold," said Rajdeep Chakraborty, a Class XII student at Calcutta International School, who shifted from a school affiliated to a home-grown board.

Quote in the Times of Indi, 15 March 2009 Foreign boards find favour with parents

A significant number of students in the Asia Pacific region choose to attend universities outside their home country. The push factors i.e. quality and accessibility to a highly competitive tertiary sector are as important as the pull factors of a "western" degree. In the Indian context sending children abroad to study at tertiary level is also a status symbol for an increasing number of people. Based on OECD data from 2005, approximately 1.3 million students from the Asia Pacific region were enrolled in tertiary education outside of their home country. While China accounts for the greatest number of students abroad (about 421,100), other major countries of origin are India, the Republic of Korea, Germany, Japan, France, the United States, Malaysia, Canada and the Russian Federation. These ten countries account for 38% of

the world's mobile students among 153 host countries reporting data³⁵. Indian nationals are the second largest group from Asia. An indication of the countries in the Asia Pacific region and the corresponding number of university students studying outside of their home country in the U.S.A. is shown in the figure below.

The country destination for students varies depending on the country of origin, although the majority of students from the region tend to prefer universities in the United States, Australia, Japan, and the United Kingdom (Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5). Since 1940, the United States has been the top destination for international students from around the world, accounting for over 20% of international students globally. In

2006-07, there were approximately 582,984 international students studying at universities across the United States, with the top 5 sending countries all being from the Asia Pacific region.

Data on student mobility compiled by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics shows that mobile students, are increasingly expanding their range of destinations. In 1999, one in four students chose to study in the United States while this was true for only one in five students in 2007, although the total

Top 10 destinations and number of students from India studying abroad*:

- 1. United States 79,219
- 2. Australia 22,039 (2005)
- 3. United Kingdom 19,204
- 4. Germany 4,339 (2005)
- 5. Canada 2,826 (2005)
- 6. New Zealand 1,563 (2005)
- 7. Malaysia 1,262 (2005)
- 8. Ukraine 1,170
- 9. Kazakhstan 968
- 10. Cyprus 793

Atlas of Student Mobility http://www.atlas.iienetwork.org/?p= 53608

number of mobile students in the country continued to increase. Meanwhile, Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Japan and South Africa not only remained popular destinations but saw their shares of mobile students grow. Countries that have emerged among the top host countries include China, the Korea and New Zealand³⁶. The top destinations for Indian students choosing to study abroad are the United States and Australia.

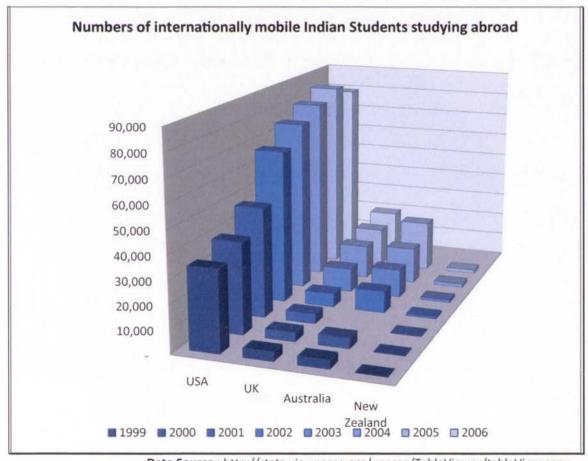
Data on student mobility compiled by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=59346&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html and on student mobility compiled by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=59346&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

93,672 79,219 61,117 40.086 9,076 5,711 4,760

Figure 6.3 Asian Nationals Undertaking Tertiary level studies in the USA, 2006

Data Source : http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/

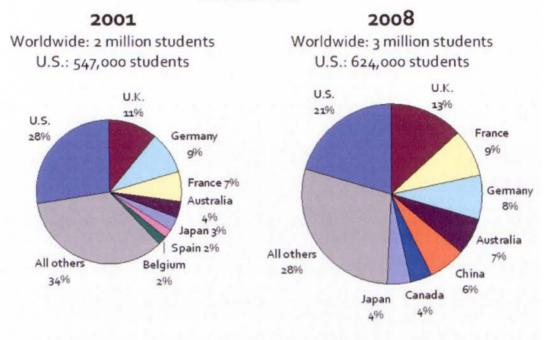
Figure 6.4 International flows of mobile Indian Students at the Tertiary Level 1999-2006



Data Source: http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/tableView.aspx

Canadian figures are incomplete therefore omitted, Germany and France also have a significant percentage of Market Share for International Tertiary Students although France is not a destination for Indian nationals

Figure 6.5 Global Destinations for International Students at Post-Secondary Level 2001 and 2008



Source: Atlas of Student Mobility (data period: 2001, 2008) http://www.atlas.iienetwork.org/?p=48027

Amongst this group of Indian nationals studying abroad are an increasing number of students with the IB Diploma as their matriculation qualification. The patterns observed in the data in Table 6.3 and Figure 6.6 indicate that not only are there an increasing number of Indian nationals undertaking studies towards the IB Diploma in India but there is also an increasing proportion of expatriate or diasporic Indian students in schools abroad studying the programme. The total number of Indian nationals undertaking studies for the IB Diploma more than quadrupled between the May 2004 and the May 2009 examination sessions. Whilst a large proportion of these were home country students, nonetheless the number of Indian Nationals studying the Diploma abroad still doubled in that period. It has long been hypothesised that the changing demographies of "international schools" reflect shifting patterns of global economic wellbeing and relative economic dominance of certain economies. The growth in the number of Indian expatriates and diaspora is correlated with economic growth patterns in India and undoubtedly reflects the increasing role that Indian companies and Indian human capital are playing in a globalised economy.

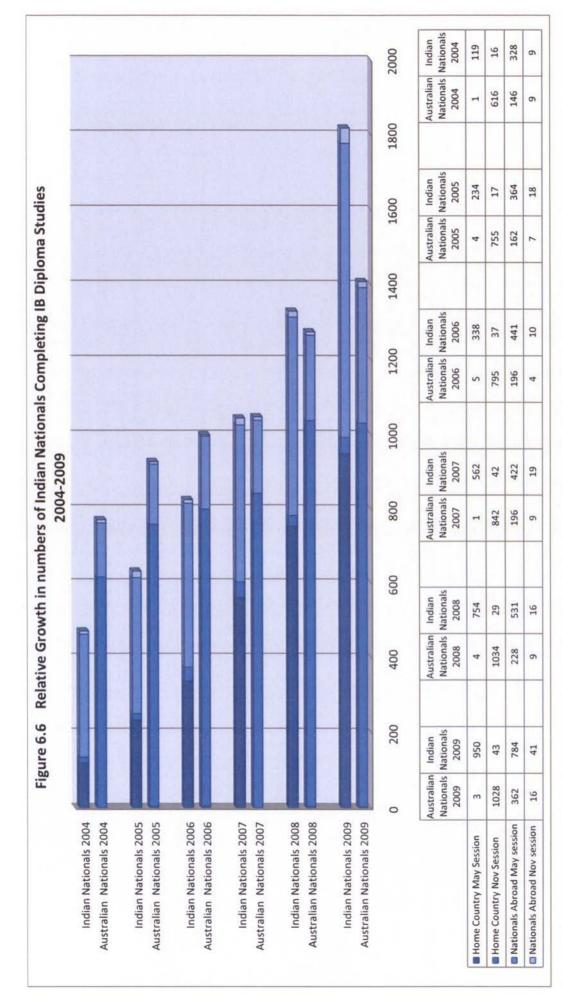


Table 6.4 IB Diploma Candidate Registration Globally by Nationality (2005-2009)

(Combined May and November session candidates)

Nationality	DP Candidates 2004	DP Candidates 2005	DP Candidates 2006	DP Candidate 2007	DP Candidate 2008	DP Candidate 2009	% of total Diploma candidate 2008	% of total Diploma candidate 2009
American	10,179	11,064	12,773	14,109	15,438	16,373	34.43%	32.57%
British	1,540	1,845	2,228	2,609	2,912	3,812	6.50%	7.58%
Canadian	1,770	2,091	2,367	2,528	2,894	3,472	6.46%	6.91%
Indian	472	633	796	1,047	1,330	1,659	2.97%	3.30%
German	597	756	889	970	1,151	1,438	2.57%	2.86%
Australian	771	926	1,000	1,048	1,275	1,301	2.84%	2.59%
Mexican	600	732	738	831	955	1,201	2.13%	2.39%
Swedish	765	829	786	777	813	1,026	1.81%	2.04%
Chinese	426	385	547	658	763	930	1.70%	1.85%
Argentine	695	785	769	762	830	860	1.85%	1.71%
Spanish	525	585	562	669	655	768	1.46%	1.53%
Korean	194	237	313	433	561	783	1.25%	1.56%
Singapore	54	91	113	424	511	643	1.14%	1.28%
Dutch	315	336	344	377	428	524	0.95%	1.04%
Japanese	263	262	296	306	353	339	0.79%	0.67%
TOTAL *DIPLOMA CANDIDATES	28,176	31,342	35,911	39,970	44,833	50,277		

Source : IB Statistical Data

*Certificate candidates are not included in data note Table 6.4

Table 6.5 Indian Nationals (resident and non-resident) as Diploma Candidates 2005-2009

	Indian Nationals Globally undertaking IB studies				Indian Nationals studying in Indian IB Schools			
	May		Nov		May		Nov	
	Diploma	Certificates	Diploma	Certificates	Diploma	Certificates	Diploma	Certificates
2004	447	153	25	1	119	35	16	0
2005	598	162	35	0	234	34	17	0
2006	749	154	47	0	338	31	37	0
2007	984	159	63	0	562	33	42	0
2008	1285	192	45	3	754	51	29	3
2009	1734	251	84	8	950	72	43	3

Source: IB Statistical Data

The IB was developed in part with the practical purpose of providing international schools with a pre-university curriculum recognized by universities around the world. Many Indian educationists and education writers contend that schools with international affiliations are meant only for students who want to eventually study

and work abroad. The anglicised elite with their powerful connections have long been a facet of the Indian social landscape and have long enjoyed educational options that sustain their privilege. But a new meritocratic order is starting to shape a changing social order in India¹. The IB Diploma gives this group of students the option of being able to exploit economic and cultural capital transnationally (after Weiß 2005: p714). Cosmopolitan mobility and global imagination (Rizvi, 2000) is now a widespread phenomenon with more and more people living 'beyond the nation' through choice or circumstance. Appadurai contends that "the processes of globalization have radically altered the relations between subjectivity, location, political identification and the social imagination." In the global era, the task of locality production becomes increasingly difficult to accomplish as communities are no longer anchored or moored to particular places (ibid, 1996, p27). Young Indian high school graduates imagine increasingly different futures and see quite different public spheres as life options.

Parents are concerned, according to respondents, that without the western emphasis on understanding and conceptual learning, school leavers may be disqualified from admission to top universities in key countries, since arguably universities in the developed "west" have set the standard of higher education for the rest of the world. Understandably then a key reason cited by IB educators in this study for Indian schools adopting the IB is that the IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas. 67% of survey respondents cited this global portability of the IB Diploma as highly significant. Notwithstanding many students from Indian Board schools also apply for tertiary places abroad. At several of the top CBSE schools in Delhi, it is estimated that as many as 30% of the Class XII cohort go overseas. Anecdotal evidence suggests though that these students, even the "toppers" take time to adapt overseas. They generally do not have the prerequisite skills to readily thrive abroad at Universities that are demanding a broader skill-set.

¹ Rama Bijapurkar, an Indian management guru, has a theory for why Indians from simpler, small-town backgrounds are overtaking urban elites. "Those in the former group often have drastically higher earning potential than their parents. The parents, needing retirement security, refrain from telling these children what to do. The children take risks, chase their dreams, do the things that breed success." Quoted in article by Giridharadas A., 2009

² **Appadurai, Arjun** (1999) *translocation_new media/art*: "Modernity At Large" Interview with Arjun Appadurai by Anette Baldauf and Christian Hoeller. 1999. http://www.appadurai.com/interviews baldauf.htm

Whilst the IB has been working steadily to improve recognition status for IB Diploma students wishing to undertake tertiary studies in India, the reality is that the majority of Indian nationals completing the IB Diploma actually do go abroad. Notwithstanding the significant social cache attached to an "overseas education" and the fierce competition for a place in good Indian Colleges, there is also the real issue for many students that if they actually get accepted into the Indian Colleges for their tertiary education, anecdotally they often find it very difficult to make the adjustment back to the expectations and style of the very traditional pedagogical and assessment model prevalent in Indian colleges.

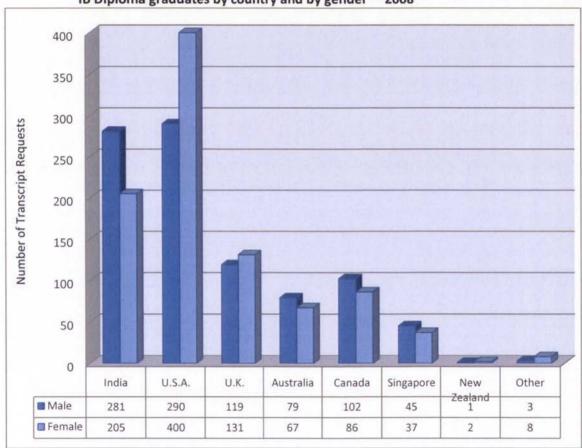


Figure 6.7 Transcript Requests reflecting University destination aspirations of Indian IB Diploma graduates by country and by gender * 2008

Source: IB Statistical Data

A survey undertaken by the IB Asia Pacific Regional Office in March 2008 with respect to Diploma candidates indicated that only 17 percent of DP students regionally in the May 2008 session intended to apply to universities in their home country; the remainder are applying mainly to the US (63%), UK (32%), Canada (17%) and Australia

(8%). Transcript request data for Indian students in 2008 (Figure 6.7 above) confirmed this trend although the distribution was more favourably disposed towards home Universities which accounted for 26% of transcript requests as compared to 37% for the US and 12.5% for Universities in the UK. These figures align with indicators given by schools participating in the thesis survey for this thesis that indicated that between 60 and 70 % of their Diploma students intended to study abroad. UNESCO figures (for 2007) indicate that only 39% of tertiary students in India are female, thus it was hypothesized that there may be gender differences between those students studying abroad and those choosing to study in India³. This hypothesis was not supported by the data.

Do these levels of tertiary study abroad reflect healthy internationalism blurring national boundaries? Or are wealthy countries and institutions creating new markets and revenues for their own advantage? How complicit is the IB in these trends? Is the longstanding notion of "brain drain" still relevant in a globalising world and in the new Indian economic order given the mobility of Indian globalists in and out of the country and their multinational interests from within and outside India? "Brain circulation," as it has been entitled, may be a more apt description. There is a view that the branding of tertiary education and the use of scholarships has become an instrument used by more prosperous developed countries to entice talented young people away from the social and economic responsibilities and challenges prevalent in the cities, region or country of their birth. But until the quantity and quality of tertiary provision has been addressed in India, the lure of an education abroad will remain and the numbers of aspiring transnationals seeking to maximize global cultural capital will continue to grow.

³ Globally the number of women mobile students has grown even faster than that of men. Reported data on tertiary education (UNESCO global digest 2009) generally shows an improvement in the position of women globally, but there are still clear divisions by field of study (i.e., women are underrepresented in fields such as Science and Engineering).

6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter overviewed the shifting educational focus within the Indian education system at a national and at a curricula and pedagogical level. A slew of educational reforms over the last two to three years have pulled education into sharp public focus. These reforms include the abolition of examinations at Class X level, the unification of higher secondary syllabi and the introduction of a national common entrance examination. Liberalisation trends towards public-private-partnerships in education, the Right to Education legislation, the proposal to create a National Commission for Higher Education and Research, plans for compulsory accreditation, and foreign direct investment also fall into the same genre. Decisions about educational reform are being taken by the Central government; it could be argued unilaterally, implying education is exclusively the preserve of central government. The allusion that central government is appropriating authority over policy making and regulation around education which historically is the responsibility of the states in India is associated with these recent policy pronouncements. The extent to which the states will actually allow the federal spirit of the Constitution to be infringed upon in relation to educational matters remains to be seen.

The obstacles to pedagogical change in the Indian education system are significant with historically large class sizes, a teacher dominated classroom culture, a didactic mode of curriculum delivery and rigorous high stakes examinations for Class X and XII. These barriers are underpinning the rapid development of new schools which claim to offer a different style of education and concomitantly they are driving the growth of the IB in India. In a climate of limited and competitive tertiary education opportunity within India itself, the IB Diploma is widely perceived as a global university matriculation qualification. More and more Indian students are studying outside their country of birth. Indeed the majority of IB Diploma students are choosing this option. The dearth of tertiary provision and opportunity in India is undeniably the major push factor. Until the higher education gap is bridged, the transnational movement of students, programmes and education providers will continue to increase.

CHAPTER SEVEN THE IB IN INDIA – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I'm reminded of just what an intricate layered country this is, and of how complex is this process of change and development it is undergoing.

Akash Kapur, Letter from India International Herald Tribune, Friday 6 November, 2009

"In this 21st century, if we do not provide our children with education, then we as a society are tying our hands behind our back, handicapping ourselves,"

Shashi Tharoor, author, politician

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

India is a country of startling contrasts and contradictions. As an independent nation, it has a rich detailed history and extraordinarily complex cultural diversity. Whilst, India is overtly committed to democratic ideals, it has a questionable record of achievement in addressing a large proportion of its peoples' educational and basic needs. Nonetheless, a relatively improved allocation of resources is helping to realise some discernible changes in educational access and outcomes. For most children, though, mainstream education is examination driven and still follows a didactic mode where rote learning is the key skill emphasized and assessed. At the macro level, policy decisions and guidelines by NCERT and NUEPA could be considered progressive and consistent with educational best practices advocated globally. The real issue is the transaction and translation of these policies and practices through the State Ministries and Municipal authorities into schools and classrooms. These policies and practices do not in actuality filter through and impact classroom practice. The state curriculum is perceived as mundane and heavy. Only in the last few years, has there been a focus on competencies in addition to content. Of the national boards, CBSE has been the more progressive in adopting more relevant curriculum and more authentic assessment, although there is arguably still a huge gap between Indian Boards and international standards. Government pronouncements over the latter half of 2009 and early 2010 reflect an acute awareness of the quality challenges and issues in relation to the assessment models currently deployed at secondary level. They signal a strong commitment to reform in the coming years. Subtle pressures from the growth of 'Foreign Boards' like the IB are perceptibly adding to this awareness.

In the west, private schooling is generally associated with elitism and privilege. Private schooling in India does not equate to elitism per se but the private schools offering the IB in India incontestably could be construed as elitist. The majority of IB schools are positioned in the premium elite market segment. It is hoped, however, that with the promotion of the IB learner profile and its associated values and through community service and experiences in the curriculum that IB students, are genuinely sensitized to the disadvantage around them. Whilst elite, they need not epitomize elitism.

In recent years, remarkable economic growth and changing global economic and political forces have driven the establishment of a new series of organisational arrangements for educational provision in India. The providers come in a variety of organisational forms — Trusts or Societies, sole proprietorships, family businesses, institutions or networks, franchises, or national/international consortiums of educational institutions. Private providers have played a key role in educational provision for all strata of society in India since the establishment of 'modern' education but this increasing range of for-profit education providers is a totally new phenomenon. Globalisation and a new world economic order has propagated a different viewpoint of education in terms of its role in Indian society, its objectives and its dynamics. Corporatisation and marketisation are facets more and more associated with educational provision. Despite a market overburdened with regulatory restrictions, modern day Indian entrepreneurs are clamouring to carve out their stake and market share.

India has perhaps the most overregulated and the most under-governed education sector in the world. Education is the last remaining major economic sector in the country yet to be liberalized. Currently, education in India is regulated at both central and state government levels. As a result, regulations can differ from state to state. Under current regulations, only not-for-profit entities qualify to be affiliated and to operate private schools. It is anticipated that the floodgates of private providers and investors will open if the government removes the legal ambiguities and impediments

to involvement in the education sector. The challenges to meet India's educational needs are huge. India needs private public partnerships to meet these needs and it needs a single regulatory body to enable and quality assure private involvement.

The regulatory restraints on running profitable businesses in the K-12 sector have driven Indian lawyers and project sponsors to contrive inventive arrangements to enable private investors to earn returns on their investments. These typically involve the establishment of separate companies to provide a range of services (e.g. infrastructure, catering or transport) to the educational institution. These subsidiary companies enter into long term contracts with the trust operating the institution. In order to qualify for tax exemptions, the expenses paid by the trust to service companies must not exceed what may reasonably, be paid for such services in the market under normal contractual business agreements. Even though schools and colleges are not supposed to redistribute profits, in reality it is thus possible to extract profits through over-priced 'service contracts' and facilities lease agreements as well as through supposedly illegal 'capitation fees'.

Despite all the regulatory constraints and ambiguities, the Indian education market is, as demonstrated by Jingan and Mohanty (2009), on a path of exponential growth. This education industry has multibillion dollar potential, huge gaps and many opportunities. Most of these opportunities are directly correlated to the transformation occurring in India's major metros following economic liberalisation in 1991. 46 percent of the authorized IB schools in India are in the Greater Delhi or Mumbai areas and over 80 percent are in one of seven of the top ten cities countrywide in terms of market size and economic growth. Two thirds are new school projects established since 2000. Almost all the IB schools are offering the IB Diploma. A quarter of these IB World Schools are additionally authorised to offer PYP and three quarters offer Cambridge IGCSE exams. The majority of these schools offer 5* infrastructure and cater to Indian nationals in the top 20 percent socioeconomically. They generally charge fees in the range of USD\$5,000-USD\$10,000 in a country where nominal per capita *income* is US\$1,068.

In establishing a profile of IB Schools in India, it became evident that whilst the vast majority, are *private unaided* schools, ostensibly operated and managed by charitable trusts and societies, an increasing number are proprietary for-profit schools or nominally not-for-profit operating alongside a company or within a larger educational group generating substantive surpluses. A significant number of schools in India claim to be "international" (and indeed entitle themselves as *International Schools*) however in reality they are offering an "international " programme and/or an international credential to Indian students enabling a "flow" of global citizens better able to exploit economic and cultural capital transnationally. Driven largely by the dearth of tertiary places in India and the resultant fierce competition, between 60 and 70 percent of all students completing the IB Diploma in India intend to study abroad. Additionally the perceived quality of many Indian tertiary institutions in terms of offering a qualification *fit for purpose* in the knowledge economy is a push factor contributing to this global migration.

Notwithstanding the business imperatives underpinning the establishment of premium IB schools in India, five key reasons were identified to explain why these schools are adopting 'international" programmes and specifically the International Baccalaureate:

- The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students
- IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University entrance overseas
- The IB programmes meet the need for an international education in an increasingly interconnected world
- The academic rigour of the IB programmes
- The pedagogy and assessment practices associated with the IB programmes

These factors relate almost exclusively to the perceived educational value and academic rigour of the IB programmes and encompass the benefits that the IB programmes are perceived to offer in educational terms to their constituents. This study therefore supports the contention that the unique value proposition of the IB lies as much in its academic curriculum and assessment model as in its ability to create

"border artistes" with the capacity and global cultural capital to cross borders and engage with a globalised knowledge economy. The brand, marketing value and services associated with the IB organization were not significant or exclusive in determining a school's decision to implement IB programmes. An "international education" is the product that this market, with its aspiring globalists, is seeking.

Demand and the issues of access to quality education (at all levels) as a challenge will not dissipate in the medium term so the IB will continue to grow in India. The cost of delivering the IB programmes, however, will continue to mitigate against the vast majority of schools and will continue to limit "access" except to the elite. Unless the Government's promised private-public partnership model creates real conduits to enable educational change (e.g. grants or loans to help sponsors invest in infrastructure and support teacher training) the equity issues and the social disjuncture that is India will persist.

7.2 PRIVATISATION, MARKETISATION AND COMMERCIALISATION - PARTICULAR CHALLENGES and IMPLICATIONS FOR THE IB IN INDIA

"Education has continued to evolve, diversify and extend its coverage since the dawn of history. Every country develops its system of education to express and promote its unique socio-cultural identity and also to meet the challenges of time".

Privatisation and Marketisation pose particular challenges for the IB in India and these challenges have been elucidated. The unlikely alliance of the non-profit organization IB organization with private commercial providers has honed the IB's awareness of the legal and cultural complexities of operating in the national sector in a developing country context. Risk awareness and assessment has enabled the organisation to put in place strategies to ensure that intending IB schools are in compliance with regulations, legislations and norms for the establishment of schools, land use, teacher qualifications, recruitment and terms and conditions of service. There are potential legal consequences for the IB if it authorizes private schools that do not have the requisite approvals from Government authorities and which are not meeting all the various requirements. In several cases in the early 2000s, IB authorisation provided

the "only" legitimacy for a new school. Until the Government puts in place its own Accreditation authority, more stringent checks by the IB are needed during the authorization process to ensure that schools are compliant with the existing legislative framework particularly the Charities Act, the land use act and the need for a "no objections" certificate from the State Department of Education.

The IB has defined a strong and unique value proposition in "international education" and increasingly there is a clear identity around the IB brand. To the IB in providing the curricula framework itself, the "IB inside" these schools, the challenge is one of quality assurance around programme implementation. Education is progressively becoming more marketised on a global scale. These trends have been documented in many western countries (and collated by Whitehead, 2005). "The marketisation of education as a commodity and the managerialisation of governance" is exemplified in a number of IB schools in India. At this point in time, however, it is private schooling provision that is being commoditised in India not necessarily the delivery and implementation of the IB education models. Although as more providers seek to set up chains of IB schools, the assumption that the documentation (e.g. school policies and procedures, Diploma course outlines or *Programmes of Inquiry*), associated with the implementation of the IB programmes, is a transferable commodity that can be supplanted without modification or community engagement into a chain of schools is more commonplace.

A number of issues in relation to privatisation and the consequent manageralisation of governance were identified: Indian IB Schools run by family trusts or by corporate sponsors present a very different governance model than that seen in private schools in developed nations. Owners and Trustees have a real presence in private schools. Indeed most reserve and occupy the most high profile office in the school. Many owners and trustees are intricately involved in the day to day running of private schools and generally speaking the 'Head of School' does not have the autonomy or authority that is an expectation of such a role in a western school; certainly not in relation to financial management (note Figure 7.1). This is the norm in all schools run by

established Trusts. This is not a new phenomenon in Indian private schools but it is one that creates tension with the IB. The IB operates on certain assumptions about the roles of school governance and management. Assumptions about the relationship between the board chair and the Head of School as one of the most crucial facets of school governance generally do not hold true in the Indian context. Assumptions about the status and influence of the Head of School do not always hold true in private schools. The IB and international accrediting bodies need to reexamine their paradigms of school governance and management.

Figure 7.1 Organogram of SVKM International School illustrating Governance lines of authority through the Trust



Source: http://ibdp.svkm.ac.in/SVKM_International/aboutus-organogram.html

Poor governance in different schools or micromanagement and an emphasis on commercial interests produces an observed tension with the educational ideals of the schools. The level of understanding and honesty of key board members, trustees and owners in expressing their support for IB values is sometimes questionable. This observation is not generalisable but issues arise in a significant minority of cases. India is a very hierarchical and very stratified society. The way that staff in general, (and support staff in particular) are treated on occasion can directly conflict with the values that the IB is supposed to be promoting. The school head is normally at the centre of the tension between the school's educational goals and the requirements for sound fiscal management. Typically, school heads are academics with limited direct business experience and they are not always empowered to develop this skill set in a system where the business management responsibilities remain exclusively the purview of

the owners or trustees. Striking a proper balance between a school's educational raison d'etre and its financial imperative is the challenge.

In India, there is often a notion that knowledge is proprietary, these notions need to be challenged and changed. The International Baccalaureate has been built on the strength of collaboration between educators. The competitive approaches of private school promoters with respect to sharing intellectual know how between schools could compromise this underpinning strength. To be fair however the overt lack of cooperation between Diploma schools in some of the major Indian cities like Mumbai, is often due to competition for staff rather than students. Poaching is not uncommon.

There is an identified need for real capacity building in Indian IB schools. Problems related to retention of teachers, coordinators and administrators is driving up the "market value" of staff with IB experience. Turnover of key people in schools adopting the IB is extremely high. This poses a problem for authorization in that the personnel presenting as the Head of School or Coordinator at the time of authorization are often no longer in these positions a year later. IB experience has become a saleable commodity in itself although many times the actual quality and depth of that experience is questionable. Poaching of staff at all levels is rife¹ – particularly by startup schools. Poaching contributes to a lack of continuity and the inability to develop institutional history and consolidate the implementation of IB programmes.

7.3 THE IB IN A CHANGING EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT - CHALLENGES FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS IMPLEMENTING IB PROGRAMMES

The greatest challenge for education in postcolonial India and the choice of language for delivering new education is in combining inculcation of self-pride with self-criticism, of cultural rootedness with cosmopolitanism and of modernization with tradition.

E. Annamalai (2005)

"Nation -building a Globalised World: Language Choice and Education in India"p36

There are a number of challenges facing Indian schools implementing IB programmes. The major ongoing challenge continues to be the quality and availability of good teaching staff.

¹ Poaching occurs from existing IB schools as well as purportedly from the progressive ICSE or CBSE Schools

Access to quality teachers is constrained by supply – there is a shortage of teachers in India². The poaching of teachers and administrators is endemic amongst Indian IB schools and will remain a problem whilst the numbers of IB trained teachers remain in such short supply. Access to quality teachers is also constrained (at least initially) by the paradigm shift that teachers, limited by their teacher training background, need to be able to make in a very different educational system. By NCTE's own admission³ 'the programme of teacher education is institution based.' Student teachers in India are not exposed to the realities of school and community. Internships, teaching practicuums, practical activities, teaching strategies and pedagogical practices are not allocated sufficient attention. The curriculum, androgogy and the evaluation of teacher training needs improvement and radical transformation. There are no pre-service teacher training programmes in India that specifically or adequately prepares teachers to teach IB curriculum although a number of entrepreneurs are now looking at developing these programmes.

Done right, the IB Teacher Award Program can address the issues of professional development, creation of Level I and Level II "master facilitators", access for potential master teachers, global interoperability, global standards, evolving progress in IB curriculum and pedagogy, interchange with Government backed initiatives, maintaining the integrity of the IB process, and being a leader in the transformation of India's education.⁴

Moreover, many project sponsors argue that the B.Ed. programme inculcates philosophies and practices incompatible with IB practice so that it is actually better to hire "unqualified" staff who are more open to relativist and constructivist educational perspectives. On the presumption that teachers have already met their own national standards for qualification and certification, the IB requires teachers to undertake IB training before teaching the Diploma. IB training only provides an in-service short course but real epistemological and pedagogical shifts and changes in approaches to assessment take time as teachers need to assimilate ideas and practices and to implement them and reflect on them. The lack of serious academic discourse on education in India at levels, other than by NCERT and NUEPA, has been identified as an impediment to teacher professional development. Most Colleges offering B.Ed

² Yet in August 2009, the Rajastan High Court upheld the decision of the NCTE to prohibit the promotion of new training colleges in the state - over 100 writ petitions have been filed by private colleges offering new teacher training courses

³ Details on NCTE website http://www.ncte-in.org/curriculumframework/curriculum.htm

⁴ Observation by a potential proposer in Jan 2010 Draft Proposal *The India Teachers Award Program for the IB*

programmes have no serious research capability – they are almost exclusively teaching institutions. There is no culture of ongoing professional growth and development in the Indian school environment.

In general, teachers find the implementation of the PYP and MYP programmes challenging. Taking responsibility for the development of a *Programme of Inquiry* that incorporates an articulated scope and sequence and ensures academic rigour in a transdisciplinary programme requires curriculum mapping and evaluative skills that are not ordinarily developed in an Indian setting. Many promoters wish to acquire "affiliation" quickly to enable them to market their new school project or to advertise the addition of the programme to the school's existing offerings. They are unrealistic about the challenges for both teachers and students in implementing a different educational model. It has been shown, repeatedly that measured rather than hasty implementation of the IB programmes results in better student outcomes.

Some schools seek to hire overseas teachers to support the implementation of the IB programmes but recruitment and retention of expatriate staff at the self-styled 'international' schools is a challenge. Government policy vacillates but in recent years, a more restrictive policy for the issuance of employment visas to foreign teachers has been in place. Indian Consulates abroad generally request specific approval from the MinHRD. Applicants are told that there are enough teachers in India and there is no need for schools in India to employ teachers from overseas. Schools intending to appoint foreign teachers have to make specific individual applications to MinHRD. This policy is believed to be an outcome of the Dasgupta Committee report.

Building capacity amongst Indian IB educators has been a key objective of the IB Regional Office. The numbers of assistant examiners from India has already increased noticeably. Becoming an examiner is an attractive option for many Indian educators as the remuneration for marking IB DP scripts is globally determined and therefore high by Indian standards. A regional office goal has been to build a pool of experienced educators as Workshop Leaders across all three programmes who are able to credibly

lead workshops equally well anywhere in the region e.g. in International Schools, or private national schools in Indonesia or in state schools in Australia. There is anecdotal evidence that the growth of the IB is actually contributing to the professionalisation of the teaching profession, which in South Asia, has traditionally been genderised and undervalued. In IB schools, teachers command higher salaries and the school is obligated to commit to ongoing professional development. Experience in an IB school and IB teacher training makes teachers highly marketable within India and on the International School circuit.

There have been noted issues related to establishing a strong culture of academic honesty and integrity in and amongst some Indian IB schools particularly in relation to the IB Diploma examinations. A disproportionate number of academic malpractice allegations and proven cases of plagiarism, examination irregularities have come from Indian schools in recent years. These issues are, however, by no means exclusive to the South Asian context and anecdotally they seem to be abating as more schools come on board, expectations are grounded and the reputation around consequences grows.

Most parents cover up for their kids, even when their kids miss school to complete an IA or get "help" from a private tutor for their EE. Honesty is a big problem here. Many parents are not ashamed or embarrassed when we reveal their dishonesty.

Quote from Teacher Respondent, 2008

Parent education is imperative. Project sponsors and trustees need to be conscious of the pressures they put on teachers to produce results.

The boards are recently trying to improve the quality of education by increasing the percentage of practical and project marks. However, critics say even this is memorized by students (or even plagiarised). This is attributed to pressure from parents who are eager to see high scores more than overall development.

Quote from Teacher Respondent, 2008

A major challenge for national schools offering international programmes but operating in a national context is how to promote international mindedness whilst embracing national mindedness i.e. to what extent do Indian IB students embrace and connect with the deeply spiritual and philosophical bases of Indian culture and tradition? What level of synergy do these students perceive between the values of their own society and IB values?... between Indian and western humanist

epistemology? The interpretation and promotion of 'International Understanding' may well just, be superficially aimed at encouraging progressive learner dispositions, which converge with the needs of the global economy. As Matthews and Sidhu (2005) note, "the tendency of educational institutions particularly private schools to privilege narrowly instrumental cultural capital, perpetuates and sustains normative national, cultural and ethnic identities."

7.4 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

"In India for the first time after decades or centuries, there is a sense of optimism about the future, a sense that our children's futures can be better than ours if we try hard enough."

Nandan Nilekani, 2009, co-chairman of Infosys Technologies, Indian software giant.

The IB worldwide community, IB curriculum, IB pedagogy and IB certified schools have the potential to undertake a transformation in the role of the teacher in a PYP, MYP or Diploma level setting. The teacher can now become the facilitator of learning...There is no better background for India's new generation of master facilitators and master teachers than the IB.

Correspondent Tamil Nadu, Jan 2010

The key question that this study sought to answer was: "To what extent is the growth of the IB in India being driven by market forces rather than by ideological educational vision?" Growth in the private school market in India is being driven by a migration to quality. Parents perceive a difference in educational quality and as households become wealthier, they progressively seek to move their children from government to private aided schools to private unaided schools to premium private schools. This study attempted to identify how business driven and commercialized, the private providers operating in the Indian schooling sector are. The simple answer is increasingly. There is a widely held perception in India that many trusts are in fact a front for profit making enterprises. Whilst in a number of instances these "profits" are in fact, used to extend, expand and improve the educational portfolio of a larger group of institutions, or to support philanthropic endeavours, this study would on the whole support that contention. It is undeniable that increasingly in the premium school sector in India, the majority of new entrant private providers are driven as much by a profit motive as they are by a motivation and commitment to provide quality education options.

Private educational institutions and businesses and international educational "suppliers" and "solutions providers" like the IB are all playing an increasingly important role in the provision of education through the processes of globalisation and trade liberalisation. The IB does not actively market its programmes yet increasingly more schools in India are clamouring for authorization to offer the primary years programme and the IB Diploma. In India, it is becoming apparent that the IB has shifted as it has in countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, UK, and Mexico 'from a programme for international schools, to an international programme for schools' (Hagoort, 1994, p. 11). The concern is that the brands of international education that are being imagined and constructed by school promoters, and desired by parents and students are unevenly weighted in favour of the economic imperative, academic instrumentalism, and the formation of global cultural capital to maintain and enhance socio economic status. The logic of corporatization and globalisation contrasts markedly with that of internationalism with its intrinsically democratic foundation (Jones, 1998).

In many less developed countries, schools offering "international education" provide opportunities for the children of the socioeconomic elite of the host country to turn their backs on their own educational system and embrace the values of the economically developed world (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004). Many Indian IB students are recognisable as members of the transnational capitalist class who see their own interests, and/or the interests of their nation, as best served by identification with the interests of the capitalist global system, in particular the interests of the countries of the capitalist core. The transnational capitalist class holds certain transnational practices to be more valuable than domestic practices' (Sklair, 1991, p. 8). International education and the IB in India can rightly be categorised as one of these 'transnational practices' assuring the maintenance of the privileged position of the transnational capitalist class, both locally and globally.

In an economic sense, the IB is excelling in "product leadership" but the organization is challenged to simultaneously maintain a high level of scalable operational

excellence and the required focus on 'customer intimacy' i.e. it is challenged in its ability to tailor services to fit the needs of different schools in varied contexts and non-traditional "markets" like India. The increasing demand from internationally focused parents combined with a small number of suppliers (i.e. curriculum providers) in the Indian international education market has enabled private providers to create a niche market and set a "price premium" in a climate of real market opportunity. Again, in an economic sense, in the Indian educational context, there are few substitutes and little competition for IB programmes.

Are educational principles succumbing to business and economic pragmatism? Private education clearly plays an essential - and growing - role in India at the school level. The intrusion of market discourse into education at all levels is, however, fueling a growing tension between contrasting conceptions of education as a tradable commodity versus education as a social right and social enterprise. The expansion of private education has many positive elements in an Indian context where the government is struggling to meet Millennium Development Goals. These benefits without doubt include increased access, improved learning outcomes, better accountability for student outcomes, greater innovation, and increased efficiency in delivery. The benefits of this expansion need to be safeguarded, however, by the creation of straightforward policies and an unambiguous regulatory framework that encourages and promotes the sector. Focus should shift to a streamlined accreditation system for private providers and private institutions. The Government of India needs to be enabling in this process. Private participation in education in India is clearly no panacea for the educational challenges the country faces but, if sensibly regulated and appropriately incentivised, it could provide the government with a more effective means to meet the country's educational goals and needs.

More deserving of concern than the phenomenon of privatisation is the trend towards corporatisation of schooling; globally and in the Indian education market. Everincreasing privatisation is setting the stage for a new educational order in India

infiltrated by corporate financial interests. The marketisation of schooling has given rise to the increasing involvement of the corporate sector in relation to: advice and policy direction, curriculum development; assessment models; advertising sponsorship and philanthropy; promotion of school-industry links; direct connections with the labour market; and models of business management (after Epstein & Kenway, 1996). The rise of educational brokers and consequent corporatisation and 'commercialisation' of schooling is placing strain on education's inherent social mission. As this trend becomes more entrenched, public debate about the primary role of and priorities for education becomes increasingly consequential.

The fact that the IB is a "premium price" curriculum in the Indian context creates a tension with the access agenda of the IB organization by reinforcing the divide between schools that can afford the programmes and the vast majority of schools that cannot. It highlights issues of equity in, access to, and quality of, education.

An "operational" tension endures with the desire to broaden access to IB beyond, on the one hand, a socio-economically advantaged private school clientele in "developing" economies and, on the other hand, the appropriation of IB and "international" nomenclature in market-driven "choice" paradigms operating within state systems of schooling in the Anglo-West

High end schools actually want to use the IB in part to create a niche that gives them a competitive advantage in a highly marketised sector. This reality creates implications for the achievement of the IB strategic goals of quality and access in particular.

As the world shrinks, the philosophy and practice of IB programmes could have a leading role to play in recognising and strengthening Indian educational models, culture and linguistic diversity, and in focusing students' awareness on the inequities in the lives of others. In modern day India, there are two juxtaposed imperatives, the need to expand the provision of education to the masses and the need to improve the quality of educational provision. In his early work, Carnoy pointed out the inherent contradictions between the desires of the elite and bourgeoisie to have economic development serve their interests and the fate of the mass of the poor with their needs unmet or poorly met. There are tensions in developing comprehensive approaches to educational provision in an interdependent but asymmetric world.

With 59 million children out-of-school (Kaushik, 2007), the IB has a moral imperative to engage with some of these educational challenges and not just provide a branded quality education for the new elite. Moral imperative or strategic imperative, the populist politics of India's media will ensure that there is ongoing pressure for the IB to engage more widely across the education sector.

7.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

What lessons can the IB offer? The organization has the advantage of already having considered for several decades, within its international schools, the impact that early alobalization has had on its programmes and students.

Dr. Monique Seefried, President IB Board of Governors Speech at the International School of Geneva, January, 2008

The IB programmes offer an "internationalized" liberal-humanist education (Hill, 2006, p25) which makes certain assumptions about the learner and the nature of education. Van Oord (2007) argued that whilst the Diploma programme is overtly international at the content level, it is thoroughly western at the epistemological level. This thesis has alluded to some of the paradigm shifts required and the significant pedagogical challenges associated with implementation of IB programmes in schools. An action research study to determine the impact on ways of knowing and the changes in teaching and learning that actually take place when a school implements the programme would provide more focus to these claims.

Vygotsky emphasized the critical importance of culture and the importance of the social context for cognitive development. Liberal-humanism is a western philosophy — its impact on social constructivism in Indian IB schools is worthy of study. Research of this type should focus on the nature of political socialization and the development of citizenship commitments within the realm of identity politics. As part of this study, it would be important to determine the extent to which students have embraced national mindedness i.e. to what extent are they connected with the deeply spiritual and philosophical bases of Indian culture and history and how well do they understand their own place in Modern Indian society? Engagement with the work of social anthropologists such as Appadurai, provides an impetus to reassess the way

social relations are tied to locality. The nature of public place in concepts like "socioscape" or "sociosphere" remains ambiguous [1996, p42]. A range of issues could be explored to help resolve this ambiguity e.g. the extent to which global networks such as the IB global educational community contribute to: decentering or recentering the customary modes of knowledge and knowledge acquisition; or the ways in which the IB is promoting new hierarchies and processes of hierarchisation, through the facilitation of a globally mobile transnational class. Out of schools like Step by Step and Victorious Kidss Educare — a different kind of Indian student is emerging equipped with the sort of individualistic aspirations traditionally associated with the west. Is the IB using formulations such as global citizenship and international mindedness as metaphors for new social organizations?

The Council for International Schools defined internationalism through core standards for international schools based around ethics, global perspective, diversity, communication, community and leadership. The IB claims that IB programmes aim:

to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect

Mission Statement excerpt www.ibo.org

With regards to this aim, the notion of how a liberal-humanist curriculum in a South Asian school can aspire to the achievement of international mindedness needs to be explored. The key question is: how well do national schools operating in a national context actually do this? An ethnographic study/audit at classroom level set within the framework of transformative learning theory might give some insights into how well global perspectives and intercultural competence are promoted in Indian schools. How are students encouraged to question their worldview i.e. their assumptions about themselves and their assumptions about the world in order to visualize alternative assumptions, and then test these in practice? It has been established in the traditional "international school" setting that learning in an international environment with teachers and peer students from a diverse set of countries contributes to an appreciation of the 'variety of cultures' and international understanding (Hayden & Wong, 1997). But evidence that such international mindedness

and intercultural awareness is developed through successful completion of the Diploma Programme in a homogenous national school setting is currently unavailable.

This study has been concerned with why schools chose to do the IB rather than why parents and students choose IB programmes over other alternatives. An additional study of parents and students' perceptions in the Indian context could well confirm further Bagnall's findings (reported in 2008 p123) that "students were as interested in taking the IB for the advantages that it bestowed on them as for its academic value". Just what those advantages are perceived to be and how they may emanate from the "academic" experience of IB programmes needs further elucidation. Considering the claims made about academic rigour with respect to both the Indian Boards and the IB programmes, a comparison of student performance by Grade Level (at both primary and middle school level) on an agreed comparative test such as the ACER International Schools test⁵ in IB schools and in 'All India' Board schools might inform the discussion.

The IB claims that "the IB diploma is widely recognized by the world's leading universities." Perceptions of university representatives regarding the IB Diploma as published in both the 2003 UK study and in the 2007 Australasian study, support the contention that the programme enhances university students academic competence and capability. A longitudinal and comparative study of IB graduates would provide focus to these claims in the Indian context and should be undertaken to determine:

- a. The level of preparedness and subsequent success (or otherwise) of IB graduates at Indian Colleges and Universities
- b. The conflicts and challenges faced by students in moving from the constructivist experiential learning environment of the IB Diploma to a more stylized, didactic teaching and learning environment in Indian Colleges and Universities
- c. The level of preparedness and subsequent success (or otherwise) of IB graduates from India at Colleges and Universities in the USA or UK in comparison to students who have completed the CBSE or ICSE HSC+2 curricula before studying abroad

⁵ The International Schools Assessment test was developed by ACER, the Australian Council of Educational Research. The ISA assessment programme is designed especially for students in international schools in Grades 3 to 10. It is based on the internationally endorsed reading and mathematical literacy frameworks of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).

⁶ Quote from public website http://www.ibo.org/diploma/slidee.cfm

⁷ A copy of the study is available on http://www.ibo.org/diploma/recognition/perceptions.cfm

Undertaken by ACER posted online http://www.ibo.org/ibap/IBOPerceptionsReportFinal.pdf.pdf

d. Whether trends to pursue tertiary studies abroad persist or if with improving recognition and access in India, more students will choose to complete their studies in India.

The privatisation of schooling for the higher socioeconomic deciles in a developing country situation is an unstudied area, hence there are a number of areas related to this study that would warrant further consideration. Business analysts are increasingly sophisticated in their ability to undertake market analysis and identify opportunities. There is a need to map and analyse the participation of education businesses in a whole range of public sector education services in India. The marketisation and corporatisation of education has been under discussion for some time, particularly in relation to schooling. There has been comparatively little public scrutiny of how this trend might impact on, and shape educational trends in curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. There has been no serious debate about how trends towards corporatization, commoditisation and marketisation have impacted the International Baccalaureate organization itself. There is a need for serious academic discourse about the specific influence of educational solutions providers like Cambridge International, Pearson Learning Solutions and Educomp in terms of the extent to which they are shaping educational trends and models globally.

This discussion has also raised concerns about the impact of the marketisation of the IB on social justice in educational opportunity. The media endorse the view that IB Schools in India are promoting the IB brand as elitist to appeal to a particular niche market and to justify the high fees that these schools are charging. Are IB schools in India selling social advantage rather than social justice? In their marketing, is the IB represented as a commodity that enhances the former rather than as a curriculum that might contribute to the preparation of responsible citizens who are committed to a socially just society? By identifying the key messages being promulgated by these schools, through advertising and marketing campaigns and on websites, it would be possible to evaluate the extent to which the ideals of the IB are represented. What do these marketing messages communicate about the nature of social, caste and gender relations in India and what are the implications for social justice in the new India?

⁹ As with similar questions asked by Whitehead, Kay (2005)

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APPENDIX 1 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA Human Research Ethics Committee Approval

Division of Doctoral Studies
Faculty of Education and Social Work
The University of Sydney
April 2010





NSW 2006 Australia

Human Research Ethics Committee

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Human Secretariat

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Mailing Address:

Room 313, Level 3, Old Teachers College - A22

10 September 2008

Dr. Nigel Bagnall Faculty of Education and Social Work Room 528 Education Building-A35 The University of Sydney

Dear Dr. Bagnall,

Thank you for your correspondence dated 28 August addressing comments made to you by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). After considering the additional information, the Executive Committee at its meeting on 8 September 2008 approved your protocol entitled "The International Baccalaureate in India: An agent for educational change or an unwitting collaborator in the marketisation of education?"

Details of the approval are as follows:

Ref No .:

09-2008/10774

Approval Period:

September 2008 to September 2009

Authorised Personnel:

Mr. N. Bagnall Ms. J. Guy

The HREC is a fully constituted Ethics Committee in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans-March 2007 under Section 5.1.29

The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans. We draw to your attention the requirement that a report on this research must be submitted every 12 months from the date of the approval or on completion of the project, whichever occurs first. Failure to submit reports will result in withdrawal of consent for the project to proceed.

Chief Investigator / Supervisor's responsibilities to ensure that:

- (1) All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.
- All unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.

- (3) The HREC must be notified as soon as possible of any changes to the protocol. All changes must be approved by the HREC before continuation of the research project. These include:-
 - If any of the investigators change or leave the University.
 - Any changes to the Participant Information Statement and/or Consent Form.
- (4) All research participants are to be provided with a Participant Information Statement and Consent Form, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee. The Participant Information Statement and Consent Form are to be on University of Sydney letterhead and include the full title of the research project and telephone contacts for the researchers, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee and the following statement must appear on the bottom of the Participant Information Statement. Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Senior Ethics Officer, University of Sydney, on (02) 9351 4811 (Telephone); (02) 9351 6706 (Facsimile) or gbriody@usyd.edu.au (Email).
- (5) Copies of all signed Consent Forms must be retained and made available to the HREC on request.
- (6) It is your responsibility to provide a copy of this letter to any internal/external granting agencies if requested.
- (7) The HREC approval is valid for four (4) years from the Approval Period stated in this letter. Investigators are requested to submit a progress report annually.
- (8) A report and a copy of any published material should be provided at the completion of the Project.

Yours sincerely

APPENDIX 2 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA

Indian IB Schools Profile – Questionnaire (online survey version)

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The IB in India - a Survey of IB Schools

Please provide details if applicable

7. PROFILE OF THE SCHOOL

Is the School part of a larger network or chain of

Name any international accreditation agency that schilols can by the same company or trust? Pla provide trief details The school is accredited by (e.g. CIS, WASC)

8. SCHOOL COMPOSITION

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In what socio-economic band would the majority of students at your What is the current size and age range of students at your school? school belong?

SOCIDECONOMIC BAND OF RAJORITY OF STUDIEYT BODY Select as appropriate	
BOARDING AND/OR DAY PUPILS	
AGE RANGE OF STUDBNTS Seried as appropriate	
TOTAL SCHOOL ENRICHERT Select as appropriate	
	runiment, Age Range of its, Socio-scinomic band of

5. Describe the type of school that you are? (please tick ALL relevant boxes)

ercentage range MOSCATE the appropriate

Please identify the nature of your student body as indicated

approximately what percentage of your school's IB Diploms cohort plan to study abroad on

What percentage of the total enrolment are indian nationals?

What percentage of the "international" students are internationally onal" (i.e., NOT ethnically Indian and not born in India)?

ately what percentage of the total enrolment would you

ion of the DP?

that percentage of the "international" students are expatriates?

What percentage of the total encolment are returning Indian had

abroad or have lived abroad for a significant time as NRLL?

	TICK ALL RELEVA BOXES
Private-aided	
Private Unaded	
NGN-PROFIT	
 Registered as a Private Trust under the India Trusts Act 1882 (or) 	
. Registered as a Public Trust under a State Public Trust Act (ar)	
Registered as a Society under the Societies Registration Act 1860 (or)	-
 Registered as a Company under Section 35 of the Companies Act of 1956 	
PROPRIETARY (for profit)	4
Sole pener	
Family business	-
Registered as a company/husinesa	
* Part of an educational conscribum/business run group of schools	
OTHER type of legal antity	

Other notable information on the nature and composition of the student body

6. LEGAL STATUS OF SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

If your school is run by a body registered as a Public Trust under a State please name the legal act in the box provided (please omit if you do not Public Trust Act OR If your school is registered as a company/business, know this information)

under: 08	and under			
A. NAME OF THE ACT that the trust is registered under-	B. NAME OF THE ACT that the company is register	C. Other type of legal entity, pix describe :		

Page 2

Please indicate which of the following programmes are on offer (or being (IMPLEMENTING SCHOOLS: Your school should have already been TICK ALL RELEVANT BOXES Other International or State Board Programmes Offered e.g. AP, Ontano accepted as a candidate school) implemented) in your school? 9. PROGRAMMES ON OFFER Cambridge International Primary Progr 18 Primary Years Programme 18 Middle Years Programme Cambridge A Level Cambridge IGCSE CBSE HSC Class X ICSE HSC Class CBSE HSC +2 ICSE HSC +2

Page 3

	200	4100
	res	200
Diess your school offer a scholarship programme?	-	1
31 YES, Are there any restrictions an who can apply for scholarshups?	-	-
Brief Details of Scholarship Programme available at the school		
11. WIDER SCHOOL COMMITTMENTS - Community Service		
	YES	9
Does your achool support a CAS or community service programme that involves working with municipal achools?	-	-
Boas your achool support a CAS or community service programme that involves working with runsi schools?		-
Does your school have any other programme with educationally disadvantaged communities?	-	-
Do ANY of these programmes invulve teacher training?	_	-
Does your school have an association with an educational NGQ?	2	-
Should there he a requirement for all IB World Schools to be avenued in vertical educational projects for the seducationally disabvantaged? e.g. with state aided schools.	L	=

The IB in India - a Survey of IB Schools

12. REASONS FOR ADOPTING IB PROGRAMMES

To what extent do you think each of the following factors influenced your schools decision to adopt IB Programmes?

VERY

	significant,	LIMITED	LIMITED LIMITED SOME HIGHLY significance significance significant	SOME	HIGHLY
1. Parental Demand	4			1	
2, Teacher Demand.	-	-	-	-1	-
3. The educational value of a broad based hallstic education for students.	-	3	-		
4. The academic rignor of the 15 programmes	-	8	-	i.	-
5. Dissabisfaction with Indian Board Curricula	4		-		1
6. The sitte image associated with the 15		à	-	-	
 Market Pressure (e.g. other local competitor achools are taking on the programmés) 	-		-	-	-
8. Market Oppartunity	ä	94	. 44	ä	1
9. The reputation, brand and market value of the IB pringrammes.	-	- 90	-	-	-
10. The flass and costs associated with implementing the IB programmes were seen as value for money.	4	10.	ĕ	ä	4
 It is provises an internationally requignized qualification for University entrance oversions 	-	5	-	4	-
12. The 16 programmes meet the need for an international aducation in an increasingly interconnected world	4.	÷	-	ä	-
 The IB Diploms was seen as a more educationally shallenging option than other "international" or Indian Board programmics at this layel. 	-	3	1	-	4
14. The pedagagy and essessment practices associated with the 18 programmes.	-	-	i	-	1
15. The Indian education system needs to produce internationally minded global citizens.	4	7	-	-	1
16. The yelves dimension of the IB curriculum and its emphasis on community service	-	4	-	-	÷
 The school needed to develop wider regional and international advisational alliances. 	-	-	4	-	4
18. Access to Teacher Professional Development is available through the 18	ė.	-	4	A	d
19. The 18 provides a framework for achial improvement	-			-	1
20. Consultation and guidance is available from the IB to support the implementation of its programmes	-	10	4	-	4
OTHER REASONS the school chose to adopt an IR programme					

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Please choose and RANK the top FIVE factors which you believe were the most important factors influencing your schools decision to adopt an IB programme. This list is the same as the preceding list.

1= TOP MOST IMPORTANT 2= SECOND MOST IMPORTANT etc 13. REASONS FOR ADOPTING IB PROGRAMMES

CHOOSE ONLY FIVE

RANKING

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		dents				or the programmes)			mines were seen as value fo	stity entrance averseas	on in an increasingly	gition than other 'internatio	prográmmes	ninded global citizens	community service	educational alliances.	h the IB		ne implementation of its
		ased holistic education for ats	r ammi és.	recula	107	orspetitor achools are taking o		value of the IB programmes	n implementing the IB progra	ignized qualification for Unive	d for an international educati	re educationally challenging o	ections associated with the iff	is to produce internationally in	rriculum and its emphasis on	ar regional and international	velopment is available throug	chual improvement	able from the IB to support !
1. Pacental Demand	2. Teacher Demand	The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students	The academic rigour of the LB programme	5. Dissatisfaction with Indian Board Curricula	The eithe image associated with the 18	7. Narket Pressure (e.g. other local competitor achools are taking or the programmes)	Market Opportunity	9. The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes	1.0. The fact and costs associated with implementing the 18 programms were seen as value for money	11. IB provides an internationally recognised qualification for University entrance overseas	 The 18 programmes meet the need for an international education in an increasingly interconnected world. 	 The IB Oppons was seen as a more educationally challenging spition than other "international" or Jodden Board programmes at this level 	14. The pedigugy and assessment practices assuceded with the LB programmes	The Indian advoation system needs to produce internationally minded global citizens	16. The values dimension of the IB curticulum and its emphasia on community service	17. The school needed to develop wider regional and international educational alliances	18. Access to Teather Professional Development is available through the IB	19. The 18 provides a framework for school improvement	20. Containation and guidance is available from the 16 to support the implementation of its programmers.

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The IB in India - a Survey of IB Schools

14. EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, PRIVATISATION AND REGULATION IN INDIA

following statements by placing a check mark in the appropriate box. Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the

	Strangy	Strange Disagree D	ndecided	Agree	Agree
 Educational change is really happening within and across the antire indian equision aviden. 	-	-	-	-	-
2. Globalization forces are a major factor driving educational change			4	4	ä
in findia					
3. Focus is shifting from marks and grades to the head for a more	7	-	1	Ä	1
nousex were balances concernor. 4. The skills needs of a competitive knowledge economy are			ļ		
understood by Indian educators					4
5. There is a shift from prescriptive classroom teaching to	-	7	,	-	- 4
participatory interactive group learning					
 Commodition load in the Indian commodition is a consequence of the high column of observes and required facts. 	_	-	4	-	4
7. In the Indian system there is mismatch between the					ļ
developments) capacities of children and curricular expectations and			,		-
teaching and learning methods					
B. Assessment models associated with Indian Board examinations	-	-	4	-	4
are outmoced and no longer research in coders again the					
educated classes in India					,
10. The status of the feaching profession in India has improved in the test decide.	-	-	_	-	-
11. The 15 will have an influence on educational policy and practice			į		
in India?					
 The IB SHOULD contribute to educational development (for the masses) in India 	4	4	4	4	-
L3. The III is seen as an elitist programme in India		-	-	-	1
 The IB can gain widespread University Acceptance amongst. Colleges and Universities Precupbant India 	А	ŧ.	4	4	÷
15. Demand for the IB will continue to grow in India.	_	1		-	-
16. Growth of the IB in India is being driven by educational vision	-	4	-	-	4
17. Growth of the 18 in India is being driven by market forces		-		-	-
18. Privatisation has increased the volume and quality of schooling opportunities in India.	4	÷	4	4	4
19. The Government should restrict commercialization in the	-	-	-	-	-
20. Only equational trusts and societies should be allowed to		d		-	4
establish and run private schools					
 Businesses and companies should be actively encouraged to became private providers establishing and running private actinosis 		_	-	-	-
22. Continued grawth in the private advisation setter will further executate social divisions in International Society.	-	÷	Ä.	Á	÷
23. There needs to be better regulation (e.g. a government	1	-	-	100	
controlled acchediation process) to assure standards in private schools in India					
24. Protection of the 18 reputation and brand could become	-	à	-	-	ń,
25. 35. Standards and Practices for authorisation (affiliation) should		-		-	
be strater				-	1

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APPENDIX 3 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA

Survey Results and Questionnaire Response Rates from Indian IB School Heads and Administrators

The IB in India - a Survey of IB Schools

REASONS FOR ADOPTING IB PROGRAMMES To what extent do you think each of the following factors influenced your schools decision to adopt IB Programmes?

Answer Options	NOT significant	VERY LIMITED significance	LIMITED significance	SOME Significance	HIGHLY significant	Rating Average	Response Count
1. Parental Demand	10	6	7	11	9	3.07	43
2. Teacher Demand	16	8	9	8	3	2.41	44
3. The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students	1	1	0	6	37	4.71	45
4. The academic rigour of the IB programmes	0	1	6	9	28	4.45	44
5. Dissatisfaction with Indian Board Curricula	14	1	4	17	8	3.09	44
6. The elite image associated with the IB	15	4	10	9	5	2.65	43
7. Market Pressure	18	5	5	11	4	2.49	43
8. Market Opportunity	9	7	9	10	8	3.02	43
9. The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes 10. The fees and costs	4	4	4	19	13	3.75	44
were seen as value for money	6	13	8	9	7	2.95	43
11. IB provides an internationally recognized qualification for University overseas	1	0	5	11	27	4.43	44
12. The IB programmes meet the need for an international education	1	2	4	7	31	4.44	45
13. The IB Diploma seen as a more educationally challenging option	2	3	5	11	23	4.14	44
14. The IB pedagogy and assessment practices 15. The Indian system	1	3	4	10	27	4.31	45
needs internationally minded global citizens	2	3	5	13	22	4.11	45

					wered que	estion	45
OTHER REASONS the school	chose to	adopt an IE	3 programm	e			8
20. Consultation and guidance to support the implementation of its programmes	3	1	10	17	14	3.84	45
19. The IB provides a framework for school improvement	5	3	8	12	17	3.73	45
18. Access to Teacher Professional Development is available through the IB	3	3	12	9	16	3.74	43
community service 17. To develop wider educational alliances	3	4	7	12	16	3.81	42
16. The values dimension of the IB and	2	1	2	13	27	4.38	45

The IB in India - a Survey of IB Schools

Answer Options	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Un decided	Agree	Strongly Agree	Rating Average	Respons e Count
Educational change is really nappening within and across the entire Indian education system	0	4	6	26	9	3.89	45
 Globalization forces are a major actor driving educational change n India 	0	1	3	26	15	4.22	45
s. Focus is shifting from marks and grades to the need for a more holistic well balanced education	0	5	4	21	15	4.02	45
I. The skills needs of a competitive knowledge economy are understood by Indian educators i. There is a shift from prescriptive	0	9	9	24	3	3.47	45
lassroom teaching to participatory nteractive group learning . Curriculum load in the Indian	1	5	2	31	6	3.80	45
urriculum is a consequence of the igh volume of obsolete and edundant facts	1	4	5	15	19	4.07	44
. In the Indian system there is nismatch between developmental apacities of children and curricular xpectations and teaching methods	2	4	2	25	11	3.89	44
B. Indian Board assessment models and examinations are outmoded and no longer relevant	0	12	5	15	12	3.61	44

9. Parental expectations of							
education are changing amongst	1	2	5	25	12	4.00	45
the educated classes in India							
10. The status of the teaching		4 5 1	THEFT				
profession in India has improved in	1	10	3	28	2	3.45	44
the last decade							
11. The IB will have an influence on							100
educational policy and practice in	0	3	13	21	8	3.76	45
India?							
12. The IB SHOULD contribute to	0	0		24	17	4.20	45
educational development (for the	0	0	4	24	17	4.29	45
masses) in India							
13. The IB is seen as an elitist	0	1	1	22	21	4.40	45
programme in India							
14. The IB can gain widespread	0	2	0	22	11	2.00	45
University Acceptance amongst	0	2	9	23	11	3.96	45
Colleges throughout India							
15. Demand for the IB will continue	0	1	4	24	15	4.20	44
to grow in India.							
16. Growth of the IB in India is	2	5	8	21	7	3.60	43
being driven by educational vision 17. Growth of the IB in India is							
being driven by market forces	0	2	8	26	8	3.91	44
18. Privatisation has increased the							
volume and quality of schooling	0	2	1	27	15	4.22	45
opportunities in India	U	-	-	21	13	4.22	43
19. The Government should restrict							
commercialization in the education	5	9	9	14	8	3.24	45
sector	3	,		**	O	5.24	43
20. Only educational trusts and							
societies should be allowed to	8	14	10	9	4	2.71	45
establish and run private schools							
21. Businesses and companies							
should be actively encouraged to						2 50	
become private providers	2	6	12	16	8	3.50	44
establishing private schools							
22. Continued growth in the							
private education sector will	4	10	10	19	2	3.11	45
further exacerbate social divisions	4	10	10	19	2	3.11	45
in Indian society							
23. There needs to be better							
regulation to assure standards in	5	7	9	14	9	3.34	44
private schools in India							
24. Protection of the IB reputation							
and brand could become	3	8	12	11	9	3.35	43
problematic							
25. IB Standards and Practices for	0	8	4	18	14	3.86	44
authorisation should be stricter							
Please feel free to comment further o	n any of	the above	and Pleas	e say why	you belie	eve	15
such a position.					28.4 10.5 20.0 20.0 20.0		
				aı	swered o	question	45

APPENDIX 4 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA Survey Results and Questionnaire Response Rates from Indian IB School Coordinators and Teachers

The IB in India - a Survey of IB Coordinators

REASONS FOR ADOPTING IB PROGRAMMES To what extent do you think each of the following factors influenced your schools decision to adopt IB Programmes?

Answer Options	NOT significant	VERY LIMITED significance	LIMITED significance	SOME Significance	HIGHLY significant	Rating Average	Response
1. Parental Demand	9	6	30	21	14	3.31	80
2. Teacher Demand	19	14	24	17	4	2.65	78
3. The educational value of a broad based holistic education for students	0	1	2	17	59	4.70	79
4. The academic rigour of the IB programmes	2	0	7	24	47	4.43	80
5. Dissatisfaction with Indian Board Curricula	18	11	17	21	11	2.95	78
6. The elite image associated with IB	11	8	14	21	21	3.44	75
7. Market Pressure	22	6	16	22	12	2.95	78
8. Market Opportunity	11	5	14	22	21	3.51	73
9. The reputation, brand and market value of the IB programmes	3	6	6	30	34	4.09	79
10. The fees and costs were seen as value for money 11. IB provides an internationally	10	7	27	21	12	3.23	77
recognized qualification for University entrance 12. The IB programmes	1	2	11	11	56	4.47	81
meet the need for an international education 13. The IB Diploma was	0	4	3	19	54	4.54	80
seen as a more educationally challenging option	2	2	6	22	48	4.40	80

				SI	kipped que	stion	3
				ans	wered que	stion	82
OTHER REASONS the scho	ol chose t	o adopt an	IB programi	me			11
guidance is available from the IB	2	5	7	36	29	4.08	79
19. The IB provides a framework for school improvement 20. Consultation and	2	4	14	34	27	3.99	81
18. Access to Teacher Professional Development	7	2	22	26	25	3.73	82
community service 17. Wider regional and international educational alliances	5	7	19	27	22	3.68	80
16. The values dimension and emphasis on	3	1	9	29	38	4.23	80
associated with the IB 15. Internationally minded global citizens	4	4	11	25	36	4.06	80
14. The pedagogy and assessment practices	1	3	6	27	42	4.34	79

The IB in India - a Survey of IB Coordinators

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE, PRIVATISATI agree or disagree with each of the fo				DIA Plea	ase rate h	now stron	gly you
Answer Options	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree	Rating Average	Response Count
Educational change is really happening within the entire Indian education system	1	9	5	48	18	3.90	81
2. Globalization forces are a major factor driving educational change in India	0	3	4	52	22	4.15	81
3. Focus is shifting from marks and grades to the need for a more holistic well balanced education	0	7	11	33	30	4.06	81
4. The skills needs of a competitive knowledge economy are understood	2	7	19	39	12	3.66	79
5. There is a shift from prescriptive classroom teaching to participatory interactive group learning	0	8	5	44	24	4.04	81
6. Curriculum load in the Indian curriculum is due to the volume of obsolete and redundant facts	3	15	10	37	17	3.61	82
7. The mismatch between the developmental capacities of children and curricular expectations and teaching and learning methods	2	11	10	41	18	3.76	82

Assessment models associated with Indian Board examinations are							
outmoded and no longer relevant in	0	21	12	34	14	3.51	81
today's world							
9. Parental expectations of							
education are changing	1	5	6	44	26	4.09	82
10. The status of the teaching							
profession in India has improved	1	9	14	43	14	3.74	81
11. The IB will have an influence on							
educational policy and practice in	0	4	19	45	13	3.83	81
India?							
12. The IB SHOULD contribute to							
educational development (for the	0	1	3	37	40	4.43	81
masses) in India							
13. The IB is seen as an elitist	0	3	6	29	44	4.39	82
programme in India							
14. The IB can gain widespread	0	2	1.5	42	20	2.00	0.1
University Acceptance throughout	0	3	15	43	20	3.99	81
India 15. Demand for the IB will continue							
to grow in India.	0	1	10	42	28	4.20	81
16. Growth of the IB in India is being							
driven by educational vision	1	10	17	39	14	3.68	81
17. Growth of the IB in India is being							
driven by market forces	0	5	12	37	25	4.04	79
18. Privatisation has increased the							
volume and quality of schooling	1	2	10	44	23	4.08	80
opportunities in India							
19. The Government should restrict							
commercialization in the education	2	15	17	34	13	3.51	81
sector							
20. Only educational trusts and			-				
societies should be allowed to	5	30	21	11	15	3.01	82
establish and run private schools							
21. Businesses and companies	5	13	23	22	0	3.33	82
should be encouraged as private providers running private schools	5	13	23	32	9	3.33	02
22. Continued growth in the private							
sector will further exacerbate social	1	13	17	40	7	3.50	78
divisions in Indian society		13				5.50	
23. There needs to be better							
regulation to assure standards in	3	2	8	51	15	3.92	79
private schools							
24. Protection of the IB reputation							
and brand could become	7	24	25	18	5	2.87	79
problematic							
25. IB Standards and Practices for							
authorisation (affiliation) should be	0	21	15	25	17	3.49	78
stricter							
Please feel free to comment further or	any of t	he above	and Pleas	se say wh	ny you		17
believe such a position.							
					red ques		82
				skipp	ed ques	tion	3

APPENDIX 5 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA

CASE STUDY IN IB SCHOOLS – Cover Letter/Consent Form /Interview Questions (with ethics approval)



Faculty of Education and Social Work A35

Dr Nigel Bagnall
Senior Lecturer

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"The International Baccalaureate in India"

CASE STUDY in selected IB SCHOOLS

Co-ordinators and Teachers Questionnaire/Interview Questions.

Name of School :		
Position in school : please circle one	Coordinator/ Teacher/ Head or Divisional Principal/ Board member	
School IBIS Code :		

1. Which Programmes does your school offer? Please provide details

WIDER SCHOOL COMMITTMENTS	YES /NO	DETAILS Pls attach further details if available
Does your school offer a scholarship programme?	YES /NO	
Does your school support a CAS or community service programme that involves working with municipal schools	YES /NO	
Does your school have an association	YES	
with an educational NGO?	/NO	UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY HREC
		- 8 SEP 2008

APPROVED

Co-ordinators and Teachers Questionnaire/Interview Questions.

- 1. What do you believe are the three main reasons that schools in India are adopting IB programmes?
- 2. What are the key differences between your current school and previous Indian Board schools that you have worked in, in terms of pedagogy and assessment?
- 3. What changes have you seen in your school with respect to pedagogy (teaching methodologies) since the introduction of the IB programme(s)
- 4. What changes have you seen in your school with respect to assessment methodologies since the introduction of the IB programme(s)
- 5. What do you perceive to be the relative merits of the IB programmes vis a vis the Indian Board examinations?
- 6. What do you perceive to be the relative weaknesses of the IB programmes vis a vis the Indian Board examinations?
- 7. What overall benefits do you think the IB programmes offer in educational terms for students?
- 8. What additional resources and support should the IB be giving schools implementing the programmes in India?
- 9. What are the major educational changes that you are seeing in India?
- 10. What practical contributions (if any) could the IB make to educational change or development in India? What should the IB be doing?
- 11. Do you believe that Privatisation is a positive force in educational provision in India? Should profit-motivated businesses and companies as well as trusts be encouraged and allowed to operate as educational providers?
- 12. To what extent do you think that the Growth of the IB in India is being driven by market forces? What are the implications for the IB?
- 13. What are the advantages associated with allowing commercial businesses to establish and manage schools in India?
- 14. What dangers or problems do you see associated with allowing commercial businesses to establish and manage schools in India?

If you have questions or concerns about this project, please feel free to contact either my supervisor Dr Nigel Bagnell at +61 2 9351 6356 or myself directly on jguy2295@usyd.edu.au.

Kind regards,

Judith Guy

APPENDIX 6 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA

Semi- Structured Interview Questionnaire for University Representatives and Educational Officials Cover Letter/ Consent Forms/Interview Questions (with ethics approval)

Division of Doctoral Studies
Faculty of Education and Social Work
The University of Sydney
April 2010





Faculty of Education and Social Work A35

Dr Nigel Bagnall
Senior Lecturer

Telephone +61 2 9351 6356
Facsimile +61 2 9351 4580
Email n.bagnall@edfac.usyd.edu.au

Date

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY HREC

-8 SEP 2008

Dear (name of interviewee)

"The International Baccalaureate in India" Supp PROVED
Semi-Structured Interview Invitation

University Representatives and Education Representatives.

I am currently undertaking studies towards a PHD at the University of Sydney. As you may also be aware, I currently work for the IB Organisation in the role of Regional Director for IB Asia Pacific. As part of my studies I would appreciate if you would consent to be interviewed. The interview will be semi structured along the lines of the attached questionnaire. Being in this study is completely voluntary. You are not under any obligation to consent and, if you do consent, you can withdraw at any time without prejudice or penalty

This study is focusing on schools in India that have already implemented or are planning to implement IB programmes. The study aims to determine the reasons that schools in India are adopting the IB and what benefits the programmes are perceived to offer in educational terms to their constituents. It aims to analyse when and why "international" schools are emerging in India, and to consider the advantages and disadvantages of privatisation in the India school sector.

This study is situated in the modern day Indian educational context into which you have valuable insights and perceptions. If you are willing to participate in this study please confirm that you agree to being interviewed on...(date)......as discussed by completing the participant consent form. The interview should take no more than 1 hour. The interview will be taped for recording and data analysis purposes.

If you have questions or concerns about this project, please feel free to contact either my supervisor Dr Nigel Bagnell at the contact address provided or myself directly on <u>iguy2295@usyd.edu.au</u>. All information provided will be confidential to this study. Nonames or information identifying specific schools or individuals will be published as a result of this study.

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Senior Ethics Officer, Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on (02) 9351 4811 (Telephone); (02) 9351 6706 (Facsimile) or gbriody@usyd.edu.au (Email)

Thank you for your assistance and support

Judith Guy





Faculty of Education and Social Work A35

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Senior Lecturer

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Email n.bagnall@edfac.usyd.edu.au

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

	PARTIONART CONSCIENT ONLY
	, give consent to my participation in the ch project
Name	(please print)
TITLE	: "The International Baccalaureate in India" Study
In givir	ng my consent I acknowledge that:
1.	The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.
2.	I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.
3.	I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) now or in the future.
4.	I understand that interviews will be audio-taped for transcription purposes.
5.	I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.
Signe	d:
Name	
Job ti	tle:
Date:	

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Page 1 of 1 .



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"The International Baccalaureate in India"

Semi- Structured Interview Questions for University Representatives and Education Representatives.

1. To what extent do you agree with the following statements :

To what extent do you think that :	1 -5
Significant educational change is happening within the Indian education system	
Globalization factors are a major factor influencing educational change	
The needs of a knowledge economy are understood by Indian educators	
The needs of a knowledge economy are being met in todays' schools in India	
Parental expectations of education are changing amongst the educated classes in India	

What examples and evidence can you give to support your conclusions regarding these statements :

- 2. What do you believe are the major pressures and influences on education and schooling in India today?
- 3. What kind of changes are taking place? What are the major trends that you see occurring with respect to teaching and learning?
- 4. What do you perceive to be the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Indian Board examinations?
- 5. To what extent do you think the IB can gain wide University Acceptance in India what are the challenges?
- 6. Do you believe that Privatisation is a positive force in educational provision in India? What role do you think that privatization of educational provision could play in meeting the Vision 2020 goals with respect to education?

- 7. What advantages and disadvantages do you see for encouraging and allowing profit-motivated businesses and companies to operate as educational providers?
- 8. To what extent do you think that:

	To what extent do you think that :	1-5
1.	Schools adopting "international programmes" will continue to grow in India	
2.	Growth of the IB and other "international programmes" in India is being driven by market forces	
3.	Privatisation is a positive force for improved educational provision in India	
4.	Only educational trusts and societies should be allowed to establish and run private schools in India	
5.	Commercialised businesses and companies (as well as educational trusts) should also be encouraged to become private providers establishing and running private schools in India	
6.	There needs to be better regulation (e,g a government controlled accreditation process) to assure standards in private schools in India	

Any comments that would support your conclusions to the above :

- 9. What do you think are the key reasons that Indian schools are adopting "international programmes"
- 10. Please identify and Rank the TOP FIVE factors which you believe are the most significant factors influencing schools decisions to adopt IB programmes (please use each number only once, 1 = most important i.e. highest influence,...... 5 = less important factor)

	FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOLS DECISION TO ADOPT IB PROGRAMME(S)	RANKING
1.	The educational value of the IB programmes	
2.	The brand and market value of the IB programmes	
3.	The different pedagogy and assessment model	
4.	Parental Demand	
5.	Teacher Demand	
6.	Market Opportunity	
7.	Market Pressure (e.g. other local competitor schools taking on the programmes)	
8.	A perceived need for an international qualification for University entrance overseas	
9.	Dissatisfaction with Indian Board Curricula	
10.	There is a need in India to produce internationally minded global citizens	

APPENDIX 7 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN INDIA International Baccalaureate Recognition Policy

Recognition of IB diploma for admission to universities and colleges

India

At a meeting in New Delhi in April 1994, attended by the secretary general of the Association of Indian Universities (AIU), a recognition and acceptance agreement for the IB diploma was approved as an entry qualification to all universities in India.

The following agreement was revised in January 1999 and revisited in March 2005. From the May 2005 examination session, where requested, the IBO will produce and issue for universities a document detailing percentage equivalency and a transcript of results will be enclosed with the equivalency document. To request this service, students must notify their Diploma Programme (DP) coordinator of their intention to gain entrance into an Indian university. The coordinator will then submit the request using the form B2 on IBNET. The production of the equivalency document requires additional administrative processing, which may incur a fee. A fee of US\$150 per school is currently being considered. If charged, this fee will be separate from the fee for sending transcripts.

Students, particularly those applying for entrance to professional courses, can either apply to the AIU upon release of their results, specifying what professional courses they are applying for, or apply directly to the eligibility department of the university they wish to attend.

Students should also apply to the IBO sub-regional office in Mumbai for a migration certificate. For a number of courses in India, an equivalence certificate will not preclude the requirement for students to sit the entrance examinations, for example, Common Entrance Tests (CET). Prior to commencing the DP, students and DP coordinators must be familiar with the required subject combinations and levels for the student's future career path; this should ensure students' eligibility for particular professional courses.

Requirements for professional courses admission

Medical courses: Higher Level passes in physics, chemistry and biology with Standard Level passes in English A1, A2 or B. The medical degree courses include MBBS, BDS, B. Pharm., nursing and BPT.

Engineering courses: Higher Level passes in physics, chemistry and mathematics with Standard Level passes in English A1, A2 or B. Engineering courses include B. Eng. in all streams - civil, mechanical, electrical, electronics, instrumentation, computer, aeronautical engineering

The sub-regional office in Mumbai outlines separately the admission requirements for professional courses for students who are citizens of a country other than India who may wish to study in India. Students of Indian nationality with the IB diploma may compete with other students for the State Level/All India Entrance Examination.

Source: http://www.ibo.org/country/universities_rec.cfm?country_code=India¤t_country=IN