

Mapping the Education Landscape of India

Copyright ©2022
First published in 2022
by Centre for Civil Society

Authored by
Ashana Mathur and Prashant Narang,
Centre for Civil Society

Cover design and layout by
Ashana Mathur and Arjun Krishnan
Centre for Civil Society

Please cite the work as follows:
Mathur, Ashana and Prashant Narang, 2022. *Mapping the Education Landscape of India*. Centre for Civil Society.

For more information and other requests, write to:

Centre for Civil Society
A-69, Hauz Khas, New Delhi – 110016
Phone: +91 11 26537456
Email: ccs@ccs.in Website: www.ccs.in

Mapping the Education Landscape of India

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Introduction	1
Enrolment rates across schools	2
Learning outcomes	6
Infrastructure and amenities	7
A tussle between inputs and learning outcomes	11
Budget private schools	13
What does the future hold for the education sector in India?	15
Limitations of the UDISE data	17
Conclusion	18
Bibliography	19

Acknowledgements

Mapping the Education Landscape of India is the successor of the Budget Private Schools in India Report 2018 published by Centre for Civil Society. This report serves as a primer on the diverse range of schools that provide K-12 education to students in India. It captures how schools fare on enrolment levels, learning outcomes, and compliance with Right to Education Act (RTE) 2009. Finally, based on the evolving literature on K-12 education and the direction given in the National Education Policy 2020, this report presents a way forward for the education sector in India.

We would like to express our gratitude to Lakshmi Sampath Goyal for her valuable insights and guidance. Lakshmi's comments and feedback helped us highlight the nuances of the education sector hidden behind the large data-sets. Additionally, we would like to thank Jayana Bedi for reviewing our drafts and sharing her insights on the report.

We would like to acknowledge National Independent Schools Alliance (NISA) and their efforts in providing a platform for Budget Private Schools (BPS) across the country to voice their issues. We are also grateful to Arjun Krishnan for typesetting the report.

We hope that this report adds to the discourse on creating a regulatory framework that promotes school choice, increases accessibility, and promotes quality education based on learning outcomes.

Prashant Narang
Senior Fellow
Research & Training Programs

Ashana Mathur
Associate
Research & Training Programs

Introduction

India is home to over 26.5 crore students belonging to different regions, cultures, and socio-economic backgrounds (National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022). Every year, as more students enrol in one of the 15 lakh schools across the country, India's educational landscape develops and becomes more intricate. This report aims to provide a snapshot of the diverse array of schools in the country.

Schools can be broadly classified into two categories, based on management: public schools and private schools. The administration of the former rests with the government and the latter with private education providers. This report captures the differences between the two categories in terms of the number of schools, their enrolment rates, infrastructure capacity, availability of basic amenities, and the strength of their teaching staff. The insights outlined in this report are based on the 2020-21 Unified District Information System for Education (UDISE) database. UDISE is a comprehensive database, which collates information at the district level, and sources data directly from schools (National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022).

After giving an overview of the education sector in India, the report discusses the learning outcomes of students from public and private schools. The report documents the extensive research on this subject to illustrate the importance of moving from an inputs-focused approach to an approach based on learning outcomes when determining the quality of education the schools provide. Further, the report highlights the regulatory barriers in the existing framework which may stifle the entrepreneurial spirit and innovation in the education sector.

The report also sheds light on the emerging trends in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic and elaborates on a relatively understudied sub-set of private schools known as

Budget Private Schools (BPS). While the UDISE data is a widely used and highly accessible source of information on the education sector, it is not without limitations. The last section of the report lists a few limitations of the UDISE data.

Enrolment rates across schools

Figure 1 presents an overview of schools in India, classified on the basis of their management.

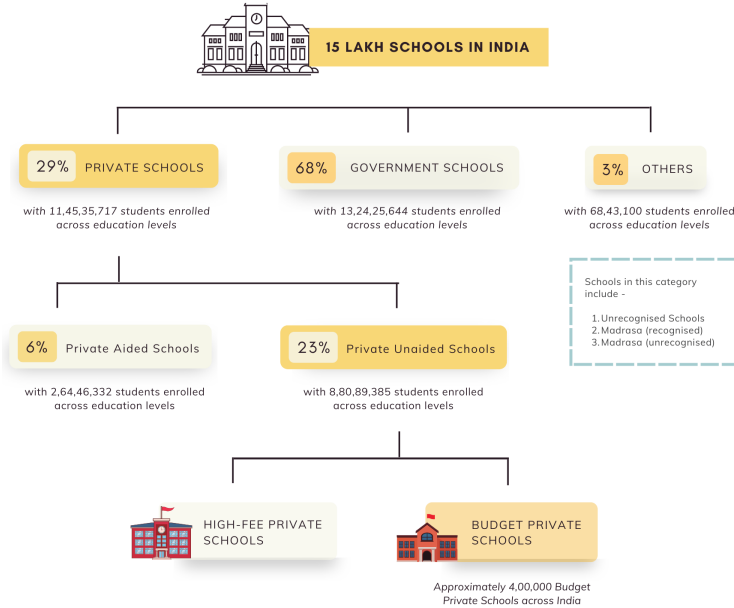


Figure 1: The Different Categories of Schools in India Based on Management Type

Adpated from: National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022 and Kingdon 2020

Government or public schools, constitute 68% (10,32,049) of schools in India. All aspects of the school administration,

from managing admissions to formulating the curriculum, are handled by the government in such schools.

Private schools, on the other hand, make up 29% (4,25,048) of the total schools in the country. These schools are managed by a private entity and funded partially or wholly by students' fees. Private schools can further be categorised as private aided and unaided schools. Private aided schools follow a model of collaboration between the public and private sectors as they are managed by private providers but receive financial support from the government. Private aided schools make up 6% (84,295) of the total schools in India. Private unaided schools (recognised schools which do not receive government funds) constitute 23% (3,40,753) of the total schools in the country. The following section highlights how the figures pertaining to the number of schools and enrolment rates have evolved over the last few years.¹

Temporal trends: Number of schools and enrolment rates from 2012 to 2021

The graph below shows the change in the number of public and private schools from 2012 to 2021. While the difference between the number of schools still remains large, we can see that since 2012, the private school sector in India has been growing steadily. From 2010 to 2016 alone the number of private schools in India rose by nearly 12 times, by 96,416 schools (Kingdon 2020). From 2018 to 2021, there is a slight decrease in the rate of growth. However, as can be seen in Figure 2, the rate remains positive at 4.45%.

1. This report focuses on the key differences between public and private unaided schools. Henceforth, private unaided schools will be simply referred to as private schools. This report thus does not use the category of private as an overarching category which includes both private aided and unaided schools.

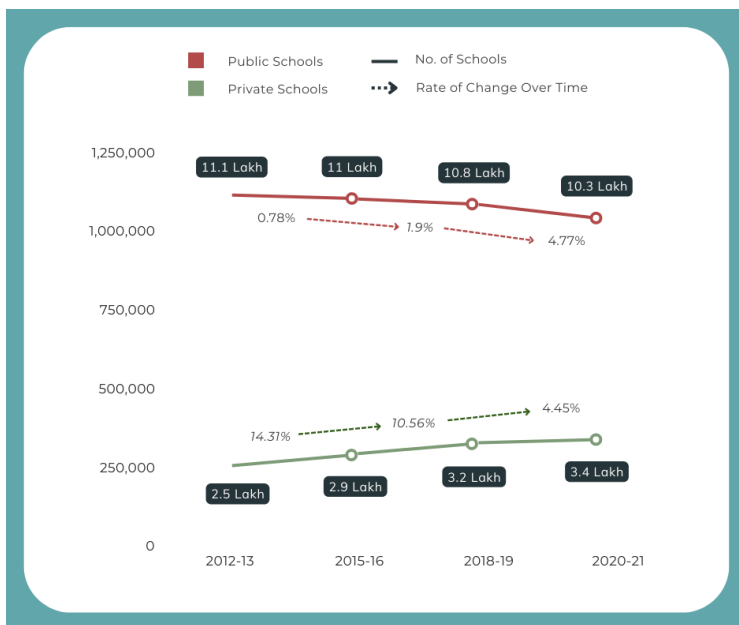


Figure 2: Number of Government and Private schools from 2012 to 2021
Adapted from: National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022

As more private schools began cropping up across the country, there was also a mass migration from public to private schools. With students abandoning public schools, it became increasingly unfeasible to maintain and fund public schools. With students abandoning public schools, it became increasingly unfeasible to maintain and fund public schools. This migration can explain why the number of public schools has steadily declined since 2012. States like Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and Chhattisgarh witnessed the closure of around 24,000 public schools in 2015–16 (Kingdon 2020). The graph shows that post-2018, the decline in the number of public schools was even more drastic (from 1.9% from 2016-

18 to 4.8% from 2018-21). A higher number of public schools suffered closures after 2018.



Figure 3: Enrolment figures of government and private schools from 2012 to 2021

Adpated from: National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022

Figure 3 depicts the enrolment trends for public and private schools. enrolments in public schools fell drastically from 2012 to 2018. On the other hand, private schools witnessed a sharp increase in enrolments from 2012 to 2016. Between 2015 and 2016, the total enrolment in private schools increased by 38.5% (Kingdon 2020). Post-2016 as well, enrolments in private schools have been steadily increasing. In 2019, unaided private schools served nearly 9 crore students or nearly 50% of all students in the country (National University of Educational

Planning and Administration 2021; Central Square Foundation 2020). However, these trends flipped dramatically over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic struck India, schools were forced to shut down due to the lockdown restrictions (Krishnan 2021). While several schools shifted to online modes of learning and remained operational during lockdowns, a pan-India sample survey revealed that only 20% of school-age children had regular access to remote learning (LIRNEasia and ICRIER 2021). A student's ability to receive education during this unprecedented period was significantly determined by socio-economic factors such as income, geographic location, and social privilege. enrolment across the board fell by 0.03%, from 26.45 crores to 26.44 crores in 2019-20 (National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022).

The pandemic also triggered a staggering income shock to most families across the country, and this resulted in students withdrawing from private schools and enrolling in government schools (Iftikhar 2022). Enrolment in government schools increased by 3% (from 13.1 crores in 2019-20 to 13.5 crores in 2020-21), whereas enrolment in private schools fell by over 3.15% during this period (from 9.82 crores in 2019-20 to 9.51 crores in 2020-21).

Learning outcomes

Learning outcomes refer to a clearly defined, demonstrable set of skills, abilities or knowledge that are possessed by a student after the completion of a specific program or learning experience. While UDISE does not collect any data on learning outcomes, there exists an extensive repository of research on the differential learning outcomes of students from public and private schools. Singh & Bangay 2014, in their paper on *Low-fee Private Schooling in India*, discusses several studies which point to the existence of a 'private school premium' that students enjoy, even after controlling for student effects.

Several studies, which employ a host of different econometric techniques, also yield results which suggest that students in private schools perform better as compared to their counterparts in public schools (Muralidharan and Kremer 2007; Wadhwa 2009; Goyal 2009; Goyal and Pandey 2012; French and Kingdon 2010; Desai et al. 2009).²

Based on these studies and the Probe analysis 2020, Woodhead et al 2013 note that private schools are not only associated with higher pupil test scores, but they also house better facilities, resources, and infrastructure. The next section focuses on the infrastructure and amenities offered by public and private schools, and compares their level of compliance with the standards outlined in the Right to Education Act (RTE) 2009.

Infrastructure and amenities

The RTE 2009 aims to “provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years.” Per the Act, all schools are required to comply with the infrastructure norms and teacher-pupil ratios mentioned under the Schedule. The Act imposes penalties on private schools that fail to meet these norms.

This section analyses the level of compliance of both private and public sector schools with the RTE 2009 standards and norms.

When it comes to the provision of basic amenities such as clean drinking water, hand washing, and toilet facilities (WASH), public and private schools show almost the same degree of compliance. Private schools performing just marginally better than public schools with approximately, 90%

2. These studies control for factors such as observed background characteristics of children, community fixed effects, village fixed effects, etc (Singh and Bangay 2014).

of all private schools having WASH facilities compared to 88% of public schools.

A higher proportion of private schools have functional electricity, 91%, as compared to 83% of public schools. Similarly, when it comes to WiFi 64% of private schools have WiFi compared to 14% of public schools. For compute facilities this is at 53% and 33%, respectively. The differences between having functional WiFi and computer facilities are especially stark and indicate that students attending public schools may lack sufficient exposure to digital technologies.

When it comes to recreational and educational facilities, 88% of private schools had playgrounds and 79% had library facilities. Whereas 71% of public schools had playgrounds and 89% had library facilities.

On the other hand, when it comes to the health metrics such as conducting medical check-ups for the students and having a kitchen garden on school premise to provide mid-day meals, the data shows greater compliance by public schools as compared to private schools. 56% of all public schools conducted medical check-ups for their students and 28% of schools had kitchen gardens. However, only 35% of all private schools conducted medical check-ups for their students and only 20% had kitchen gardens.

Finally, there is another critical RTE 2009 compliance, Pupil-Teacher Ratio (PTR). This ratio dictates the adequate number of teachers relative to the number of students enrolled at different levels of education in a particular school. Although data on PTR classified by management type is unavailable, we can derive an overview of the strength of the teaching staff at respective schools using the UDISE data.

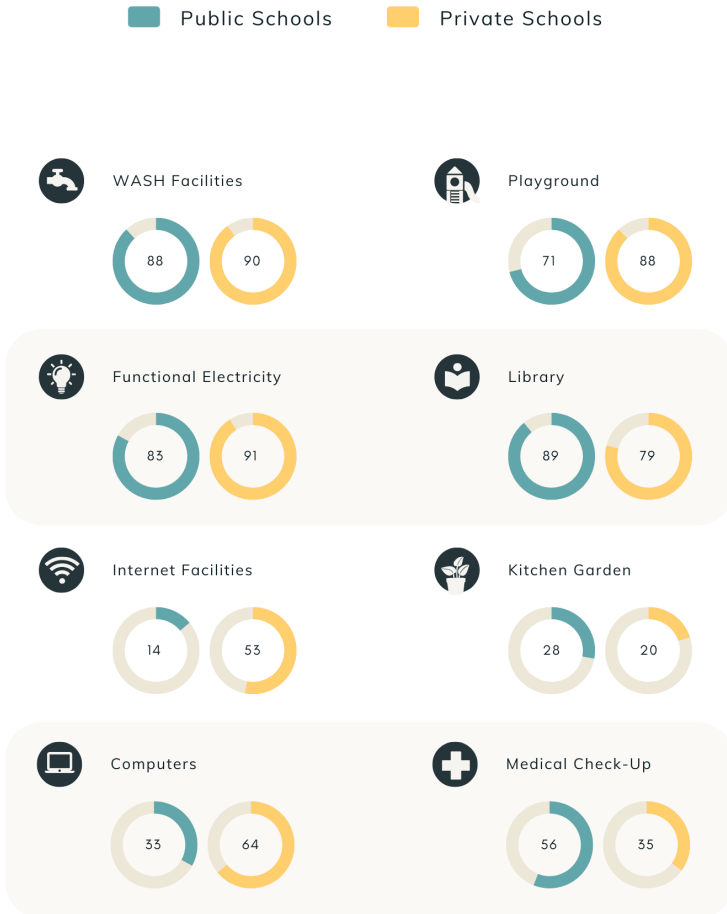


Figure 4: Percentage of government and private schools with the standard infrastructure capabilities and amenities
 Adapted from: National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022

Figure 5 shows the number of teachers in both public and private schools, as well as the proportion of teachers who

received in-service training. In-service training helps teachers improve their efficiency by facilitating their skill and knowledge development. Such programmes are crucial as they ensure that teachers are able to perform their duties effectively and in line with the standards of their profession. According to the UDISE data, the proportion of teachers who received in-service training in public schools (26%) significantly outweigh those in private schools (3%).

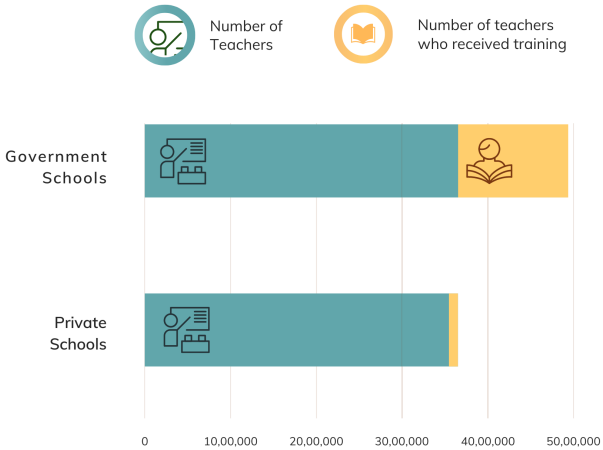


Figure 5: Number of teachers in government and private schools and the proportion of teachers who received in-service training

Adapted from: National University of Educational Planning and Administration 2022

To summarise, the proportion of private schools which provide WASH facilities, functional electricity, advanced digital technologies such as computers and WiFi, and recreational facilities such as playgrounds, is higher compared to the proportion of public schools. Whereas the proportion of public schools which had libraries, kitchen gardens for the preparation of mid-day meals, held medical check-ups, and offered in-service training for their teachers, is higher as compared to private schools.

While these amenities and resources positively contribute to create a conducive learning environment, their importance is overemphasised in the current regulatory framework. The next section elaborates on how this misplaced importance on inputs hurts the education sector and explains the need to shift to an outcomes-based approach.

A tussle between inputs and learning outcomes

In the Indian education arena, greater importance is placed on infrastructure standards and the provision of amenities than on improving learning outcomes. The reason for this is two-fold.

First, parents may not be able to ascertain the quality of education delivered as a function of the student's performance. Hence, schools tend to invest in easily observable features such as infrastructure, provision of computers, and WiFi to signal their quality of education to the parents (Central Square Foundation 2020). Investment in these amenities and resources may have no direct impact on the learning outcomes. Yet, schools prioritise projecting their ability to provide quality education, instead of investing in learning-focused improvements (Central Square Foundation 2020).

Second is RTE 2009 compliance. In order to be recognised, a school must comply with the infrastructure standards, amenities, teacher salaries, and educational resources as

outlined in the RTE 2009 (Central Square Foundation 2020). However, complying with these standards imposes several costs on schools. Incurring such costs is unfeasible for several under-funded and small-scale schools (Central Square Foundation 2020). Along with this, the process of applying for a Certificate of Recognition is complicated. This certificate is granted if the appropriate authorities believe that the school complies with the input norms mentioned under RTE 2009, in terms of infrastructure, safety, and management (K and Sood 2019). 82 documents have to be submitted in order to get a Certificate of Recognition alone. Recognition, along with the other approvals required to set up a school involve 125 documents (K and Sood 2019). Such processes add to the financial burden borne by the schools without necessarily improving the quality of education.

This overemphasis on inputs is addressed by the National Education Policy (NEP), 2020. The NEP 2020 aims to extend the vision of the RTE 2009 by ensuring educational rights of children from early childhood, i.e. age 3, through their higher secondary education or grade 12 (Agarwal and Narang 2021). Among other issues, NEP 2020 advocates for a change in infrastructure norms. Earlier these norms were seen as watertight requirements. The NEP 2020 reimagines them more flexible to account for differences in resources and availability of land for different schools, while maintaining standards for safety, and ensuring a productive learning space (Agarwal and Narang 2021).

Currently, however, the high cost of compliance either stifles entrepreneurial growth in the education sector, or compels schools to violate the provisions of the RTE 2009. These schools, also known as ‘unrecognised schools’, do not conform to the norms and standards specified by the government under the RTE 2009 (Ohara 2012). A study of 20 states in India, found that 51% of all private rural primary schools were unrecognised (Muralidharan and Kremer 2008). Even though unrecognised schools form a significant proportion

of the private schooling sector, the lack of data on these schools presents us with an incomplete picture of the education landscape and hampers our comparative analysis (Tooley, Dixon, and Gomathi 2007).

Since the UDISE data does not take into account the different sub-categories of schools, it too overlooks critical aspects of the private schooling sector. The following section hence sheds some light on one such understudied category of private schools—budget or low-fee private schools.

Budget private schools

Budget Private Schools are schools which charge low fees and cater to students belonging to disadvantaged or less well-off backgrounds. As Srivastava 2007 notes, there is no clear definition of BPS. A common definition of a BPS is a school which is entirely self-financed by tuition fees, wherein the monthly fees does not exceed a single day's earnings of a daily wage worker, at the primary and junior levels, and two days' earnings at the secondary level (Srivastava 2007). BPS generally charge a fee between Rs. 50 to 600 per month or less than \$1 to approximately \$10 (Singh and Bangay 2014). The majority of the private school sector is considered to consist of BPS since approximately 45.5% of the students in private schools pay less than Rs. 500 a month in fees (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. 2019). Even after charging such low fees, these schools manage to remain viable by paying low salaries to their teachers as compared to their high-fee private and public counterparts (Kingdon 2020). Several BPS are also run by family enterprises or by the local residents (Srivastava 2007). Since these residents usually possess a better understanding of the needs of local students, they can tailor the curriculum according to their requirements.

According to Srivastava 2008, BPS have been successfully employing the Shadow Institutional Framework (SIF) to “manipulate and mediate the formal policy and regulatory

framework for their benefit.” The SIF is a system of codified informal norms and procedures which guide BPS in their operations and have enabled them to flourish and emerge as a distinct section of the private school sector. By allowing them to mediate formal policies, such as the RTE 2009 compliances and norms, BPS are able to reduce their financial burden (Ohara 2012). Hence, the unrecognised status of BPS has helped further their growth and expansion under the radar of government inspection (Srivastava 2008). Acquiring data on BPS is a difficult task due to their ambiguous definition and unrecognised status. Despite this setback, however, researchers in recent years have been successful in conducting several studies which explore the different issues pertaining to these schools.

Works of researchers like Tooley and Dixon suggest that BPS are cost-effective options for parents whose aspirations can be met in exchange for relatively low fees. They note that parents feel disillusioned and unsatisfied with the quality of education offered by government schools and hence BPS offer their children better access to quality education (Tooley and Dixon 2006; Tooley, Dixon, and Gomathi 2007). Other studies have found that BPS may not be accessible to the poorest sections of society or students from the marginalised communities (Rose and Adelabu 2007; Härmä 2009; Akaguri 2014). Even the low fees charged by these schools significantly affect families’ daily lives and expenses. When it comes to school choice, Mousumi & Kusakabe 2019 found that parents prefer to send their children to BPS for their primary education due to the inadequate supply of government schools. Parents also prefer BPS as they are usually located near residential communities and parents feel relatively more secure in sending their children to nearby schools. Once their children reach higher grades (grade 5 or 8), however, parents prefer to withdraw them from private schools and enrol them in government schools.

Regardless of the benefits or disadvantages BPS pose, studies across the country have shown their rapid expansion in

recent years (Ohara 2012; De et al. 2002; Nambissan 2003; Woodhead, Frost, and James 2013). Researchers have also noted that BPS prefers to remain unrecognised as it helps them avoid government attention and regulation (Srivastava 2008; Ohara 2012).

While these studies have considerably illuminated a rather understudied segment of the private school sector, much remains to be explored in this field. One of the major insights that emerge from the literature on BPS calls into question the uniform application of the RTE 2009 norms and standards across the different types of schools in India. According to Dr. Pauline Dixon, the compliances stated under the RTE 2009 uses outdated criteria for accreditation and the evaluation of school performance and places several restrictions on private education in India. Strict conditions on the operation of private schools constrain their ability to experiment with innovative modes of teaching (Dixon 2010). These conditions stifle the growth and development of private schools in India.

What does the future hold for the education sector in India?

The COVID-19 pandemic drastically affected the Indian education sector. During this tumultuous period, the private schooling sector shrunk considerably and suffered due to the consecutive lockdowns. A sharp decline in enrolment in private schools diminished their ability to recover fixed costs, and resulted in a wave of private school closures.

However, as India emerges from the pandemic, the private sector is expected to recover. This is because the factors which led to its exponential rise—the demand for English language skills, better quality education, and educational resources—remain prevalent (Central Square Foundation 2020). Migration from public to private schools also helps improve the quality of education and learning conditions in public schools as it

leads to improved PTR and a rise in per child expenditure on learning materials (Central Square Foundation 2020).

Additionally, if the NEP 2020 is implemented effectively, the policy is set to introduce several positive changes in the education sector. By prioritising students' learning outcomes over infrastructure compliances, entrepreneurs would be able to set up schools more easily. It is likely to mitigate cumbersome regulatory roadblocks and result in efficient utilisation of a school's resources.

The NEP 2020 also calls for the establishment of the State School Standards Authority (SSSA)—an independent, state-wide body which would serve as an effective quality self-regulation or accreditation system (Agarwal and Narang 2021). The SSSA would ensure that all schools follow a certain set of minimal professional standards (Agarwal and Narang 2021). Since the regulator of private schools is also the same department that manages the public schools, the Department of Education, the existence of the SSSA helps reduce the coupling of power and levels the playing field for all education providers.

Finally, the case of BPS shows how complex regulations result in schools preferring to remain unrecognised if the cost of compliance is too high. Regulatory reforms, such as the NEP 2020, are thus expected to ease the burden of compliance for such schools.

To better understand the contours of the Indian education system and to anticipate how it will evolve in the future, we rely primarily on databases such as UDISE. While the UDISE data gives us information related to a wide range of metrics, it is not without fault. The next section focuses on the limitations of the UDISE data.

Limitations of the UDISE data

The UDISE data does not categorise all metrics based on management type. For example, the data on PTR is provided on the basis of location (states) but not in terms of management type. This prevents any comparison between public and private schools and limits analysis that researchers and policymakers can undertake.

Additionally, the UDISE data also does not take into account the differences within each sub-category of management type. For instance, private schools can further be divided into aided and unaided schools. However, the UDISE data does not distinguish between these two categories and clubs them as ‘private schools’ (Kingdon 2020).

Lastly, information on fees charged by the different types of schools and on learning outcomes are not covered by the UDISE data. Adding these metrics to the database would make it more comprehensive. This data would help in classifying schools into high-fee and low-fee categories. Information on learning outcomes would allow researchers and policymakers to draw relationship between inputs and learning outcomes.

Conclusion

This report serves as a primer on the different types of schools (categorised by management type), which populate the educational landscape of India. Although some may think that schools in India can be neatly categorised as either public or private schools, when we look more closely, we find that this landscape is riddled with overlaps and complexities. These sub-categories may be difficult to discern, especially while using datasets like the UDISE database. Hidden sectors such as BPS and other unrecognised schools fail to find a mention in widely used data sources. Recent literature on K-12 education points to a positive trend and makes the issues of BPS more mainstream in the discourse around education in developing countries.

Bibliography

- Agarwal, Anirudh, and Prashant Narang. 2021. "National Education Policy 2020: One time comprehensive evaluation."
- Akaguri, Luke. 2014. "Fee-free public or low-fee private basic education in rural Ghana: How does the cost influence the choice of the poor?" *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 44 (2): 140–161.
- Central Square Foundation. 2020. "State of the Sector Report: Private Schools in India."
- De, Anuradha, Manabi Majumdar, Meera Samson, and Claire Noronha. 2002. "Private schools and universal elementary education." *India education report: A profile of basic education*, 148.
- Desai, Sonalde, Amaresh Dubey, Reeve Vanneman, and Rukmini Banerji. 2009. "Private schooling in India: A new educational landscape." SAGE Publications India.
- Dixon, Pauline. 2010. "RTE Act & Private School Regulation."
- French, Rob, and Geeta Kingdon. 2010. "The relative effectiveness of private and government schools in Rural India: Evidence from ASER data." *London: Institute of Education* 11.
- Goyal, Sangeeta. 2009. "Inside the house of learning: The relative performance of public and private schools in Orissa." *Education Economics* 17 (3): 315–327.
- Goyal, Sangeeta, and Priyanka Pandey. 2012. "How do government and private schools differ?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 67–76.
- Härmä, Joanna. 2009. "Can choice promote Education for All? Evidence from growth in private primary schooling in India." *Compare* 39 (2): 151–165.

- Iftikhar, Fareeha. 2022. “Govt data: 4 million students moved to govt schools in first Covid pandemic year.”
- K, Pavitra, and Sanjana Sood. 2019. “What does it take to Open a Private School.”
- Kingdon, Geeta Gandhi. 2020. “The private schooling phenomenon in India: A review.” *The Journal of Development Studies* 56 (10): 1795–1817.
- Krishnan, Murali. 2021. “COVID in India: School closures, digital divide affect millions.” *DW*.
- LIRNEasia and ICRIER. 2021. “Access to Services during COVID-19 in “Digital India”.”
- Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation. 2019. “Key Indicators of Household Social Consumption on Education in India. NSS 75.”
- Mousumi, Manjuma Akhtar, and Tatsuya Kusakabe. 2019. “The dilemmas of school choice: do parents really ‘choose’ low-fee private schools in Delhi, India?” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 49 (2): 230–248.
- Muralidharan, Karthik, and Michael Kremer. 2007. “Public and private schools in rural India.” *Harvard University, Department of Economics, Cambridge, MA* 9:10–11.
- . 2008. “Public and private schools in rural India.” *School Choice International: Exploring Public-Private Partnerships*. 9:10–11.
- Nambissan, Geetha B. 2003. “Educational deprivation and primary school provision: a study of providers in the city of Calcutta.”
- National University of Educational Planning and Administration. 2021. “UNIFIED DISTRICT INFORMATION SYSTEM FOR EDUCATION PLUS (UDISE+) Flash Statistics 2019-20.”

- . 2022. “UNIFIED DISTRICT INFORMATION SYSTEM FOR EDUCATION PLUS (UDISE+) Flash Statistics 2020-21.”
- Ohara, Yuki. 2012. “Examining the legitimacy of unrecognised low-fee private schools in India: Comparing different perspectives.” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 42 (1): 69–90.
- Rose, Pauline, and Modupe Adelabu. 2007. “Private sector contributions to Education for All in Nigeria.” *Private schooling in less economically developed countries: Asian and African perspectives*, 67–87.
- Singh, Renu, and Colin Bangay. 2014. “Low fee private schooling in India—More questions than answers? Observations from the Young Lives longitudinal research in Andhra Pradesh.” *International Journal of Educational Development* 39:132–140.
- Srivastava, Prachi. 2007. “For philanthropy or profit? The management and operation of low-fee private schools in India.” *Private schooling in less economically developed countries: Asian and African perspectives*, 153–186.
- . 2008. “The shadow institutional framework: Towards a new institutional understanding of an emerging private school sector in India.” *Research Papers in Education* 23 (4): 451–475.
- The Probe Team. 2020. “Public Report on Basic Education in India.”
- Tooley, James, and Pauline Dixon. 2006. “‘De facto’ privatisation of education and the poor: implications of a study from sub-Saharan Africa and India.” *Compare* 36 (4): 443–462.

- Tooley, James, Pauline Dixon, and SV Gomathi. 2007.
“Private schools and the millennium development goal of universal primary education: A census and comparative survey in Hyderabad, India.” *Oxford Review of Education* 33 (5): 539–560.
- Wadhwa, Wilima. 2009. “Are private schools really performing better than government schools.” *Annual status of education report (rural) New Delhi*.
- Woodhead, Martin, Melanie Frost, and Zoe James. 2013. “Does growth in private schooling contribute to Education for All? Evidence from a longitudinal, two cohort study in Andhra Pradesh, India.” *International Journal of Educational Development* 33 (1): 65–73.



CENTRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY

Founded in August 1997 on the 50th Anniversary of India's independence, Centre for Civil Society (CCS) is a leading public policy think tank today, ranked 5th in India and 83rd in the world by the TTCSP 2021 report.

CCS champions individual choice and institutional accountability by shaping India's public policy, using evidence-based research, outreach programs and policy training. Our areas of work include education, livelihoods, governance, environment, agriculture and science & technology policy.

Since its founding in 1997, CCS has stayed non-partisan and independent, providing objective analysis and inputs on public policy. Our work in education, livelihood, policy training, property rights and competitive markets are secured by the rule of law and promotes choice and accountability across private and public sectors.



THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS ALLIANCE

The National Independent Schools Alliance (NISA) is a platform that brings together Budget Private Schools (BPS) from across the country to give them a unified voice to address their concerns about legislations and bye-laws which apply to them. It works to facilitate quality improvement in these schools. NISA represents approximately 1 Lakh Budget Private Schools, 10 lakh teachers, 20 crore students, and 62 State Associations across India.



A-69, Hauz Khas, New Delhi - 110016

Tel: +91 11 2653 7456 | Website: www.ccs.in | Email: ccs@ccs.in