

# CHAPTER-07

## **PARA TEACHERS IN INDIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF ISSUES, CHALLENGES, AND IMPACT ON MASS EDUCATION**

**Dr. Kumar Anand**

*Assistant professor, teach Sociology, School of Law, Amity University, Patna,  
Email id: [kumar.anand123@gmail.com](mailto:kumar.anand123@gmail.com)*

**Khushbu Kausar**

*Assistant Professor, Glocal School of Business & Commerce, Glocal University,  
Email id: [khushbu@theglobaluniversity.in](mailto:khushbu@theglobaluniversity.in)*

**Dr. Indresh Pachauri**

*Assistant Professor, Glocal School of Business & Commerce, Glocal University,  
Email id: [indresh@theglobaluniversity.in](mailto:indresh@theglobaluniversity.in)*

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Numerous studies have been pointed out the importance of teachers in improving the quality of education, particularly those who are having lower cultural contingency and lower conducive environment back home. In India, the thrust for universalization of primary education started during 1990s with different schools for different strata of children; non- formal schools with management of schools at local level was one of them. For that Para teachers emerged as remedy of teacher absenteeism, high teacher pupil ratios, and highly politicized teachers union and easily available to engage that activities without being properly trained. Under this background, this paper try to analyse issues and challenge posed by Para teachers in elementary school with use of some of micro level studies by different scholars and emerging statistical studies conducted by NUEPA. As evidences suggest that the functioning (engagement of teacher-learner) of schools, where Para teacher are posted, have not been improved substantially in public primary schools, although it has certainly decreased teacher absenteeism and lower the teacher pupil ratios. Underlying this discussion, this paper argues that the mass education has been unable to challenge the elite education in India. Hence, the differences between masses and elite education has been widened and intensified in the era of universalized education by using reproduction theory of Bourdieu's cultural capital in general and Naik's distinction between masses-elite institution particularly in India which states that education is site of class differentiation and reproduction of distinction between masses and elite.*

**Keywords:** *Mass Education, Para teachers, Teacher-Learner Activates, Cultural Capital*

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

After independence, education of masses has been seen among leader as an axis of social and political mobility along with building nation since earlier education policy had had spelled out the notion of secularism, the idea of equality of opportunity irrespective of caste, creed, religion, or gender). By effect of it, the massive expansion of education can be felt after more than sixty years of independence. For instance, overall India's literacy rate is 74 percent of total population, as latest census of India report (2011) revel. Further, the literacy rate for males and females is to 82.10% and 65.40% respectively. There are ten state in India, whether states or union territory, where literacy rate are having more or equal to 85% including NCT of Delhi and the males and females of this state has literacy rate of 91.03% and 80.93% respectively (For detail, html:1, 2011, pp.97-135). The expansion of elementary education can recognize from the fact that the elementary school grew from 200,00 school in 1950s to more than 800,00 schools in 2004, as Govinda & Yosphine (2005) estimated(P.193). Therefore, it is quite remarkable to note that most of the children are having now access to primary schools in reachable areas.

Nonetheless, the flip side of Indian education system is that about 42 million, as Govinda & Yespaline (2005) observed, children of schooling age are out of school. Further, around 52 percent of children drop out without completing upper primary schooling. All of these failures indicate there are serious constraints in retaining all children in schools as well as bring children who are currently out of schools. But most problematic aspect of primary education in India is that public school system is almost non-functioning in many part of the country due to the shortage of teachers and absenteeism. As Tilak (2009) noted that Indian education system is identified with the singular feature of zero teacher and single teacher schools (p.48). In fact the pupil teacher Ratios (or PTR) has been increasing since independence. The increase in the number of teacher has not kept pace with the increase in student number. Although the national average for the PTR was forty-six yet it found that the ratio was as high as 104 in Bihar and 58 in Utter Pradesh (p.49). In fact, it is quite common that many schools are run under single teacher in which teachers are teaching multi classes. Besides, the case of teacher absenteeism is well documented phenomena (see Kingdon & Muzzamil 2003, Drenze & Sen and html:5, 2007). In fact, it is quite true in the case of rural part of the some like Bihar or UP. The main cause of teacher absenteeism has been identified are following: 1) the distance of residence from schools, 2) poor physical facilities at work place, schools and, most importantly 3) low motivation to teach (see for detail, html:7, 2009, and Kingdon & Muzammil 2003). To universalize elementary education, the central government as well as state government has taken different means like cluster schooling or recruitment of Para or contract teachers to fulfill students aspiration as well as finding the solution of absenteeism and teachers shortage during 90s. This is done through decentralization of schools planning as well as implementation of programme. For instance, the hiring of teacher are come under Panchyati Raj institution or under village schools committee, which was first started in Rajasthan and MP during 90s but many state adopted it at substantial level.

Under this background, this paper is arranged following. Second section discuss about conception of elite and mass education. Third section discuss the hierarchy of educational institution at the schooling level. And the last section discuss about the evolution of para teachers in government schools and its implication on wider landscape of education.

## **2. CONCEPTUALIZING ELITE AND MASS EDUCATION**

Naik (1979) analysis interwoven around the difficult trinity of India, as title itself aloud it 'Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education'. In analysis, Naik starts with the three sort of power in society-economic, social, and

education-which needed to keep in tune with one another if society(or particular community) want to have holistic all round development. However, there is tendency to seek one power over other that might put immense pressure of that realm. Briefly, it goes with the historical evolution of modern education in India in which British wanted education to be preparation of administrative jobs that was, initially, seized by upper caste and urban male. Later, women were also incorporated in education but it could not become universal. Therefore, the disparities among male-female, upper caste-lower caste continues to exist; Naik argues that there is long way to make education to all. Anyway, the post-independent development in educational realm sharpen the division between elite education-where the resources are ample and more employability oriented like professional courses, or instruction in English started with elementary education-and masses education-in which there are constant scarcity of resources, instructed in vernacular languages and less employability oriented. Indeed, the pre-elementary education was given to children of elite classes whereas masses have to start with the elementary education. This duality of education system has been proceeded amid of the increasing the reach of education among the masses. As the masses education development itself suggest that there education would be in lower quality, it has been constantly pointed out that quality of that sort of education is not at the par with desired requirement. Indeed, the whole notion of 'Quality'-the conceptual analyses either from input or output basis leave much room to speculates about the nature of 'Quality' in education- started as early as 1900s and since than it has been devised to lament on the masses education. It is also true that as universalization of education proceed the diversity that would intensify the distinction between two (or in empirical ground more than two), the 'quality' does(and will) always prevail upon.

### **3. HIERARCHY OF SCHOOLING IN INDIA**

The issue of Indian primary education is well known phenomena since first nation policy on education in late 60s and, to tackle it effectively, Governments (central as well as state) has been taken many different programme like making education free of cost to bring children those who are out of schools or improving infrastructures (school building or separate boys and girls toilet at primary level). From 1990s, policy regarding education has been changing to encompass all children schooling. For instance, programme like, *Serva Siksha Abhiyan* (henceforth SSA) was initiated to provide elementary education to all children. It is fairly theorize phenomena in economics that children of poor parents often engaged in earning with family member because return of education in these situation are lesser than earning as early as possible. The children of poor parents have less chance of completing any given educational cycle than more affluent parent's children. For it, there can be, as Todaro (1993) putted it, two

fundamental reason-1) the private cost of primary education (especially in view of the 'opportunity cost' of a child labour to poor families) are higher for poor students than more affluent students. 2)the expected benefits of primary education are lower for poor students. Together, the higher costs and lower expected benefits of education mean that a poor family's "rate of return" from investment in child's education is lower than it is for other families. Therefore, it is more likely to drop out early year of schooling or never go to school for a child of poor parent (p.346-347). This line of reasoning is, to some extent, right in the case of India where significant portion of population is still poor; for instance, the economic factor of schooling and opportunities cost keep children away from schools in rural as well as urban areas, and among both boys and girls in India. As Tialk estimated (2009) that 'the economic factor together account for more than 40 percent of the response for not attending schools' (p.38-39).

These diverse conceptions about teaching in pedagogy arise out of viewing whole education system from different perspective. Critical theorists accept this conception of teaching but enlarge the progressive concept that teacher research focuses on students and moves it from an individual analysis of students to a larger social, economic, and political one. By viewing students as socially constructed persons, teacher need to examine students in their social context. What is valid question in critical theory, as Walker (2009) pointed out, is that 'who is teaching, who is being taught, and how they are being taught matter as what is being taught' (p.333). Further Walker (2009) quoted from Freire, a well-known educationist, over the significance of education that we humanize over selves when we engage in critical and dialogical praxis. Knowledge and knowing is never complete, and both arise from dialogue and engagement with the messy realities of life (p.335). By the dialogic engagement with students, the essential question is, therefore, what kind of human being do I hope my student might one day become?, as Waleker (2009) argued (p.335). Hence, it is not easier to have agreement on the issue of role of teachers and process of teaching because the underpinning assumption and ideology differ across scholars but the notion of cooperative engagement of teacher-learner is widely accepted in education policy and practices across globe.

As it's quite evident from the Economical underpinning of education 2010) has taken the identification of good teacher by Haavio, a feminist educator, that three key characteristics of good teacher are following-1)Pedagogical discretion(the ability to use the most appropriate teaching for each individuals.) 2)Pedagogical love(the instinctive.-the desire to help, protect and support) and, finally 3)Vocational(it seize the teachers personality in a such way she is ready to do her work and find in its internal gratification and the purpose of her life).This notion of teaching bring us to the other

dimension of pedagogies in which teaching has its moral and ethical issue. Additionally, there is no disconnection between the head and heart, the cognitive and the emotional (p.16). But, the retention of good teachers is not easy task in present scenarios across the globe due to the changing nature of work, particularly after 80s. The recruitment and rotation of good teachers also depend on their jobs satisfaction and feeling of achievement. As Day (2010) quoted from even (1998) distinguishes two factors that contributes to jobs satisfaction among primary school teachers: a) Job Comfort-the extent to which teachers are satisfied with the condition and circumstances in which they work. Finally, b) Jobs fulfilment-a state of mind encompassing all the feelings determined by the extent of the sense of personal achievement that teachers attributes to their performance of those aspects of their jobs which they value (p. .76).

it is important to note that there have been growing deferent type of school in India like private schools(there are verity of private schools across India) or government schools(Navodya vidalya,a centrally sponsored schools established in every district during Rajiv Gandhi era).As Rmamaachardan and Sharma(2007) noted that government schools themselves are further divided into formal and informal schools, with latter lacking trained teachers and basic facilities and catering to poorest children(p.11).For instance, the school like Navodaya Vidalaya-a residential schools catering to very small number of children selected on the basis of merit or Central schools-which is run by central government and cater to children of government employees. Besides, there are schools formal and informal schools set up by state government schools and these schools are accessed by vast majority of children, as Ramacharden & Sharma claims(p.11).While private schools ,as Ramachardan & Sharma(2007) noted, fall into two categories, depending on the source of their funding: aided schools or unaided schools(P.11).This different type of has created the hierarchy of Schools system in India and hierarchy is so strong that it caters different children in different functioning, as html:6 (2007) stated. The Report goes further and lamented on hierarchy of schools and it impact on Indian Social, political and governance structure and says that it has led to the fragmentation across India.

The hierarchies of schools have been widened after globalization of Indian economy during 90s.For instance, the demand of private schools has been grown rapidly and these private schools are marked with giving instruction in English medium. As Screase and Screase (2011) argued in the study of middle class of West Bengal in globalize era that the cultural politics of education in India is indeed part and parcel of the broader political struggle over scare resource and valued resources. In Fact, English language proficiency in a globalizing India is an essential component of owns cultural baggages, resources that can eventually open doors into the world of professional

employment in India and abroad. For the middle classes, English is a resources that must be defended and maintained at all cost (p.148). As Screase and Screase (2011) goes further and analyze of the English language instruction and its economical and cultural implication and observed that the continued, and active, monopolization of schooling by Middle and elite class since independence in order to defend their own interest. Particularly, after globalization in 90s, India, English language proficiency forms an essential component of one's stock of cultural capital which must be acquired, maintained and passed from one generation to next generation. Therefore, it would not be surprising to fact that it continue to fosters to unequal outcome because one class seek to harness the social advantage of an internationalized education, proficiency in English and attending universities whereas the other classes measures success purely in term of attaining literacy even though government may provide basic schools or improved facilities but cannot provides cultural capital. All else being equal, marginalized groups still lack the cultural capital which is necessary for future success.

Although, the structure and functioning of these schools are not our focal point of debate, hence it would be not discussed further. Nevertheless it is important to note that how these different schools are accessible to different strata of society whether on the basis of merit of children or on the basis of paid fees by parents. In fact, it does remind us, as it is putted by Apple (2001) that "education is site of struggle and compromise. It serve as a proxy as well for larger battle over what our institution should do, who they should serve, and who should make these decisions. And, yet, by itself it is one of the major arena in which resources, power, and ideology specific to policy, finance, curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation in education are worked through" (p.36).

#### **4. POLITICIZATION OF TEACHERS**

Public schools run by state government or local body like Panchayti raj institution (particularly after 90s). It is observed on the never-ending problem with public school in many state of India is that the prevalent of teacher absenteeism. Teacher absenteeism is regarded as a perennial problem in elementary school in India. In Tilak (2009) a recent survey has shown that on an average, the teacher absentee rate is around 25 percent at the national level, and varies between 14.5 percent in Maharashtra and 10.5 per cent in Madhya Pradesh on the one hand, and between 38.3 percent in Bihar and 39.9percent in Jharkhand, on the other hand. at the national, it is 25 percent of absenteeism of theirs (p.50). Main cause of this problem is identified that there has been highly politicization of teacher in some of the northern state, namely UP or Bihar (html:6, 2007 also observed high teachers' absenteeism), where the absenteeism is quite high, and it has led low motivation for teaching and so.

To see the reason for absenteeism and politicization of teachers, one needs to go back to before independence period, when Indian state formation was discussed during drafting constitution among that time prominent politician. School teacher got prominent role in Indian politics by constitutionally given power to be elected as M.L.C. in upper house of state (or Vidhan parishad). This power to be elected as a M.L.C. come from the fact they (or teachers) has reserved seats of certain number. During committee meeting over teacher as reserved seats, there was almost no agreement within drafting committee, as Kingdon & Muzammil (2003) observed, but Dr. Ambedkar, head of drafting committee, was quite convinced there are noble person in society and by their nobility and intelligentsia they would help in shaping modern India. As Kingdon & Muzammil (2003) stated that teacher was given a special legal status by the constitutional provision, and guaranteed representation in the upper house of state legislatures, which is now known as graduates seats of M.L.C. (precisely it was given after Supreme Court verdict). This status was linked to the notion of teacher as being learned, noble and high thinking person who would not become party politics (P.252-253). But the matter of fact is that teachers and school were become part of broader process of politicization in India in which teachers mobilization and unionization are matter of conflicts and connections.

Apart from that, teachers were part of state bureaucracy in which they secure salaries along with guaranteed benefits but it was quite minimal at early independence era. As Sen & Drenze (2005) observed that in early 60s till 70s, teachers' salaries were quite minimum if one compare with other similar level of bureaucrat at that point of time. Hence, the demand for better service condition was started by teachers and teacher union was set up to demand these thing. In fact, as Kingdon & Muzammil(2003) observed, that first teacher union in U.P. was set up in middle of 50 under name of Madhayamik Skikhak Sangh (hence after MSS).to demand for better salaries, MSS adopted many different means of protest such as Dharna (setting together and protesting), march and strike (withdrawal from work).Within these means, MSS primarily adopted the strike means since establishment for their demand and the primary motive of these strike and protest have been, as Kingdom& Muzammi (2003)l observed, to secure better salaries and better condition of work. It is not surprising to note that these demands have been met through their political connection and being part of state legislation of their own members. As Sen & Drenze estimated that from 1980 to 1990, teacher's salaries rose by 9 percent per year and their salaries are almost equal to other similar level state bureaucrat (p.122). In fact, the regular teacher's salaries are quite high if one compare with other countries even in Asia. As Jain & Saxena (2010) quoted the estimation by Jain and Dholakia (2009 ,2010) that in comparison to 39 Asian

countries where salaries were 1.7 to 1 with reference to per capita GDP, in India the ratio was 5 to 1 It was argued that more emphasis need to go to local market comparators. Jain and Dholakia argued that the salary of a schoolteacher in the private sector is almost 25% to 35% of the cost of government salary (p.79). Although teacher's salaries have been increased over period of time but teachers motivation toward teaching is decreased(the connection of teachers' salaries and motivation for teaching would further be taken up in next chapter).

As Kingdon & Muzammil (2003) argued, when they are comparing U.P. MSS with the U.K. teachers union during twentieth century, that U.K. teacher union had been improved teaching quality along with securing better work conditions whereas U.P. teacher did help in securing better working condition but did not help in improving teaching quality because MSS linked with political parties and ambitious teacher's leaders split the MSS in many group on the basis of personal identities to gain power out of it(PP.191-193).Although it should be noted that many state level as well as centre level leaders emerged out of teacher's mobilization Like Kalyan Singh, a former CM of U.P. but it should not be forgotten that these leader are bound to differ on the basis of political parties ideology. Therefore it can be argued that teaching quality has been degraded due to politicization of teacher union and schooling has been taken the root of political connection and struggle. It also seems to suggest the lack of motivation among teachers.

## **5. RISE OF PARA-TEACHERS**

Trained and well-motivated teachers are expected to perform better than untrained teachers. In recent year, many untrained teachers are recruited in schools, which are known as Para teachers or contract teachers. This may be partly to avoid serious budgetary constraint (large proportion of money goes in salaries of these regular teachers), on the one hand, and partly to avoid problem relating to teacher management, as we have earlier argued that teachers of government schools are highly politicized in some state of India. In some cases, this is also felt, as Tilak (2009) observed necessary as enough fully qualified teacher are not available for recruitment on the full-time basis, while a large number of educated young available. As Govinda & Josephine (2005) observed on the evaluation of Para teachers and employing these type of teachers goes back to the implementation of DPEP and education guarantee scheme of Madhya Pradesh. The recruitment of Para teachers is not confined to India only but many African countries also haired Par teachers (See, Bourdon& et.al, 2010). But in Indian context, before MP, the Himachal Pradesh government appointed Para teachers in earlier 1984, under the banner of 'Himachal Pradesh volunteer teacher scheme' to ensure teacher

availability in remote areas where regular teachers are reluctant to go (p.202). It was at this juncture, particularly during the late 80s and the 90s, that the structural adjustment programmes of the world Bank and IMF was imposed on country after country .As html:5 (2007) observed in the changing of Indian educational view among policy makers that this resulted in a change education yielded space to literacy; school education was replaced by non-formal education centers, alternative schools, education guarantee schemes etc.; the imperative of schools having qualified trained full-time teachers was replaced by low-paid untrained Para-teachers; and the principle of providing one teacher for every class was substituted by multi-grade teaching wherein one teacher is trained to teach five classes together(html:5,pp.50-51) . Further, the report goes on and observe that ‘the irony of it all is that all these special programmes and projects are meant only for the children of the poor in the country, as the children of the rich can always have access to better schools. Therefore it is not difficult to submit that the conception of Para teachers and education for poor section of society fundamentally driven and inspired by international development organization during the 90s. More importantly, most of these student are first generation learner who are attendant of schools in which Para teacher are From that period (precisely from 90s) onward, the recruitment of Para teachers started under different scheme in different states, otherwise, in normal case, fully paid and by exams regular teachers have been appointed. As Govnida & Josephine (2005) observed that these teachers’ appointment often varying service conditioning term of emolument and qualification requirement and refers to them in varying name such as shikshakarmi, shikshamitra, and guruji, depending on the particular scheme under which the teachers are being employed(p196). The number of part-time teachers in rural primary schools has been growing rapidly. The phenomenon of voluntary/contractual teachers is a new one and probably there were no teacher of this kind in 1986.

There has been recognized the acute shortage of teachers in India. This is the condition of public schools and teacher availability, even though almost all policy of education discussed about student teacher ratio. For instance, right to education bill, which is enacted last year (2010), state that teacher student ratio should be no more than 1:40. It does mention that regularity and punctuality in attending school are necessary in order to the completion of entire curriculum within specified time. It goes on to note specifically that instruction hours in a year should be 800hrs.For classes 1 to 5 in a year whereas it should be 1000 hrs for 6 to 8 classes. Policy for recruitment and redeployment of teachers being put up to cabinet to ensure that prescribed PTR is attained in all schools within 6 months (For detail, html:6,2009). The constraint of reaching prescribed PTR and Absenteeism and other service of teachers are not taken up explicitly in RTE

(see detail Jha& Pandey,2010). But the matter of fact is that most state government seems to favour of the appointment of Para teacher so they could save huge resources and to avoid the managerial problems of dealing with the full-time teachers. If one goes by historical evolution of Para or contract teachers in educational policy, one would surprise to note that last education 1986/92 policy, which is still followed to the large extent, putted on teachers' recruitment that "recruiting teachers will be recognized to ensure merit and conformity with spatial and functional requirement. The pay and service condition of teachers have to be consumerate with social and professional responsibilities and with the need to attract talent to the professional(P.9.2).But the fact of matter is that the appointment of Para teacher has been started since early 90s and gained momentum in different state to minimize budgetary expenses and decentralize Elementary schools management. And, perhaps, first policy, which talked about Para teachers at central level, come up during 99s,which is known as „national committee of state education ministers', and said that lack of community control over teachers is, as Govinda & Josephine(2005) cause of huge absenteeism and low motivation among teacher in public schools(p.198). It goes further and states that teachers' shortage is also quite high. So, the controls of elementary education should goes at decentralized level in which recruitment of Para teachers should allow that can overcome these problems.

As it is indicated in last section, the conception of Para teachers varies state to state. It would be worthwhile see the recruitment of Para teachers, their educational qualification and where they are largely posted. The recruitment of Para teachers are done at local level, whether some state Para teachers are haired by the local government Like Bihar or MP whereas some other stats haired Para teachers by the village school committee. AS Leclercq (2007) observed in the field of MP that ,to obtain a public teaching position under panchayat, there are required to have social connection or sometime bribes to board members. The rent seeking at decentralize level is matter of debate but the rent seeking practices at schools committee level also observed by Shahy (2009) in Rural Bihar in somewhat different context or to be become president of schools committee.

Without going to the detail of Panchayti raj institution and rent seeking practices, in such circumstances, there are possibly of that qualified applicant who are powerful but not motivated tend to be, as Leclercq (2007) argued, preferred to those who are motivated but powerless(pp.478). The largest proportion of Para teachers are posted in primary schools. As Mehta (2010) observed that Para teacher are not confined to primary and upper primary level but good number of such teachers (18.69%) are having large number of such schools (p.181). If one sees the geographical location of Para teachers in India, most of them tend to come under rural or remote and northern part of

the country. Further more than 5 per cent of total schools are having only Para teachers. The majority of Para teachers are in the state of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, MP, and Rajasthan and UP, which together hire 68% of Para teachers across country. But the state like Kerala or other southern state has negligible percentage of Para teachers (for detail see Table 4.10 in Mehta, 2010).

The nature of contract differ from one state to other state but two things are important to identified in their contract-viz. tenure of contract and academic qualification of para teachers. As Kingdon & Rao (2011) observed that the tenure varies between 11 and 60 months. However, their tenure would be extended if their performances are found to be satisfactory. As Govinda & Josephine (2004) estimated that 95% of Para teacher contract were renewed every years. But, State like Bihar has appointed Para teachers during 2007-2008 for life terms. The wage paid to regular and pare teachers differ across states and the wage of Para teachers range from Rs.1,500 to Rs.4,500. For instance, west Bengal Para teachers are paid near about 14 percent of the wage of regular teachers whereas the Para teachers of J&K are paid about 68 percent of wage of regular teachers. . Low salaries are cause of dissatisfaction among locally recruited Para teachers, which may hamper their motivation level (see Kingdon & Rao, 2011). But the most striking observation is made by Leclercq (2007) in field interview in MP that most of the gurujis and sikshakarmi interviewed want better salaries but without having to work more. Further, these teachers are often engaged in other works like giving private tuition or cultivate their own lands (pp.487-488). This lack of motivation among regular or Para teachers are quite paradoxical in Indian public schools systems. And some of the Scholars are in favours of recruitment of low salary teachers whereas some want to the recruitment of teachers at full salaries (For detail, see Jain & Saxsena, 2010). The duel structure of salaries among teachers is not certainly going to create a very “passionate” teachers in Day terminology because the lack of jobs satisfaction and engagement of these teachers in other activities would get reflect in teaching practices. This has led us to see their educational and professional qualification, in services trainings and its implication of teaching learning practices.

There is question regarding the educational qualification and professional qualification of Para teachers, as it is theoretically as well as empirically evidence from Austrian public schools demonstrated that a good and well prepared teachers may make the difference of children, even though children happen to be underprivileged background. Therefore it is necessary to look at the educational profile of Para teachers in order to understand their eagerness toward education by engaged teaching and learning. As Mehta (2010) observed that majority of teacher at primary schools (all type of schools) are hire onward below (total 54.91 percent against 55.77 percent in 2006-07,

male 55.65%, and female 53.89%) at all India level (p.171). On the average, the Para teachers are better qualified than regular teachers, even in the state like Bihar or UP. But, the professional qualification of Para teachers like P.GT., T.GT and so on is dismally low if own compare with regular teachers. Roughly, the professional qualification of Para teachers is more or less similar to the 50 percents (See detail Mehta 2010, Kingdon & Rao, 2010). In fact, the professional qualification of Para teachers in Bihar and UP is, as estimated in Kingdon & Rao (2010), 85 percent and 96 percent respectively lacked (p.61). In the sense, the Para teachers are having better educational qualification than regular teachers but they do lack pre-service trainings.

Now, it is necessary to look at Percentage of teachers in service training all state average is more than 40 percent at primary level in the all-schools type, although it varies across country estimated Mehta (2005). In training of teachers are not as satisfactory as it has been envisaged by policy makers. As Kingdon & Rao (2010) make observation on Para teachers in service training of Para teachers that these trainings are ineffective and do not incorporate the ground realities of these Para teaches face in class room (p.63). Because, these teachers often face the problem of teaching several grade at same time which mean that multi grade teaching .They often tend to share the same conceptions of how much teacher should teach. The practices such as arriving late and leaving early or supervising pupils rather than teaching as a common occurrence and considered acceptance. This trend also suggests that teachers-learner engagement in cooperative way cannot be realized so far.

Impact of Para teachers on quality of education As kingdom & Rao (2010) observed that there are little difference in learning achievement level ,whether is taught by Para teacher or regular teachers ,but certainly the competence levels are quite higher for regular teachers than Para teachers simply because they (regular teachers) are trained and more experienced than Para teachers (p.88).How much these competence level of teachers and learning achievement are determined by classroom engagement between teachers and students is question of serious consideration. Because the learning achievement of student may be a part of education but does not imply that education only means to memorize and pass the exam or score better in exam, as it has theorized by Human Capital theory and Liberal educational Economy theory (although it has already discussed in other countries experience and theoretical part of writing). As Leclercq (2007) observed on the issue of Para teacher-pupil class room engagement that school open for few hours of day because the supervision of these schools office also tend to open late and close early and they do not supervise regularly. But, the question is now that what do these decentralize do because they are empowered to monitor proper schools functioning.

It is often assumed that after decentralization the parent would have more control over teachers and automatically lower the absenteeism. But, the empirical truth does not reveal in this way. For instance, Leclercq (2007) observed in the village of MP that the teachers' 35 parent committee and panchyati raj institutions are captured by the dominant caste of the village and tend to share the same interest as teachers. As Leclercq (2007) observed in the context of Parent committee and teacher that „the atmosphere was quite friendly but there was a fundamental asymmetry between the parent (most of them illiterate, Gondi-speaking Adivasi small farmers and wage labourers) and the guruji (educated, Hindi-speaking and although an SC, part of mainstream society). Almost similar observation is made by Sahay (2009) in the rural Bihar that parent teacher committee are largely driven by the political conflict and alliance among major caste and often captured by the dominant group, even though it differs village to village. Sahay (2009) goes further and concludes that different castes make alliances among themselves according to material interest and situational expediency. However, the pattern of caste alliances is neither systematic nor constant, it can differ time to time. For instance, during the panchayat election, there was no major different castes relation but, after the election, major castes came together to control the MCS (p.439). In this type of circumstances, it seems there would be very little possibility of having a genuine dialogue between parent and teachers. Because, the people who hold the power in panchayat and parent teacher committee are often those whose children go to the private schools and they are interested only in manipulating funds and so.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

To sum up, the issue of schools functioning and learner achievement (which indicates school function in a very narrow notion) do not seem to support the hypothesis of that schools functioning has been changed due to appointment of Para teacher very drastically. One reason may be given that Para teachers are having low motivation created by dual structure of salaries and lack of in-service training, which often gets reflected in lack of cooperative engagement of teacher-learner. Apart from that, the community participation and panchayat institution functioning have also a role to play in it. Or, a larger role has been given to the decentralized level and their functioning gets reflected in engagement of teacher-learner.

Decentralization has created some possibility for parents and panchayats members to become involved in school management. However, the panchayats member tends to share interests of teachers, rampant rent seeking at decentralized level, and caste conflict and alliance which limits the control they may be willing to exert, even though, it may vary village to village in its extent. If our whole thrust is to create literacy than no

problem but for education they are not enough and our old age problem is becoming more acute in the context of creating and retaining good teachers for children, in which most of them are first generation learners. Given the need of first-generation school goers, there is even greater need and urgency to appoint qualified teachers in the government schools for reason of equity, justice, right and democratic ethos to be met. In order to achieve it, it is need of hour to the improving the teachers professionalization involving selection on the basis of qualified training, in service training, which give space for teachers to be discussed their ground reality face by teacher and academic support, and the provision of adequate resource to fulfill to the imperative of universal elementary education.

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