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Higher Education Subsidies for Low Income Families An Impact of Fee Reimbursement Scheme in Andhra Pradesh

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Abstract:

Higher Education is one of the important aspects of the Indian Educational Policy in which subsidies in higher education are playing a vital role for the past few years in India. While national policies on education and particularly higher education emphasized an enhanced access, the actual enrollments are not supporting translation of policy into practice. Data across the country indicates that a large number of aspirants are out of the system of higher education. Policies are most rhetorically underscoring the need for more policy support. The policy changes that were brought in after the introduction of neoliberal policies pushed higher education into non-merit category disqualifying the sector of much needed government subsidies. In this political context, former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, the late Y. S Rajashekar Reddy gave a shape to a policy called fee reimbursement scheme for low income families to pursue higher education in corporate colleges. However the scheme is introduced in 2008 with an innovative idea of 'saturation.' It is referred to an instrumentality by which all those who approached are selected for pursuing higher education subject to certain conditions. These include total fee reimbursement to all initially (2008-12). The targeted beneficiaries include those belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward castes (also referred to as backward classes) and also those who are economically backward (subject to income ceiling). As many as 24 Government orders are issued administrating the system in 10600 institutions as of 2012-13. Indeed, it is a massive scheme which covers both government and privately funded institutions. The total number of government institutions are 1600, the remaining are private 9500. It is a policy according to many purportedly supported privatization. However, this articleis mainly focuses on the impact of fee reimbursement policy on higher education in providing access to higher education for low-income families in Andhra Pradesh in order to enhance the gross enrollment ratio as well as empower the socially, educationally and economically backward communities.

Keywords: higher education, scholarships, social opportunities, low-income families, corporate colleges and neoliberal policies

1. Importance of Higher Education

Higher education has become very powerful, particularly in the present conditions in which knowledge has emerged as a crucial factor for emancipating communities. Moreover, it is higher education which is extremely significant for economic and social development. Higher Education improves the individual's quality of lives. All the available literature clearly indicates that higher education can be understood as capability, as property, as power, as a weapon, and as an investment. To elaborate, higher education as capability which gives freedom for people to be able to choose a life they have reason to value. In fact, it is higher education that is the only available option for a country like India, wherethere is a scarcity of resources and land for a vast population.

Higher Education can be termed as an investment because many countries are now focusing on investing in higher education and treating it as a long term economic advantage to both an individual, society and the state. Therefore many states are adopting effective higher education policies for expecting returns in the long run. Higher education is considered as a wealth because in ancient times, animal wealth had considered as property, later, land replaced it and after the industrial revolution liquid cash and gold had been ruled for almost two centuries but for the last few decades education is being considered as property. Especially, after globalization, it is higher education that is being considered as property because it gives a decent employment opportunities, dignity, self-respect, and respect in society, improves living standards. Therefore, around the world, national, regional, and local development policies are emphasizing the importance of higher education in the era of globalization. Higher Education can be a powerful weapon in which one can change oneself, his family, community, caste, their gender, and his nation in many ways.

The existing literature clearly says that there is a strong correlation between higher education enrollments and family income in India. However, serious financial problems are a cause for students less enrollment ratio and huge dropout rates in higher education. Therefore, extending states' financial support at the maximum possible extent in the form of scholarships, tuition fee and other expenses for students from low income families has become the need of the hour. On one hand, a majority of the Indians is living with less than two dollar per day. On the other hand, the majority of the higher educational institutions in India is in the private sector where they collect huge amount of tuition fee. Therefore, state subsidies in higher education are essential

because of the rapidly increasing role of private sector participation in higher education. viState subsidies for higher education has been gradually declining since independence and rapidly withdrawing after economic reforms.

Albach clearly highlighted that higher education is extremely significant for economic and social development. According to him in India since independence higher education was not given primary importance therefore India lags behind in the twenty first century. However, he suggested that the massification of higher education is the central reality of the late twentieth century and early twenty first century worldwide. The author emphasized that America is the first country to achieve mass higher education and build an academic system that has coped with massification at the top and bottom with reasonable success. The author suggested that massification of enrollments in higher education in India is required in order to improve the lives of the people. Tilak examined that Independent India is gradually moving from welfare state to quasi market principles and finally ended with neo-liberal market philosophy in the past two decades in terms of higher education system. However, the author says that it is higher education that is the only available option for a country like India where there are scarcity of resources for vast population. In addition, it is higher education that keeps people above poverty line and helps human development indicators like quality of life, human capability, and human freedom. In addition, he emphasized that any nation's, economic development, knowledge society and super power is impossible if they ignore higher education.

Anil Agarwalemphasized that there is an urgent need to bring in diversity, provide greater flexibility and widen student's choices. He felt that current enrollment levels are by and large adequate and match the country's occupational structure. If we raise the enrollments that would create the problem of unemployment and underemployment. Therefore, the author strongly suggested that quality must be given primary importance. Panikkar emphasized that Indian higher education system is still in the clinches of elite and did not reach to the masses. Hence, access should be given primary importance. However, it is the responsibility of the state to increase the enrollments on a massive scale. However, the author suspects the private sector in terms of quality and accountability where they become synonym for commercialization. However the author suggested that even if private investors were permitted in the field of higher education, the concept of social justice should be a first priority as a majority of eligible students would be deprived access to higher education. In this context one must also recollect the concept of corporate social responsibility. Moreover, the author felt that India is a country where majority of the population is deprived of basic needs and the government's primary priority should be equity and social justice when reforms were initiated in Higher education.

Govt. Subsidies in India Report 1997has differentiated between merit good and non-merit goods on basis of their social returns. This report suggested that cutting down subsidies on non-merit goods could reduce fiscal deficits and education beyond elementary was classified as non-merit good. Therefore, it is argued that the subsidy on higher education should be reduced from the existing 90 percent to 25 percent over a period of five years. The report also justified that the rich often appropriate subsidies in higher education and target population has not actually benefited by the subsidies. Since public spending is subsidized by public tax, subsidizing higher education would eventually amount to subsidizing the rich by the poor. Yashpal Committee Report emphasized that higher education is a means to overcome caste hierarchy, patriarchy and other cultural prejudices and also a source of new knowledge and skills, a space for creativity and innovations. Therefore, the report says higher education would continue to be considered as a national responsibility and state should not leave higher education to the market forces.

2. Methodology

The present study depends on primary as well as secondary data. The secondary sources include books, articles, journals, reports, published and unpublished thesises, and records from various government welfare department offices, higher education council, daily newspapers, gazettes and annual reports of the concerned departments. The study is conducted in the state of Andhra Pradesh, because it is the only state to initiated 'fee reimbursement scheme. It is a unique character of this state while supporting higher education in the state. This very uniqueness has attracted to pursue further research. The primary data was collected from two sources i.e., official records and inquiries from beneficiaries. The first set of primary data, raw data, regarding beneficiaries of the post matric scholarship scheme and its budget allocations since the beginning and the list of colleges in Andhra Pradesh are collected from the government officials of various departments in the state of Andhra Pradesh i.e., social welfare, tribal welfare, minority welfare, disabled welfare, backward class welfare department and the higher education council. The second set of primary data includes the responses of the beneficiaries collected through personal interviews with structured questionnaires. The study was conducted using the simple random sampling methods, purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Three different structured questionnaires were used for three different categories of respondents i.e. Government Officials, Students, and college management. However, the questionnaires were designed to know(1) about the beneficiaries, budget allocations and the colleges in the scheme (2) the socioeconomic background of the beneficiaries (3) the perceptions of the beneficiaries about scholarship scheme and the present higher educational system (4) the impact of this scheme on their lives as well as their families (5) the views about this scheme from college management.

The study was conducted in four different parts of the state. The rationale behind selecting the area is based on the course categorizations designed into the scheme. The categories are intermediate, degree, post-graduation and professional courses. The study was conducted in three geographic regions and a separate region of Hyderabad metro city for different reasons. The region Rayalaseema is selected due to its highest frequency in post-graduation colleges run by private management. Coastal Andhra is selected due to its highest frequency in private degree colleges. Telangana is selected due to its highest frequency in private intermediate colleges, and the Hyderabad Metro city is selected due its highest frequency in professional colleges. The highest frequencies are located in Chittoor district of Rayalaseema, East Godavari district in Coastal Andhra, and Rangareddy district in Telangana regions. The study was conducted during 2012-13 and all the results are limited to that period. The mandals, on the basis of highest frequency of colleges, were selected are Chandragiri from Chittoor, Rajahmundry from East Godavari, Vikarabad from Ranga Reddy and Ibrahimpatnam from Hyderabad Greater Municipality Area. The study was conducted in the colleges of

respected mandals with a structured questionnaire on a random sampling basis. The total number of students selected from all the colleges were two hundred. Students' lists are collected from every selected college and every third member from the list is considered for the study. Out of them, one hundred and sixty seven beneficiaries responded. The remaining respondents (37 respondents) could not return their questionnaires. The study has attempted to know their socioeconomic backgrounds, and family educational backgrounds. In addition, they were also interviewed about post matric scholarship and its impact on their higher education. An attempt is also made to know the strategies used by private colleges to attract the beneficiaries and their opinion on government supported reimbursement scheme. However, the study is intended to know the relation between higher education and family income with reference to low income families in Andhra Pradesh. Nevertheless, the whole data is analyzed with reference to caste, gender, and stream wise beneficiaries. The cross sectional analysis gives an overview of respondents as well as popular opinions about the scheme. Moreover, the study also gives a clear picture of the kind of beneficiaries and pre and post analysis on the fee reimbursement scheme initiated in Andhra Pradesh.

3. Policy Implications

There are few factors that influenced/encouraged the Andhra Pradesh government to bring a policy on higher education subsidies for low income families nearly half a decade back. However, in the early nineties, the expenditure on higher education is roughly ten percent of the expenditure on education in India. In fact, it declined from an average of fifteen percent during the eighties to an average of ten percent during the nineties. Meanwhile, the government started removing subsidies and recovering user costs. However, the government could be able to recover the costs from the students roughly of five percent during the entire decade of the nineties. Moreover, government subsidies report argued for a reduction of subsidies to higher education. It claimed that education beyond the elementary level is a non-merit service, because the benefits of the subsidy go primarily to the receiver. In addition, the other major influential factor that motivated to bring this policy is a three dimensional situation which is the result of almost two decades of economic reforms in the country. As it was discussed earlier, the scheme was initiated primarily because of the state's systematic withdrawal from its basic welfare functions such as subsidies in higher education, and at the same time the rapid expansion of private sector participation in higher education As a result, for the past few decades, the private sector has been playing a predominant role both in terms of establishing a number of colleges and student enrollment ratio. On the other hand, World Bank declares in its report that more than eighty percent of Indians live below two dollar per day. Consequently, the gross enrollment ratio has not increased rapidly as well as heavy dropout rates tookplace, especially in professional courses largely from low income families from marginalized communities.

At this crucial juncture, in order to enhance the enrollment ratio in higher education in general and professional education in particular among different social sections, the government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to bring a policy to reimburse the tuition fee to the students from low income families who are pursuing post matric courses in private colleges that too on saturation basis. However, this interesting policy was formulated and being carried out for the past half-decades. Moreover, the scheme is being implemented in around eleven thousand post matric colleges in Andhra Pradesh in which about nine thousand five hundred (roughly 93 percent) colleges are in the private sector. xivIn addition, about twenty five lakh students are being reimbursed from various social categories every year in which about three thousand and five hundred crores have been spent for this scheme. Further, for the last five years about twelve and a half million students have benefited from this scheme in which about more than fourteen thousand crores have been allocated through various welfare departments under this scheme in the state. On the other hand, more than seventy percent of the beneficiaries in Andhra Pradesh are being reimbursed full amount of tuition fee along with a reasonable amount of monthly stipend throughout their course in which the beneficiaries are selected not on the basis of merit cum means but on the saturation basis in which the eligibility is the criteria rather than merit which is first of its kind in India. xv Another exclusive feature of this scheme for eligibility is an income limitation among all the social categories. However, the income limitation for economically backward classes, disabled, and minority students are one lakhs per annum. Whereas, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes income limitation is two lakh per annual. In other words, this scheme has taken class (economic) as the criteria rather than caste and other social categories. Because, even a student from reserved category whose family annual income exceeds the income limitation set by this scheme is not eligible to avail the reimbursement. Interestingly, low income families within the upper castes were brought under this scheme. xvi Hence, every year about three lakh students get reimbursed from various courses.

The other characteristic of the scheme is bringing intermediate (+2 level) courses into the preview of higher education to reimburse the tuition fee. In fact, this is also the first of its kind in India to bring post matric courses under its preview that too on saturation basis. Consequently, about more than four thousand private intermediate colleges were made eligible for this scheme and more than ten lakh students are getting reimbursed from this shame. So far, about more than fifty lakh students have benefitted in which about rupees eighteen hundred crores were allocated to this category. Moreover, this scheme divides the higher education system in Andhra Pradesh into four categories such as professional courses, post graduate and above courses, degree and allied courses, and intermediate and similar level courses in with about sixteen hundred different courses have been brought under this scheme ranging from intermediate level to advanced license courses in pilot training. Further, about more than three thousand different kinds of fee structures ranging from fifteen hundred for intermediate to twenty nine lakhs for an advanced license course in pilot training have been under this scheme. Viiii Another significant finding is in the professional courses the female enrollment ratio is much lower than the male enrollment ratio. In other words, in engineering, medicine, management and computer sciences, the female enrollment ratio is less than forty percent despite the scheme is being reimbursed by the government.

Another important dimension in the policy is that the government has been allocating nearly seventy percent of the budget for professional courses where students consists of only twenty percent. However, it appears that the government has started this

scheme as if it's only for professional courses when budget allocations are concerned.xix Consequently, this scheme opened the access for corporate and private higher education for the students from low income families in professional education which is becoming costlier day by day. On one hand, the major beneficiaries in terms of budget are students from professional courses in which about more than eight thousand crores have been allocated so far out of fourteen thousand crores budget allocations for the past five years. On the other hand, most of the students in terms of number intermediate level courses (about fifty five lakh students) have been reimbursed so far out of a twelve and half million beneficiaries for the past half-decade.

Another substantial aspect of the scheme is tremendous budget allocations made by the government of Andhra Pradesh to various welfare departments under this scheme for the past half-decades. Since the scheme is introduced in 2008, the budget allocations have gone up to hundred percent more and over a period of time in the last five years the increase of the allocations is enormous. **XAt the same time, the beneficiaries were also multiplied due to huge budget allocations for the past five years since the scheme's inception. Butfrom 2012-13 academic year onwards, government of Andhra Pradesh had put a cap on the fee reimbursement scheme. Since then, the governmenthas started reimbursing fixed amount recommended by the Admission and Fee Regulatory Committee (AFRC) and the rest of the amount is supposed to born from the student's pocket. **xi However, this particular cap is exception for scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. Moreover, the study found that students who took spot admission as well as students who admitted in management quota were not eligible for government reimbursement scheme. In addition, students whose attendance is less than 75 percent as well as whose previous semester/year subjects/credits were not cleared are also not eligible to avail this scheme. As a result, thousands of students from low income families were kept aside from the scheme in the name of attendance, previous year backlog subjects and entrance test disqualification.

4. Empirical Findings

The field study primarily depends on personal interviews with beneficiaries of post matric scholarship scheme and college managements from four colleges among four different course categories of three regions of Andhra Pradesh. However, the purpose of the interviews was to know the beneficiaries socioeconomic background and their perception of the implementation of the scheme. In addition, it was also to know the impact of post matric scholarship scheme on beneficiaries socioeconomic political, cultural, educational, personal, and family life. The field study conducted in four colleges is made on the basis of highest number of colleges that are located in in Rangareddy, East Godavari, Chittoor in Andhra Pradesh including Hyderabad metropolitan city. The identification of the beneficiaries is made through simple random sampling. The total number of beneficiaries considered for the study was one hundred and sixty seven across the state. However, the study has identified few major significant findings about the ground realities about the scheme.

However, the study has found that private colleges have been causing serious regional imbalances in Andhra Pradesh in terms of establishment of the colleges and its strategic location. For instance, more than thirty percent of the total private colleges are located in and around Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC) area. Out of 720 engineering colleges in Andhra Pradesh, 150 colleges are located in Ranga Reddy district alone and 52 colleges are situated in one Mandal alone that is *Ibrahim Patnam*which is located near to Hyderabad city. **xxii**However, the study found that scholarship scheme has helped most of the students, especiallyfor lower income families to pursue higher education in private colleges. Further, the study says that if there was no scholarship scheme, the majority of the students would not have studied higher education especially professional education. Interestingly, the study found that students who are pursuing higher education are mostly in English medium, butmajority of the scheduled tribe students are still in *Telugu* medium unlike other social categories.

Another interesting finding is the that scheme amount that the government is giving is not sufficient to complete their courses therefore the beneficiaries felt that it should be increased to a certain extent to full fill their other kinds of fee. In other words, the scheme reimbursed only tuition fee and nothing more than that, but private colleges are charging extra fee in the form of building fee, exam fee, lab fee and other kinds of fees. xxiii Hence, it has increased burden on students and their families. The study found that in the professional colleges, the female representation is significantly low when compared to other courses despite the fee reimbursement scheme. The study found that because of the scheme, all the siblings in the family, especiallygirls, are sent to the colleges without any restrictions. As per the study, if RTF did not exist, only one person in a family preferably male could have been able to pursue higher education among lower income families. In other words, this scheme is directly helping female students from low income families to pursue higher education without any financial hurdles. The study also found the major drawback of the scheme i.e. the beneficiaries frequently shifting their courses from traditional to professionals just because of the scheme and without any interest. Moreover, the private educational consultancies are playing a significant role in influencing the students to shift the course from traditional to professional courses. Another major drawback of the scheme is that because of the scheme students are shifting from government to private colleges, especially in the professional category as they are assured good percentage, no restrictions about attendance and offered free laptops, free hostel facilities, free bus facilities and other recreational tours. As a result, the imbalances will increase among professional and traditional courses. In addition, it leads to unemployment on a massive scale due to lack of quality and interest in their courses and also government colleges will decline in over a period of time. The study found that the students used to join Government College for the same course before joining private college. However, here the students joining private professional colleges is encouraged by various people for instance private educational consultancies as they get commissions if they can motivate students to join particular colleges and teaching and non-teaching staff in private colleges as they get extra commissions if they can persuade new admissions. Interestingly, teaching and non-teaching staff in government colleges are playing a significant role in discouraging government colleges by motivating the students from Government College to local private college for pre fixed agreement between government teaching and non-teaching staff and private college owners for commissions. However, the study found that the private educational consultancies have gone to such an extent in terms of motivating the student to apply common entrance test which is the basic eligibility for the scheme. They go to the extent of bearing the fee for test as well as assure some money and other benefits to students' family if the student assurance to join a particular colleges. This is happening mostly in professional colleges as the tuition fee is very high in private colleges which is reimbursed by government. On the other hand, most of the seats in professional colleges go unfilled for the last several years as students are not showing interest towards these courses due to inadequate infrastructure placement and other reasons. Therefore, private colleges unable to run the colleges without students. On the other hand, government cannot reimburse the tuition fee to the colleges without students. Therefore, colleges are finding maximum available means to persuade students to join their college for government reimbursement's fee reimbursement. In fact, this leads to rapid decline of the quality of education and increase in unemployment and underemployment.

The study found that colleges have been charging extra fee apart from a government fee reimbursement scheme. In addition, students were forced to pay the tuition fee in advance despite the eligibility for government reimbursement scheme. Interestingly, the study found that the majority of the faculty are from the same college alumni and are under qualified. The study also noticed that the beneficiaries are expecting study material, books, and laptops from government to complete their course in private college. Another interesting dimension is that students from private colleges are allowed to do part time/full time job apart from their regular course. Another important dimension of the respondents is that the beneficiaries of this scheme demand the government that it should also provide a similar kind of scholarship scheme to go for private tuition/coaching for GMAT, GRE, TOFEL and IELTS to pursue higher education in other countries that provides better employment opportunities. However, the study found the overall implementation of the scheme is satisfactory despite several technical difficulties and most of the beneficiaries felt that they would have stopped higher education if this scheme was not exist. Furthermore, respondents from female category felt that this scheme is very good and it's helping them to pursue higher education that too in private/corporate institutions.

5. Politics Behind the Policy

However, the researcher of the study while collecting policy data from various welfare departments, also managed to get uncoated and off the records information from concerned government officials during informal chattingsat several times regarding the politics behind this policy. Interestingly, there are other significant factors that are the other side of the coin that forcedthe introduction of fee reimbursement scheme particularly in 2008 onwards. Due to the mushrooming of private colleges in Andhra Pradesh for the last one decade, professional colleges in the private sector in Andhra Pradesh started declining due to lack of students as they were unable to pay high tuition fees due to their poor economic background. In addition, a section of the private college owners lobby who were said to be also relatives and friends of the then Andhra Pradesh chief minister Y. S. Rajashekar Reddy managed to convince him to introduce this scheme for the sustainability of their colleges. Besides, many of the then ruling party public representatives MLS's, MPs, corporates and other cabinet ministers were also the owners of the colleges. Moreover, another main factor that was responsible for the introduction of this policy was the impending elections that were just six months away when the scheme was introduced in 2008. The ostensible reason was weaning away a significant section of the vote bank of TeluguDesam Party (TDP) the then opposition party in Andhra Pradesh. Because of before the elections, this scheme got enormous popularity among lower income families. In other words, the ruling Congress party was introduced this scheme in order to win the elections. As a result, again the ruling congress party came back to power. Hence, this policy is considered as one of the important factors to the congress party to come back to the power. Therefore, it was also criticized because the electoral reasons were behind the scheme instead of the genuine improvement of the people.

6. Concluding Remarks

There can be no doubt that this policy regarded purely as a populist policy was announced just six months before the general elections and also ruling classes seem to have vested interests. It is because of this policy there were thousands of fake colleges have been emerged especially in professional categories. Moreover, this scheme created an impression that investing in higher education has become a good profit making sector. Regional imbalances have been created due to this scheme as more than thirty percent of the private colleges have been established in and around Hyderabad. Most importantly, because of this scheme, government educational institutions have been weakened as there is no much difference between government and private college in terms of tuition fee. Moreover, this policy encouraged migration from government to private colleges and also encouraged students from basic sciences and other streams to technology based education involving engineering, management and computer science streams. It is because of this policy majority of the private colleges have been surviving without maintaining any quality, but with good profits. Consequently, the quantity is given much more preference than quality. As a substitute, the state would have spent that much of the huge amount on either strengthening existing government institutions or establishing government, universities/colleges on a permanent basis then it would have provide free access to poor students in higher education. If all these drawbacks and suggestions put aside for a while and see the benign side of the scheme it is creating massive enrollments in higher education cutting across the social categories, especially female students from low income families. In other words, this policy brought higher education that too professional education closer to the door steps of the millions of socially and economically backward students in Andhra Pradesh every year. Moreover, in the present knowledge economy, higher education is the key to national human resources and economic growth. Therefore, governments all over the world want their countries to have highvalue, high-skill economies and they realize that the first step towards this aim is to have well educated workfare. Therefore, it is becoming a new political priority for many countries across the globe. On the other hand, globalization has become a necessity and there is no escape from it. In simple terms, if you do not have higher education in the present society, the benefits of the globalization never come to you. Therefore, quality is possible only after access is provided. In this sense, this scheme has succeeded in fulfilling its objectives by providing access to higher education, especially professional education in private

corporate colleges in the form of entitlements to the students from least advantaged (poor Dalit deaf lesbian woman on a wheelchair) sections of the society no matter whether they have a quality or not. Therefore, it can be concluded by saying that a degree with less quality is better than no degree at all.

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