

# Philanthropic Engagement in Education: Localised Expressions of Global Flows in India<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

This article argues that the rise of domestic and international philanthropic engagement in education in India cannot be understood in isolation; rather, it is part of a broader trend of what is termed 'new global philanthropy in education' in the Global South. Central to understanding the nature of this engagement is the localised expression of global flows, that is, the movement and connections of ideas and actors that enable philanthropic action and discourse. Based on a global review of the literature, this article contextualises and applies a conceptual framework of philanthropic governance to India given the country's prominence in the review. It also presents illustrative examples of philanthropic engagement in India.

## Keywords

Philanthropy, private sector, public–private partnership, education governance, international education policy

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## **The Context for New Philanthropic Education Engagement in India**

There has been much discussion about the rise of domestic and international philanthropic engagement in education in India. This article presents a conceptual framework based on a global review of the literature on philanthropic engagement in the Global South (Srivastava & Baur, in press), and is contextualised for, and applied to, India given its prominence in the results of the review. I argue that the nature and implications of this engagement cannot be understood in isolation, but should be seen as part of a broader trend of what is termed ‘new global philanthropy in education’ in the Global South. Central to understanding the nature of this engagement is the local expression of global flows, that is, the movement and connections of ideas and actors that enable philanthropic action and discourse, which are the main subject of discussion here.

The article emerges from one area of inquiry in a larger research project (see Acknowledgments below). Implicit to the discussion is an acknowledgement that there is great heterogeneity among actors broadly termed ‘philanthropic’, within and across individual country contexts, including in India. Given the confines of language, and to ensure ease of readability, the article refers to philanthropic actors and engagement, although homogeneity of actors and action is not assumed. The framework has particular implications for understanding current macro-policy framing and action regarding the provision of education in India, as outlined below.

Although the review was international in scope, a preponderance of cases was in India.<sup>2</sup> Literature on the Global South was skewed towards emerging economies, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) in particular. However, coverage within this group was uneven, with comparably more literature on China and India. Over a third of the publications either focused on, or frequently mentioned, the activities of local private foundations and other philanthropic actors in India.

Internationally, data from the US-based Foundation Center reveal that India ranked sixth in receiving grants from the top 1,000 US private foundations, having attracted over USD 831 million between 2004 and 2011.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, van Fleet’s (2011) analysis of US corporate philanthropy in international education showed that the largest proportion went to the most strategic countries, the top one being India. Domestically, a number of sources examining philanthropic and private foundation activity in India noted education as claiming the top share of giving

(Bain & Company, 2012; Hurun Report, 2013; Mangaleswaran & Venkataraman, 2013). The Hurun Report's India Philanthropy List ranked 31 Indians who donated more than ₹10 crore (₹100 million; equivalent to USD 1.6 million) for the 2012 financial year. Education was the most popular cause, with a total of ₹12.2 crore (₹122 million), over three-quarters of which came from domestic 'mega-donor' Azim Premji (Hurun Report, 2013).

Similar to other contexts (e.g., Pakistan, Uganda), philanthropic engagement in education in India was often found to be in conjunction with other non-state private actors and/or state and government actors, and to function through government-sanctioned modalities of public-private partnerships (PPPs). This was particularly the case for strategies aimed at universalising education beyond basic levels. Such engagement was also increasingly linked to discourses on quality improvement. This is despite limited and inconclusive evidence on the effectiveness of philanthropic initiatives generally, and in the field of education (Fengler & Kharas, 2010; Srivastava & Oh, 2010; van Fleet, 2011; Watkins, 2011).

Domestic policy action in other institutional domains may further affect philanthropic and 'philanthropic-type' engagement in education by corporate and other non-state private actors. For example, corporate philanthropic-type action may be spurred by the much publicised clause of the new Companies Act, 2013, mandating expenditure of 2 per cent on corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities for companies above a certain income threshold (section 135, Government of India, 2013).<sup>4</sup> According to an estimate for Ernst & Young, the CSR clause is meant to cover roughly 2,500 companies, and to generate over USD 2 billion in CSR funds (Kordant Philanthropy Advisors, 2013).

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) recently announced that corporations could back the construction of school toilets as part of the Swachh Bharat Swachh Vidyalaya campaign through the use of their CSR funds (Press Information Bureau, 2014). Currently, however, only 17 corporates have backed this initiative, amounting to just 0.2 per cent of the total number of toilets completed (Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD], 2015b, website).<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, given the generally supportive macro-planning processes favouring PPPs in education in India (Srivastava, 2010b; Verger, 2012; Verger & Vander Kaaij, 2012), and the increased blurring between philanthropic, corporate and other actors, it is reasonable to assume that discourse and action broadly termed 'philanthropic' will persist.<sup>6</sup>

## **Philanthropic Engagement in the New Moment of the Politics of Education**

The argument here is that the significance of these developments in the Indian context cannot be grasped in isolation; rather, they constitute part of, and are framed by, global flows structuring engagement in the South by international, Southern, and domestic philanthropic and other private actors in the new moment of the politics of education. As the framework is the subject of detailed articulation elsewhere (Srivastava & Baur, in press), the following discussion summarises the key points.

Robertson and Dale (2013) define the ‘moment of the politics of education’ as ‘where we find the kinds of “rules of the game” or “paradigmatic settings” that set basic limits to what is considered possible and desirable from education’ (p. 434). Thus, the new moment of the politics of education is, in essence, the framing architecture/macro-institutional framework (both formal and informal), or the ‘big-picture setting’, within which current philanthropic engagement in education in the Global South is occurring. As we enter this new moment, a new form of global philanthropy is gaining currency as a mode of education governance (Ball & Olmedo, 2011). The framework posits that philanthropic engagement, popularly characterised as ‘philanthro-capitalism’ (Bishop & Green, 2008), does not sufficiently engage with the structural effects on education systems, the scale and scope of action, the interconnectedness and hybridity of actors or the global and domestic formal and informal institutional rules that frame action. In short, general understandings of ‘philanthro-capitalism’ do not meaningfully engage with issues of governance.

Extending Ball and Olmedo’s (2011) conceptualisation of ‘philanthropic governance’, the perspective here is that the new global philanthropy in education depoliticises action, and is based on an apparent ‘win-win’ approach favouring hands-on interventions by philanthropic actors, and measurable, tangible, scalable results to tackle issues and seemingly consensually defined. The primacy of market-based solutions in education espoused by the new global philanthropy (e.g., competition, choice and narrowly defined assessment metrics), and the simultaneous use of complex multi-stakeholder partnerships and PPPs, open up and create formal and non-formal spaces for constellations of philanthropic and other non-state private actors. These fundamentally alter education governance structures by surreptitiously embedding forms of privatisation in education systems, though this may not be the intention of all actors involved.

Discourses, meanings and actors gain their legitimacy by manipulating and intertwining three claims associated with philanthropic and/or

non-state private actors. These claims can ultimately mute contestation and depoliticise action in this mode of education governance. They are, (i) normalising long-standing, taken-for-granted assumptions about the association of philanthropy with benevolence, goodness and altruism; (ii) extending claims of private sector efficiency and effectiveness; and (iii) stressing claims of neutrality to the philanthropic sector as the ‘third sector’, that is, as neither state nor purely private/commercial.

The proposed conceptual framework outlines four global flows through which philanthropic and philanthropic-type action is structured, and which play out in localised forms in domestic contexts. These are the focal point of discussion in this article. They are (i) the macro-policy and domestic policy contexts of the tail end of the education for all movement (EFA), (ii) the post-2015 discourse, (iii) the disenchantment with official development assistance (ODA) and (iv) the growing presence of an increased array of international and Southern non-state private actors, including those with for-profit and commercial motives. This constitutes the context in which current philanthropic discourse and action are embedded, which is arguably different from that of earlier studies that largely examined the work of American private foundations and philanthropy in colonial or post-colonial contexts (Arnové, 1982; Berman, 1983; Davis, 1976; King, 1971). The remainder of the article reframes these flows to extrapolate the localised ways in which they may enable philanthropic engagement in education in India (summarised in Table 1).

**Table 1.** Global Flows and Localised Expressions as Applied to the Indian Context

Global Flows	Localised Expressions
Macro-policy contexts for tail end of EFA	Universal education in India; compulsions of the Right to Education Act; changes to non-state private action
Post-2015 discourse Disenchantment with ODA	Education finance: India’s record of public expenditure on education; aid for education
Growing presence of increased array of international and Southern private non-state actors, including those with for-profit and commercial motives	Macro-planning, PPPs, and the emergence of newer/non-traditional non-state private engagement

**Source:** Author’s conceptualisation.

## Localised Forms of Global Flows Structuring Philanthropic Engagement

The notion of flows, that is, the movement and connections of ideas and actors that structure and shape education policy and action, is central to understanding the contours of philanthropic engagement. As Popkewitz (2004) notes: ‘...flows, networks, assemblages, connections, and reconstructions in which the knowledge of educational reform...occurs’ (p. viii) are crucial to elucidating and dissecting policy action and development in different national systems. Each of the global flows outlined above may act as a meta-narrative elucidating supranational, transnational and macro-level forces enabling philanthropic action and discourse. However, the flows must be reframed to suit particular contexts to enable an understanding of local action and discourse. For the purposes of the discussion, the unit for analysis of the ‘local’ is national. However, in line with conceptions of *globalisations* (implicit to the conceptualisation here) which highlight multi-scalarity (Robertson, 2012; Tilly, 2004), one could argue that the construction of the ‘local’ could be reframed at greater or smaller limits of scale to suit one’s particular line of inquiry.

### *Macro-policy Context for Universal Education in India: The RTE Act’s Compulsions and Non-state Private Action*

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE) institutionalises a fundamental shift from previous attempts at universalising elementary education in India. As the RTE Act is a legal framework, its provisions for free and compulsory elementary education are enforceable matters of law. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), a centrally sponsored scheme for the time-bound universalisation of elementary education in the first decade of the 2000s, has now been conceptualised as the vehicle for implementing the RTE Act (MHRD, 2011). This is a crucial and fundamental distinction between the significance of SSA before the adoption of the RTE Act and after its legislation, heralding important changes in the ways that education must be conceptualised and delivered. It also has several implications for the non-state private sector.

While non-state private sector engagement through philanthropic and other non-state private actors increased during SSA and the period preceding the RTE Act, the latter has altered the arrangements that are now possible. This calls into question the viability of different types of

engagement in view of the spirit of the RTE Act and its legal compulsions. Similarly, while philanthropic engagement by charitable organisations in Indian education is not new, pre-existing arrangements must be reassessed.

Better-known earlier examples of philanthropic initiatives were often implemented in partnership with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other actors, sometimes through formal agreements to provide non-formal education to hard-to-reach groups. For example, the Mamidipudi Venkatarangiya Foundation of Andhra Pradesh established bridge camps for children affected by child labour in Ranga Reddy district to be brought back to school. The Sir Ratan Tata Trust funded interventions implemented by NGOs, such as, Muskaan in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh; Samavesh, now operating in Dewas and Harda districts, Madhya Pradesh; and Lokmitra in Uttar Pradesh.

In the period following the 1986 National Policy on Education and the World Bank's District Primary Education Program (DPEP) in the 1990s, partnerships with philanthropic organisations, and with NGOs in particular, were seen by the state as suitable for addressing the educational needs of marginalised groups (e.g., underserved and remote areas, child labour), especially through non-formal approaches (Fennell, 2007). This was further encouraged during the first decade of SSA. However, non-formal education as a substitute for formal education is no longer tenable under the RTE Act.

Similarly, the operation of unrecognised formal schools, partly attributed to a laissez-faire attitude adopted under SSA to expand school numbers, is no longer possible in principle. In India, private schools have generally been run under the auspices of a charitable trust or society due to regulatory compulsions. Ironically, this is also the case regarding the expansion of the low-fee private sector, including schools and chains with private investors that are thought to be run for financial gain. While private schools have been run on unrecognised and recognised bases in the past, the unrecognised sector is no longer allowed under the provisions of the RTE Act.<sup>7</sup>

### *The Post-2015 Discourse and ODA: India's Story of Education Finance and Aid*

The post-2015 global education agenda is being framed within two articulated crises—one of financing, the other of learning. Six out of 10 bilateral donors to basic education cut ODA between 2010 and 2011, which has

stagnated since (UNESCO, 2013b).<sup>8</sup> As a result, what was reported as a USD 16 billion annual funding gap for basic education in 2010 rose to USD 26 billion if we were to have reached the goal by 2015 (UNESCO, 2014). Internationally, there is a tacit acknowledgement that financing for education must increase. In current post-2015 high-level discussions, there are proposals to set education financing goals for domestic governments, international donors and the private sector (UNESCO, 2013a).

Domestically, it is proposed that countries should allocate 6 per cent of GDP and 20 per cent of total government expenditure to education. There is concern that while more effective tax systems and budget reallocations should cover an increased proportion of financing gaps, the poorest countries may not be able to achieve this without other support (UNESCO, 2014). Given the stagnating levels of ODA to education, there is a push to hold donors to account. Nonetheless, broader discussion on aid has been marred by its perceived inefficiency and ineffectiveness. The most vehement critics claim that it has further impoverished poor countries and should be dismantled (Moyo, 2009). The less severe critics seem to accept that resources for aid will be scarce and that aid to education will be limited because of constrained budgets in an age of global economic austerity.

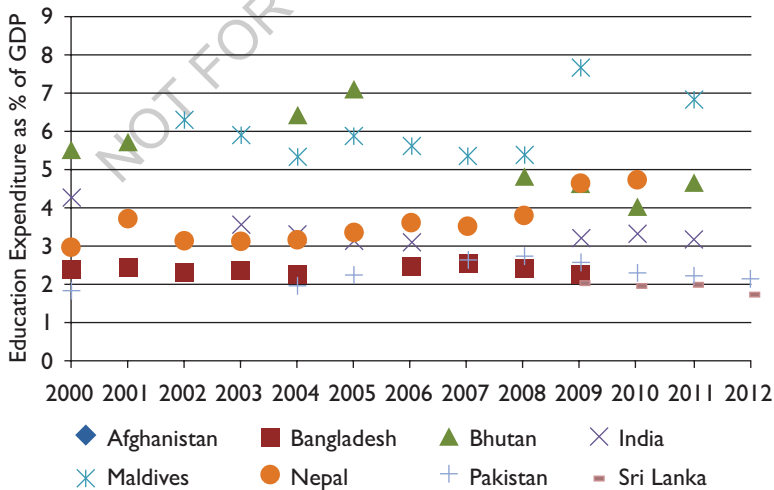
Thus, the private sector is increasingly being seen as a source of funds for domestic governments looking to raise additional revenue (i.e., 'tax justice' mechanisms for corporations and CSR). Internationally, there are attempts to establish networks mobilising business, corporate and more traditional and newer philanthropic actors (i.e., private foundations, venture philanthropies, corporate philanthropies, etc.) to harness funds. Examples of such networks include the Global Business Coalition for Education and the Business Backs Education campaign. In particular, the potential of philanthropic engagement to gap-fill in global education is idealised, taking cues from large-scale initiatives in global health (i.e., GAVI, The Vaccine Alliance', Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria) spearheaded by international private foundations (in particular, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation). There is as yet little evidence to suggest that international philanthropic actors are devoting substantial resources to education in the Global South, and particularly to countries most in need.

Although the need to fill financing gaps in education persists in India, the pertinent financing story has less to do with current and post-2015 ODA allocations, and more to do with domestic resource allocation.



Traditionally, India has not been aid-dependent in education, although some previous large-scale programmes like DPEP had a substantial impact on the allocation of resources to elementary education. Most recently, there have been just three donors to education—the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the European Union and the World Bank. As part of a shift in its post-2015 strategy, DFID will cease to provide aid to middle-income countries, including India, although it is likely to remain active in Indian education through technical assistance activities.

India’s financing story, thus far, is no more inspiring than the general South Asian scenario (see Figure 1).<sup>9</sup> Based on the latest available official data compiled in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Institute of Statistics (UIS) database, we see relatively low levels of education expenditure as a proportion of GDP in the region between 2000 and 2012 (the period roughly corresponding to EFA and SSA), with the exception of Bhutan, Maldives and a slightly upward trend in Nepal (Figure 1). India’s public expenditure on education stagnated at around 3 per cent of GDP, averaging 3.38 per cent during this period (Table 2). Financing targets in India have remained unmet since independence. The 2015 budget allocation, while an increase from the mean, is still reportedly only 3.8 per cent.



**Figure 1.** Education Expenditure as a Proportion of GDP, 2000–2012

Source: UIS data tables, 2014.

**Table 2.** Average Education Expenditure in South Asia, 2000–2012 (percentage GDP)

Country	Average Education Expenditure (% GDP)
Afghanistan	N/A
Bangladesh	2.38
Bhutan	5.35
India	3.38
Maldives	6.02
Nepal	3.62
Pakistan	2.33
Sri Lanka	1.93

**Source:** Calculations based on UIS data tables, 2014.

**Note:** Average expenditures are calculated based on years for which data were available. For some countries, the dataset was more complete than for others, as seen in Figure 1.

We see a steady decline in the already low levels of education expenditure in Bangladesh post 2007, in Pakistan post 2008 and in Sri Lanka post 2009. The average public expenditures in these countries hovered at around 2 per cent between 2000 and 2012. Low education expenditure in the region is particularly worrying, since India and Pakistan together were projected to account for 23 per cent of all out-of-school children globally in 2015 (UNESCO, 2011).<sup>10</sup>

India's low public expenditure on education is difficult to explain, and is part of a larger domestic story. In the post-independence period, the Kothari Commission (1964–1966) proposed a common school system along with a phased increase in public spending for education to 6 per cent of GDP by 1985. This has never materialised, with the gap persisting in the international post-EFA and Indian post-SSA periods. This is despite the fact that India has seen significantly much higher rates of economic growth and more political stability relative to other countries in the region during this time. There is, thus, wide discontent about the low levels of government expenditure. Scholars have argued that there is a serious lack of political will and commitment at the highest levels of government (Kumar, 2008; Rao, 2002; Tilak, 2010).

In addition, the costs of implementing the RTE Act were underestimated. Following its enactment, early financial analyses indicate the need for additional monies to fulfil the legislative provisions from ₹1.71

lakh crore to ₹2.31 lakh crore (*Economic Times*, 2010). Mehrotra (2012) highlights a number of challenges in mobilising the required funds, including: an increase in the fiscal deficit; increased allocations to universalise secondary education and to expand higher education, thereby further squeezing resources for elementary education; and the need to resolve how additional financing would be borne by, and divided between, the centre and the states.

While the argument of scarce resources has been made to justify this resource gap, my recent analysis with Noronha indicates that under-financing the RTE Act was a response to concerns with political expedience to spur legislative action (Srivastava & Noronha, 2014). Working committees tasked with providing technical financial estimates were asked to reduce initial estimates to figures that were more 'politically acceptable' or 'palatable' for fear that the RTE Act (then a bill) would not be passed, and even if it were, would not be implemented. Under-financing the RTE Act was predicated on an accepted logic of private sector intervention, that is, that the private sector would step in to meet additional capacity, and thus should be further 'encouraged'.

Despite strong contestation and debate within technical committees that the original estimates were made on a residual basis, that is, already taking into account private sector capacity, political expedience prevailed. Elsewhere, I argue that this tacit acceptance of the 'scarce resources' argument is used to justify low allocations of public resources and international aid to education, which mobilises increased action from non-state private actors (Srivastava, 2010a), including philanthropic and philanthropic-type actors. This is discussed further below.

### *PPPs and the Emergence of Newer/Non-traditional, Non-state Private Engagement*

Engagement by newer/non-traditional non-state private actors in education (e.g., corporates, think tanks, venture philanthropies, corporate foundations, consulting firms), including engagement by actors with commercial or for-profit motives, has increased in India (Nambissan & Ball, 2010). This engagement has been facilitated by broader international and domestic PPP discourse and macro-planning frameworks (Robertson et al., 2012; Verger & Vander Kaaij, 2012), which include diverse entities, such as, private charitable foundations (sometimes established by corporations), local not-for-profit NGOs, national and multinational corporations, international NGOs, donor agencies of foreign

governments, and UN bodies. In short, PPP arrangements between national governments and international organisations, and between national/sub-national governments and other actors, open up routes of engagement for a host of non-state private actors.

Although PPP discourse is increasingly prevalent in basic education, much of the initial conceptualisation and terminology stems from the infrastructure sector. Relative to their history in development sectors, PPPs in social sectors, and particularly in basic education, are more recent. This is similar to the situation in India where PPPs were initially promoted by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance as the preferred strategy to build and expand infrastructure (i.e., highways, railways, ports, airports, telecommunications and power), with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank taking the lead in providing technical assistance. However, PPP arrangements have gained momentum in the delivery of basic education in a number of countries, and particularly in the expansion of basic to secondary education as countries look to universalise education at higher levels.

The current discourse around PPPs in India may have been latently influenced by the macro-planning context. Given the changes in the macro-planning structure, that is, the recent dismantling of the Planning Commission and the establishment of the NITI Aayog, it remains to be seen how this situation will evolve. Impending changes aside, analysis of the most recent plans may reveal flows of knowledge and discourse structuring the nature and scope of education reform in India, and hence are important to investigate.

The Twelfth Plan welcomed PPPs ‘as a viable alternative to improve access to quality school education while ensuring equity and social justice’ (National Council for Education Research and Training [NCERT], 2009, p. 4). In comparison to the Tenth and Eleventh Plans, the Twelfth Plan approach was much more explicit about the use of the private sector in social sectors, including in elementary education and in the expansion of secondary education. The latter was stressed as one of the main goals, given the increases in enrolment in elementary education over the Eleventh Plan period. Notably in elementary education, the Twelfth Plan approach positioned the 25 per cent free seats provision in private schools, a controversial clause of the RTE Act, as the impetus to ostensibly removing entry barriers for the further expansion of the private sector:

*In the Twelfth Plan, possibilities will have to be explored for involving [the] private sector more meaningfully to achieve the objective of expansion and quality improvement. Recognising the importance of private schools, the*

RTE Act mandates that all schools, whether they receive financial aid from the government or not, must reserve 25.0 per cent seats for children from disadvantaged households. However, *barriers to private entry are high which need to be re-examined*. (Planning Commission, 2011, p. 97; emphasis added)

Most explicitly, similar to the proposal in the Eleventh Plan, the major PPP initiative proposed in school education was to establish ‘schools under PPP mode’ (Planning Commission, 2012, p. 96) to ‘meet the government’s objective of establishing *world-class schools for providing quality education* to underprivileged children who cannot afford to pay the tuition fee that good private schools charge’ (Planning Commission, 2012, p. 96; emphasis added). A contracting model between private providers and the government is outlined, which would include tuition support for children from disadvantaged groups. However, the MHRD made a recent announcement that the ‘model school scheme has been delinked for the support of the Government of India’ pending further review (MHRD, 2015a, website). This points to the potential volatility of such models, and calls into question their appropriateness. Similar concerns were raised by the working group on private sector provision and public partnership in Education that was tasked with providing recommendations for the Twelfth Plan.

The Twelfth Plan bemoaned the poor quality of learning outcomes in school education, which is highlighted as the main challenge. This has been noted in numerous studies, notably in Pratham’s successive *Annual Status of Education Reports* (ASER), showing low learning levels across the country. Expanding the numbers of and widening access to private providers was presented as the most viable strategy through which to improve the quality of schooling in macro-planning documents. There was no substantive discussion on strengthening inspectorates, and apart from vague and cursory mentions of delivering teacher training through PPPs, there was no clear strategy for improving teacher training. Both of these have been highlighted time and again as key initiatives for achieving broad-based change in education (Kumar, 2008; Nambissan, 2010; Tilak, 2007).

In the broader discourse, there is a buzz around the potential of philanthropic engagement to fill substantive gaps in scaling up ‘solutions’ for such problems to improve quality, particularly through partnership arrangements. The need for increased participation, particularly through ‘newer’ forms of philanthropy (e.g., corporate philanthropy, venture philanthropy, social impact philanthropy), has gained currency. While there

is significant heterogeneity among actors broadly termed ‘philanthropic’, there is little distinction between them in the discourse. It is not uncommon to find conflation of different types of actors, for example, traditional charitable foundations seeking no financial return on programming, on one end, and venture philanthropies seeking financial gain on top of social investment, on the other. Despite their distinctions, actors broadly termed ‘philanthropic’ are idealised as at once non-market and non-state (Ács & Desai, 2007), and as naturally flexible, brisk, agile and well-suited partners in complex PPPs and multi-stakeholder partnerships. Ball and Olmedo (2011) claim this is because ‘This new conception of philanthropy... intentionally blurs the line between business, enterprise, development and the public good’ (p. 84).

An analysis of PPP education initiatives in India reveals the heterogeneity of actors termed ‘philanthropic’, the diversity of the types of initiatives in which they are involved and the difficulty in understanding their actual modalities and impacts. Table 3 presents a set of PPP initiatives that were found as a result of a cull of organisational and government websites and of publicly available information for a review of private sector development in India (see Srivastava, Noronha & Fennell, 2013 for the search strategy). Results were difficult to obtain as information is scattered and is not regularly updated or maintained. PPP initiatives include capacity-building initiatives, pedagogic support, skills development and learning enhancement, support for assessment, teacher training and school adoption and school infrastructure. The examples

**Table 3.** Examples of PPP Initiatives in Elementary Education in India in 2000–2012

Type of Initiative	Providers		Time Period and Numbers of Initiatives*	
	Self-described Foundations / Philanthropic Actors <sup>o</sup>	Other Actors*	2000–2005	2006–2012
Learning enhancement for students through technology (CAL)	Central Square Foundation, Azim Premji Foundation, GMR Varalakshmi Foundation	Educomp, Intel, IBM, Educational Initiatives	8	27

(Table 3 Continued)

(Table 3 Continued)

Type of Initiative	Providers		Time Period and Numbers of Initiatives <sup>*</sup>	
	Self-described Foundations / Philanthropic Actors <sup>o</sup>	Other Actors <sup>*</sup>	2000–2005	2006–2012
Learning enhancement for students through technology: teacher training	Azim Premji Foundation	Intel, Microsoft, Educomp	30	7
Assessment	ICICI Bank Foundation, Azim Premji Foundation	Pratham, Educational Initiatives, Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission, UNICEF, National University of Educational Planning and Administration, CIIL, HBCSE, University of Michigan, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai, World Bank, Harvard University, UNMCT (Torrent) Ltd. CSR initiative <sup>x</sup>	2	6
Mid-day Meal Scheme	Naandi Foundation, GMR Varalakshmi Foundation		6	2
Adopt-a-school	Bharti Foundation			49 schools
Pedagogic support (curriculum development, teacher training support, and provision of teaching–learning material)	ICICI Foundation, Sir Ratan Tata Trust, SRF Foundation, GMR Varalakshmi Foundation	Care India, Eklavya, Bodh, Rashtreeya Vidyalaya Educational Consortium, Muskaan	11	10

(Table 3 Continued)

(Table 3 Continued)

Type of Initiative	Providers		Time Period and Numbers of Initiatives <sup>†</sup>	
	Self-described Foundations / Philanthropic Actors <sup>○</sup>	Other Actors <sup>*</sup>	2000–2005	2006–2012
Learning enhancement – specific skill/ subject	Azim Premji Foundation	Pratham	5	12
Capacity building of school management committees (SMCs), District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET), Block Resource Centres, and RTE-related issues	Sir Ratan Tata Trust	Oxfam, Bodh, Lokmitra, Samavesh, Save the Children	2	6
Residential schools		Bodh	1	

**Source:** Extracted and adapted from Srivastava et al. (2013). Original data compiled from state and organisational websites. Data are limited to publicly available information. Some websites were more complete than others.

**Notes:** <sup>○</sup> This categorisation is based on the auto-descriptions of actors. This is not to imply homogeneity. There are significant distinctions among actors in this group.

<sup>\*</sup> This is not to imply homogeneity among this group, or to imply that other actors are profit making, though some may be.

<sup>†</sup> This is not to suggest that initiatives have been terminated. Certain among them may still exist.

<sup>×</sup> The CSR initiative has not been categorised as engagement by philanthropic actors.

The list of initiatives and providers is meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

presented are not meant to be exhaustive but illustrative of developments in the sector.

Table 3 should be interpreted with caution, primarily as there is no official definition of ‘philanthropic’ organisations or foundations in the Indian context. Instead, there are a number of regulatory frameworks



attempting to govern the activities and taxation requirements of organisations deemed to be ‘not-profit’ or ‘charitable’ (see Charities Aid Foundation India [CAF India], undated; Second Administration Reforms Commission (2008) for useful outlines). More pertinent to the discussion here, ‘public-serving organisations which are formed to serve the needs of the general public’ (Second Administration Reforms Commission, 2008, p. 12) are most commonly registered as trusts, societies or charities.

The Societies Registration Act, 1860, is applicable throughout India for the governance of such organisations, though individual states may have their own regulations and amendments. Regarding public-serving organisations, the Second Administration Reforms Commission specifically refers to ‘charitable grant-making organisations’, akin to one type of private foundation as defined in the wider international literature. However, in essence, the title of ‘foundation’ and the activities described as philanthropic are essentially auto-descriptions used by organisations in the Indian context and do not confer legal status or intimate legal compulsions. Thus, the attempt to separate ‘philanthropic’ actors and ‘foundations’ from other actors was fraught with difficulty. A number of issues emerged.

First, as noted above, we were limited to descriptions made by the organisations themselves. Second, it was apparent that there is a high degree of heterogeneity among actors that self-describe as foundations or as philanthropic in education. There were significant differences between them. For example, organisations like the Azim Premji Foundation, a relatively newer entrant, operate alongside older, more established philanthropic organisations like the Sir Ratan Tata Trust. Domestic self-described foundations operate alongside international ones (e.g., Hewlett, MasterCard) which may have different regulatory and reporting requirements in their home countries and/or in India. Third, some organisations, such as, the Central Square Foundation, which self-describes as a venture philanthropy, may operate as funders seeking returns on investments in education-focused organisations and initiatives, but others, such as, the Naandi Foundation, may operate more in the traditional model of a public charitable trust, implementing initiatives without seeking financial returns.

Fourth, distinctions among and between foundations and philanthropic actors, particularly regarding those that are closely associated with business, is increasingly blurred. Corporate foundations, such as, the Bharti Foundation and the ICICI Foundation may have connections with their parent corporations that vary in degree or extent. This may be reflected

in the composition of the board of directors and high-level executives of corporate foundations, as well as the degree of independence they exert in programming and operations. Furthermore, corporations establishing partnerships as part of CSR initiatives (e.g., UNMCT Torrent) may be broadly (and mistakenly) seen as philanthropic, but are governed by different modalities and compulsions, and, since the passing of the Companies Act, under different regulatory frameworks. The latter may be different from a foundation established as the CSR arm of a corporation (e.g., GMR Varalakshmi Foundation). In some instances, it is not always clear whether certain corporations are conducting work as a result of CSR activities or as business enterprises (e.g., Intel, Microsoft).

Finally, a quick investigation into some of the individual actors listed above revealed that they had links with other non-state private actors, including NGOs and other charitable trusts and private foundations, but also with state actors and corporate and business actors. Sometimes the same actor was involved in a number of partnerships. Information on this aspect is sparse and opaque. Further concerted research is required to reach more robust conclusions about the nature of these links and partnerships, and about the classifications of individual organisations according to Indian regulatory requirements. Thus, the actual scenario is far more complicated than general typologies or simple categorisations may suggest, making it difficult to map the sector and trace its evolution, and also to provide a comparative perspective internationally.

### **Conclusions: Logics of Intervention and the Contours of Philanthropic Engagement**

Nearly all the literature reviewed took as its starting point the emergence and rise of a 'new' style of philanthropy worldwide. While much of the literature reviewed here noted similar shifts in philanthropic engagement in education in the Global South and in India, there is a dearth of literature attempting to conceptualise this engagement, with a few exceptions (Ball, 2008, 2012; Ball & Olmedo, 2011; Ball & Youdell, 2007; Nambissan & Ball, 2010; Srivastava & Baur, in press). The broader conceptual framework on which this article is based was primarily interested in assessing the 'logics of intervention' guiding philanthropic action in the Global South, and the potential form that an emerging

post-2015 architecture may take, that is, the potential governance structure for, and resulting from, philanthropic and philanthropic-type engagement in education.

Four themes emerged from the review. The first three are most closely tied to the logics of intervention, and showed a propensity towards action that is market-oriented, results-oriented and metrics-based and top-down. The fourth theme intimates the potential shape and characteristics of an emerging post-2015 architecture for philanthropic and philanthropic-type engagement in education. The literature suggests that it is framed by blurring corporate, philanthropic and domestic and international development activities and actors, operating in new formal and non-formal global policy spaces. The concluding analysis in Table 4 describes and provides examples relevant to India as uncovered in the original review. Owing to the paucity of data, examples are illustrative, not exhaustive.

Ball and Youdell (2007) argue that philanthropic engagement resting on the blurring of corporate and philanthropic lines leads to 'hidden privatisation' in education. This line of thinking contends that such goals are furthered in and by networks that provide spaces for connecting multiple actors (business, philanthropic, civil society, NGOs, international donors, etc.), and sometimes the same actors with different roles, as new venues for setting and mobilising policy (Ball, 2008; Nambissan & Ball, 2010).

The contention here is that privatisation in and of education, hidden or otherwise, may or may not be the explicit, sole, intentional or indeed, desired outcome for every actor broadly termed 'philanthropic'. This is particularly the case for actors in networks or coalitions. In the case of India, the sheer diversity of actors operating in the education space, the paucity of data and the different regulatory compulsions by which they must abide, make it difficult to draw general conclusions.

However, it is the primacy of market-based solutions espoused by the new global philanthropy in education, and the simultaneous increased use of complex multi-stakeholder arrangements and PPPs as mechanisms in many countries, including India, that open up and create non-formal and formal spaces for constellations of philanthropic and other non-state private actors to act. Given the dearth of empirical research on philanthropic engagement in India and in other countries of the Global South, the hope is that the framework presented here may act as a springboard to test the claims presented herein, and shed further light on the modalities of such engagement.

**Table 4.** Logics of Intervention and Potential Framing of Post-2015 Architecture for: Philanthropic and Philanthropic-type Engagement in Education

	Description	Examples*
Market-oriented	A shift towards 'strategic' choices made by newer Northern and Southern philanthropic actors, many of whom benefitted from the technological boom. Application of market-oriented skill set and the same expertise that led to business success to philanthropic engagement in education (Inderfurth & Khambatta, 2012; Johnson, 2003; Sidel, 2008).	Government schools compete for funding based on learning levels and teacher performance, e.g., Learning Guarantee Program, Azim Premji Foundation, India (Sidel, 2008). Emphasis on school choice as the harbinger of competition, and therefore, increased quality, e.g., investment in voucher schemes (Mital, 2009). Investments in low-fee private schooling (Ball, 2012; Nambissan & Ball, 2010).
Results-oriented and metrics-based	Shift from project implementation processes or project completion to results on investment (Brest, 2012). Tendency to promote measurable results, and preference for silver-bullet solutions (Ball, 2012; Brest, 2012; Brooks et al., 2009). Investment sometimes seen as 'contingent on organisations demonstrating impact and raising confidence in the returns on giving' (Bain & Company, 2012, p. 8).	Establishing 'model' schools for scalable, replicable 'quality' education, e.g., Satya Bharti School Program (Bharti Foundation, 2015). 'Adoption schemes' in which private foundations and/or corporations assume responsibility for the operation and management of public schools with the aim of correcting inefficiencies, e.g., Amber Trust adopted schools in Rajasthan (Pachauri, 2012).

Top-down	<p>Stronger emphasis on business expertise and closer alliance with parent industry, leading to more hands-on, direct and 'top-down' involvement.</p> <p>Shift from grant-making to implementing education programming, (Mital, 2009; Turitz &amp; Winder, 2005). Contrasted with older (largely grant-making) foundations, which were relatively more hands-off and which relied on governments, civil society organisations and other intermediaries to design and implement programmes (Ball, 2012; Bernard, 2012).</p>	<p>Governing bodies of foundations (e.g. board of governors, board of trustees) populated with leading executives and close corporate partners of parent companies, e.g., Azim Premji Foundation, Bharti Foundation.</p> <p>Private foundations being established as offshoots of CSR units/policies and running their own programmes, e.g., local Vodafone Foundations 'exist in the Vodafone Local Operating Companies' in 23 countries, including DRC, India, Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Turkey (Vodafone Group, 2014); GMR Varalakshmi Foundation.</p>
Blurring of corporate, philanthropic, and domestic and international development activities and actors	<p>Strategic involvement in the creation of new global policy spaces which bring together governments, donors and business to address global education challenges of funding, quality, access and skills leading up to the post-2015 period (Ball, 2012; Bhanji, 2012; Robertson, 2012; van Fleet, 2012).</p> <p>Development of partnerships and networks in education between businesses and traditional development actors which blend for-profit and non-profit approaches (Ball &amp; Olmedo, 2011; Brest, 2012) and create 'shared value' (Mital, 2009).</p>	<p>Global Business Coalition for Education (GBCE) describes itself as a 'business-led, action-oriented organization' based on the principles of social responsibility through coordinated social investment and philanthropic action to 'accelerate progress' in basic education in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria and Pakistan. It builds a case for philanthropic action in education by using capitalist logic to harness value in education to further business ends, i.e., investing in markets for future employment, increasing income potential to create new consumers, and increasing the ease of doing business (GBCE, 2012).</p>

**Source:** Extracted and adapted from Srivastava and Baur (in press).

**Note:** \*Examples are indicative, not exhaustive.

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## Notes

1. This article extends and is substantially based on Srivastava and Baur (forthcoming).
2. The review yielded 120 documents published from 1990 to 2014.
3. The Foundation Center was established in 1956. It documents information and data on philanthropic grant-making. It is primarily focused on activities by American organisations and their initiatives in the United States, and also, increasingly, internationally. It maintains a database which can be accessed online at: <http://data.foundationcenter.org/>
4. This is applicable to 'Every company having net worth of rupees five hundred crore or more, or turnover of rupees one thousand crore or more, or a net profit of rupees five crore or more during any financial year' (Section 135(1), Government of India, 2013).
5. This figure represents the completed construction of 242 toilets backed by the corporate sector as a proportion of the total 1.21 lakh toilets reportedly completed under the campaign (MHRD, 2015b).
6. I do not wish to make the claim that CSR and philanthropy are the same. There are crucial distinctions between them. I simply wish to draw attention to the common application of CSR as 'philanthropic-type' action in the broader public discourse.
7. A number of reports have emerged showing that in practice, however, some private unaided schools continue to be run on an unrecognised basis.
8. These were: the United States, France, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, and Canada. The United Kingdom, Germany, Australia, and Sweden increased aid to education.
9. This article uses the official World Bank regional grouping for South Asia as comprising: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.
10. Calculations based on 2011 UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report projections (UNESCO, 2011, p. 42).

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