

Occasional Papers

Higher Education Policy in Andhra Pradesh Exploring the Dynamics of Caste and Party Affiliations

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Abbreviation

AICTE	All India Council for Technical Education
AP	Andhra Pradesh
CBN	Chandrababu Naidu
CET	Common Entrance Test
CM	Chief Minister
EBCs	Economically Backward Classes
FAST	Financial Assistance to Students of Telengana
FRS	Fee Reimbursement Scheme
FYPs	Five Year Plans
GoAP	Government of Andhra Pradesh
HE	Higher Education
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HR	Human Resource
IT	Information Technology
ITES	Information Technology Enabled Services
JNTU	Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University
MCI	Medical Council of India
NTR	N.T. Rama Rao
PMS	Post Matric Scholarship
SC	Supreme Court
TDP	Telegu Desam Party
YSR	Y.S Rajasekhara Reddy

Higher Education Policy in Andhra Pradesh

Exploring the Dynamics of Caste and Party Affiliations[#]

A. Mathew^{*}

Abstract

In Andhra Pradesh (pre-bifurcation), the socio-political and educational developments evolved far more directly and intimately inter-connected, influencing policy shifts in general, technical and professional higher education, than its neighboring states. The Congress Party that ruled AP till 1983 was dominated by the Reddys and this was the pattern of new colleges sanctioned to their caste groups. The TDP rule under NT Rama Rao from 1983 was dominated by the Kammas in twisting government norms in sanctioning HEIs. From mid-'90s, expansion of engineering and professional education became a marker of social prestige and the TDP's tenure (1996-2004) under Chandrababu Naidu marks its climax as he aimed to turn AP into an international destination for professional education and Hyderabad as the global IT hub. The Fee Reimbursement Scheme, introduced by YS Rajashekara Reddy in 2008, aimed at enlarging the social base of software engineers by extending educational opportunity to the poor meritorious students. It resulted in limited social gains, but also in mushroom growth of substandard technical and professional institutions, which started only with an eye on money through FRS. It led to a crisis in technical and professional education - oversupply of substandard institutions, unemployable graduates, and the public deserting such substandard institutions. However, despite all the crises, technical and professional education continues, as it did before Andhra's bifurcation into Telangana and Seemandhra, without giving up its high social attraction to the software engineer as the objective of educational and social development.

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I. Introduction

It does sound preposterous to state that the policy in Higher Education in Andhra Pradesh is a manifestation and expression of caste-based unaided professional institutions influencing the policy in their favour and the government going along with it without any serious reservations. In this regard an explanation about the political party-caste interconnection in Andhra Pradesh (AP) Higher Education (HE) policy shifts would be in order as a reference point – the periodization or the different phases - in understanding the reasons for the policy shifts. Scholarly studies are plenty that trace the nexus between caste-based educational networks and their powerful social and political influence, in tilting the policy focus in HE in their favour whether in sanctioning new educational institutions, or their management in admissions, fee structure, etc, right from mid-1970's (Upadhyay, 2014; Benbabaali, 2013).

In order to understand and highlight the powerful influence on the policy shifts exercised by caste-based groups of educational institutions, as a nexus between politicians and dominant caste groups supporting the party government, an attempt is made to overlay the change in the party government and increase of number of educational institutions during different party rules, along the Chief Minister and his caste equations on increase in educational institutions. Scholars/researchers working on, and knowledgeable about Andhra's socio-political and educational landscape, such as Shatrugna, recalled how political loyalists and fellow caste men and relatives of the CMs and his caste were beneficiaries in sanction of new educational institutions from 1970 onwards. Therefore, we presume and present the trend in the increase of colleges and institutions of professional education, with the change of party government, along with the CM and his caste as proof of their domination in policy matters, dictated by caste and political party considerations. This connection appears much sharper and intimate in the area of professional and technical institutions from the time when data along government, aided and unaided categories become available, especially during the post-Reform era and after the Telugu Desam Party's (TDP) second stint in government under the Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu from 1996 to 2004. One rider should be noted. The political favour to fellow caste groups with the change in the party in

government was an addition, and not at the cost of educational institutions that came into existence during the previous regimes, whichever caste groups or individuals to whom the educational institutions belonged. The patronage to fellow caste groups in sanctioning new educational institutions was also aimed as a counterweight to those caste groups patronized by previous party government. With commercialization, investments in professional institutions, through the '90s and later became business proposition, transcending caste-politics considerations.

The paper is organized into four main sections excluding Introduction and Conclusion. The policy evolution in AP's HE could be distinguished by certain shifts and phases. The pre 1969-70 period could be characterised as the phase of higher education system as a predominantly public enterprise. It marked co-existence of government and government-aided colleges in general higher and professional education. It could be considered as a golden period of government-aided colleges established by the "educational trusts" or "educational societies" of various wealthy caste groups as a philanthropic venture with the aim of providing educational opportunities to their fellow caste poor brethren. In course of time, i.e., after about five to ten years of their existence, these government-aided colleges came under the grant-in-aid scheme, almost as a matter of course, given the smooth understanding and influence of the party government in power and the educational trusts and educational societies running these colleges which in most cases were also from the same caste groups as caste groups in power. This could be characterized as a pre-privatisation and pre-commercialisation phase of HE, and is surveyed in Section II.

Section III covers three phases as seen in distinct policy trends. The period between 1969-70 to 1982-83 could be characterised as the beginning of commercialisation wherein private agencies were permitted and encouraged to establish and run Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), from Junior Colleges to general HE as well as professional institutions on a non-grant-in-aid principle wherein they were expected to meet the cost based on the fees they charged from the students. This initiative to meet the social demand for HE quickly changed from self-financing to

commercialization based on exorbitant capitation fee wherein education was used as a profit venture in total disregard to any principle of equity and social justice.

The second phase (1983-92) represented a restoration of equity and social justice in HE by banning capitation fee and introducing state regulation of admissions through marks in qualifying examination and rank in the Common Entrance Test (CET), as stipulated in the 1983 Education Act. This was the case for admission to professional colleges like engineering and medicine, and also introducing some strict norms in the fee structure in professional courses. This system continued till 1992 despite repeated attempts by the management of private professional institutions including the CM Janadharan Reddy government spearheaded one, to seek amendments to dilute the ban on capitation fees.

The third phase (1993-95) is one when the state's role in HE was restored by the Supreme Court ruling in 1993. It brought in the state's jurisdiction on HE in matters of admissions to professional courses, based on the merit list of the CET conducted by the state, and a fee structure for different professional courses, as outlined by the Education Act 1982. The post-1993 period also marks almost a complete withdrawal of the state from the funding obligations and the universities were left to fend for themselves through offering self-financing courses alongside regular courses as in the Arts and Science Colleges as well as professional courses like Tourism, Hotel Management, Mass Communication, English speaking, etc., that traditionally were offered in professional institutions. This trend of the state retreat from HE and universities being left to fend for themselves, also witnessed huge number of vacancies of faculty positions and the beginning of the phenomena of part-time or contract, guest lecturers, and faculties and departments functioning at sub-optimal levels.

Section IV covers the policy direction during TDP's government headed by Chandrababu Naidu (CBN) as Chief Minister from 1996-2004. It marks a phase when AP was sought to be transformed into an international destination for professional education and Hyderabad as the IT hub. Chandrababu Naidu's period also marks the acceleration of the prestige of engineers as the focus of engineering colleges and also as

software engineers, IT jobs and migration to US as a pervasive public culture in AP which set it as the benchmark in the years to come. Section IV also portrays the beginning of the transition from philanthropy tied to boosting social status in the caste hierarchy by different castes using their wealth. The transition from educational enterprises mainly by philanthropic motives to investments for business interests and for social and political influence was also beginning to take shape during this period.

This phase from 1995-96 to 2004 was a period of deregulation to enable setting up of professional educational institutions by private agencies or individuals without any barriers from the government. It also marked a phase of mushrooming of professional education dominated by the private engagement. The state withdrawal from general HE started from post-liberalisation period (1991) had never been reversed thereafter.

Section V starts from 2005 onwards and stretches well up to the state's bifurcation in May 2014. It represents a phase of further expansion – often referred to as unbridled expansion - of professional education right from 2005. With the introduction of Fee Reimbursement Scheme (FRS) from 2008 this trend of unbridled expansion sky rocketed and the later experience of FRS witnessed a crisis in technical and professional education.

Sections roughly represent a turning point in the policy direction, a qualitative change from the previous periods/phases. In that sense, the post-2005 phase represents the acceleration and accentuation of social aspirations of software engineers with a social objective of every Andhra household. The experience of the FRS which sought to lend equity and inclusion thrust to the social aspiration is analysed as the legacy of FRS.

The most inextricable facet of the policy trajectory in the AP's HE scenario looks to be the tilts in the policy focus which favoured the caste groups represented by the party in power by way of sanctioning new educational institutions to them and/or changes in the administration and management of the education system favourable to them. This looks to be the case all through the successive decades with every change in the bipolar party system's change in the government.

II. Higher Education as State Enterprise: From Expansion to Consolidation during II - IV Five Year Plan Periods (1955-56 to 1969-74)

The narratives in the AP's Five Year Plan (FYPs) documents, especially of the II and III Plans, were one of new colleges of general and technical education being established in different districts and regions of the State. The running theme on higher education, especially technical education in the II Plan document, was one of the starting of new engineering colleges and polytechnics and introduction of new degree and diploma courses (GoAP, 1957: 152-54). The narrative runs like this: during II Plan, 2 Engineering Colleges, 1 Regional Engineering College and 19 Polytechnics were established (GoAP, [n.d.]: 206-07). However, the Fourth FYP was candid to admit that even during the III FYP there was realization of the need for consolidation of the expansion during II FYP. From the IV FYP there was concern that the "fast expansion" of technical institutions outstripped job opportunities and resultant unemployment of engineers and diploma holders (GoAP, [n.d.]: 221).

Table 1
Educational Institutions in Andhra Pradesh (1955 to 88)

Year	No. of Universities	Colleges of General Education	Colleges for Professional & Technical Education	Oriental Colleges	Junior Colleges
55-56	3	50	40		
60-61	3	67	35	22	
65-66	4	101	39	27	
72-73	4	159	48	45	
74-75	5	210	56	53	258
75-76	6	218	52	58	296
76-77	8	235	54	51	296
77-78	8	250	55	52	323
78-79	8	250	55	52	338
79-80	8	264	57	53	356
80-81	8	268	66	53	394
81-82	8	294	69	52	561
82-83	9	295	69	52	565
83-84	10	343	76	53	601
84-85	10	347	97	53	601
85-86	10	352	98	54	634
86-87	10	398	102	54	633
87-88	10	398	104	54	646

Source: Government of Andhra Pradesh (1990), *Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-95)*, Andhra Pradesh, Draft Vol-I, Finance and Planning (Plg.Wing) Department, pp. 86-87, Accessible @

<http://14.139.60.153/bitstream/handle/123456789/3097/Eighth%20Five%20Year%20Plan%201990-95%20AP%20Volume-I%20D6173.pdf?sequence=1>

As seen in the Table 1 within one year, i.e., from 1975-76 to 1976-77 there was a sudden jump from 218 to 235 in the number of colleges for general education and to 294 by 1981-82. The spurt in professional education institution started even earlier; it

increased from 39 in 1965-66 to 48 by 1972-73 and went up by 69 by 1981-82. The Junior Colleges witnessed far sharper increase from 258 in 1975-76 to 561 by 1981-82.

This narrative of “consolidation” rather than “expansion” of general higher and technical education in the five year plan documents completely bypassed the actual policy dynamics dictating policy decisions and the development direction at the government level.

Unlike the starting of coaching centre, for which no approval from any government agency was needed, for establishment of new educational institutions from Junior Colleges or Intermediate Courses within existing degree colleges, to new degree colleges or professional colleges including engineering and even B. Ed colleges, the educational trust or society must have taken the approval of the education department. The political goodwill towards caste based educational networks and the latter’s entry into education as an investment with business interest and also as an instrument of social pre-eminence is inextricable process.

III. Commercialisation and Ban on Capitation Fees

It was noted earlier that the first phase could be seen as one represented by state funding of the HE and the caste-based network of educational institutions inspired purely by the philanthropic vision and objectives. In many cases these institutions were started mainly for social service to their fellow caste children. Although driven by philanthropic motives, these institutions after five to ten years of existence also started getting grant-in-aid from the government, as in many cases they were ventures of fellow castes as those in the government. In the context of reorganization of the educational system based on the Education Commission (1964-66) recommendations along the 10+2+3 pattern, AP started the +2 stage both as Junior Colleges as well as Intermediate Courses in the degree colleges. The transition from government aided to a non-grant-in-aid mode in sanctioning of new institutions came in with the introduction of the two year Junior colleges in select Secondary Schools and the Intermediate Courses as part of the degree colleges continued in some cases. This was also the beginning of starting of coaching centers for preparing students for admissions to technical and medical

colleges. These coaching centers initially set up by serving and retired teachers, when gained some reputation by the success of their students in admissions in engineering and medical colleges, started charging heavy fees and also applying for recognition as Intermediate Colleges. This phase between 1971 and '82 also coincided with the Congress Government which began to sanction the Junior Colleges or Intermediate Courses to its supporters. This was particularly the case during the tenure of Mari Chenna Reddy from 1978-80. Many of Intermediate Colleges that started in mid-1970s by the Reddys' caste based educational networks later developed into a full and large scale educational complexes including engineering and medical colleges and extending it to school sector from nursery to PG level. Many of the Engineering Colleges could be traced to this period. It coincided with a phase of progressive state withdrawal from HE and proactively encouraging the private sector to step in and fill the gap by meeting the demand for HE. Looking at the scene of HE around 1983 a perceptive scholar observed that "Andhra Pradesh has a total of 28 engineering colleges, 17 in the private sector and the rest in the government/university sector. Professional education in the private sector was ardently promoted by the Congress (I) under the regime of M. Chenna Reddy in the late 1970s (Shatrugna, 1993: 2057).

Caste- Politics - Education Tie-ups

The beginning of consolidation and that of caste-based educational networks that dominated political economy of state education started from the beginning of the 1970s. The strong interest in education in Andhra was also linked to the rise of caste politics and the consolidation of the major dominant castes into region-wide social categories in the early 20th century. The deep interest among the Kammas, for example, in education was reflected in the establishment of a number of schools, colleges and student hostels by wealthy caste members from the 1920s often through family trusts that continue to manage educational institutions in the region even today. Many caste associations that emerged during this period were primarily engaged in promoting education within their own communities. For example, the Kammavari Sangham focused on providing scholarships and hostel facilities to the poor and meritorious students of Kamma community (Upadhyay, 2014: 9).

A parallel development in another part of AP viz, Guntur is of greater significance. Collectively building caste hostels, educational institutes and providing scholarships for poor members of one's own caste was already in practice since a long time in Guntur, especially among the Brahmins, Kammas and Komatis. These developments played an important role in cohesively building communities with a strong caste informed disposition. Such feelings get locally articulated today through the phrase 'caste feeling' or kula bhedom, used commonly in the region. Collective giving for education was an important means for promoting the Kamma caste groups achieve parity with the Brahmins. Philanthropy has traditionally played an important role in building a strong powerful regionally dominant and hegemonic caste based communities (Roohi, 2014: 7).

Another element that emerged in Coastal Andhra's socio-economic configuration was the 'culture of business', i.e, investing the surplus of larger farmers, mainly in agri-business in the villages, in towns, in agri-trade, finance, transport, construction contacts, liquor trade, film production in major towns in the region and in Madras. It was inevitable that investment in education would become yet another lucrative business opportunity. Investment in educational institutions was particularly attractive to Kamma landlords and businessmen because it could be represented as a social service or philanthropic gesture, thereby enhancing the social status of the founders. From at least the 1970s, education became a major avenue for the accumulation of capital in Coastal Andhra. Against this background, it comes as no surprise that the majority of engineering colleges and educational groups in the region are owned and managed by local business families, politicians and other regional elites (Upadhyay, 2014: 9-10).

This perceptive analysis of Carol Upadhyay (2014) of the Kammas' initial engagement for enhancing their social status as also the investment in education as lucrative business could be seen in the Kammavari Engineering Colleges in AP (Annexure-1). For reasons of brevity, we provide the 4 page long list of Kammas' engineering colleges in Annexure 1 in a small Table, capturing their expansion from 1970 till 2009, indicating the mood of expansion.

Table 2**Kammavari Engineering Colleges in AP**

Period	No of Colleges Established
Prior to 1970	2
1977-1989 (<i>Beginning of Self-Financing Mode</i>)	7
1985-1999 (<i>Rapid Expansion</i>)	16
2000-2004	14
2005-2008 (<i>Explosive Expansion</i>)	42
2009 (<i>Feverish Expansion</i>)	12

Traditionally, the Kammas are dominant in Coastal Andhra, whereas the Reddys are dominant in the interior regions of Telangana and Rayalaseema. These two castes have been controlling the politics of Andhra Pradesh since the formation of the State in 1956, and even before, since they were at the forefront of the movement for a linguistic Telugu State (Benbabaali, 2013: 2).

In terms of assets, Kammas are more prosperous, but in terms of political power, Reddys have been dominating the State through their control in the Congress Party since Independence. It's only in the 1980s, with the creation of a regional party called the Telugu Desam Party (TDP), that the ex-movie star N.T. Rama Rao (NTR) became the first Kamma Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, followed by his son-in-law Chandrababu Naidu (Benbabaali, 2013: 2).

Apart from medicine, engineering is one of the most common career options among the young Kamma generation, but since they are not entitled to get the benefit of reservations in admission in government engineering colleges, they mainly study in private colleges, generally owned by Kamma businessmen. The cost of these educational institutions is so high that other communities can hardly afford to study there. This corporatisation of health and education in Andhra Pradesh was started by

Kammas in the 1980s, even before the liberalisation process that took place at the national level after 1991 (Benbabaali, 2013: 2; 7).

Andhra's HE landscape is dotted with various caste-based networks of educational institutions. If one searches on Google caste based network of educational institutions in AP, one is sure to find plenty. It is available in some cases as a state-wide networks (as in Annexure-2) and also district specific networks, in others, as below.

Narayana Group of Institution

NGIs is special as it includes the entire educational setup from Pre-Primary to PG level institutions and subjects, besides their heavy concentration in engineering institutions. The Reddy Group of Institutions in just one district headquarter viz., namely Eluru of West Godavari District, is as below

Sir Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddy Educational Institutions

List of Institutes/colleges run by the Society

S.No	Name of the Institution	Year of Establishment	Location
1	Sir C. R. Reddy College (Autonomous)	1945	Eluru
2	Sir C. R. Reddy PG Courses	1971	Eluru
3	Sir C. R. Reddy Polytechnic	1980	Eluru
4	Sir C. R. Reddy College of Education	1984	Eluru
5	Sir C. R. Reddy Public School	1984	Eluru
6	Sir C. R. Reddy PG Courses for Women	1987	Eluru
7	Sir C. R. Reddy Degree College for Women	1987	Eluru
8	Sir C. R. Reddy Junior College for Women	1989	Eluru
9	Sir C. R. Reddy College of Engineering	1989	Eluru
10	Sir C. R. R College of Pharmaceutical Sciences	2007	Eluru

Source: http://www.sircrrengg.ac.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=18&Itemid=322

A policy facet of serious implication in respect of absence of data relating to the management type of HEIs in AP prior to 1996 is a serious impediment for analysis about policy direction. While AP had moved increasingly towards private sector involvement in non-government-aid mode from mid 1970s, there is no clear cut data either in respect of general HE or professional educational institutions. When there was ardent privatization, why not put the data on management types in respect of educational institutions on public domain? In our search in the Five Year Plan (FYP) documents, Economic Survey, Andhra Pradesh Statistical Abstract, there is no detail regarding management type especially about aided and unaided categories institutions prior to 1996. One has to depend upon the writings of scholars who are conversant with both education and caste dominated politics and/or depend upon indirect indicators relating to caste-based network of educational institutions.

Markers of Patronizing Private Engagement in Higher Education

The distinction between pre-1974-75 and the later period is marked for the Congress rule under Mari Chenna Reddy who began an aggressive expansion of general higher and professional education including the Intermediate Courses in the degree colleges and Intermediate Colleges. The increase was unabated as the TDP attempted to ban the capitation fee in admission to these institutions, as could be seen from the Table-3.

Table 3
Number of Educational institutes (1955 to 88)

Year	No. of Universities	College of Gen Edn.	College for Profl & Techn Edn.	Oriental College	Junior College	Inst for Profl & Techn Courses	Caste of CM
Congress Party 1955-1977							
55-56	3	50	40				Reddy
60-61	3	67	35	22			Dalit
65-66	4	101	39	27			Reddy
72-73	4	159	48	45			Brahmin
74-75	5	210	56	53	258		Velama
75-76	6	218	52	58	296		
76-77	8	235	54	51	296		
Dr. M. Marri Chenna Reddy (CM), 1977-1983							
77-78	8	250	55	52	323		Reddy
78-79	8	250	55	52	338		
79-80	8	264	57	53	356		
80-81	8	268	66	53	394		
81-82	8	294	69	52	561		
82-83	9	295	69	52	565		
Telugu Desam Party, 1983-88							
83-84	10	343	76	53	601		Kamma
84-85	10	347	97	53	601		
85-86	10	352	98	54	634		
86-87	10	398	102	54	633	435	
87-88	10	398	104	54	646	439	

Note: Using data from the link below, we have devised our own format of the table, using party-CM-Caste and Region categories, as relevant to the study

Government of Andhra Pradesh, (1990) *Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-95) Andhra Pradesh. Draft, Vol-I*, Finance and Planning (Plg.Wing) Department Pg 86-87

<http://14.139.60.153/bitstream/handle/123456789/3097/Eighth%20Five%20Year%20Plan%201990-95%20AP%20Volume-I%20D6173.pdf?sequence=1>

As mentioned in the beginning from the data available in government sources, viz., namely FYP, we have overlaid change in the party in government, party name and caste of the CM. With respect to increase in the number of institutions, this is very instructive against the background of caste based educational networks patronage extended to fellow caste party loyalist which overtime extended beyond party, caste boundaries along business/investment interests. The period between 1955 and '65 is distinguished for the increase in general education colleges which could be both government and aided. The non-grant-in-aid approach started with the IV FYP and the increase in the number of Junior Colleges during the Chenna Reddy's time was very sharp. His political loyalists besides his own relatives were the beneficiaries in general degree and professional colleges.

If it was Congress to patronize its loyalists during its rule, it now became the turn of the TDP to patronize the Kammas during its rule in sanctioning new general and professional colleges (116.0% and 136.0% respectively).

Ban on Capitation Fees

Regarding the ban on capitation fees, the Education Act 1983 states:

“The undesirable practice of collecting fee at the time of admission into educational institutions in the State has been on the increase. This practice has been causing frustration among the indigent and meritorious students at the same time contributing to a steep fall in the standards of education. The existing provisions contained in the Andhara Pradesh Education Act, 1982 are found to be not adequate to control effectively this evil practice. In order to eradicate the practice of collecting capitation fee and to maintain excellence in the standards of education, the Government have decided to prohibit the collection of Capitation fee by an educational institution and to make any such collection a cognizable offence. Incidentally it has been proposed to regulate admission into educational institutions on the basis of merit. It has also been decided to regulate the fee that may be collected by the educational institutions (Vide Bill No. 2 of 1983 published in Part IV-A, dated 14-3-1983).

In this regard, in the Act of 1982, the regulation of grant-in-aid to private educational institutions and the subsequent orders are very instructive:

- a) No private educational institution other than a college established after the 1st April, 1977 and existing on the 1st September, 1985 and no private college established after the 1st April, 1977 and existing on the 1st March, 1985 shall be entitled to receive any grant-in-aid unless the Committee constituted in G.O. R. No. 220, Education (SSE-I) Department, dated the 24th February, 1988 recommends that it may be admitted to grant-in-aid; and
- b) No private educational institution other than a College which has been established after the 1st September, 1985 and no private colleges which has been established after the 1st March, 1985 shall be entitled to receive any grant-in-aid.

A private educational institution referred to in clause (a) of sub-section (1) in favour of which the Committee recommends the release of grant-in-aid shall be entitled to such grant only from the date it satisfies all the conditions for admission to grant-in-aid specified in the Andhra Pradesh Education Act, 1982 and the Rules made there under the grant-in-aid Code and the orders and other instructions issued by the Government from time to time in this behalf [Act 1 of 1982].

A subsequent order brought in a safeguard against any anomaly in this regard. The Act stated that: “where the Committee constituted in GO Rt. No. 220, Education (SSE-I) Department, dated the 24th February, 1988 is of the opinion that an educational institution has received grant-in-aid without satisfying the conditions for such grant, the Government may, by order direct the educational institution to refund the grant received by it within such time either in one lumpsum or in such number of installments as may be specified in the order, failing which it shall be competent for the Government to recover the grant-in-aid in the same manner as an arrear of land revenue: Provided that no order under this section shall be made unless the management of the concerned educational institution has had an opportunity of making a representation” (The Andhra Pradesh Private Educational Institutions Grant-In-Aid, (Regulation) Act, 1988, Act 22 of 1988, pp. 199-200).

The ban on capitation fees and efforts of private unaided colleges trying for grants-in-aid and the government's clauses to make it difficult went together. It can be recalled that the government approach in respect of HE from the beginning of the IV Plan was one of consolidation rather than expansion which implied that the new educational institutions established by private agencies could only be under the non-grants-in-aid mode. From the point of view of policy trends in HE between 1983 and 1992, there appeared to be two parallel scripts running: (i) despite the ban on capitation fees, there was no let up in new professional institutions being set up -- 55 in general degree colleges, 28 professional colleges and 45 Junior Colleges between 1983-84 and 1987-88. Most of them must have been unaided private colleges; (ii) despite the ban, there were constant attempts by the managements of private professional institutions to bring amendments to remove the ban on capitation fees. Twisting government rules and norms regarding eligibility to receive grant-in-aid must have been liberally done in the case of party loyalists to fellow caste by different governments when it was their turn in government.

Government Resistance to Dilute the Ban

With respect of the numerous attempts by the managements of private professional institutions, the government issued another Act in 1985, viz., Act 11 of 1985. The 1985 Act referred to the 1983 Act, banning capitation fees and also the government Ordinance in 1984 "enacted to curb the undesirable practice of collecting Capitation Fee at the time of admission of students into the Educational Institutions and to avoid frustration among meritorious and indigent students and to maintain excellence in the Educational Standards." It also referred to the 1984 Ordinance about enhancing the seats in the Private Engineering Colleges and to provide for 20% management quota. This was done to enable the management of any Private Engineering College, Polytechnic or Industrial Training Institute to admit students into such college, polytechnic or Institute to the extent of one-fifth of the total number of seats from among those who have qualified in the CET or in the qualifying Examination, as the case may be, irrespective of the ranking assigned to them in such test or examination.

The Government revised the policy of allowing the 20% management quota because it was brought into notice that the various private institutions have misused their quota by collecting large sums of money from the students seeking admission. “This Ordinance goes against the objective originally embodied in the Act 1983, viz., to regulate admissions into the educational institutions purely on the basis of merit and to prohibit the collection of capitation fee and also to stop commercialisation of education. Therefore, the government decided to repeal Ordinance 27 of 1984 with retrospective effect from the 6th September, 1984 and to annul all actions taken under the Ordinance and enjoin on managements to refund all moneys collected from the students admitted under the management quota” stated the Act of 1985 (GoAP, 1983). It was also evident from this and many other Ordinances that the TDP government resisted the private management effort to dilute the ban on capitation fees.

Relaxing Ban on Capitation Fees: Now Government Pleads for Private Managements

It is clear that the managements of private professional educational institutions were misusing the management quota for collecting huge sums of capitation fee and attempted to commercialize education. When the Congress Government that came to power in 1989, it was quick to seek an amendment to the Education Act 1983 to relax the ban on capitation fees. Act 12 of 1992 stated that on a review of the working of the Andhra Pradesh Educational Institutions (Regulation of Admission and Prohibition of Capitation Fee) Act, 1983, it is revealed while the Act [banning capitation fees] has produced a desired result, it has also, at the same time, rendered many of the unaided private educational institutions financially unviable. These institutions have to mainly depend upon the fees collected from the students as they do not receive any aid either from the Government or from the University Grants Commission as in the case of Government University Colleges. In these circumstances, if the unaided private educational institutions, particularly the professional colleges are denied financial aid particularly from the willing students, it is felt that their development will become extremely tardy and it will also be difficult to maintain excellence in the standards of education. It is, therefore, thought that a relaxed application of the Act to unaided private educational institutions will not only make for their efficient functioning with

financial viability, but also protect standards of education. With this object in view, it has been decided that the unaided private engineering colleges, medical colleges, dental colleges and such other unaided educational institutions should be allowed to fill fifty percent of the total number of seats with students who have passed the entrance test or the qualifying examination, as the case may be, but without regard to the ranking assigned to them (GoAP, 1983).

The Congress government headed by Janardhan Reddy sought to bring an Amendment to the 1983 Education Act that prohibited capitation fee in admission to professional courses. The arguments for revoking the ban on capitation fees are very instructive in the pro-privatization stance of the government. Close observers of AP HE scene like Shatrugna were quick to point the spin in the language “financial aid from willing students” that masked the capitation fees that was fleeced from helpless students and parents. He wondered how the admission of those with lower ranks would help enhance excellence and quality as the amendment claimed. He had no doubt that reservation of 50% seats as management quota for those only qualifying the CET would open the floodgates of unaccounted money power that would have a major say in admissions at the cost of meritorious but poor students (Shatrugna, 1992a: 1119).

Shatrugna also recalled how the Janardhan Reddy government adopted “very devious ways to privatise higher education in the state. As a first step, his government relaxed the recruitment procedure of teachers in the colleges. Earlier it was through the College Service Commission. Now private college managements have been given the power to directly recruit teachers even for the government aided posts. This is understandable considering the number of private educational institutions Janardhan Reddy and his family runs in the districts. Recently, Reddy obtained permission from the Medical Council of India (MCI) to start a private medical college in his native place. Those associated with him running ‘private’ educational institutions with government funds have also been rewarded with plum jobs. The chief of the Vakadu group of institutions run by the chief minister in Nellore district had been appointed vice-chancellor of the Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University (JNTU). While denying government aid to new colleges, the Janardhan Reddy government had given

permission to start scores of law and B.Ed colleges in the private sector. The universities have also become willing partners in this nefarious commercialization of professional education by giving ‘affiliation’ to these substandard institutions” (Shatrugna, 1992a: 1119).

The Janardhan Reddy (Congress) government in 1992 tried to bring in an amendment to lift the ban on capitation fee, imposed by the Education Act of 1982 under the NT Rama Rao’s Telugu Desam Party (NTR’s TDP) government, by devious ways of manipulating and manufacturing consensus among all parties. It wanted relaxation of the ban on capitation fee by seeking to allow private institutions’ right over 50% of the seats to offer admissions to those who are “willing to extend financial aid” (Shatrugna, 1992a: 1119). However, the Supreme Court had struck down the devious amendment in 1993, and restored the 1982 Act governing admission with the usual reservation.

In the view of rulings of the Courts, the government would continue to have jurisdiction over these colleges both in respect of admission and the fees structure. The Court ruled that admission to professional colleges should be based only on the basis of the merit list of Common Entrance Test conducted by the state. Of the total number of seats, 50% would be reserved for students who come on top of the merit list for whom the fee would be very nominal as fixed by the government. Of the remaining 50%, twenty-five percent of seats would be reserved for admission with merit, but the college would have discretion over the fees, while over the remaining twenty-five percent, the college would have jurisdiction with respect to both admission criteria and fees. The judgment argued that all colleges offering professional courses would have to reserve 50 percent of the seats for candidates selected through an entrance examination conducted by the government. In its ruling, the judgment opined, “Education has never been commerce in this country” (Kapur & Mehta, 2004: 18).

Janardhan Reddy profile includes his positions, among others, as Secretary, Harijan Vidyarthi Udharaka Sangam which runs Vakadu Complex of Educational Institutions (was responsible for developing the Complex virtually as a Rural University

- right from Nursery School to the College of Engineering, specially for the benefit of the weaker sections).

Close on the heels of the policy of privatisation of higher education on commercial lines, the Janardhan Reddy government decided to alter the rules of recognition of minority-run institutions. It also adopted an admission policy shifting the emphasis away from community-based concessions to giving more powers to managements, and defeating the letter and spirit of Article 30(1) of the Constitution. Accordingly the earlier government orders on admission policy are scrapped, favouring easier entry to non-minority community students who can afford to pay the high fees (Shatrugna, 1992b: 1849).

In Mohini Jain's case, the Supreme Court had held, inter alia that every citizen has a right to education under the Constitution; the State was under an obligation to establish educational institutions to enable the citizens to enjoy the said right; when the State Government granted recognition to the private educational institutions, it created an agency to fulfill its obligation under the Constitution, that charging capitation fee in consideration of admission to educational institutions, was a patent denial of a citizen's right to education under the Constitution and that the State action in permitting capitation fee to be discharged by State- recognised educational institutions was wholly arbitrary and, as such, violative of Article 14 of the Constitution; that the capitation fee brought to the fore a clear class bias; and that when the State Government permitted a private medical college to be set up and recognised its curriculum and degrees, then they said college was performing a function which under the Constitution had been assigned to the State Government and if the State permitted such institution to charge higher fee from the students, such a fee was not tuition fee, but in fact a capitation fee (Supreme Court of India, 1992).

The transition from commercialization to a state regulated privatization of general higher and professional education was negotiated, so to say, by the judiciary in 1993. The judiciary itself changed its view from perceiving capitation fee by self financing institution as an unmitigated evil to grudgingly accepting privatization based

on self-financing mode as a necessary evil in the face of state retreat from, and surging social demand for, higher education. The transition from hostility to acceptance to private sector engagement in education was mediated by its intervention in regulating admission and the capitation fee charged by the unaided private Professional Education Institutions (PEIs). In 1993, in the landmark *Unni Krishnan vs Andhra Pradesh*, the court reviewed the state's right to interfere in the admission policy and the fee structure of private institutions. It ruled that the government would continue to have jurisdiction over these colleges in admission. Admission to 50% of the total seats would be on the merit list based on CET conducted by the state for whom the fee structure would be as in the Government institutions. Admission to 25 percent of remaining 50 percent seats would be open to those qualified in the merit list of the CET, but it would be open to the college to fix the fee at its discretion. The remaining 25% of seats would come under management quota which would not be subjected to either CET rank or fee as applicable in Government Institutions. The management would have the right to fix the fee it decides fit and also select the students on its own admission criteria.

The policy trends marking HE in the two most crucial decades of AP from mid-1970s to the mid-'90s decisively tilted the government policy in general higher and professional education towards privatization wherein the government played a proactive role. The unstated bottom line has been the politicians' own educational empires and of their caste and other party loyalists. AP HE landscape had become distinguished for the permanent marker of the caste-politics-educational institutions tie-ups. The admission process involving a higher management quota and freedom in fixing admission fee as well as other conditions like teacher recruitment directly by them firmly put professional education in the private management domain, and the government role ever thereafter to be one of having to keep at bay private managements' tenacious bid to dilute the regulations on admission, the fees structure and other conditions regarding quality and maintenance of standards.

What has become more permanent marker in the socio-cultural space of Andhra has been the caste based educational empires, backed by the media, unleashing the

craze for competitive exams, coaching regimes and its regimen, CETs, and professional courses, and jobs abroad and migration to the US and other developed countries.

IV. Chandrababu's Dream: AP as International Destination for Professional Education and Hyderabad as Global IT Hub

Government Loosening its Grip

A close observer of the AP's political and education scene observed that when Chandrababu Naidu became the Chief Minister (CM) of AP in 1995, the state was on a complete decline financially. He had to somehow revive the economy. Realising the potential of the Information Technology (IT) sector, with a single-minded focus, he worked to attract investments into the sector by de-regulating the processes. As a part of creating the IT ecosystem, the first thing Naidu did was to make it relatively easy for people to set up engineering colleges. When he assumed the office, there were only some 30 odd engineering colleges in the state, and when he left, that figure went up to 225. All through his stay in the office, his party was part of the ruling alliance at the centre. So he was able to put pressure on the government at the Centre to get permission for establishing new engineering colleges since the whole process was under Centre's purview. Yet at times, he had to literally fight with the Central regulatory authority, the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) to ease up rules (Kiran, 2015).

The Vision 2020 Andhra Pradesh document prepared by the Department of HE in 1999 set the goal to achieve of 85% literacy rate by 2020 from its prevalent position of 54% at 1998 level (as per 1998 All India Education Survey). It said that "In Higher Education, AP will provide more restructured and specialised courses to man the higher education job opportunities... Already, in the State of Andhra Pradesh the higher and technical education in engineering colleges is increasingly being privatized. An effort will also be required to give impetus for more private sector degree colleges with courses which meet the market demands. Andhra Pradesh will therefore need to transform the current educational system so that it plays a catalytic role in the economy and the society" (GoAP, 1999:2).

The vision of AP proposed to make it as an international destination for higher education and Hyderabad an international IT Hub. Professional education through engineering colleges and MBA and MCA Colleges as flag bearers of IT and ITES skills have been pressed into play as the drivers of AP's transformation as the Human Resource (HR) hub. Between 1994-95 and 2004-05 the state government gave a special focus on higher education especially in bio-tech, pharma, defence, auto and various other industrial sectors. Participation of private sector was encouraged in the expansion of technical colleges and professional courses to meet the growing demands of skilled manpower (GoAP, 2014:10). "By implementing Vision 2020", another account says, "Naidu has privatised the health care and education of the state..." (https://wikivividly.com/wiki/N._Chandrababu_Naidu). Another bid at AP Vision (2014) recalled the progress made as the vision 2020.

When Chandrababu Naidu succeeded NT Rama Rao in January 1995, there were 35 Engineering, 26 Pharmacy, 57 MBA and 44 MCA Colleges. At the end of his second term in April 2004, AP had 236 Engineering, 207 MBA, 227 MCA Colleges, representing three to six fold jump in the number of institutions and the intake capacity increased by seven-fold in Engineering, five fold in MBA and more than six fold in MCA courses, as could be seen below.

Table 4
Growth of Professional Colleges in AP 1996-98 to 2004-05

Year	Engineering Colleges		Pharmacy Colleges		MBA Colleges		MCA Colleges	
	No.	Intake	No.	Intake	No.	Intake	No.	Intake
TDP Rule under Chandrababu Naidu								
1996-97	37	10455	26	1390	57	2145	44	1320
1997-98	57	14155	26	1390	81	3000	75	2270
1998-99	89	19773	26	1390	92	3825	99	3020
1999-K	102	25064	26	1390	109	4660	152	4040
2000-01	106	30716	-	-	110	4680	162	6395
2001-02	178	46540			141	7204	234	11250
2002-03	217	62290			159	8944	263	12795
2003-04	225	65710			207	11370	271	13525
2004-05	236	78720			207	11370	271	13525

Source: Blom, Andreas and Cheong, Jannette (ed) (2010), *Governance of Technical Education in India: Key Issues, Principles, and Case Studies*, The World Bank: Washington, D.C., p.21.

Table 5
Growth of Degree Colleges from 1996 to 2004

Year	Government. Colleges	Aided Colleges	UnAided Colleges	Total Colleges
TDP Rule under Chandrababu Naidu				
1996-97	168	187	454	809
1997-98	174	183	522	879
1998-99	175	182	571	928
1999-2k	175	181	619	975
2000-01	176	181	641	998
2001-02	176	181	723	1080
2002-03	176	181	830	1187
2003-04	176	181	938	1295

Note: Using data from the link below, we have devised our own format of the table, using party-CM-Caste and Region categories, as relevant to the study

Source: GoAP (2015), *APSCHE Statistical Booklet*, Andhra Pradesh State Council of Higher Education, p-17 Table 3a(iii).

The trend in the development of degree colleges of general higher education was no different. While the government colleges registered a measly increase, the number of aided colleges actually declined, but the number of un-aided colleges increased more than double in just about seven years.

Privatisation of Professional Education

It was mentioned above, that one of the first things Naidu did when he came to power was to deregulate HE and make it easy for anyone to start an Engineering College. What put beyond doubt the TDP government's pro-privatisation approach has been the increase in the number of unaided professional institutions and the intake trend. What was set in motion by the TDP remained as benchmark guiding the future approach under the Congress rule which was traditionally an ardent promoter of privatization in HE. While the number of professional institutions in the government and aided sector remained stagnant, the position in the unaided sector changed drastically as the number increased more than double in engineering and nearly double

both in MCA and MBA colleges. In the case of new investment openings like B.Ed colleges, the increase shot up from 65 to 624, almost nine times within five years, viz., 2000 to 2005. As far as number was concerned, there was no change in the tempo of expansion in engineering colleges even beyond 2005. But there has been a declining trend in the intake capacity. In respect of MCA and MBA Colleges there has been a clearcut trend of decline both in number of institutions as well as enrollment of students, which was seen as a “crisis of enrollment” (Gosavi, 2013: 76).

Table 6**Colleges and seats available at 5 years interval from 2000 to 2014**

Year & Category		Degree Colleges	Engg Colleges	MCA Colleges	MBA Colleges	B.Ed Colleges
TDP Rule under Chandrababu Naidu						
2000	Govt.	176	12	20	23	12
	Aided	172	0	0	0	10
	Un-Aided	641	93	148	94	65
	Total Coll.	989	105	168	117	87
	Total Seats.	281427	30125	6440	4505	11450
2005	Govt.	177	12	23	26	12
	Aided	180	20	0	0	9
	Un-Aided	1304	249	273	194	624
	Total Coll.	1661	261	296	220	645
	Total Seats.	425811	92600	16220	13755	38529
2005-10 figures not available						
Congress Rule under Reddys						
2010	Govt.	249	23	41	40	14
	Aided	179	0	0	0	10
	Un-Aided	1502	634	666	854	580
	Total Coll.	1929	657	707	894	604
	Total Seats.	463250	225905	47553	61150	64664
2013	Govt.	253	34	30	34	14
	Aided	179	0	0	0	9
	Un-Aided	1925	684	324	779	624
	Total Coll.	2357	718	354	813	647
	Total Seats.	529511	340099	23946	96060	69068

Source: GoAP (2015), *APSCHE Statistical Booklet*, Andhra Pradesh State Council of Higher Education. p-16 Table 3a (i)

Significance of TDP Rule regarding HE on AP's Social Aspiration

Collectively building caste hostels, educational institutes and providing scholarships for poor members of one's own caste was already in practice since a long time in Guntur among the Brahmins, Kammas and Komatis (among others). Observing these trends, a scholar argues that these developments played an important role in cohesively building communities with a strong caste informed disposition. Philanthropy has traditionally played an important role in building a strong powerful regionally dominant and hegemonic caste based communities (Roohi, 2013: 7).

Right from the NTR's rule and even earlier, apart from medicine, engineering was one of the most common career options among the young Kamma generation, but since they are not entitled to reservations, they generally study in private colleges, generally owned by Kamma businessmen. The cost of these educational institutions is so high that other communities can hardly afford to study there. This corporatisation of health and education in Andhra Pradesh was started by Kammas in the 1980s, even before the liberalisation process that took place at the national level after 1991 (Benbabaali, 2013). It is extremely instructive to recall a bygone legacy of the Kammas.

From 1995 to 2004, under the regime of the Chandrababu Naidu, NTR's son-in-law, economic reforms and the disengagement of the State accelerated this phenomenon of preference for engineering education and Kamma businessmen's hold over engineering colleges. Benababaali observed that TDP Chief Minister Naidu became the darling of the corporate media and of the World Bank which granted him a loan for his vision of development of the State. Naidu made Hyderabad a showcase for his neoliberal policies. He focused on urban infrastructure and global growth sectors like Information Technology. He decided to developHITEC City in the western periphery of Hyderabad, near Jubilee Hills where most of the Kamma settlers live. This led to tremendous appreciation of their properties. Kamma businessmen who benefitted from political patronage and privileged access to information for real estate speculation could make a lot of profit by investing in those areas. Chandrababu Naidu was accused of corruption, nepotism and casteism since his development choices clearly benefitted to his own Kamma community (Benababaali, 2013).

The return of the TDP into power in 1994 heralded the decisive tilt in the direction of HE towards professional and technical education. Within technical education more focus was given towards IT and ITES (IT Enabled Services) sector courses in the engineering and MCA in order to transform AP into an international IT Hub. Towards this end, the TDP Government as a part of the NDA at the national level lobbied to sanction engineering colleges, relaxing AICTE norms, such that there was an explosion in the number of Engineering, MBA and MCA Colleges between 1996 and 2004 as well as in the enrollment capacity. This explosion continued unabated from 2005-06 to 2013-14. The TDP lobbying with the Centre for more engineering colleges was a pursuit in the emerging scenario of software engineers as the focus of engineering colleges and software engineer in every Andhra household the creation of a public culture. The nine year long period of TDP rule (1995-96 to 2004-05) turned out to be an epoch of this public culture taking strong roots. The rise of Kammas as a socio-economic and caste-wise powerful community is also accompanied by the social aspiration of engineering degree, in every Andhra household, software jobs abroad and migration to the US.

Neglect of General Higher Education

A High Power Committee was constituted by the government of AP in 2004 to examine the need for rationalization of the teaching staff and the block grants system in the university under the chairmanship of M. Anandkrishnan. This committee found: severe shortage of faculty and which have remained vacant for several years, some for as many as twelve years, as there is a de-facto official ban on recruitment of university teachers till at least end of the X Plan. The block grants provided to the universities had also remained virtually frozen for some time. It cost serious damage on the morale and motivation of teachers, the physical ambience of universities and their overall academic environment with many departments and Post Graduate centers remaining subcritical in teaching staff and also their performance. Universities resorted to tide over this problem by recruiting temporary teachers, of nearly 15 to 60 percent of the total staff. To overcome the resource crunch universities resorted to running self financing programmes in place of their regular courses. The Committee suggested that

Universities should offer all programmes on a regular basis with an additional provision of 20% of supernumerary seats available at a fee level higher than the regular fees. This was to ensure that the quality of education would be the same both for regular as well as higher fee paying students delivered by qualified and competent regular staff (APSCHE, 2005: 69).

Table 7

University-wise Summary of Enrolment and Faculty

University	Enrolment	Faculty Strength				
		Sanctioned*	Existing	Vacancy	Contract	Recommended
Andhra	9106	950	648	302	102	858
Kakatia	8686+	358	228	130	124	326
Nagarjuna	2516	212	113	99	33	229
Osmania	36402+	1206	783	423	297	1029
S.K.D	7896	242	154	88	28	227
S.V.U	6073	615	377	238	105	471
JNTU	6837	484	357	127	102	455
SPMV	1095	130	99	31	29	140
Dravidian	523	35	21	14	0	39
PSTU	1001	111	51	60	64	61
Total	80135	4343	2831	1385	887	3835

Source: APSCHE (2005), *Report of the High Power Committee on Rationalisation of Staffing Pattern and Norms for Block Grants for the State Universities in Andhra Pradesh*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, p.30.

V. The Fee Reimbursement Scheme

Background and Objectives of FRS

In the context of the Fee Reimbursement Scheme, introduced in Andhra Pradesh in 2008-09, a little background leading to it could be relevant. When private agencies were encouraged to set up institutions of professional education from mid-1980s, the government role was confined to regulating admissions and the fee structure. On admissions, the government introduced the quota system where 90% of the seats were

filled by the government under what came to be known as Convener/Government quota and the remaining 10% under the management quota. The Convener quota was split into 50% as free seats and 50% as payment seats. The fee charged under the free seats was nominal and the fee under the payment seats was five times of the fees under the free seat category (Reddy and Reddy, 2017:208).

The free seat category system was abolished from 2003-04 and 85:15 seat sharing arrangement under government and management was introduced. The fee fixed for government quota seats was Rs. 22,000 and the management quota was Rs. 75,000. The management quota was increased from 15% to 20% from 2006-07 and further to 30% from 2009-10 and the tuition fee was increased to Rs. 27000 for Government seats and Rs.74,000 for management seats (Reddy and Reddy, 2017: 210).

The FRS was introduced by Dr. Y.S. Rajashekara Reddy's (popularly as YSR) government in 2008, for the students belonging to backward class communities pursuing professional courses, including engineering, medicine, MBA, MCA and B.Ed courses. The FRS is a system where the government reimburses the tuition fees directly to the colleges for all students who were covered under the scheme. It implies that the students need not pay any tuition fees to the colleges, and the colleges will claim the tuition fee reimbursement of the FRS students from the government. The FRS became a breakthrough in extending educational opportunities by way of reimbursing the high tuition fees without which poor meritorious students who have remained deprived of professional higher education. Initially this scheme was implemented for the SC, ST, BC, Minority, Physically disabled students, but later on it was extended to all economically backward classes (EBCs) whose families' annual income was below 1,00,000 irrespective of caste (Rao, 2012). Similarly, initially FRS covered only the students pursuing professional education, but later on it included even those covered by the Post Matric Scholarship (PMS) such as Intermediate Courses.

FRS Burden and Government Response

When the scheme was introduced, it was applicable only for fresh admissions, i.e., the numbers entering the first year of the course. Hence, the initial burden on the

state exchequer was less than Rs. 2000 crores. However, as the first year students entered the second year and fresh batch of students joined the first year, the burden of fee reimbursement started mounting. And in the four years after the introduction of the scheme, the burden grew up enormously and despite the government increasing the budgetary allocation under the scheme, it was not sufficient even to clear the previous year's arrears (Rao, 2012).

During 2010-11, when a review of the scheme was done, the total amount required for the fee reimbursement scheme was estimated to be Rs 3,792.92 crore, but by that time, the pending arrears was Rs 2,083.38 crore. According to the budget estimate of 2012-13, the fund burden of FRS shot up to around Rs. 5000 crores, benefitting more than 27 lakh students enrolled at +2 level studies. But the state government could make an allocation of only Rs 2,287 crore, it was not sufficient to clear even the arrears. During 2012-13 budget, the government earmarked was Rs 3,800 crore (Rao, 2012).

The Government tried various options to minimize the financial burden on account of FRS. When it launched the scheme, the tuition fee was Rs. 19,000 and in the year 2012-13 it became Rs.51,000 for engineering seats and over 1 lakh rupees for M. Pharmacy. In order to reduce the financial burden the government gave two options; one, fix upper limit of tuition fee reimbursement of Rs.31,200 per student for engineering courses, even though the college may be charging substantially more than that and the student will have to bear the excess amount. The second option was to ask the colleges to increase the management quota, so as to reduce the number under government quota which would automatically reduce government's fee reimbursement burden. The government was also planning to reduce the number of eligible students by imposing eligibility parameters such as 75% attendance and not carrying over any previous semester's credit arrears (Hyderabad India Online, 2012). However, those who opt for admissions under the quota of self financing courses are not eligible to come under the FRS system.

The Department of Higher Education notified on 6th Nov 2013 the fee reimbursement limit to different courses in Private Unaided Professional Institutions for

the block period 2013-14 to 2015-16 which was fairly liberal, allowing near total reimbursement of prescribed fee structure, unlike earlier (tgns.com/2013/11/061).

Table 8**Engineering Course Fee Structure under Convener and Management Quota**

(Rs. per Annum)

Year	Seats quota's		Fee Structure		
	Convener quota	Mgt. Quota	Convener Quota		Mgt. seat fee
			Free seat	Payment seat	
1999-00	90	10	5000	35000	60000
2000-01	90	10	8000	43000	68000
2001-02	90	10	8000	43000	68000
2002-03	90	10	8000	43000	68000
2003-04	85	15	Free Seat Category was abolished	22000	68000
2004-05	85	15		22000	75000
2005-06	85	15		22000	75000
2006-07	80	20		26000	79000
2007-08	80	20		27500	79000
2008-09	80	20		30200	91700
2009-10	70	30		30200	91700
2010-11	70	30		30200	95000
2011-12	70	30		31000	95000
2012-13	70	30		Common for both Convener and management quota. The minimum and Maximum fee fixed by AFRC is 35000 and Rs.120000 depending on the cost incurred by the college.	
2013-14	70	30			
2014-15	70	30			

Source: Reddy, Shiva and Reddy, Anji (2017) "Public Financing of Private Education through Fee Reimbursement Scheme (FRS): A Case Study of Engineering Education in Andhra Pradesh", 2017, paper presented at CPRHE International Seminar on Financing of Higher Education, 2015, mimeo.

FRS and Private Educational Institutions

The FRS had come as a big boon for professional colleges in private sector, particularly engineering colleges in the rural areas where earlier there were no takers for the engineering seats due to high fee structure. In the four years after its launch in 2008-09, a large number of Engineering, MBA, MCA and B.Ed Colleges mushroomed in the private sector with the aim that they could fill up their seats with OBC students and claim reimbursement of tuition fee from the government (Rao, Kumar and Devi, 2015: 76). Engineering colleges registered more than two-fold increase; MBA, three-fold, MCA, more than two-fold, B.Ed Colleges more than two-fold between 2006-07 and 2013-14, as evident from the table -9 placed below.

Table 9

Explosion and Decline: Colleges and Intake

Colleges & Intake	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
Engg.	394	339	540	657	701	710	716	718	722
Intake	94507	111941	158190	177200	194203	178827	138346	126431	188665
Pharmacy	394	232	256	275	290	283	292	296	299
Intake	94507	13496	13788	13798	11483	22495	15607	31692	11976
MBA	278	393	499	893	971	958	915	813	827
Intake	19274	24946	31230	57002	63315	57488	48141	53113	51662
MCA	381	538	698	707	713	625	471	354	282
Intake	1719	32234	41956	19076	15437	13965	657	5706	5229
B.Ed	345	607	610	604	615	609			
Intake	45506	48786	51593	59740	65913	63141			

Source: GoAP (2015), APSCHE *Statistical Booklet*, Andhra Pradesh State Council of Higher Education, p. 29.

The growth of private engineering colleges took a sharp upward curve after the introduction of FRS. The promulgation of FRS policy encouraged businessmen and

politicians who saw it as a lucrative business opportunity. They believed that their colleges could enjoy full student enrollment under the FRS opportunity which will bring in money when the government reimburses the tuition fees. As seen above, this led to a massive increase in the number of engineering and other professional colleges between 2008-09 and 2013-14: from 540-718 in Engineering; 256-296 in Pharmacy and 499-813 in MBA colleges. The bottom-line of expansion in the number of institutions is to avail of increase in the number of intake capacity that is directly linked to the quantum of funds from FRS.

With the government not releasing funds on time due to mounting burden on the exchequer, several engineering colleges had to face severe resource crunch. In other states, as per the scheme, the (Un-aided) Private Educational Institutions (PEIs) had to collect fee from students first and they, in turn, claim reimbursement from the Government. The situation in AP was reverse. PEIs were required to admit students without collecting any tuition fee from them, as the government promised to reimburse their fee subsequently. But since 2010, the government was not releasing funds under the scheme as per the schedule, but paid them in small amounts whenever the PEIs brought pressure on the government, as observed by T Rammohan Reddy, Vice-Chairman of All India Federation of Private Engineering Colleges (Rao, 2012).

As a result of nonreceipt of funds from the government, several engineering colleges had to withhold salaries to their lecturers for a couple of months pending reimbursement of fee from the government. As if the delay in reimbursement of fee by the government was not enough, a large number of engineering colleges, especially those in the rural areas, had also been facing problems in filling up their seats due to steep fall in the demand for engineering courses from students, as there were more number of seats than the number of students qualifying for the entrance examination. While the sanctioned number of Engineering seats was over 3.20 lakh, the number of students available for admissions was less than two lakh. This forced many of these colleges to announce that they were ready to admit those students who did not even qualify in the entrance test. Already, the college managements were engaging education consultancies and individual agents to lure the students to join their colleges by offering

them various sops such as free transport facility, free provision of laptops, subsidized hostel facility, etc (Rao, 2012).

FRS and Judiciary

It was in 2010, when 133 engineering colleges, most of them leading names in BE/B.Tech, had petitioned AP High Court seeking a uniform fee structure (for all seats) and permission to hike fees as per the facilities being provided at their respective colleges. While high court had ruled in the colleges' favour in February 2012, the state government moved the apex court against that verdict. In August 2012, when Supreme Court (SC) struck down the state government's plea, it also allowed the 133 colleges to hike their fees on the basis of the undertaking submitted by their managements where they have promised to implement sixth pay commission scales for their teaching staff (Hyderabad India Online, 2012).

Going by the Supreme Court order, according to media reports, there would be no difference in the fee for the government quota or convener quota (70 per cent of seats) and management quota seats. At present, i.e., in 2012, the fee was Rs 31,000 under convener quota and Rs 95,000 under management quota. As seen from Table-7, following the SC directive, it was expected that the government would fix a uniform fee of around Rs 52,000 for all the seats from the academic year 2012-13 for engineering course; Rs. 42,300 for MBA and MCA; Rs. 1.44 lakhs for Masters in Pharmacy; Rs. 94,000 for M.Pharmacy-D; and Rs.77,400 for M.Tech (Hyderabad India Online, 2012).

The Social Gains of FRS

The extension of FRS from SC ST's to BC's and EBC's irrespective of caste brought nearly 80% of students under eligibility for FRS. In effect it implied that but for this scheme, 80% of eligible students would have been deprived of professional and technical education on account of their inability to pay the high tuition fees. This was quite unlike the pre-FRS period when only SC's and ST's were covered by the Post Matric Scholarship (Reddy and Reddy, 2017:205). Originally only professional courses like engineering, medicine, pharmacy, MBA and MCA and B.Ed were brought under

FRS, but later even general higher education courses were included under FRS. The introduction of FRS has increased the educational opportunities to various sections of people who otherwise would have been deprived of this opportunity. Around 2012-12 the FRS was catering to more than 27 lakhs students enrolled from plus-two to PG level courses (Rao, Kumar and Devi, 2015:76).

The Un-intended Outcome of FRS

Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy's critics interpreted the FRS as a move of state's subsidy to the colleges that represented a coalition between politicians and business interest. It is doubtful if the FRS actually helped the under privileged for whom it was intended because of the widespread fraud in obtaining the BPL card as proof of the family's income certificate –less than one lakh annual income for eligibility of FRS (Upadhyay, 2014: 13). Calling the FRS scheme a disaster, Ravi Kiran (2015) says that "In 2008, the Congress government under Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, introduced a Fee reimbursement scheme for engineering students, which many say brought him back to the power in 2009 elections. Fee reimbursement scheme, in other words, was government-sponsored scholarships to buy votes".

Since government was paying the fee, everyone started enrolling into engineering courses whether they were worthy of it or not. Because of this inflated demand, new colleges started cropping up just to cash on this phenomenon without any real intention to provide education. Since there was a cap on the fees that colleges can charge, existing colleges had no incentive to improve the quality. People started finding it difficult to get jobs because of the poor quality of education. "Engineering degree would get you an IT job" -- this image had started slowly fading away. The demand came crashing down. Lakhs of seats were left vacant and colleges started shutting down.

Ravi Kiran (2015) observed that Trusts owning engineering colleges in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu are putting these institutions up for sale due to a shrinking demand for the degree. At least half a dozen colleges are on the lookout for buyers in Andhra Pradesh, which alone produces the largest number of

engineers in the country. These four states have more than 1.500 engineering colleges, with 500,000 seats. Andhra alone has 700 colleges. The value that engineering degree occupies in Andhra's public culture was sought to be cashed in by private entrepreneurs without any regard to ensuring quality parameters, like qualified faculty, academic and other infrastructure facilities, AICTE prescribed students-teachers ratio, etc. The sudden rise in the seats available, and with large majority private institutions remaining substandard, it led to the crises of sanctioned seats remaining vacant among all professional courses such as Engineering, Pharmacy, MBA, MCA and B.Ed. (Gosavi, 2013: 76).

In spite of the fact that more than 80% of the students in professional education are coming under the ambit of the FRS its result has not been a runaway success, but one of declining trend in the number of institutions and enrollment. It was widely known that in order to fill the seats, the private college managements were resorting to engage consultants and brokers by paying nearly Rs. 10,000 to 20,000 for each candidate. Even those students who do not want to pursue particular course or even not interested in further/higher education, are forcibly pulled by these agents and admitted in colleges. The students need not pay any amount to get admission, and besides that they are given token amount for joining the colleges. Therefore, they don't mind in joining the colleges. In most of the cases these forced admissions are accounting to nearly 20 to 30 percent of the admission (Chary and Chary, 2014: 6-7; Upadhyay, 2014:14).

Review of Scheme by Government

A government document The White Paper on Human Resource Development in Andhra Pradesh in 2014 admitted that "...after 2005-06 there was unbridled expansion and several new Universities and colleges were established particularly due to the fee reimbursement scheme which finally resulted in spreading the resources thin, poor quality of education, inadequate and un-qualified faculty and poor infrastructure... The number of engineering colleges in the combined State went up to 717 particularly leading to acute faculty shortage. The same was the case with degree colleges.

The Government could have focused on consolidating the higher education sector and could have taken all necessary steps to improve the quality of higher education” (GoAP, 2014: 10).

Private professional colleges mushroomed only with fee reimbursement as a source of income - and income as the only objective. Within one year of introduction of FRS in 2008-09, as in the Table above, the number of Engineering Colleges increased to 657, until it reached 722 in 2014-15; steeper was the increase in MBA Colleges from 499 to 827 between 2009-10 and 2013-14. It is also a telling commentary of disillusion among the public in deserting the substandard institutions, as seen in the decline of MBA and MCA intake besides that of Engineering Colleges as well. The decline in enrollment in Engineering, MBA and MCA was very sharp.

Impact of FRS on New State of Telangana

In the new state of Telangana FRS ran into problems for its continuity after AP’s bifurcation. The Chief Minister of Telangana K. Chandrasekhar Rao has taken the position that FRS is a legacy that the new Telangana inherited and therefore the government would continue to support it lest it creates problems for the students. But this commitment was intermixed with a serious reservation and skepticism. “The 370 Engineering Colleges in Telangana produce 1.40 lakh engineers and the colleges of Education (B.Ed) produce 42000 teachers how can/where will they get jobs” (The New Indian Express, July 05, 2017).

The Telangana CM was forthright in encountering the quality decline in engineering education by pointing out that many of the private engineering colleges were running only for the fee reimbursement schemes. He said that many of these colleges recruit agents to get students, lack basic facilities, qualified trainers, most of the colleges do not pay prescribed salaries to qualified teaching and non-teaching staff. These colleges were thriving only on the FRS “which is one of the biggest scandals in AP” (The New Indian Express, July 05, 2017).

The Telengana CM's take on FRS is very revealing. According to him, "the FRS is a huge scandal. This was intended only to benefit colleges as money was directly paid to professional colleges. A huge sum of Rs. 9300 crore to Rs.10,000s was spent every year and nearly 75% of this percent of this money was going to private colleges. Now in Telengana this burden would be Rs. 4300 crore per annum. The FRS if it has to be continued would cost around Rs. 4000 crore – why should government of Telengana meet the FRS cost of students of AP? Government of Telengana is prepared to meet the FRS cost of students of Telengana even if they are studying in AP colleges" (The New Indian Express, July 5, 2017). This disinclination to continue the scheme after bifurcation was already in the offing even in 2014, just after bifurcation – the biggest question was whether students from Seemandhra studying in professional education institutions in Telengana will get the reimbursement benefit and vice-versa (Reddy, 2014).

Describing it as a 'big scam' the Telengana Government scrapped the scheme with the Telengana CM K. Chandrasekhara Rao saying that many of the colleges and students exist on paper to claim the money. He instead introduced a new scheme calling Financial Assistance to Students of Telengana (FAST), studying in Hyderabad or other places in Telengana state. "We will pay for our children, you pay yours" is KCR's argument to Chandrababu Naidu's offer to bear 50 per cent of the fee. But the Telengana Government made it clear that it will not bear the tuition fee arrears of Andhra Pradesh students who took admission in various private professional institutions in Telegana. The arrears in respect of AP students are estimated to be Rs. 1800 crores (First Post, August 10 2014).

The Telengana Government filed a petition in Supreme Court early in 2017, seeking time till October to complete the counseling, saying it lacked the staff to verify the antecedents of students. Supreme Court ruled that engineering admissions should be completed by August 31, as per the original schedule. But Telengana state defied the APSCH's notification on July 30 for admissions, saying that its jurisdiction was Seemandhra and Telengana State will wait for the Supreme Court's verdict on their

petition. The FRS for non-Telangana students in Telangana seems to be a closed chapter.

Andhra Pradesh as an international destination for professional education and Hyderabad as an international IT hub was a legacy that YSR inherited from his predecessors. The substantive difference that YSR through FRS wanted to bring about was to broaden the social base of the ‘software engineers in every Andhra’s household’ that Andhra pitched as its social objective across the caste-class spectrum. FRS thereby aimed to widen the social base of this transformation of AP to lend it greater inclusion and equity. However, the scheme has resulted in several unintended outcomes including in the mushroom growth of substandard professional education institutions in the unaided private sector with the sole motive of making money, leading to substandard degrees, unemployable degree holders, loss of public faith and the crises of unfilled seats, and the resultant crisis in professional and technical education in AP. Moreover, the global crisis in the IT sector, leading to a severe cut back in demand and hiring of software engineers added a further decline in demand for professional and technical education. Despite all the so-called crises, technical and professional education continues, as it did, before its bifurcation in Telangana and Seemandhra, without giving up its high social esteem to the software engineer as its objective of social development.

VI. Conclusion

It is scarcely admitted that policy evolution in HE is a manifestation and expression of socio-economic influences. These influences tilting policy focus favorable to the interest of socio-economically powerful communities in the society are not explicitly stated or evident in policy discourses. In the official documents such as Assembly Debates, Demands for Grants in HE including professional and technical education in the Budget, reports of expert groups on specific aspects or sectors of HE, the influence of socio-economic interest as a determining factor are not explicitly stated or easily evident. This could be in the sanctioning of new colleges to certain caste or regional groups or with respect to management of their institutions vis-a-vis norms applicable for government colleges. It is often the discerning scholars and observers in the media who unravel the underlying connections between the interests of

socio-economically and politically powerful castes and communities and the policy trends in HE including shifts and changes.

More than other states, in AP, party governments in power seemed to tilt the policy focus in HE according to their political perspective/convenience. In AP, the political perspective seems to be strongly embedded in the social composition of their political party. Certain castes dominated the bi-polar party government system in AP -- the Congress was dominated by the Reddys and the Kammas were dominant in the TDP. In both cases, there was alignment with the other castes often dictated by similarity of interests.

The different phases indicating the shift in the policy focus in AP, as examined in different Sections could be summed up. The first phase, as seen in Section I, corresponds to (i) the state funding approach as well as philanthropic engagement in the HE till the end of III FYP; (ii) the crisis in expansion of Technical Education overtaking employment of TE personnel and consequent call for consolidation and improvement in facilities during IV and V Plans; (iii) beginnings of state withdrawal and encouragement to private engagement in HE, and (iv) beginnings of private engagement in professional education, especially engineering colleges in the self financing mode from mid 1970's.

The Second Section portrays the efforts of TDP Government to tackle the menace of the capitation fee and its ban by promulgating the AP Education of Act 1983. It also captures the introduction of the state role to ensure equity through reservation in admission and also in regulating the fee structure. Yet at the same time, this period was distinct for the entry in a concerted manner of the Kammas in professional education, in contrast to the Reddys, earlier.

In AP context, the tilt in policy focus is seen invariably in twisting government rules and norms in sanctioning new professional colleges to the castes backing the party in Government. This is done as a counter weight to the castes that benefitted during the previous party governments. The party Government as a reference point in HE policy shifts becomes far more clearly evident from the time of entry of the TDP. If it was the

turn of the Congress rule dominated by the Reddys favoring their fellow caste loyalists in sanctioning of new colleges upto 1983, it now became the TDP's turn to twist govt's rules and norms to favour the Kammas in educational institutions.

The Congress and the TDP dominated the policy shifts in AP-HE during the 1980's and '90s. This could be seen from the website of some of the caste-based technical and professional educational institutions. This is evident from the Reddys Groups of Engineering colleges from 1977 and again from 1988 through the '90s, and Kammas from the time of the TDP rule in 1982.

As seen in Section III, the return of the TDP into power in 1994 heralded the decisive tilt in the direction of HE towards professional and technical education, with more focus towards IT and ITES (IT Enabled Services) sector courses in the engineering and MCA to transform AP into an international destination of professional education and Hyderabad as the IT hub. Towards this end, the TDP Government as a part of the NDA at the national level lobbied to sanction engineering colleges, relaxing AICTE norms, such that there was an explosion in the number of Engineering, MBA and MCA Colleges between 1996 and 2004 as well as in the enrollment capacity. This explosion continued unabated from 2005-06 to 2013-14. Therefore the party Governments in power and its association in the policy shifts remains as a barometer of policy trajectory in respect of AP, far more directly and intimately than the case of other southern states. What makes the AP case very revealing is how (i) the IT knowledge as a passport to a lucrative jobs in the US and other developed countries; and (ii) this – software engineers - had become a passion and social aspiration of AP's every household. This became the legacy of the Chandrababu Naidu's rule during 1996 and 2004.

The legacy of Chandrababu Naidu's rule was not only in the decisive shift of HE policy towards professional education and particularly engineering education in IT and software direction. The legacy of Naidu's rule was equally deep rooted in the Kammas education lobby positioning a social aspiration of software engineer from engineering colleges as its new focus, their social mobility through IT jobs and migration to the US

as the ultimate social objective and their social preeminence in the caste hierarchy. The caste considerations tilting the focus of educational policy in their favour in Andhra was also tied to their caste domination in the social hierarchy. The legacy of the TDP rule created an indelible social craving for software engineer in every Andhra household, whether they could afford or not.

The introduction of the FRS, by the Congress government under Dr. Y.S Rajasekhara Reddy in 2009, as seen in Section IV, was aimed at widening the social base of those aspiring to climb in social hierarchy through IT jobs with government meeting the fee of the students pursuing professional education from poor socio-economic background. The social gains of the FRS were that it covered nearly 80 percent of the students in professional colleges who otherwise would have remained deprived of professional education. This stood to lend substance and meaning of the TDP rule legacy of software engineer in every Andhra household. The difference was that it was a social craving for all the non-Kamma and Reddy castes. This became a reality under the FRS time. But the FRS led to mushrooming of substandard engineering colleges with an eye only on fee reimbursement from the government. With public expectation fading that an engineering degree is sure to get an IT job, the demand for engineering seats came crashing down and engineering colleges started closing down. The malpractices indulged in by the substandard engineering colleges in hiring educational consultants and consultancies to lure students to their colleges, and the students rejecting the courses on offer on account of substandard infrastructure and lack of placement and the colleges going on offer for sale has become common in AP.

After AP's bifurcation, the Telengana CM dubbed the FRS as a big scandal and refused to include students of Andhra origin under the FRS. Instead, Telengana introduced Financial Assistance to Students of Telengana (FAST) and refused to pay the fee of students of other States, implying Andhra students. The FRS is in limbo in Telengana and so is also the perception that engineering education, the software engineers and sure IT job. But, this situation has not altered social aspiration of engineering degree, software engineers, their social mobility through IT jobs and migration to the US as the ultimate social objective and social identity, as a marker of

social pre-eminence in the caste hierarchy. Thus, state policy on HE in AP – both Telangana and Seemandhra - including professional and technical institutions, is an expression of the influence exercised by caste-party considerations, wherein investment oriented educational empire becomes an instrument of social supremacy of their own caste with socio-political clout. The HE policy trajectory in AP alternated between the caste-party groups, viz., the Congress dominated by the Reddys and the TDP dominated by the Kammas, decisively influencing it in their favour and adjusting according to the changing times.

Annexure-1**Kammavari Engineering Colleges in AP**

Institution Name	Founded in Year
V.S.R & Y.R.S. College of Engineering , Chirala, Prakasam	1951
VSM College of Engineering, Ramachandrapuram, East Godavari	1966
Sri Prakash College of Engineering, Tuni, East Godavari	1977
V.R.Siddhartha Engg. College, Kanuru/Vijayawada, Krishna District	1977
Gandhi Institute of Technology & Management (GITAM), Visakhapatnam	1980
Koneru Lakshmaiah Engg. College, Vaddeswaram/ Mangalagiri, Guntur District	1980
Bapatla Engineering College, Bapatla, Guntur District	1981
R.V.R. & J.C. Engg. College, Guntur District	1985
Sir C.R. Reddy College of Engineering, Eluru, West Godavari	1989
Vignana Jyothi Engineering College, Kukatpally, Ranga Reddy District	1995
Sri Vidya Niketan Engineering College, Rangampet, Chittoor	1996
Vignan's Engg. College, Vadlamudi/Guntur, Guntur District	1997
Prasad V Potluri Siddhartha Institute of Technology, Kanuru/Vijayawada, Krishna District	1998
Gudlavalleru Engineering College, Gudlavalleru, Krishna District	1998
QIS College of Engineering and Technology, Ongole, Prakasam	1998
Adams Engineering College, Khammam	1998
Madanpalli Insitute of Technology & Science, Madanapalle, Chittoor	1998
Intell Engineering College, Ananthapur	1998
Chundi Ranganayakulu Engg. College, Chilakaluripet, Guntur District	1999
Malineni Lakshmaiah Womens Engineering College, Guntur District	1999
Malneni College of Engineering, Singarayakonda, Prakasam	1999
Malineni Lakshmaiah Institute of Engineering and Technology, Nellore	1999
	Contd...

Arkay College of Engg & Tech, Achanapally, Bodhan, Nizamabad	1999
Vignan Engineering College, Ghatkesar, Nalagonda	1999
SRA College of Architecture, Agriripalli/Vijayawada, Krishna District	2000
Anil Neerukonda Institute of Technology & Science, Visakhapatnam	2001
Pragati Engineering College, Peddapuram , East Godavari	2001
Chirala College of Engineering, Chirala, Prakasam	2001
Sree Kavitha Engineering College, Khammam	2001
BIT Institute of Technology, Ananthapur	2001
Kshatriya College of Engineering, Armoor, Nizamabad	2001
Prakasam College of Engineering , Kandukuru, Prakasam	2001
Vignan's Institute of Information Technology, Duvvada, Visakhapatnam	2002
Sasi institute of Technology & Engineering, TP Gudem, West Godavari	2002
MIC College of Engineering College, Nandiganma, Krishna District	2002
Progressive Engineering College, Bommala Ramaram, Nalagonda	2002
Swarna Bharathi institue of Technology, Khammam	2003
DRK Institute of Science & Technology, Qutbullapur, Ranga Reddy District	2004
PRIME Engineering College / Praveenya Institute of Marine Engineering & Maritime Studies, Visakhapatnam	2005
Hasvita Institute of Engineering and Technology, Keesara, Ranga Reddy District	2005
Swarna Bharathi College of Engineering, Khammam	2006
DRK College of Engineering & Technology, Qutbullapur, Ranga Reddy District	2006
Amrita Sai Institute of Science and Technology, Paritala, Krishna District	2007
SRK Institute of Engineering & Technology, Ganguru/Vijayawada, Krishna District	2007
Usha Rama College of Engineering & Technology, Telaprolu, Krishna District	2007
Prasad Institute of Technology and Science, Jaggayyapet, Krishna District	2007
Mandava Institute of Engineering and Technology, Jaggayyapet, Krishna District	2007
	Contd...

Vasireddy Venkatadri Institute of Technology, Nambur/Guntur, Guntur District	2007
Chalapathi Institute of Engineering & Technology, Guntur District	2007
Tenali Engineering College, Tenali, Guntur District	2007
EVM College of Engineering and Technology, Narsaraopet, Guntur District	2007
GVR and S College of Engineering and Technology, Guntur District	2007
Vignan's LARA institute of Technology, Vadlamudi/Guntur	2007
Vijaya Engineerinc College, Konijerla, Khammam	2007
Vignan's Institute of Engineering For Women, Visakhapatnam	2008
Krishna's Pragati Institute of Technology, Rajahmundry, East Godavari	2008
Ramachandra College of Engineering, Elur, West Godavari	2008
A.K.R.G. College of Engineering & Technology , Nallajerla, West Godavari	2008
NRI Institute of Technology, Agiripally/Vijayawada, Krishna District	2008
Paladugu Parvathi Devi College of Engineering & Technology, Gannavaram, Krishna District	2008
Sarojini Institute of Technology, Telaprolu	2008
Sree Vahini Institute of Science and Technology, Tiruvuru, Krishna District	2008
Vijaya Institute of Technology for Women, Enikepadu/Vijayawada, Krishna District	2008
VKR and VNB Engineering College, Gudivada, Krishna District	2008
DJR Institute of Engineering and Technology, Gudavalli, Krishna District	2008
MVR College of Engineering & Technology, Aritala, Krishna District	2008
Montessori Siva Sivani Institute of Science & Technology, Mylavaram, Krishna District	2008
Chalapathi Institute of Technology, Guntur District	2008
Tirumala Engineering College, NarsaraoPet, Guntur District	2008
Krishnaveni engineering college for Women, NarsaraoPet, Guntur District	2008
Velaga Nageswara Rao College Of Engineering, Ponnur, Guntur District	2008
Chebrolu Engineering College, Chebrolu, Guntur District	2008
	Contd...

Malineni Lakshmaiah Womens Engineering College,Guntur District	2008
NRI Institute of Technology, Guntur District	2008
Vignans Nirula Institute Of Technology and Science for Women,Pedapalakaruru/Guntur, Guntur District	2008
QIS Institute of Technology, Ongole, Prakasam	2008
Shree Institute of Technical Education, Renigunta, Chittoor	2008
Vemu Institute of Technology, P.Kothakota, Chittoor	2008
Adusumilli Vijaya College of Engineering and Research Centre, Bommala Ramaram, Nalagonda	2008
KITE College of Professional Engineering Sciences, Shabad, Ranga Reddy District	2008
KITE Womens College of Professional Engineering Sciences, Shabad, Ranga Reddy District	2008
Arjun College of Technology & Science, Barasingaram, Ranga Reddy District	2008
Gayathri Institute of Engineering & Technology, JR Gudem, West Godavari	2009
Dhanekula Institute of Engineering & Technology, Ganguru/Vijayawada, Krishna District	2009
Sri Vani School of Engineering, Chevuturu, Krishna District	2009
Lingaya Institute of Technology, Nunna/Vijayawada, Krishna District	2009
DJR College of Engineering and Technology, Gudavalli, Krishna District	2009
Bapatla Womens Engineering College, Bapatla, Guntur District	2009
GVRS college of Engineering for Women, Guntur District	2009
Malineni Perumallu Educational Society Group of Institutions, Guntur District	2009
Ponnur Engineering College, Ponnur, Guntur District	2009
Nannapaneni Venkata Rao College of Engineering & Technology, Tenali, Guntur District	2009
Mother Therissa Enginerring College, Khammam	2009
Hasvita Institute of Management and Technology, Keesara, Ranga Reddy District	2009
Atmakur College of Engineering, Atmakuru, Nellore	2010
Kamakshi College of Engineering & Technology, Suryapet, Nalagonda	2010
Hasvita Institute of Science & Technology, Keesara, Ranga Reddy District	2010
P Nagaiah Chowdary and Vijay engineering college, Narasaraopet, Guntur District	

Source: <http://kammaworld.blogspot.in/2011/01/kammavari-engineering-colleges-in-ap.html>

Annexure 2

Caste-based Networks of Educational Institutions

Kapu community: <http://www.kapucorp.ap.gov.in/>; <http://kapunadu.org/kapu-educational-institutions/>

Reddy Group of Educational Institutions: Vakadu

Narayana Group of Institutions: <http://www.narayanagroup.com/locations/> ;
<http://www.nbkrist.org/index.php>

Vakadu Group of Educational Institutions: in Nellore [owned by Janardhan Reddy, CM, 1990-92 and his family].

Naidu Group of Educational Institutions: in AP in Kakinada

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