

Sudhanshu Bhushan *Editor*

# The Future of Higher Education in India

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# Preface

The higher education research community is small in comparison to the vast diversity of institutions, students and teachers. The research agenda is currently focused on understanding the access and equity dimensions and reforms relating to quality in the midst of structural shift in favor of privatization in higher education. Indian higher education reform process is heavily guided through the regulation and is very much state-centered. What is most important to understand, however, is the decentering of state through the state-initiated reform affecting structure, financing, and agency of teachers and students. The book is an attempt to understand the change process affecting the future of higher education in terms of macro influences accompanied through the micro-level changes. Current research agenda should help us to understand more and more the micro-level changes associated with the shifts in the structure and financing of higher education. The aim of the book is to initiate the research agenda towards understanding the new phenomena. The current trends of policies may be projected to understand the future of higher education. Current trend influenced by market affects the structure of higher education and the resources being made available for it. It also affects the agency of human being through its effect on freedom and capabilities. Various other processes such as teaching and learning and governance of higher education get affected by means of the role of market and technology. To capture the essence of the future of higher education, the book is organized into three parts of varying number of chapters. Part I deals with the structure of higher education, the way the response to market-driven policies is giving a shape to it. The idea of Teachers' University is an imagination built into it – a farfetched, nonetheless an alternative, to the mainstream emerging structure. Part II deals with the overall change in the financing of higher education resulting from a shift in the structure. The change process in terms of shifting burden on private household expenditure to finance the cost of higher education is worth understanding. Part III deals with understanding the development of human agency, the end result of higher education. This is examined in terms of freedom and capabilities of student or teachers. It also deals with understanding teaching-learning transformation and the practice implicit in the governance of higher education.

*The Future of Higher Education in India* is a critical understanding of the present policies which are in the process of molding the present and determining future directions. The study through its critical lens alerts us of the implications of the market-induced policies and makes us aware of the dangers that present policies might lead up to the future. The current market rationality inducing competition and efficiency and treatment of higher education as a private good, it is argued, questions the very existence of university as the place where autonomous community of scholars engage themselves in the free pursuit of knowledge. The blind faith in the technology, too, may result in failed optimism, as its absorption demands behavioral change not easy to come by. Besides, whether market or technology, both are not neutral to social and economic structure. It may have asymmetric effects on social and economic groups.

The book is not about the future. It is about the projection of present into the future of higher education. It is not about the future because we do not know the limits of market. It has immense possibilities of innovation. That is why, it holds hope for many people. Even state, mired into its own contradictions, looks at it as hope for the future. The hope lies in two forms of innovations. The first is the innovation that technology brings with it. The reliance placed on technological rationality is the hope of policy-driven measures. Another innovation is increasingly seen in the methods. The research in learning theories derived from experimentation opens new ways of teaching learning. The reliance placed on methods rationality is another hope of policy-driven measures. There has of course been too much reliance on the state bureaucracy who is expected to play the role of putting the innovations into practice. Hopes are high to project the present into the future in a deterministic manner. We are in the age of science, and this rational way of looking at the future may look optimistic to many. I do not want to dismiss the hope.

My humble attempt to look at the present is to alert the people of the present generation that market may have immense possibilities of innovation. However, the social structure, institutions, and behavior of people have few possibilities of innovations. The change may not exactly be as per the demands of market and its innovations. In particular, teachers and students as the main actors of higher education are not the passive agents. They respond with different response patterns, making future highly indeterministic. The challenge of the future of higher education is to understand the society and the politics that shapes it.

New Delhi, Delhi, India

Sudhanshu Bhushan

# Acknowledgment

*The Future of Higher Education in India* is the collection of viewpoints of few young researchers who have authored the papers, and I would like to acknowledge their readiness to come on a single platform and present the papers at the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration on 7–8 September 2017. The papers were revised based on the feedbacks received in the seminar and the comments from the editor of the book. I would like to thank all the chairs and discussants of the seminar for their valuable points. I would also like to thank the faculty of the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, for their support and encouragement. MPhil and PhD scholars of NIEPA played an important role in the academic management of the seminar. The administrative staff of the NIEPA were also helpful in the hosting of the seminar. I would like to acknowledge their contribution for the same. Prof. N V Varghese, VC, NIEPA, was a source of inspiration for the seminar. I thank him for his moral support to the seminar.

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Sudhanshu Bhushan

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# Chapter 1

## Contesting the Present in the Evolution of Public Higher Education



Sudhanshu Bhushan

Immanuel Kant noted that the public character of the university consists of the fact that it is funded by the state and there is an implicit contract between the state and the faculty of producing the knowledge that is good for the people. To be specific, he says that the role of philosophy is to critically evaluate all knowledge in the interests of people (Kant 1798). He connected the knowledge to the idea of enlightenment which he says is ‘man’s emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one’s understanding without guidance from another. This immaturity is self-imposed when its cause lies not in lack of understanding, but in lack of resolve and courage to use it without guidance from another’ (Kant 1798). Hence, according to Kant, the public higher education stands for the active agency of teachers who examines critically the knowledge for the humanitarian cause.

John Stuart Mill stated that the public good relates not to the self-interest. It relates to the happiness of others. The awakening of individual sensibilities through arts and poetry leads to higher-order pleasures in the happiness of others. Higher education develops those sensibilities through intellectual discussion. Mill looks at education as public good in terms of knowledge as an end in itself (John Stuart Mill [1873] 1981). Newman’s ([1852] 1959) notion that knowledge is capable of being its own end is also an argument that puts higher education intrinsically useful. Liberal training is to carry us to knowledge of ourselves and the world.

The public nature of higher education implies that access to higher education is available to all at a nominal price.<sup>1</sup> Hence, the higher education is funded by the government and is produced not for the sake of profit. This is an economic

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<sup>1</sup>In the words of Samuelson, public good is one where the consumption by one individual does not diminish the consumption of another individual (Samuelson 1954, p. 387).

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perspective. The economic argument then is made that if social returns of education are higher than private return, there is justification for government to invest to optimize social return. If in higher education, on the other hand, private returns are higher then there is justification for the private sector to invest. The debate on returns to education is not settled. From the point of efficiency, 'the size of the private returns to education and difference between private and social rates calls for selective cost recovery in higher education' (George Psacharopoulos and Harry Anthony Patrinos 2018, p. 455).

The issue of governance of higher education in India has been a matter of critical scrutiny by many academics. The fundamental point is whether university governance has been able to preserve the idea of university, namely, the academic freedom for the search of knowledge, and whether governance has been through the community of scholars who alone are thought to be responsible and capable to run the affairs of university, namely, teaching and research (Corson 1960). Within the framework of public funding whether state and university has built the trust so as to allow universities to function autonomously with the required funding support from the government.

The public nature of higher education received a critique in social science. The argument was that philosophers conceptualized the public character on the normative idea of benevolence. However, state is no more benevolent. Arrow (1951) noted that there are no such procedures that satisfy certain apparently quite reasonable assumptions concerning the autonomy of the people and the rationality of their preferences. It implies that collective social ordering of alternatives is impossible. Hence, education policy may not result in any social optimum. Buchanan and Tullock (1962) noted that collective action is composed of individual action. They reject any organic interpretation of the state. They suggest that the public interest is simply the aggregation of private decision makers.

In Indian context, the public character of higher education has been for critical scrutiny in recent years. There have been charges of overregulation by the National Knowledge Commission (Government of India 2007). It noted that 'The system, as a whole, is over-regulated but under-governed' (ibid. p. 62). There has been further argument that 'the rules and regulations that the UGC wishes to impose on our universities do not recognize ground realities' (Ramaswamy 2018, p. 87). UGC has been severely criticized for creating inefficiencies in the universities (Deshpande 2000; Singh 2004; Kapur and Mehta 2007; Kapur, Mehta and Vaishnav 2018; Hatekar 2009; Chandra 2017). It is, therefore, said that governance from this point of view has not been able to preserve the idea of a university.

It is argued that often there is a close nexus between the politicians and bureaucracy. In the appointment of vice chancellors, the nexus works to serve the vested interests and destroys the public character of universities as the academic leaders of the university system go in the wrong hands who will hardly have the ability to take decisions based on the merit.

In practice, the governance is said to be flexible and free from rigid rules and regulations. Flexibility in governance is desirable because it is argued that future of Indian university system has challenges that cannot be addressed with rigid

governance. The challenge of Indian universities is to achieve quality and excellence to match universities of high rank in the world. This means there should be high-quality research. This requires outstanding faculty and strategies to attract and retain talent. This also means that universities should be accountable and performance oriented. Students can be attracted only when the curricula are upgraded and interdisciplinarity is inculcated in the pedagogy of teaching and research. High-quality classrooms and technology-enabled pedagogy are required. Education needs to be oriented for a large number of students who come from all across many countries. This also requires a very high degree of partnership and collaboration with universities in the world. Such an ecosystem suitable for global university cannot be achieved, it is argued, with rigid rules and regulations. The role of the government needs introspection. 'They ought to become facilitators and ensure autonomy and independence of the Universities' (Kumar et al. 2016).

Debate on autonomy has drifted in three directions, namely, the strengthening of public universities by granting freedom to academia, the strengthening of private universities by granting freedom from the regulatory apparatus of the state and the strengthening of the state to the high-power commission with the power to monitor. The governance system ought to differ in all the three situations. In the first case, it has to be collegial, participative and democratic, notwithstanding the political deviance. In the second case, governance has to be guided by the market principles with sufficient flexibility to adjust to the market principles. In the third case, the governance will remain centralized and bureaucratic approach will be used to enforce accountability.

The higher education has been shaped currently by the decisions of the central government clearly signalling intent of real practices that is being contradicted by the draft National Education Policy of Kasturirangan committee (2019). The contradiction is that in real practice, the government has been relying more on promoting privatization and market-friendly principles such as competition and ranking and funding through self-financing and market loans and governance being guided through measures of accountability. The draft national policy contradicts it by recommending the most ideal ecosystem of higher education to be financed by the government.

Thus, we observe that the debate on public and private nature of higher education is far from settled. There is an ambivalence in the intent of the government, in practice, in favour of pursuing higher education influenced by private, although it talks about retaining the public character of higher education in policy and other documents. It is the current practices that are being critiqued in the present volume to clear the pathways for public higher education in the future.

## **Part 1: University System and Structure**

Any consideration of the future of higher education cannot escape the attention of the past. The manner and the circumstances that led to the establishment of university system in colonial India have deeply influenced the expansion of Indian

universities in post-colonial India. There is no doubt that post-colonial developments over seven long decades have further influenced the development of Indian universities, mainly the influence of growing economy in different stages of development, the rising aspirations of youth from different sections of society, university administration dominated by bureaucracy amidst caste and popular politics and, most recently, the influence of the process of privatization and globalization. However, colonial influence that still exists cannot be undermined while we make any projection of Indian universities into the future. For example, a contrast that may be made between European universities and universities in colonial India relates to the core objective of university. European universities fought the battle of the dominance of church, monarchy and in this process laid the foundation of secular and liberal democracy through the awakening of the masses by the spirit of scientific methods of enquiry. This allowed development within university of a class of scholars who could work autonomously relatively free from the influence of state. This, in turn, permitted the synthesis of teaching and research in the production of knowledge which supported the development, both in the economic and cultural dimensions. On the other hand, the university in colonial India was established with a direct purpose to support British administration. As a result, during colonial India, the dominance of European knowledge and English as means of communication severely limited the scope of expanding knowledge to fight against the deep-rooted biases and prejudices through the awakening of masses. Besides, as a matter of design, the structure of affiliating system inherited from the colonial past failed to establish the unity of colleges and the university – both in terms of academic and administrative functions – that resulted in a failure of teachers becoming the community of scholars running their own affairs. Universities became much like a bureaucratic machinery to pass orders primarily to conduct examinations and much less bothered to empower and serve teachers, students and colleges.

Mona Sedwal, the author of the chapter ‘Emergence and Expansion of Indian Universities in India Before Independence: A Historical Perspective’, examines the emergence and expansion of the university system in India in colonial period with reference to the major transformation that took place amidst the national movement. She notes that amidst opposition to English by the Orientalists, the colonial administration succeeded in imposing English upon the natives in order to spread European literature and science. The future of Indian universities may also emulate the past in so far as knowledge produced abroad will continue to dominate in the classrooms and Indian universities will remain dependent upon the European and American knowledge system unless the policy in the present is geared to break the domination by means of language policy that encourages the knowledge dissemination and its generation in local and regional contexts.

The universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established on the model of London University whose main purpose then was to hold examination, affiliate colleges and grant degrees. While the affiliating system led to the fragmentation of teaching at the undergraduate and the postgraduate level, the undergraduate college teaching was subordinated to the University administration and the postgraduate departments which acted like masters. This colonial legacy continues till today.

There seems to be no concerted effort to break this fragmentation, leaving the majority of students at the undergraduate colleges on their own with shrinking resources and shortage of teachers, barring few colleges of excellence. If the present policy is any guide, there may be few colleges of excellence being converted into autonomous institutions; however, the majority may remain deprived at the periphery of the University.

The disjunction of teaching-learning and examining is the crucial element of colonial legacy. Universities even today are the examining body of all its affiliated colleges which have been reduced to the status of coaching institutions. The students are not rewarded of their knowledge by the respective teachers in terms of learning experiences and their contribution to shaping of mind. Students are tested through a standardized format by external examiners constituted by the examining body of the University. The disjunction creates a situation in which students are set to follow prescribed format of learning dictated by the pattern of examination. Universities, ignorant of teaching-learning experiences of the students, become the body to award degrees that become the end of teaching-learning. The degrees are then treated as a license to enter the job market. Invoking excellence in higher education requires reforms in teaching-learning through an active engagement with students by the teachers, and examination reform must be reflective of that experience.

The major transformation of Indian University system towards democratic governance may be traced back to the recommendations of Calcutta University Commission in 1919. Universities established since then developed the mechanism of governance through representative bodies such as Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council, Examination Board and so on. This was certainly a transformation in the positive direction and was the result of demand both from the academic community and the larger community which the universities are supposed to serve. These representative bodies in the post-colonial setting were further transformed into larger bodies to accommodate the representations of executive and legislative organs of the state. Hence, the external influence upon the university began to be felt, quite often disrupting the unity of university administration and demands of academic circles. This created situations in which university was quite often sites of conflict and oppositions. Will the future of Indian universities enable the knowledge generation amidst political and academic conflicts that most universities face in India today? In my opinion while conflicts may remain an important feature of the university education system, efforts need to be made to deliberate and deepen democratic ethos. Imposition of a single dictate may exacerbate conflict rather than solve it.

The future of Indian universities, if they are to be built on a strong foundation, needs to break away from the colonial legacy. Language is a barrier to a majority of students. In many undergraduate colleges, universities must address the language deficit of the students. The University campus should welcome the students who speak different languages and develop the capacity of the students to a common language of communication. Indian universities must slowly break the division of undergraduate and postgraduate through the mobility of teachers and students from one college to another and the mobility of teachers from postgraduate to undergradu-



ate and vice versa. For the mobility of teachers to take place, it is necessary to incentivize some good teachers to teach in colleges which may be deprived of resources. All teachers must be provided opportunity to develop their abilities. Universities must also break the division of teaching-learning and examining. This is possible through an internal assessment system where teachers measure the learning experience of the students and degrees are not the end of teaching-learning. The most important challenge for the future of Indian universities is to settle the political and academic conflicts amidst increasing democratization. In my opinion, universities in India must strengthen the channels of communication among all the stakeholders, be it students, teachers, administrators and even the representative of political parties.

During colonial period, the expansion of universities may be seen as a result of the synthesis of ideas of colonial administration and views of the nationalist leaders. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was constantly fighting for a new space of Dalits in the mainstream political and economic activities. This fight was not only against the British administrators but also against the domination of the Brahmanical practices and their influence on the economy and society. One of the important agenda of education reform in the 1920s was the introduction of teaching in the University which so far was simply the examining body. Dr. Ambedkar's idea of teachers' University was much ahead of the Britisher's idea of the teaching University. A formal introduction of teaching, Dr. Ambedkar said, was not sufficient to transform the University system in India. He held the view that the teaching University should be teachers' University. His advocacy of teachers' University is of profound importance. The post-colonial development in the University reduced the agency of teachers. They were subjected to submit to the authoritative direction from above. They became the victim of politics of division along caste and ideologies. The division of intellectuals could no longer hold the organic unity. As a self-interested individual, few teachers began to flourish under the politics of patronage and favour for posts that rewarded them in many ways.

The chapter on 'Futures of Higher Education: Conceptualizing Teachers' University' by Dr. Sudhanshu Bhushan reinforces the idea of Dr. BR Ambedkar advocating teachers' University before colonial rule. This acquires importance in view of marginalizing the agency of teachers, given the dominance of privatization, bureaucracy and technology in all policy discourse today shaping the future of higher education. Teachers' University, advocated by Dr. Ambedkar, is an attempt to reposition the agency of teachers in shaping the future of higher education. It may not be surprising if the attempt is foiled in post-colonial India as well. However, the chapter is an appeal to the community of scholars to shape the future of higher education by working towards Teachers' University.

B R Ambedkar, the author notes, was of the view that University must remain under the authoritative control of teachers in all its academic affairs. The substance of the point made here is that the present system of authoritative control at the level of vice chancellor and centralized bodies like Senate, Syndicate, Academic Council, Examination Board with few representation from teachers ultimately puts the authoritative control in the hands of administrators. Authoritative control of teachers in all academic affairs needs to be transferred at the level of schools/centres/

departments. Student intake, fees to be charged, admission process, curricular guidelines, fellowship decisions, teaching-learning and research guidelines, assessment and evaluation, professional development, participation in seminars, travel, etc. need to be decided in a decentralized manner. While the guidelines for the standard procedures may be laid out by the University administrators, the final decision must remain at the level of teaching unit. The function of the University is to facilitate students in providing infrastructure for residential, sports, library and canteen. It must support students for cultural recreation, meet language deficit and raise money for support to all the departments. Hence, University administrators must work at the level of facilitation rather than controlling the academic affairs.

Another very crucial element of teachers' university is the control over teachers' recruitment at the level of University by the teaching staff of the University. On the ground of mistrust, favour and corruption, there are attempts to centralize the recruitment of the teaching staff. If the well-laid-out procedure is formulated and transparency is followed, the chance of favour and corruption may be minimized. Ambedkar's broad vision in envisioning Teachers' University was that the senior teachers of the university alone are capable to judge the scholarship of teachers to be recruited. The proposition today may not be accepted in view of biases and favours at the level of university. However, an open and transparent system of recruitment may eliminate biases and favours rather than a closed-door method of interview by selection committee which is further subject to manipulation in the selection of experts.

Another feature of Teachers' University, BR Ambedkar pointed out, is the unity of teaching and examination. It means teachers in charge of teaching are most competent to evaluate the students' learning experience. Any disjunction of teaching and examining, as is the case today, will push the learning examination oriented and teaching will slowly lose its centrality. Control over learning through the examination conducted by the university is also based on the assumption that once such control is lifted, the biases and favours by the teachers will give rise to corruption. If, however, transparency is maintained through making answer sheets public after the assessment is done, there is little chance of manipulation.

The most crucial question today is the divide between undergraduate and postgraduate. Teachers' University, according to Ambedkar, must not create compartmentalization of UG and PG teaching. UG and PG must be treated as continuum where the influence of teachers upon students gets deeper in shaping the mind. The divide puts college teachers at a disadvantage and inferior position to the postgraduate teachers and disrupts the organic unity of teachers. Maintaining the organic unity of teachers is fundamental in the Teachers' University. Dr. Ambedkar makes practical suggestions to maintain the unity as well.

Teachers' University must award the teachers for the scholarship that they possess. No consideration other than merit and loyalty of a teacher to the profession should matter in promotion, privileges and pay of a teacher. Only then, the realization of Teachers' University can take place. Ambedkar supports the case of deep democratization of the university in the governance through effective participation of teachers. According to him, the faculty should be the basic governance unit taking most of the academic decisions.

Teachers' University, as suggested by Ambedkar, should be the basis of the future of higher education. This has not been realized during colonial as well as post-colonial period so far. There is no reason, however, why such a conceptualization will not be realized in the future? Teachers' University must remain the benchmark for the future development.

Policy of the government seems to favour the world-class universities to promote competition and efficiency among the universities. It is argued that these universities will be research intensive and promote knowledge. The world-class universities may also promote global networking among knowledge partners. By improving the ranking of universities in the world, such universities will be a hub of international students and promote the brand value of Indian universities in the world. The future of Indian universities seems to be guided by above features of competition, efficiency, global networking and knowledge promotion.

Saumen Chattopadhyay in his paper on "World Ranking of Universities: What Does It Entail for the Future" and Aishna Sharma, the author of the chapter 'The World-Class University-Discourse: Disentangling the Conflict Between Efficiency and World Class-ness', critically examines the new discourse on world ranking and world-class universities. They examine the new discourse on ranking and world class within new public management philosophy. The authors note that the new public management is an approach that favours the market principle in the governance of public university. Institutional autonomy is granted not to promote academic freedom but to follow business approach to government. In this model, there is an emphasis on accountability, output, fast decision-making and entrepreneurship. The new discourse is an attempt to reduce the public character and hence public funding to the universities, thereby altering the very character of universities. University may become a knowledge enterprise to be guided by short run.

The authors further point out that the policy move would create hierarchy among universities and many state universities would continue to suffer remaining lower in the hierarchy. Hence, claim that universities would gain by competitive spirit is false as there is no level playing field to generate competition. Applying Foucault's power knowledge perspective, Aishna Sharma notes that state reinforces a new power relation in which teachers and universities themselves become the subject of discourse and begin to self-regulate. Interestingly, the power so exercised is not repressive, yet it is effective in so far as it gets embedded in the practices exercised by teachers through discourse. The world-class university discourse is precisely the discourse of power knowledge relationship in which teachers have to perform irrespective of structural constraints. The leadership and the power to innovate are the appeals to overcome any such barrier. The future of Indian universities may place teachers as subjects of practices, thereby constraining the autonomy.

The authors note that in the new discourse practices would be shaped by the efficiency rationale. The focus would be on producing output which is concomitant with the demand in the market and the satisfaction of the student. In achieving efficiency, the role of technology will acquire importance in each and every stage of the production of output. They do not much emphasize the power of technology as much as a technology of power through the instrument of global ranking. The knowledge to the

teachers that they are the part of the discourse of global ranking of a University in which they work would begin to shape the practices of teachers. Thus, the behaviour of teachers will be set by the expectations of being a part of global University. Hence, there may arise a conflict between national and global expectations. For example, the national expectation will be the equity and inclusion, whereas the global expectation may be the focus on research and reputation. This will radically shift the agenda of the future of universities in favour of research, mainly applied research. Teaching will be a costly affair serving the select few. The new power knowledge relationship in a world-class university will thus alter the very character of public University in the future in so far as the output produced in these universities will serve the market by aligning itself to the forces of market. The global agenda will subordinate the national agenda of inclusion in the public University. The social character of public University may be in danger in the world class. The academic freedom of the teachers will be jeopardized as they become subject to the power of new discourse. A paper by Manisha Priyam is an interesting addition to the debate in terms of the dilemma of institutionalism of public universities. The experiences of developing society such as India – caught in the midst of market institutionalism, control and command approach and what author calls ‘locked-in’ institutionalism of vested interests – calls for new framework of institutions supported by the State and a public space for universities aspiring for universal citizenship where conflicts and contestations cannot be ruled out.

The emergence of private universities in India and the exponential growth is certainly determining the future of higher education. Hence, it is necessary to understand the nature and characteristics of private universities that had begun to determine a new direction. What is the mission or purpose of the private university? In which disciplinary area are they concentrating? How are they being governed? What is the resource mobilization strategy? The most substantive question is: does the emergence of private university alter the idea of university which the public system has so far been developing? Some of these questions are important to understand the future direction of university system in India.

Sangeeta Angom, the author of the chapter ‘Idea of a University: Rethinking the Indian Private Universities Context’, analyses some of the questions noted above. The author traces the origin of the modern European University from the mediaeval period. She notes that the public nature of University is one where knowledge is generated and disseminated for the benefit of public. The state protects the freedom of the faculty in the examination of knowledge for the simple reason that it finally benefits the public whose trust is necessary for the existence of state. The teachers being supported by the Exchequer has the responsibility to admit to the university the students, perform the teaching and confer the degree upon the successful completion of the programme. The public nature of the University in disseminating knowledge will be intact only when a synthesis of teaching and research takes place. An important addition to the concept of University in the idealist tradition takes place when it is asserted that the knowledge exists for the purpose of humanities. The knowledge generation is clearly a scientific process, and there is no role of politics in it.

It is this classical idea of University which was the basis of the emergence of University system in post-colonial India. The University is established by an act. It is

funded by the government. It is regulated by the regulatory bodies. It is accountable to the legislature. The fees charged are minimal so that higher education is accessible to all. The knowledge generation benefits the public. All disciplines are given equal attention for the balanced growth of knowledge. The purpose of regulation and control by the state is to maintain a minimum standard. To this core idea of public University, namely, knowledge generation for the benefit of public, there has been certain transformation in the public University in a post-colonial development. For example, University stands to the commitment of a just society and a vibrant polity, and it creates young people with skills relevant for labour market and opportunity for social mobility, and it also creates all responsible citizens who value a democratic and pluralistic society. In the twenty-first century, the challenge is to find a path to achieve the divergent goals for the growth of higher education. So, the universities are expected to expand to achieve enrolment target by additional capacity and ensuring equal access opportunities while being supported to improve the quality of teaching-learning, attain excellence in research and contribute to economic development.

The author asks the question whether the emergence and growth of private universities in India could preserve the spirit of public University system that developed on the lines of European Universities. While privatization of higher education was a response to the market, the author finds, there is a substantial difference in the public and private higher education. The mission of private University serves the private interests rather than the public. It is owned by the Private body and tuition fees charged from the students is the main funding strategy which is in sharp contrast to the case of public institutions. This makes all the difference in the admission of the students, courses being offered to the students and the pedagogy and the assessment practices. Education being guided by the private return makes private universities responsive to the skill needs of the market. The technological integration in the teaching-learning process is swift and fast, and it is demand driven. Governance model is entrepreneurial and business like with the purpose to earn profit. Hence, the emergence of private University makes a substantial departure from the past development of public university system in India. No doubt, it supports the process of economic growth, yet the idea of inclusive growth may be a serious casualty of the growth of private universities.

## **Part Two: Financing**

Traditionally higher education policy has been supportive of public funding to universities and colleges. The effect of public funding on higher education participation has been studied in the literature. In the context of the decline in public funding studies have shown that students from lower income groups are forced to opt for labour market and drop out from higher education institutions. Those who join have choices restricted to get admitted to low-quality colleges. Hence, the impact of reduction in public expenditure and increased private source of funding is ultimately felt in restricting the access of poor to colleges. It is in this context that the understanding of state financing policy on the access and participation assumes importance.

Sandhya Dubey in the chapter 'Impact of Public Education Expenditure Across Different Levels on Higher Education Access in India: A Panel Data Study' examines the effect of public expenditure on higher education access in different states and across different social groups and also examines the access to higher education in high income and other than high-income states. The study highlights that from a long-run perspective of development, the future access policies of higher education in India should target schools to guide students and raise their aspirations for higher education. The access policies should also focus on achieving the higher levels of academic preparation of students for higher education by improving the quality of elementary and secondary education. There should be investment in confidence building among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes' students and the proper distribution of the financial aid information among students belonging to economically weaker section of the society. Some of these findings are important to appreciate the role of public funding across different levels of education to promote access to higher education in the future.

Financing of higher education has been undergoing major transformation. This transformation is going to shape the future of universities system in India. The major transformation has been the reduced role of state funding and shifting the burden of financing on the households. Households need to increasingly find resources to meet expenditure on account of meeting the living costs as well as tuition fees charged by the institution. They can meet the expenditure either from household income or sale of the fixed assets. Those who cannot meet the expenditure from the household source may have to fall back upon borrowing from banks or non-bank sources such as relatives or friends. Given the insecurity of funding, there will be high probability to drop out after the secondary education. Hence, the future of higher education will be susceptible to insecurity in the transformation from subsidy to loans as opposed to the system of state funding, providing stability and security of studies during the undergraduate years of college.

There will be a greater need to understand in some detail the components of households financing of higher education. For example, what is the distribution of fee and non-fee component? How does this distribution vary in institutions by type of management? How is this distribution sensitive across various social and economic groups? A deeper understanding of households financing will also give a clue to the question of affordability, issue that will acquire much greater importance in the future of higher education.

The greater reliance on the source of funding from the market will also affect the students' choice of subjects and disciplines. Students will be much more concerned with the private returns on education as they have to pay back the principal as well as the interest component of the loan. Choice of disciplines will be guided by the situations prevailing in the labour market. If the labour market is favourable to disciplines such as IT, engineering, management, education, medical, pharmacy and law, there will be much higher demand for such courses. Social sciences, physical sciences and humanities having lower private returns may not be in great demand. Hence, the market-based funding will lead to unbalanced development of courses and the institutions. The technical and vocational education to be supported by pri-



vate institutions will flourish, and the general education offered in government institutions will have few takers.

A completely new phenomenon in the funding of higher education institutions is slowly the shift from grant- to the loan-based funding. Hence, the institutions of higher education will have to compete for funding from higher education funding agencies for any capital expenditure such as addition to the infrastructure. Hence, the loan repayment by the institutions to the funding agency will increase the user charges for various services, other than tuition fees, provided by the institutions to the students. This will have the impact of overall increasing the cost of education. Loan-based funding to the institutions will create further division among institutions – those located in urban will flourish at the cost of institutions located in rural area.

The shift from grant-based to loan-based system of financing may be referred to as the structural shift in the financing of higher education. Such a shift may have impact on the social and economic composition of students. Institutions in the private sector offering courses of high demand may have less representation of students from marginalized sections of the society, whereas institutions in the government sector offering courses of low demand might witness overrepresentation of students from marginalized sections. Government and private institutions will differ in many ways leading to the fragmentation of higher education.

Increasing private source of financing higher education has also implication for the teaching-learning processes. The greater attention on teaching-learning process with learner centeredness acquires importance. The objective of studying higher education is to develop soft skills enabling student to get a job in the labour market. An important part of the cost of higher education is additional coaching in private tuition centres. Private tuitions have emerged as a result of competitive examinations for admissions and the need for certificates and diplomas granted by private training centres. These certifications help students get market-based skills to obtain a job. Many coaching centres have also emerged for coaching students to fetch high marks in university and college examinations.

It is against this background that structural shifts in the financing of higher education are going to determine the futures of higher education being sensitive to private returns rather than social returns and hence greater justification for private players in the financing of higher education. The future of higher education will favour vocational and technical skills being imparted in private institutions. The cost of education will rise, and the cost recovery from students will put pressure on household financing. Further, the rising loan component of household financing will lead to insecurities among students arising from the fear of non-repayment of loans if they fail to secure a job in the labour market.

P Geetha Rani in the chapter 'Shifts in the Financing and Provision of Higher Education in India: Is It Structural?' notes that from a state subsidy to the market loan system of financing, there is a clear shift from supply to the demand side. It implies that access, choice of course and quality of higher education will be driven by the demand for it. On the other hand, supply-side factors will be determined by

the income of the household and the availability of loans from commercial banks in relation to the cost of education.

As per the estimates made by the author, source of funding from the household has considerably increased from around 16% in 2007–2008 to 32% in 2015–2016. There has been a decline in the government funding from 45% to 37% during the same period. The third component of financing higher education through loans has been increasing from 2000–2001 to 2015–2016 at a growth rate of 33%. This has impacted the provision of higher education. The private unaided enrolment has gone up from 21% in 2000–2001 to 45% in 2015–2016. The share of enrolment in government institutions has come down from 41% to 32% during the same period. The enrolment of students in technical and vocational education in the private unaided institutions has been increasing. What is most significant to note is the fact that the cost of education for many technical and vocational education in private unaided institutions is almost twice as much prevailing in the government institutions. Hence, in the structural shift, the burden of payment by the households towards meeting the cost of education has considerably increased.

P Geetha Rani examines whether scheme of interest subsidy on loan has promoted inequity in higher education. For instance, she reports, ‘education loan, the proxy for cost of higher education for medicine is six times more than low-cost courses such as education. Given such structure of course costs (education loan), equal interest subsidies across courses essentially create unequal interest subsidy across courses. Interest subsidy for medicine, the high cost course gets the highest subsidy over the years’. The author further points out that relatively long-duration and high-cost courses getting higher subsidies are cornered by relatively rich and poor students opt short-duration and low-cost courses and hence lower subsidies. This may perpetuate inequality across lifetime earnings. This will further lead to subdivision as long-duration courses will attract talent, whereas short-duration courses will have less talented students.

The author concludes with a grim sense of caution. The private market-based financing has substituted government source of financing to a great extent. Both sources of financing are not complementary to each other. This means that public character of higher education as a means of good to the public will disappear. Higher education will be driven by private return and society may not benefit as much as an individual. The future of higher education will have a tendency to create fragmentation, subdivision, conflict and tensions within universities and colleges.

Sudhanshu Bhushan in the chapter ‘Future of Higher Education Financing and Governance’ expresses a similar concern in a move from subsidy- and scholarship-based funding to loan-based funding to individuals and institutions. Financing of higher education affects the mode of governance. Market-based strategies call for an efficient system whereby the debt is repaid to the lenders. Hence, the question of efficiency in higher education acquires importance. An overall policy drive may be seen to be guided by increasing productivity by increasing the hours of teaching and research, reducing salary payment to the teachers, increasing part-time teachers, ban in the recruitment of permanent teachers and increasing use of technology in governance as well as teaching-learning. There might be cut in library, infrastructure, etc.,



and an advocacy for the use of technology may be intensified. Fourth, the question of efficiency will also give rise to increasing accountability not only for the teachers and staffs who are being paid by the government but also for the students in terms of attendance, discipline and control over student's union activities. Wherever the autonomy to the institutions will be granted, there will be a rider to the autonomy in terms of performance and responsibility not only in the areas of teaching and research but also in terms of efficiently raising resources through the market.

The author examines the structural shift in financing from the point of view of equality of opportunity, equity and efficiency. It is pointed out that the shift in the financing of higher education was also necessitated by the logic of the capitalist growth. It may not be possible to tax the rich and support higher education without adversely affecting the rate of growth. It is relatively easier to reduce subsidy and transfer the burden of payment for higher education on the households. Hence, privatization of higher education is in the interests of corporate sector which does not get taxed to support higher education. Moreover, corporate sector is able to share the gains due to privatization in higher education.

The reality checks of various recent changes pronounced by the government indicate that the future of higher education financing will move towards raising internal resources through fees. Loan as component of financing households and institutions of higher learning will rise. Institutions of higher education will acquire more autonomy to raise resources and will be subjected to market risks. Institutions will furthermore be subjected to prove the accountability and fund support will be linked to performance of institutions. Hierarchy among institutions, as a result, will grow with three-tier system of autonomy and funding. Institutions of higher education located in rural areas will have to be closed down for want of funding or if they continue, they will impart low quality of education to the masses. The claim of fiscal federalism and resource transfer to states, if not translated to higher funding support to state universities and colleges, will siphon away resources to meet populist demands rather than meet the ambitions of poor to study in higher education institutions with subsidized support.

In the changed scenario, it is important to understand the components of household expenditure on higher education. Pradeep Choudhury, the author of the chapter 'Household Expenditure on Higher Education in Rural Odisha', in a recently conducted household survey in two districts of rural Odisha in 2016–2017, estimates per student annual household expenditure on higher education to be about Rs. 61,490. In rural Odisha, it is interesting to note that fee consists of only 5% of total expenditure on higher education. An important component of cost of study from household point of view is non-fee expenditure on food and accommodation, textbooks and study materials, transport, private tuition/coaching, computer class, mobile and the Internet. Students are spending on an average Rs. 11,349 on private tuition/coaching that constitutes 18% of the total household expenditure. Thus, the field reality is that in rural Odisha, there is low fee. However, the quality of education is also very low due to the poor infrastructure and shortage of teachers. The students of rural areas are able to afford higher education. However, the employability of students is low. As a result, they have to fall back upon private coaching

where fees are charged four times the fees charged in higher education institutions. It is also important to note that fees in the government colleges and aided as well as unaided private colleges are not substantially different. This is so because private and aided colleges cannot charge high fees due to the low-paying capacity of students. Yet, the privatization is active even in rural area in terms of the coaching institutions of some sort or other. High household expenditure for the hostellers further indicates that the students would prefer to commute even long distances in the rural areas. The author further reports that household expenditure on higher education in rural Odisha varies widely across socioeconomic groups such as gender, caste and family income. OBC students spend more than SC and ST students in both fee and non-fee items. There is pro-male bias in household spending on higher education, i.e. the household expenditure on higher education is more for male students than the female students in rural Odisha.

The above result indicates that the future of higher education in large part of rural India may continue to be cheap in terms of the fees component. However, the rural colleges will suffer from the low quality of education due to the state withdrawing funding support to higher education institutions. In such a scenario, many of the students from rural background will have to fall back upon the private coaching which may prepare them to some extent for employment in the labour market. Further, the discrimination and differentiation that exists in rural area continues to be reflected in the household expenditure on higher education.

The emergence of private coaching is emerging as the phenomenon of future worldwide with the weakening of public institutions as the payment for coaching is substantially higher than the payment for formal degrees in higher education. In most of the developing countries, the reasons for the growing phenomenon of private coaching are attributed to low public educational expenditure, large-sized classes and inadequate number of universities. In addition to this, private coaching has been considered as a response to dismal quality schooling of the public education system. There are also studies that show that a smooth and successful transition from school education to university or professional higher education institutes and to the work places is another major determinant of private coaching. The private coaching has been favouring the privileged classes and communities, thereby adding to the inequality in higher education and labour market.

A study by the authors Anuneeta Mitra and Nivedita Sarkar in a chapter on 'Factors Influencing Household Expenditure on Private Tutoring in Higher Education' uses the latest National Sample Survey (NSS) round on education (71st round unit level records) to address the following question: Whether social, economic, locational, family background variables, type of institution and nature of subject influence an individual's household expenditure on private coaching in higher education. The author's calculation from 71st NSS round shows that within the higher education category, 19.1% of individuals take private coaching. An important aspect of private coaching is that private coaching as percent of household consumption expenditure varies across socioeconomic groups widely in such a manner that it leads to benefit the rich and privileged. The disaggregated information is shocking. Almost 65% in urban and 46% in rural area belonging to higher

castes group in top quintile are participating in private coaching. Participation and expenditure on private coaching is higher for households whose children are in government institutions. Why is this so? An important reason, in my opinion, could be the enrolment in government institutions for the sake of formal degree at low price and search for employability through the private coaching. Exponential growth in private coaching seems to be the last nail in the coffin so far as confidence in government higher education institutions are concerned. What is most worrying in the future is the fact that youth, employed or unemployed, failing to go through the process of liberal education would fall prey to false knowledge on nationalism bound by faith in caste, creed and religion. They may not be able to develop scientific spirit and values of deliberative democracy.

Regression results by the authors make the point most obvious in terms of discrimination. Result shows being a female lowers the expenditure on private coaching by 7% when compared with males. Being from a reserved category has an adverse impact on private coaching expenditure. Expenditure on private coaching has a positive impact with respect to the educational level of the household heads. A graduate and above level head would spend 13%, 7.7% and 14.5% more, respectively, at all India, rural and urban sectors than their illiterate counterparts on private coaching. Locational factor reveals that residing in the rural sector an individual spends 24% less (significant at 1%) on private coaching when compared with their urban counterpart.

### **Part Three: Capabilities**

The future of higher education needs to be directed towards the development of human capabilities. Amartya Sen defines capability in terms of the abilities to be and to do. Higher education enables development of human capabilities and enlarges set of opportunities for an individual. If higher education reproduces inequality in terms of participation and graduation, then it may not be able to enlarge opportunities for some individuals or groups in the society. In fact, the labour market itself may represent inequalities and loss of potentials for development. Capability perspective suggests inclusive approach to higher education. All individuals must have the full opportunity and freedom to join higher education and thereby be entitled to access the job market and avail opportunities that he or she likes. Inclusive higher education requires all marginalized sections of the society to be treated favourably so as to develop capabilities.

It may be argued that human capital approach treats all individual alike. The differences in participation across social/religious/economic groups really do not matter. It treats higher education as production unit where all inputs are processed to form a product. The formation of human capital is simply treated as producing income streams in the future. Higher education graduate, irrespective of differences, is treated as a capital. By ignoring differences, issue of equity and distribution is of no relevance. Group differences in participation of higher education are ignored.

Human capital approach treats human being as a commodity and higher education is treated as private good. Capability approach, on the contrary, allows inclusive approach in which the participation of marginalized sections of the society is of much greater value for the development of a nation.

Highlighting the difference between human capability and human capital approach, Narendra Thakur, in the chapter 'Social-Economic Exclusion and Inequality in Indian Higher Education and Labour Market: A Capability Approach', highlights capability deprivation in terms of inequality in educational attainment and employment opportunity. The author notes differences in number of persons with graduation and above degrees (graduates) in general, technical and professional subjects between Hindu and Muslim community and the SC, ST and other category across different states. The author estimates that around 50% of graduates are not used productively in the job sector. Subsequently, the absence of the excluded workers suppresses their capability and their life plan. There is further inequality to be observed across social group with respect to the share of knowledge workers to total workers. There is also gender bias, the shares of total females including SCs and STs and the all socio, economic and religious categories in the knowledge workers, in 2001. Average spending per student has also been rising making higher education highly unaffordable.

The future of higher education warrants capability development through an appeal to inclusive higher education providing substantive opportunities to all social and religious groups. The future of higher education cannot escape attention to students with disabilities. Policy intervention has led to the formation of institutions such as Rehabilitation Council of India, Equal Opportunity Offices in the University and College. Regulation for the ease of access to institutions is in place. However, not much has been done at the policy level in terms of curriculum restructuring, delivery and evaluation as well as the provision for necessary support and accommodation to ensure that SWD have equal opportunity in real terms. Without appropriate support, students with disabilities are at risk of academic failure and associated loss of self-confidence and self-esteem.

Tiwari et al. in the chapter 'Persons with Disabilities and Higher Education: A Case Study of a Central University' note that 20% of the total disabled population falls in the age group of 20–29 years who are potential entrants into the higher education. The disabled in this age group who reach secondary stage need to be provided support to reach higher education institutions. The recent verdict of Supreme Court in December 2017 says that right to dignity applies with much more vigour in cases of persons suffering from disability. Based on the survey results from 159 respondents from Delhi University, authors have noted certain interesting findings. Students with disabilities have limited information to effectively utilize the facilities earmarked for them. Commuting to and fro from colleges is an important difficulty to attend classes; 42% of the students with disabilities were not even aware of EOCs in the colleges. Accessibility to Delhi University colleges was, however, found to be satisfactory. Sensitivity towards disability was found to be much more in the case of peers rather than teachers. In the academic performance at the college level, ease of access and sensitivity towards disabled campus colleges were ahead of non-campus

colleges in Delhi University. Authors furthermore analyse the determinants of academic success for the disabled students. Findings of the research are of interest to develop the sensitivity towards disabled students and develop their capabilities so far as the future of higher education to achieve the goal of inclusive education is concerned.

A key to capability development for the future of higher education is the preparation of academics for effective teaching-learning process. There has been increasingly recognition of faculty development with recent advances in the researches related to teaching-learning. Dr. Neeru Snehi in the chapter 'Faculty Development in Tertiary Sector: A Review of Global Practices' notes various innovative programmes of faculty development. She suggested teaching certificate programme for junior faculty; faculty learning communities in the USA; teaching-learning centres in the UK, the USA, Australia, etc; subject-based networks in the UK, teaching-learning associations and network; and peer-to-peer faculty mentoring and evaluation some of the examples from around the globe. They are all supported from the government which competent staff and organizational support.

There is no doubt that the preparation of faculty has been practised in Indian higher education institutions mainly through the academic staff College which is renamed as Human Resource Development Centre. However, the cut in funding by the government is a concern. The teaching-learning centres, faculty development centres and subject-based networks are some of the recent additions in the faculty preparation. A review of these centres and networks shows that most of them are guided by technological rationality. There is a need to understand the diverse needs of students in terms of language, content, social and cultural contexts, and accordingly teachers need to prepare the classroom transactions. The future of higher education ultimately rests on the capabilities of teachers in their effective engagement with diverse group of students.

Perspectives of capability development have been widening, providing a range of opportunities to the students. Internationalization of higher education, notwithstanding the dimensions of commercialization, has been an important phenomenon that will guide the future of higher education. Capability development now requires the graduates to be well-suited to the global labour market. To fully utilize such opportunity, it has become necessary to strategize the university administration and the teaching-learning process so as to prepare students for global demand. Higher education, therefore, has to be out towards looking in the future. The strategy for internationalization in a developing country must be planned with a view to accommodate the needs of higher education in a national context.

The chapter on 'Pathways to Internationalization in Indian Higher Education: Reflections on Policy Options' by Rashim Wadhwa suggests various alternatives to the traditional pathway relating to the mobility of students and teachers. Massive open online course (MOOCs), internationalization of curriculum and teaching and learning, extracurricular activities, mobility of programmes and the providers of higher education are emerging. Mobility of programmes includes twinning, franchise, joint degree and virtual arrangement, and mobility of providers operates through branch campus, acquisition, virtual university and independent institution.

Transnational education operating through the programme offered by home country to the host country offers many new challenges such as the relevance of curricula as well as following up of the regulations of the host country.

The trend of traditional pathway of internationalization in Indian higher education has been a slow process. The new pathway, particularly the mobility of programmes through twinning, franchise and joint degree, has been limited to non-degree programmes, particularly in the diploma. Some of the private institutions have been active in the mobility of programmes, while very few Indian providers have been engaged in transnational education. The author points out that so far internationalization strategy in Indian higher education has been not very successful due to policy failure. There are huge potentials to think in terms of internationalization at home in many Indian universities. This requires the role of institutional leaders to think proactively and innovatively for internationalization supported by policy intervention.

The future of higher education demands freedom in matters relating to academic affairs. Professors are trustees and the role of the state is to provide funding. The progress of knowledge and scholarship is considered the internal affair within institutions of higher education. The recruitment of faculty, admission of the students, determining curricula, teaching-learning process and evaluation are all governed through the democratic bodies within the university. There is no doubt above ideal perception of the University never existed as the state was not neutral to the functioning of the University. It was regulated in varying degrees in different countries depending on the socioeconomic context. However, the academic freedom has always been ideal guiding the University.

It is important to note that Dr. Amruth Kumar, the author of the chapter 'Freedom from Autonomy: A Critique on the New Managerialism in Higher Education', talks of freedom from autonomy which is contrary to the idea of freedom for autonomy ideally associated with the University. He makes the statement because the new idea of autonomy is linked to the forces of market and the surveillance of the state is steered through distance. The idea of autonomy implies that all academic affairs within the University are guided by competition, consumer sovereignty, accountability to the learners and responsibility. With autonomy and market linkages, the discourse on autonomy completely changes. Professors are no longer trustees of the knowledge generation system. The curriculum restructuring is with a view to impart skills necessary to get an employment. Teachers appear to be the managers. The new market-oriented managerialism with focus on efficiency is guided by productivity and accountability.

The author, following from the Foucault's idea on governmentality, notes that teachers need to be self-governed with informed choices and perform to attract students. Self-regulation of the individual and the institution is normalized, is made part of common sense and is measured in quantitative terms. The idea of governance shift towards performance measurement where state is not supposed to intervene in micromanagement. So, autonomy means freedom to start new programmes, freedom to determine the fee structure, freedom to give choices of courses to the students and freedom to assess the students. All this freedom is geared to serve students

who are the consumers of the higher education. It is quite obvious that the meaning of autonomy is tantamount to treating higher education as a commodity. Is freedom gained or lost in this process? The author is of the view that under such circumstances, autonomy is lost, and hence, there is a need to get freedom from the autonomy in a new age of managerialism. This transition of the meaning of autonomy from the ideal conception of a University to the entrepreneurial conception of University needs to be understood well.

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# **Part I**

## **Structure**



# Chapter 2

## The Emergence and Expansion of Indian Universities Before Independence: A Historical Perspective



Mona Sedwal

### Introduction

The university education in India was established in 1857 echoing the Western model based on the London University by the colonial rulers. India at the time of independence had only nineteen universities to cater to the large student population. The genesis of Western universities can be chronologically traced since March 1835 when English had been declared as the official language replacing Persian. This had been a turning point as with the expansion of colonial rule, there was a growing demand for workforce in administration. The employment opportunities led to the demand for higher education as East India Company authorized the Indian administration to make local appointments for very lowly paid jobs and those who had knowledge of the English language. Many colleges in the metropolitan cities imparting Western education provided opportunities to the young men who taught in colleges, but from the government point of view, some machinery was needed through the award of degrees to regulate their entry in them. Reminiscences of this can still be traced with the contemporary higher education system as well which is still linked with the goal of employment.

For regulating this, F. J. Mouat, Secretary to the Council of Education in Bengal, submitted a plan for University Education in 1845 to the Court of Directors through the Governor-General which was rejected by the latter suggesting that the time was unripe for such innovation. However, within 10 years from 1845, because of the mounting pressures built up in the British Parliament, establishment of three universities on the model of London at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras was provided for in 1854 in the General Plan for Education for British India, and within another 3 years in 1857, it was established.

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This paper attempts to analyse the emergence and expansion of the university system with reference to the major transformation that took place amidst the national movement and yet flourishing at the peak of it. Tracing the genesis of the universities historically is critical to understand the contemporary landscape through the relevant Commission Reports which form the basis for the existing universities that are discussed with reference to specific universities. The provision for establishing the universities was credited to the initiatives taken by the Provincial Government on one hand and on the other with the increasing demand for higher education by the people's effort which is discussed in a separate section. Though the emergence of the universities resulted due to varied interest groups, nevertheless, the core had been its result in getting jobs. Due to the necessity of the British rulers for employing the natives in managing the administration of the vast country due to the political and economic changes shaped the history of the world and India in retrospect.

The commencement of the university as stated earlier can be traced from 1845, and according to the Education Despatch of 1854 based on the University of London, it had been assigned such different social functions that however much it resembled its model in outward form, it reproduced little of its academic norm and character. Though the development of a university was a sudden process, the English did not wait to know the reaction of the masses by establishing a single university. Rather, in 1857, there emerged three universities based on the decision in 1854 due to tremendous demand for higher education. The opinion of the people was not explicit regarding the establishment of universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras as there was neither opposition regarding English as the medium of instruction nor on its cost as it was too expensive to be afforded only by affluent families.

## **Education Commissions and the Genesis of University Education**

In 1792, Charles Grant asserted for the introduction of the English education that may be called the beginning of the movement stating that it was the duty of England to communicate to her Indian subjects, by the channel of education, her own intellectual and moral conceptions. He wrote: *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain*, particularly in the respect to Morals: and on the means of improving it. (Ghosh 1989).

### ***The Debate on Oriental and English Education***

The small section of the Indians first conceived an idea to establish a college for the instructions in the European education in English medium David Hare, a missionary by nature acted as 'advisor' and Hyde East as the 'patron' (University of Calcutta

1957). The scheme was fully discussed by European and native gentlemen on 14 May 1816, and a few days afterwards was founded the Hindu College (1817) (Kaye 1853). The most important place was assigned to the teaching of English. Howell rightly notes that 'this was the first blow to Oriental literature and science heretofore exclusively cultivated in the Government College' (Howell 1872), and till date, English as the medium of instruction is preferred in the higher education.

In 1823, Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government in the territorial department and missionary by nature, wrote a note on education. He proposed to focus entire concentration on the college education especially higher English education in English medium. He also proposed to establish a General Committee for Public Instruction for giving effect to his proposals and for the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College which was due since 1821. The Committee founded a Sanskrit College at Calcutta in 1823. On this decision, Raja Ram Mohan Roy took the bold and almost unprecedented step of addressing a letter of protest against encouraging Oriental education to the Governor-General dated the 11 December, 1823 (Sharp 1920).

In 1824 for the first time, the Directors categorically came out with an open condemnation of the Oriental learning. This change in the educational policy was mainly due to the influence of the utilitarians in the East India House. On the other hand, in those days, one of the most important problems besieged the Government of India with was economy. In fact, its occupation with a series of war for long years and other administrative expenditure virtually exhausted the Company. It now began to show a tremendous annual deficit every year, which soon mounted to unbearable state for the Director (Home Government), as the latter constantly pressed the Indian Government to reduce drastically the cost of administration (Philips 1961). To fulfil this herculean task, the Government turned towards education to train the Indians for the government employment.

When all these developments in education were taking place in Bengal, the Bombay Presidency saw the birth of a College in 1828. A plan for the Elphinstone College was proposed by the opulent classes of the city. It was soon tried to impart higher education on the pattern of the Anglo-Indian College at Calcutta, but it took some year to get its full spirit (Selections from Educational Records, Part I). A series of changes in higher education till the establishment of the first three universities were influenced by the Governor-General of India right from Charles Grant who held either the Oriental or the Anglicist view; even in the Indian context, similar opinions were held by prominent Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy. But there had been an influence of the political revolution of 1830–1832 in England that had an immediate effect in India and not least in the sphere of Indian education. One of the main achievements of the Whigs was the India Act of 1833 that brought an end to the commercial privileges of the East India Company and gave free admission to India to British subjects, abolishing the requirements of a licence, until then exacted by the Company (Calcutta University Commission 1920). Secondly, with this Act, 'Bengal became the centre of administration for the whole country. Since then it began to play an important role in shaping the educational policy of other provinces also, as they were required to obtain sanction of the Central Government for all items of new expenditure' (as quoted in Mukerji 1962). Thirdly, a bitter

struggle soon arose between the Orientalists, who desired to have all higher teaching through the medium of classical languages of India and the Anglicizes who stood for higher teaching through the medium of English (Hartog 1939).

In fact, Macaulay supported the latter, in his decision by the Resolution of 1835 resulting in the historic Minute on 2 February 1835 stating, 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect' (as quoted in Sharp 1920). On 7 March 1835, Bentinck decided that 'the object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone' (Sharp 1920). The Act also increased the amount from one lakh rupees to ten lakh rupees for the cause of education. This decision ultimately made both the Orientalists and the Anglicists within the Committee to ask for a bigger share for their respective cause leading to the split (as quoted in Nurullah and Naik 1951).

The nature of the new principles introduced into Indian educational policy in 1835 has often been misinterpreted (Calcutta University Commission 1920) as the decision of 1835 gave a tremendous boost to higher English education, but it failed to settle the dispute between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. Both Muslims and Hindus representing to orthodox class strongly protested against Macaulay's minute. Though they had been in favour of English education before, now the main reason of their resent was the fear of being Anglicization and conversion of the people (Sinha 1964). Lord Auckland minute of 24 November 1839 brought the matter ultimately to an end as the Orientalists now began to realize the futility of resisting the spread of English and now pleaded only for the continuance of the existing institutions of Oriental learning and some funds for publication of valuable Oriental books (Nurullah and Naik 1951). 'The Orientalists were satisfied with an additional expenditure of a meagre sum of Rs. 31,000 per year' (Mukerji 1962). On the other hand, Lord Auckland divided the province into nine administrative circles and to establish a system of combined English and vernacular education (Calcutta University Commission 1920).

### ***Beginning of University Education***

In 1842, the general and financial business of the Committee of Public Instruction was assumed directly by the Government for the reasons that it became difficult for the Committee to run the business smoothly and to avoid any difference of opinion between them. The Committee was abolished, and a Council of Education was established for purposes for references and advice upon all matters of important administration and correspondence (University of Calcutta 1957). Now the Government became free to carry on its policy of encouraging higher English education in Calcutta. In 1845, the Council of Education made a proposal for the establishment of a University of Calcutta, with the power of granting degrees

incorporated by a Special Act of the Legislative Council of India and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all chartered universities in Great Britain and Ireland. They drew up a draft plan on similar lines of University of London for the contemplated University in Calcutta, which was aborted by the Court of Directors (University of Calcutta 1957; also Ghosh 1989).

Between 1848 and 1856, one important factor which helped emerge a definite and systematic education policy of the British Raj was the attitude of Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, where he observed that English education was extremely popular among the younger generation of the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. English was not only the language of the ruling class but a sure passport to a job in the administration, at least, in its lower grades (Ghosh 1975). It is also crucial to consider the role of British citizens who took great interest on the subject of university education in India especially after the address of Cameron to Parliament in 1853. The public opinion in Britain put a pressure on the Home Government in the direction of university education in India. The desire for the immediate establishment of a university was also apparent when evidence was taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1853 (Calcutta University Commission 1920).

The Education Despatch (Wood's) of 19 July 1854 enunciating the education policy of the British Raj reached India on October 1854 which was an extension of the work already done in India. Implementation of the provisions of the Despatch opened an era of 'Anglo-Vernacular educational epoch' in the history of Indian education (Ghosh 1975). Soon after the receipt of the Despatch, the Government of India took up the work of organizing universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Meanwhile on 26 January 1855, the Government appointed a Committee under the presidentship of Sir James Celvile, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and President of the Council of Education, to work out the details of the scheme in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Directors. In order to secure uniformity in important matter of the principles, the Committee was directed to frame a scheme for all the three universities while recognizing that local circumstances would necessitate minor modifications. Wood was attracted by the model of London University whose main purpose then was to hold examination, affiliate colleges and grant degrees. Thus, the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were of a strangely hybrid kind as it had two main functions: to provide a test of eligibility for Government employment and to transmit an alien culture (Ashby 1966).

### *Calcutta University Commission 1919*

After the conclusion of the First World War in 1917, the Government of India appointed the Calcutta University Commission under the Chairmanship of Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University 'to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the question it presents'. The Commission Report also investigated the problems which were common to the other four universities (Punjab

and Allahabad) (Ghosh 1989) and ‘for the purpose of comparison’ as they were expected to frame a body of recommendations that would be relevant to the university system as a whole. In Bengal, it was recorded that the University had enormous number of students; it supervised large number of colleges; though the population was most literate, only a tenth of Bengalis could read or write; all students in Bengal worked under the aegis of a single university; nearly 85 per cent of them pursued purely literary courses; and most of them belonged to one sex only (Tickoo 1980). The issues are yet the similar in terms of the quality based on the Global Ranking for the contemporary universities.

The Calcutta University Commission was critical in connection of affiliating universities as it was stated that universities were not corporations of scholars but of administrators as the focus was on examining the candidates. The colleges were the only ‘places of learning’, but the system tended to weaken the responsibilities of the stronger colleges and to reduce them to coaching institutions. The university, being merely a group of administrative functionaries or boards, had no direct contact with the real work of teaching; it could contribute nothing to strengthen the intellectual resources of the colleges, and little to stimulate free criticism and independent thought among teachers and students. With its uniform curricula and exaggerated emphasis upon examinations, the system reduced the colleges too, much to the same pattern (Calcutta University Commission 1920).

The Commission prescribed a new form of university government with a new connection between the university and the state. Thus, in catering to the special needs of Calcutta, they not only supplied the key to the metamorphosis of the affiliating university: they supplied also the constitutional formula for a new and more ambitious type of teaching university. But they were quickly agreed ‘as to the inapplicability of doctrinaire theories of the so-called “Unitary University,”’ as they were convinced that a single centralized organization was ‘at once unattainable and undesirable’. They concluded that the basic framework of the new teaching university must be multi-collegiate (Ashby 1966). Under the new system, the University ought not to stand in the relation of taskmaster to its constituent colleges but to assist and strengthen them (Calcutta University Commission 1920). In redrawing the structure of the university, the Commission had concentrated on two main objectives: providing the larger measure of freedom and responsibility called for in the teaching body of a teaching university and stimulating the growth of a university system that would be more responsive to the needs of the community it served. The Commission made a number of recommendations on the administrative and academic roles of the university yet emphasized on ‘a university of colleges, superficially resembling Oxford and Cambridge, and more closely, the reconstructed University of London’, wherein teaching could be assured its due predominance. The recommendations basically focused on the new role conceived for the universities under which there was a clear distinction between the administrative functions and the learning. Despite the trend of devolution in the political sphere, the Commission reserved important powers and responsibilities for the central governments. In view of the number of new universities likely to be created in the future, they strangely recommended that the power of passing acts or charters

bringing them into existence should remain with the Government of India and only in this way would it be possible to ensure 'a reasonable degree of unity' in the university system and 'a standard of training such as will be respected and recognised throughout the world' (Ashby 1966).

The other proposal was designed to free the university system from an indirect but more sinister influence exerted by the government: the influence stemming from the acceptance of university examinations as sufficient test for entry into the public service. University classes came to be flooded by inferior students who aimed no higher than a minor post in the government; and the whole character of university work was increasingly vitiated a system which attracted students not so much to learn as simply to gain a foot in the public services. In order to give effect to these recommendations, the Government of India drafted a Bill, and an Act was passed on March 1921 substituting the Governor of Bengal for the Governor-General as the Chancellor of the University (Progress of Education in India, 1917–1922).

The suggestion for the creation of multi-collegiate university on the lines of Oxford or Cambridge in the city of Calcutta was really unique, but the Commission did not take into consideration the practical difficulties and complications that the scheme would have involved (Mukherji 1962). In their constitutional proposals, the Commission had drawn heavily on the practice of the West. In proposing a new form of Government, they had confidently prescribed the 'two-tier' pattern of the British civic university which hitherto had been considered too complex for India. Moreover, they had advanced a peculiarly British interpretation of the concept of university autonomy: discreetly ignoring the political difficulties in India, they had disallowed the contention of the Government of India and endorsed the opposite conviction of the India office. 'Yet, they had been careful to underplay this aspect of their recommendations, to demonstrate their awareness that analogies between east and west could not be pressed too far, and to offer their proposals as specially adapted to the peculiar environment of India' (Ashby 1966).

The Commission recommended the second grade colleges in the name of new Intermediate Colleges. But recommendations to transfer the control of these colleges from the Boards of Secondary and Intermediate education were not adopted by many universities, and also, most of the universities did not implement the 3-year degree courses. The recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission not only reshaped the character of the existing universities by creating statutory bodies like the Board of studies and the Academic Council, reshaping the Senate and the Syndicate as the University Court and the Executive Council and by adding new Faculties to make university education more dynamic and more real. It provided for the further development of modern Indian languages by including in university courses while keeping in touch with institutions of classical studies. The greatest contribution of the Calcutta University Commission to university education in India, however, lay in freeing it from the Governmental shackles imposed on it by Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904–1905 (Ghosh 1926).

It may be noted that the recommendations made in the Report were minimal for the Calcutta University due to the controversy that arose between the University and the Bengal Government over the financial support necessary for implementing



them. The repercussions of the Report, however, had a remarkable effect on the subsequent university legislation in different parts of the country. Thus, the suggestion that Intermediate Colleges and Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Education be created was acted upon by the Governments of Uttar Pradesh, and the Central Provinces through the establishment of the Aligarh Muslim and Lucknow Universities, Dacca University and the Delhi University were based on the model suggested by the Commission for teaching and residential Universities (Dongerkerly 1967). According to Basu, great emphasis on unitary residential universities by Sadler Commission was a futile suggestion as the expenditure on education was kept low in the Government budget. Also the Scottish, London, Berlin, or continental universities were not residential.

Inter-University Board was formed in 1925 for organizing a body for coordinating the activities of various universities of the nation but due to lack of statutory recognition. In 1929, Report of the Hartog Committee suggested that where there was a single university in a province, it should be of the affiliating type, partly in order to cover the area adequately and partly to avoid the alternative of abolishing the existing colleges adding that the requirements could not be met solely by unitary universities and that the affiliating university was likely to remain for many years, being an economic necessity in a large and poor country (Basu 1982).

Later in 1944, the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on Post-War Educational Development in India, also known as the *Sargent Report*, also supported that affiliating universities were an economic necessity in a vast and poor country like India and cannot be concentrated in selected centres for the same reason. The universities significantly failed to bring the culmination of modern and vernacular subjects and required increased finances for effective functioning of the universities.

## **Emergence of Universities in India**

The previous section focused on various commissions which shaped the landscape of the university education in India. The first five universities were established during the first phase from 1857 to 1887 due to political and economic reasons discussed in the above section and there were no new universities till 1916. The Indian Universities Act of 1905 attempted to control the expansion of universities as it became the breeding ground of nationalism. But after the recommendations of Calcutta University Commission, 1919, there has been a splurge of universities since then. Based on its recommendations, the universities entered an era of free growth and development – the process of university autonomy and democratization of higher education may be said to have begun with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission. As a result of these recommendations, however, a number of new universities sprang up which forms the basis of discussion in this



section. But the universities resulted from the demand at various levels that have shaped the university system. It can be pointed out that the universities before independence had its roots of emergence due to three kinds of demands raised either by the British Government, the Provincial Government, or the people through popular demand.

Following Calcutta University Commission's Report, the second phase of the establishment of universities lasted from 1920 to 1927. Then came a lapse of 8 years, and then the University of Travancore was set up in 1937. Also from 1921 to 1947, due to the transfer of education to limited Indian control and as a result of greater political awakening, there was an even more rapid expansion than in the earlier years. The rate of growth, however, was not uniform throughout the country (Table 2.1).

The increase in the number of universities and students was attributed to various socioeconomic and political changes. It should be mentioned here that originally the education was meant for a few persons belonging to the elite classes. This idea was shared by Elphinstone and Macaulay as it was thought fit to 'impart a high degree of education to the upper classes than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people'. But despite this narrow conception of higher education, it progressed enormously due to the social change.

### ***Universities from the Above: Supported by British Government***

The first three universities were established by the British Government that emerged in 1857 under three presidencies namely Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The preceding section analysed various Education Commissions which initiated the origin of university education that was developed in the Bengal Presidency. The University of Bombay which was established with a similar constitution as in Calcutta had some inherent defects that arose from the pattern adopted by the Legislature for the University, making it a University of the 'affiliating type' in which practically the whole of the teaching is normally given in self-contained colleges according to curricula laid down by the university authorities. 'The lack of control over curricula by the responsible teachers is a characteristic feature of the (affiliating) system', says the Commission (Dongerkey 1957). Similarly, in Madras too, primary functions of the University were to hold examination and confer degrees to the successful candidates (Pillay 1957). The other universities which developed with the support of the British Government apart from the first three established in 1857 were Delhi, Nagpur, Agra and Utkal. All these universities were backed by the British Government with all the financial requirements required for the smooth functioning of the universities.

**Table 2.1** Universities before independence

S. No.	Pre-independence name of the university	Current status of the university	Year of establishment
1.	Calcutta University	University of Calcutta, Kolkata (State University)	1857
2.	Bombay University	University of Mumbai, Mumbai (State University)	1857
3.	Madras University	University of Madras, Tamil Nadu (State University)	1857
4.	Punjab University	In Pakistan	1882
5.	Allahabad University	University of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh (Central University)	1887
6.	Banaras Hindu University	Banaras Hindu University, Uttar Pradesh (Central University)	1916
7.	Mysore University	University of Mysore, Karnataka (State University)	1916
8.	Patna University	Patna University, Bihar (State University)	1917
9.	Osmania University	Osmania University, Telangana (State University)	1918
10.	Rangoon University	In Myanmar	1920
11.	Aligarh Muslim University	Aligarh Muslim University, Uttar Pradesh (Central University)	1920
12.	Lucknow University	University of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh (State University)	1920
13.	Dacca University	In Bangladesh	1920
14.	Delhi University	University of Delhi, Delhi (Central University)	1922
15.	Nagpur University	The Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University, Maharashtra (State University)	1923
16.	Andhra University	Andhra University, Andhra Pradesh (State University)	1926
17.	Agra University	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University, Uttar Pradesh (State University)	1927
18.	Annamalai University	Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu (State University)	1929
19.	Travancore University	University of Kerala, Kerala (State University)	1937
20.	Utkal University	Utkal University, Odisha (State University)	1943
21.	Saugar University	Doctor Harisingh Gour Vishwavidyalaya Sagar (A Central University)	1946
22.	Rajputana University	University of Rajasthan, Rajasthan (State University)	1947

Source: Nurullah and Naik (1951); Sedwal (2000)

### ***Universities from the Above: Supported by the Provincial Government***

In 1887, Allahabad University came into existence on the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission in the year 1882–1883. Prior to the establishment of the University at Allahabad, all the colleges of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh were affiliated to the Calcutta University. As the government moved out of the field of higher education, Indians moved in, and higher education instead of showing any signs of decline went on expanding every year. From 1881 to 1893, the number of colleges almost doubled and students nearly trebled. Finally, the emergence of two new universities, one at Lahore in 1882 and the other at Allahabad in 1887 clearly indicated the tremendous expansion of higher education that was witnessed during the 1880s (Ghosh 1989).

In 1887, a special Act of Incorporation established the University at Allahabad. The local government carefully considered the exact form the University should take on the pattern of the Universities of Germany. The Act imposes no limitations of the scope and activity of the University, but hitherto Allahabad has conformed to the practice of the three original Universities and confined itself to conferring degrees on candidates who pass its examinations after following a prescribed course of study in an institution affiliated to it (Nurullah and Naik 1951).

North-Western Provinces and Oudh through a letter in 1886 proposed for the establishment of a new University as the examiners of the Calcutta University were overburdened due to large number of students in its own University. Secondly, pure Oriental studies were not taken into account as there was a desire of substituting vernaculars for English for the acquisition of the Western sciences through Hindi or Hindustani by a change in the medium of imparting education which will also be incurring less expense. The proposal was also supported by E. White, Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and suggested that the main object of the proposed University would be a careful adjustment of the courses of study and education principles to the actual needs and circumstances and to the spirit and, to a certain degree, 'the literacy traditions of these provinces'. In 1882–1883, W.W. Hunter, Chairman, Indian Education Commission, in his note conceded that on the basis of a large population of 44 million, the Province may be allowed to develop its system of higher education in concert with its own government as an examining and not a teaching body. (Bhargava 1987).

Commenting upon the observations of the Education Commission, the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh observed in its letter of 7 August 1886 that even the Despatch of 1854 had, besides providing for setting up a University at each of the Presidency towns, favoured sanctioning of a University, where a sufficient number of institutions existed, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied. One such additional University had been established in the Punjab, and time had come for a further step in the same direction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and the Central Provinces and that too at Allahabad.

In 1887, by a special Act of Incorporation, the fifth Indian University at Allahabad was established. The general framework of the special Act of Incorporation was similar to the Acts of 1857, though power was given to the Senates of the Allahabad University to appoint or provide for the appointment of Professor and Lecturers – a privilege which was denied by the Acts of Incorporation of the first three Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 (Ghosh 1989).

Later several other universities, namely, Lucknow, Rangoon, Annamalai, Travancore, Sindh and Rajputana during the period under review, were also established with the support of the Provincial Governments.

### *Universities from the Below: Supported by the Popular Demand*

In undivided India, the Punjab University at Lahore (now in Pakistan) was the only university serving Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir based on the Education Despatch of 1854 which declared ‘the advancement of western knowledge’ as its avowed object, defined the comparative position of English and Indian languages, and provided a scheme, which tried to touch all the aspects of Indian education, right from the primary to the university stage (Mukerji 1962). The principles enunciated in this Despatch formed the basis upon which the Departments of Public Instruction were organized in each province, universities established in the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, and the system of grant-in-aid for the regulation and assistance of educational institutions not directly controlled by the Government was introduced.

The demand for a University in the Punjab had its genesis in 1865 from Sir Donald McLeod, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Province who invited suggestions for ‘the improvement of Oriental learning and the development of a sound vernacular literature’. The suggestions were warmly taken up by the Anjuman-i-Punjab which proposed that an ‘Oriental University’ be set up with headquarters at Lahore to achieve the goal. The movement was actively supported by a number of Englishmen who organized themselves into a *European Committee of Support*. Later, the representatives of the Anjuman proposed for the establishment of an Anglo-Oriental institution with the objectives for developing the literature of the classical and modern languages of northern India and to convey a knowledge of essential European learning and science through the languages of the people so far as that should be possible while preserving a standard of attainment which should ensure its recognition as a true University (Sethi and Mehta 1968).

In August 1867, the British India Association of the North-Western Provinces (modern U.P.) submitted a memorial to the Viceroy to establish a Vernacular University for Northern India at Delhi. The Government was opposed to the idea of establishing at once a University but agreed ‘to the development of higher teaching in the Punjab by extending and improving the existing Government College, Lahore, with a grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000’. An institution, styled at first the Lahore University College, but subsequently the Punjab University College, was established at Lahore

in the year 1869. It was also agreed that the study of the English language and literature will be encouraged and the subjects which could not be completely taught in the vernacular language may be transacted in the English language as the medium of examination and instruction (Naik (ed.) 1963).

Finally in 1882, a Special Act of Incorporation established the Punjab University. The general framework of this Act was similar to the Acts of 1857; but the Punjab University differed from the older universities in several important matters as the university had a faculty of Oriental learning and conferred the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor of Oriental learning on candidates through Urdu medium. It also conferred Oriental literacy titles on successful candidates in examinations it held in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian; conducted proficiency and high proficiency examinations in vernacular languages; and granted native titles to students of Muhammadan and Hindu Law and Medicine (Nurullah and Naik 1951).

In the circumstances of the origin and according to the Act of Incorporation, the Punjab University differed radically from the older universities of Indian (namely, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras) in several important aspects especially it was established through the efforts and initiatives of the people and was both a teaching and examining body. University became a unique synthesis of the Oriental and Western systems of education. For maintaining the Oriental department and subjects, a grant of Rs. 12,000 a year was supplied by the Government of India (Ghosh 1989). Some other universities that were the product of the people's effort were Dacca, Aligarh, Andhra and Saugar.

## Issues and Challenges of University Education

It is important to take into consideration that the model of university education was based on a foreign university, i.e. London University which was alien for Indian masses; thus, its impact had also been a two-edged one – positive as well as negative. On a positive side, the universities were supported by grant-in-aid system, introducing secular and systematic pattern of education, expanding scientific thinking and Western ideologies such as utilitarianism, orientalism, etc. The negative impact was that state directly controlled the higher education in all aspects. For instance, the courses for a particular year were decided by the Government of India which consisted British officials. The policy of grant-in-aid made universities financially dependent on the Government of India. Since the aim for introducing higher education among Indians was to get the educated manpower for maintaining the administrative machinery, it was not isolated within the framework of scholarship alone, but relates it with the proper employment which brought comfort as well as the understanding of status quo among the upper class Indians.

Initially, the university education was within the reach of upper classes alone, and Britishers made no attempt to make education accessible to the masses as it was very difficult for it demanded a lot of finances. Also, Britishers did not want to disturb the traditional setup, as in 1857, they faced the revolt of Indian and

concentrated for immediate gains rather than introducing social reforms in the Indian society. But in the long run, the educational policy promoted a peculiar feature by considering the merit of student, i.e. of discarding the students' caste or creed which brought equality and liberal ideas among Indian people. Thus, we find a contrast in this period, i.e. in 1857, on the one side, British faced the Indian revolt, and on another side, they introduced higher education among Indians. However, their intentions were to make profit and also make Indians realize that Britishers were bringing new ideas as well as new ways for gaining prosperity. The result was the popularization of University education, and it started spreading gradually which resulted in enlightenment of Indians in later decade.

The establishment of the universities during the period of survey witnessed many issues and challenges as a result of the changes in economic, administrative and political spheres. Due to these changes, the middle class emerged which was on the lookout for the new employment opportunities giving up the hereditary professions. The administrative jobs which formed the basis for introducing the University education required special kind of education. Thus, the rise of professionalism explained the rise of middle classes and growth of education to a greater extent. Moreover, since these middle classes solely depended upon education for their socioeconomic status, they understandably displayed a hunger for education which baffled many people (Saini 1980).

On the other hand, it was observed by the British officials that the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organization by the educated Indians posed a threat to their rule as was pointed out by Hamilton decades after Curzon. There was, therefore, a genuine ground for alarm for the Government of India from the educated Indians, particularly, if it did not revise its policy towards English education. And surprisingly under a liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, it took the boldest step when it appointed the first Education Commission in 1882. Its President, Sir William Hunter, felt that 'the Government aided education was producing a revolt among the educated Indians against three principles of discipline, the principle of religion, the principle of contentment'. So, on the recommendations of the Commission, the Government finally withdrew from the field of higher education, mainly as a measure of economy and encouraged private enterprise in the field. The real reason for such withdrawal was, however, more political than economical (Ghosh 1989). And this may partly explain why the British Raj endorsed the idea of a University with Oriental overtone.

Initially, the number of students was small, but gradually over the years, the number of students increased due to which the hope of being employed after the education was dismal over the years accompanied by the growing nationalist movement in the country. Due to the large number of students at the university, the standard of university teaching during the period was very low, and the percentage of failures at every university examination was very large. The English medium had been a great stumbling block as only limited number of students had been able to master the language well. Another issue was the poor quality of the general run of teachers as most of the first-class M.A.'s joined administrative posts in Government departments while others had generally sought lectureship in universities and the

colleges. The nature of curriculum adoption was also in constant debate by the Anglicists and Orientalists creating the wider gap between the two groups.

Hunter Commission pointed out that the explosion of the problem of unemployment among the educated Indians was quite difficult to be tackled and therefore the model of self-sustained university that was established by the Provincial Government and the popular demand were supported by the British Government. In the administrative hierarchy, Indians filled the lower ranks and supplied the vast majority of the officials. Between 1867 and 1887, opportunities in the public services for Indians increased, but it was observed that by 1887, only a dozen Indians had entered the covenanted ranks by open competition (Seal 1968). Due to chronic state of inadequate finance, there was no provision for offering scholarships to the students. Barring some wealthy endowments which had been made to the University of Calcutta, University of Nagpur and the example of the Annamalai University in South India, created by the generosity of a single merchant prince, the universities had not attracted many private benefactions. They were still dependent on public funds and fees from students. The latter, again, form a very much smaller proportion of the total revenues of the universities than in Great Britain and most Western Countries.

Other problems were Westernization of education with emphasis on cramming from books for achieving good marks in the examinations. Such an attitude did not leave much scope for genuine research. The dependence on the legislature was to be deplored, not merely because of its financial implications but also because of the constant danger of lay interference in university activities which it entailed. Increasing demand for the teaching of subjects in vernacular medium also had serious limitations.

The Civil Disobedience Movement in 1920 was the first political struggle in which students participated in large numbers. The emphasis in the universities at that time was on the liberal arts, and students in this area had traditionally been more concerned with intellectual and political issues. Law students, who were destined for an independent professional career and had little chance for a Government post, were particularly active in student politics. It is significant that the leadership of the student movement was in the hands of academically able students. The general intelligence of the student leadership provided the movement with relatively sophisticated leaders, thus insuring a high level of discussion as well as supplying the nationalist movement with able young leaders (Altbach and Kelly 1978).

Thus, modern education played a contradictory role as it was introduced for the purpose of using Indians as intermediaries between the British rule and Indian society, but it also contributed a lot in the struggle against the British rule. Many among the nationalist leaders completely dissatisfied with the Western system of education set up their own institutions of higher learning, emphasizing Indian culture and philosophy, and among them may be mentioned the Vidyapeeths of Gujarat, Bihar and Kashi; Jamia Millia which shifted from Aligarh to Delhi in 1925; and the Visva-Bharati of Rabindranath Tagore which started functioning at Shantiniketan in 1921.

Thus, one notices a complex phenomenon of higher education which emerged due to the introduction of education system by the British. The period under review saw the emergence of 22 universities in the British India and the Indian States.



While initiative for setting up some of them in the British India was taken mostly by the British Government in Delhi, it was the Provincial or State Governments, who set the ball rolling as far as their own States were concerned. In both places, at the Centre and in the Provinces, there were again some universities which could be traced to the strength of popular demand.

## Conclusion

The paper is limited only to the circumstances leading towards growth of the university education and not with their history to get clear idea of its genesis. British Raj conceived the idea as soon as they became a political power in India, to introduce such education which later developed into university education in India. The policies were drafted with a view to fulfil the interests of the British at the cost of India. The transformation of the East India Company from merchants to rulers created a new political situation in the early nineteenth century, and the demands created by this change could not be met by the existing Indian system of education. The demands of the new administration are coupled with the demands of the Indians who saw in English education a passport to profitable employments in the new setup. The first three universities were set up in the year 1857 at the metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras where the demands for higher education were the greatest among the Indians and where the need for assistance at the lower levels of administration was the maximum. The model for these universities was to be the London University setup in 1836, and teaching was left to the college and institutions which began to come into existence since the beginning of the nineteenth century. But it must be noted that the affiliating model was not found functional and lacked academic rigour due to which the London University remodelled itself in 1858 which was not reflected in the establishment of the future universities set up in the colonial India.

In the decades that followed the establishment of these universities, there had been an increase in the output of students, but many of them had to go without any suitable employment as the too literal course did not relate to the needs of the changing society. Criticism of the system created by the British and increasing demand for higher education with Indian overtones led to the emergence of the two universities which departed from their earlier models not only by providing for Indian studies programme but also by undertaking teaching of postgraduate classes and thereby created a milestone in the growth and development of university education in India.

Later between 1920 and 1947, the University system was strongly influenced by British models, but by 1925, Indian higher education began to change from a system which served almost exclusively as an addition of the British administrative network to an educational apparatus following the establishment of Inter-University Board in 1925. The 1920s brought educational as well as political changes, while demand for education increased with every coming year from the States as well as the masses. At the same time, increasing demand for University education by the flood of candidates had heavily strained the universities which weakened its system.



In 1929, Hartog Committee was set up to enquire into the existing system of education but had little to add what had already been said by the Calcutta University Commission. In 1944, Central Advisory Board of Education published a comprehensive report on the Post-War Educational Development of the country, and its main recommendations on University education were that Indian universities did not satisfy the requirements of a national system of education, the conditions for admission must be revised, intermediate course should be abolished, length of University degree course should be 3 years, etc.

Thus, the University education expanded tremendously, and the outbreak of the War in 1939 created demand for trained personnel, and consequently, the British Government came forward with larger grants for the expansion of university education, particularly in those branches which were connected, directly or indirectly, with war efforts and provided for the setting up of a University Grants Committee, predecessor of our University Grant Commission, in 1946 as the most important part of the Sargent's Report.

It may be concluded that the origin of the universities in India was the result of long years of planning before it became operational. The genesis was also interrelated to the demand of skilled Indians to serve in the administrative jobs. In spite of the comprehensible assumptions, the social context of the period is very unclear, yet the establishment of the universities in India exemplifies the changes and development in the education system of the country. This backdrop helps in tracing the inherent legacy of the issues within the university education based on the motive of the providers.

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# Chapter 3

## Teachers' University Revisit to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar



**Sudhanshu Bhushan**

Is it not the time to reflect on the future of university when universities around the world are subjected to bureaucratic control, privatization, and technological rationality? Universities' autonomy is threatened. State is withdrawing funding support to the university. On the other hand, universities are becoming overcrowded as different segments of population are entering universities with varying abilities and orientations. The mushrooming of disciplines with the explosion of knowledge is threatening the universality and unity of all knowledge. The authoritative direction of teachers is lost. Teachers are disenchanted, alienated, and demoralized. Teachers are no longer select community of scholars having sole motive for scholarship and knowledge. Did the turn of events led our way and we lost the agency of teachers?

Given the external forces impacting and shaping universities to new formations, what is the rationale of talking about the futures of higher education? What purpose will it serve? Even if there is a conceptualization of Teachers' University to address the problems of future, what is the guarantee that conceptualization will result in its realization? In the past, philosophers have talked about the futures of universities in different times, yet they were not successful to realize the one they had imagined. Emmanuel Kant in the 1790s wanted to have university free from conflicts between faculty; yet, he was reprimanded by the monarch who thought Kant was disparaging the being of the state by raising the issue of religion within the limits of reason. Weber in the 1920s had imagined the vocation of science, which is the spirit of university, as free from values and politics, yet he was well aware of the misdeeds of Althoff administration which interfered time and again in the recruitment of professors by granting favours (Althoff and Weber 1973). Weber's dissatisfaction was that the politicians of new age were threatening to take the academia's sociopolitical

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agency, reducing vocation to a paycheck (Myers 2004). Heidegger was appointed Rector of Freiburg University in 1933 who gave a call for asserting the questions of human existence in the university, yet could not succeed and had to resign in 1934 because two deans he had appointed were Jews which was not acceptable to Hitler. Derrida has been talking of humanities and unconditional freedom in the context of universities in recent years, yet the humanities are in crisis in the university (Derrida, 2001). So what purpose will be achieved with the conceptualizing of Teachers' University to meet the future challenge which Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Indian context had already talked about in the 1920s?

Frankly, I have no answer; yet, there is a hope that futures of universities will be safe when teachers are in command of universities. It means they are engaged in questions of existence. But there is another important reason why Teachers' University is important to conceptualize. The conceptualization invites us to think about performance. It allows us to ponder over the responsibility of teacher. Whatever be the architect of university if teachers are aware of what we ought to do in universities, it would certainly serve the humanity – the purpose of university. The paper is not addressed to the government to remind them to fund the public universities, to save the universities from excessive bureaucratic control, or to deemphasize the technological rationality. The paper is addressed for the teachers to self-examine whether we are aware of our role in fulfilling the essence of university. If indeed teachers become aware of it, there will be a step towards fulfilling the hope of Teachers' University. Amidst uncertainty, this is the motivation guiding me to advocate the case of Teachers' University.

When we come to imagine the future, we need to be aware of the past. Hence, the paper recalls the past. The Going back to the past, Ambedkar explicitly took note of Teachers' University in 1924 and advocated that universities should remain under authoritative control of teachers. The self-assertion of the essence of university is noted by Heidegger, and this needs to be asserted while talking of the Teachers' University. Besides, the paper notes of Kant's idea where enlightenment is said to be the purpose of university. It implies that free will and reason should guide the Teachers' University. More importantly, teachers must self-examine whether they are helping to realize the being of university. If yes, they are indeed responsible. The future of higher education is secure.

In the paper, the beginning point is of course Dr. Ambedkar's calling of Teachers' University in 1924 in the context of university reform. The paper, following from Kant, notes various kinds of conflict which need to be resolved through reason in a deliberative process in Teachers' University. The essence of Teachers' University is the science for human existence, as Heidegger appeals to the teachers to reaffirm. The point is raised in the paper. After having emphasized the essence of Teachers' University, the paper notes the need of being responsible on the part of teacher. Amidst uncertainty, where there is dim hope of any such realization of the being of Teachers' University, perhaps there is a hope for the future of higher education. The hope lies in responsibility of teachers.

## **What Exactly Were the Recommendations of Raleigh Commission, 1902?**

Education Commission, 1902, notes that 'The phrase "Teaching University" is usually taken to denote a University which makes direct provision for teaching by appointing its own Professors and lecturers' (Raleigh 1902, p. 6). However, the Commission finds it difficult to unite the students of all affiliated colleges scattered over different places to be taught by the university professors. Therefore, it suggests that while teaching in colleges might continue, the higher degree, postgraduate, might be conducted within the university to be taught by the university professors. This could partly give the character of teaching university. This recommendation of teaching university over merely examining body was a step in the positive direction, yet it led to the three divides in the teaching university – divide between undergraduate and postgraduate, a divide between colleges and universities, and a divide between teaching and research. The only way this divide could be partly overcome is by engaging partly the competent professors of the colleges in the postgraduate studies at the university. Commission points to the practical difficulty of part engagement of the professor of an undergraduate college in the university teaching, as there may not be sufficient number of teachers in the undergraduate colleges, but it undermines such a difficulty. We all know that since then, there are two cadres of teachers in the university – one deputed at undergraduate colleges and the other at postgraduate departments in the university – former mostly engaged in teaching and the latter mostly engaged in research while teaching advanced course of study. This divide has indeed hampered the unity of students and teachers, as also the unity of teaching and research, thereby undermining and even coming close to the idea of Teachers' University as conceptualized by Dr. Ambedkar.

## **Revisit to Dr. Ambedkar's Concept of Teachers' University**

In a written evidence to the University Reforms Committee of Bombay University on 15th August 1924, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar wrote, 'a University does not become a teaching University merely by engaging in the work of teaching through the agency of its own staff. That is not the criterion of a teaching University. A University may undertake teaching and yet may not be a teaching University. Whether or not a University is a teaching University depends upon whether or not the scholars engaged in the work of teaching have the authoritative direction of the academic business of the University in their hands. If it is in their hands then the University is a teaching University. If it is not in their hands then the University is not a teaching University. A teaching University is a teachers' University' (Ambedkar, Vol. 2, p. 306). The context of the above reply was the consideration of converting university as merely examining body to a teaching university recommended by University Education Commission Presided by Mr. T. Raleigh (Raleigh 1902, pp. 6–7).

Teachers' University is a profound concept where he underlines the authoritative direction of the academic business of the university in the hands of teachers.

Authoritative control of academic affairs in the hands of teachers: What does Dr. Ambedkar mean by Teachers' University? The first and foremost criterion of a Teachers' University is that it should be under the authoritative control of teachers of the university. Against the background of the then university being the affiliating and examining body under the full control of university administrators, Dr. Ambedkar writes, '... the teaching staff which is really the heart of the University has practically no voice, let alone authoritative direction, in the academic affairs of the University' (Ambedkar, Vol. 2, p. 306). It is clear that Ambedkar imagines the idea of community of scholar running and controlling the academic affairs of the university as he found it in the context of the European and American universities. Again, teachers within a university should organize themselves as corporation of scholars who are engaged in the training of men and advancement of knowledge. So the essential idea in the Teachers' University is not simply teaching. It is the organic unity as corporation of scholars. It is the combined strength of teachers engaged in the pursuit of knowledge that matters. If scholars do not form the corporation and comradeship, the idea of Teachers' University cannot be realized. Ambedkar notes: 'It must be so organized that it becomes essentially a place of learning, where a Corporation of Scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge' (Ambedkar, Vol. 2, p. 297). He emphatically notes that University is not a corporation of administrators as he observed in the instance of the then Bombay University where administrators were engaged in merely controlling of examination. Denying the status of the then Bombay University as Teachers' University, he notes: 'It is a Corporation of Administrators. It is only concerned with the examination of candidates while the advancement and diffusion of knowledge is outside the ambit of its interests' (op. cit. p. 297). It also gives a clue to his thinking that he is dead against bureaucratic control in running the academic affairs of university.

Control of the university over the appointment of its teaching staff: It may be noted that when university was merely an affiliating and examining body, the colleges were either started by government or established by the private philanthropy. In either case, the appointment and management of teachers was not in the hands of university. It rested either in the hands of the government or the private management. Advocating the concept of Teachers' University, Dr. Ambedkar wants that all the teaching staff of the university should be appointed and controlled by the university. He writes that '... it will be fatal to the standard of a University degree if the University reposed such a large trust in a body of teachers in whose calibre it has no confidence' (op. cit. p. 305). He is of the view that quality of higher education is dependent upon the quality of teaching and quality of teaching is dependent upon the quality of teachers. And if the quality of teachers has to be assured, then it should be not improper that university run by the teachers should have firm control over the appointment of teachers as well.

Unity of teaching and examination: Another important concept of the Teachers' University is the unity of teaching and examination. It implies that teachers who teach should have power to examine the student. The quality of higher education cannot be achieved by simply controlling the examination which was the prevailing practice when university was simply an affiliating and examining body. He writes, 'the power to control teaching is of more importance than the power to test it by granting degrees' (op. cit. p. 305). He was of the opinion that teaching and examination cannot be left to the uncontrolled discretion of teachers in whose calibre it has no confidence.

Unity of undergraduate and postgraduate teaching: Dr. Ambedkar is totally opposed to any sharp division between postgraduate and undergraduate. He cites three important reasons for such opposition. First, the separation of postgraduate work from undergraduate work means the separation of teaching from research. But it is obvious that that where research is divorced from teaching research must suffer. He cites the long observation by the Commissioners of 1911 on University Education in London. He supports the argument that in the formative years of undergraduate teaching when a reputed professor comes into academic engagement with the students, the influence of teachers upon students is deeper. He inspires students, and later when such students develop comradeship at the postgraduate level, students begin to think original, and teachers shaping the thinking of students get various help from students while pursuing research. A long association of teachers and students shapes the mind. Dr. Ambedkar concludes, 'I am, therefore, bound to emphasize that the University must undertake the training of the undergraduates if it intends to rear a structure of a sound system of post-graduate work' (op. cit. p. 300). Second, the divide has also the 'unhappy effect of placing the university staff in antithesis and in opposition to the college staff which feels that its status is unreasonably reduced by the formal and practically permanent limitation of the colleges to an inferior sphere of work' (op. cit. p. 300). Third, it is a mere wastage of resources if the college teachers and university teachers remain divided in terms of organization, infrastructure, library, and so on. The argument is that if the colleges and university form some sort of association, then economies of scale will save lot of resources. For example, many colleges may not have adequate libraries and laboratories, yet their combined strength may ensure sufficient resources for all of them. With all the three reasons, Dr. Ambedkar makes the central point that a Teachers' University should create conditions where teaching and research mutually reinforce each other, and this is possible when a divide between undergraduate and postgraduate is bridged.

To create a unity of undergraduate and postgraduate teaching, Dr. Ambedkar discusses at great length the pooling of all professors of a subject, say in Economics, and an organizational structure through which all professors could be engaged in teaching of undergraduate and postgraduate students breaking the boundaries of respective colleges, without touching the autonomy and organization of colleges. The idea of each college being 'hall of lectures' on particular subject where all professors of that subject could come together forming a homogeneous group may have



few practical limitations, yet efforts in that direction may be worth trying out even today, at least in few cases. This will bridge the divide between undergraduate and postgraduate and improve the quality of teaching and research in universities. Professors through a long-term engagement may develop few disciples, well trained in research and teaching temperament. His idea can be summed up in his own words: 'In short the position becomes somewhat like the position at Oxford and Cambridge where the university is the colleges and the colleges form the university. Such an organization makes the most of the existing colleges and eliminates the waste' (op. cit. p. 301). The scheme of constituent colleges was advocated by Dr. Ambedkar where colleges will continue to be places licensed by the university to provide university education. In this scheme of things, intercollegiate teaching will achieve efficiency by removing duplication. The idea in the centralized university is: how can we combine together intellectual co-operation to the maximum and achieve synergies?

**Rewards commensurate with scholarship:** Dr. Ambedkar also notes that Teachers' University must have strong incentive scheme built into the university. Rewards should be commensurate with the depth of scholarship rather than with the length of service, as is the practice in the case of administrative staff. He is dead against the transfer of teachers. He holds the view that loyalty of the professors should be for the colleges. If teachers are treated like the administrative staff and are guided by the seniority in the promotion, then 'their loyalty and obedience *is* not the college but the service and more often than not their ambition is directed to securing service promotions than that of creating a school of learning with which their names will be identified' (op. cit. p. 304). Dr. Ambedkar notes that in private colleges, the appointment of professors is in the hands of private management. In the case of government colleges, it is in the hands of Director of Public Instruction or Secretary of Government. He is of the view that the appointment of professoriate should be in the hands of competent subject experts within the university.

**Bodies of the University:** In a detailed sketch of Bombay University, Dr. Ambedkar presents three criteria for the different bodies of university. First, he notes, university as a corporation of learning must meet the needs of community. For this requirement to be fulfilled, he suggests Senate with a large representation of persons from all segments of society. It is a non-professional body making important legislations and giving directions to meet the needs of society, on the one hand, and keeping close connection with state, on the other. Senate, being a representative body, should be much like a public sphere where rational communicative processes are developed. University becomes embedded in society by means of body like Senate. Second, there should be a body like Syndicate (Executive Council) which will give the University a 'statesman-like guidance' (op. cit. p. 305). It should be a body responsible for the conduct of all affairs of the university. In its statement like guidance, it must examine the practical feasibility of every decision, say, introduction of a programme, in the light of fund availability and its optimum uses. Syndicate must have large ranging functions of academic and financial administration of the Teachers' University. Third, the special attention is focused on the faculty as the constitutive body of the university. It is a 'body of scholars engaged in the work of teaching to



give an authoritative direction to the academic business of the University' (op. cit. p. 306). Dr. Ambedkar notes that Departments should be grouped into Faculties and the 'Faculties should be made the basis of the University organization if our University is to be a teaching University' (op. cit. p. 307). It must be kept in mind that his suggestion of faculty as the constitutive body will succeed only when the undergraduate and postgraduate divide is bridged through his schema of intercollegiate teaching and his approach that colleges constitute the university and university encompasses the colleges. If then faculty is given the powers of appointing Board of Studies, determining the course of study and the method and manner of teaching and examination, there is every possibility that Teachers' University will flourish. Graduates of the university will be mentored by the professoriate for a long duration, combining teaching with research. Dr. Ambedkar again reminds us that this is possible if 'teachers are to be freed from the restrictions imposed by a common syllabus of instruction and a general quasi-external examination' (op. cit. p. 307) and that the 'teachers are worthy of the trust imposed in them' (op. cit. p. 307).

A revisit to Dr. Ambedkar's conception of Teachers' University shows his emphasis on the centrality of teachers, their authoritative control over academic decisions, recruiting teachers in a Teachers' University by the teachers themselves and ensuring their worthiness. He insists incentives to be built on the basis of scholarship and professoriate should be integrated through intercollegiate teaching and bridging the undergraduate-postgraduate divide so that the synthesis of teaching and research takes place. Teachers' University should remain connected with the society as well as the state through a large, representative, and democratic body like Senate. Syndicate should be the powerful body again largely represented by academia which should take decisions like statesman.

Of course, the turn of events has proved otherwise. Universities in India were fragmented by the divide of undergraduate and postgraduate, and a unity of teaching and research was disrupted. Universities still remained examining bodies and colleges remained teaching units. Partly, university retained the character of teaching university by operating postgraduate departments under its supervision and control. Universities could hardly become Teachers' University as envisaged by Dr. Ambedkar. Universities became subjected to political and bureaucratic control. Teachers' University could not become a reality. Universities remained under the control of administrators. It is worth examining why? Before we examine the shift from the ideals of Teachers' University to Administrator's university, it is worth considering the elements of Teachers' University in the evolution of German universities.

## **Teachers' University: Resolution of the Conflict Through Reason**

Kant, an important enlightenment philosopher, was a professor in university. He published his last book *The Conflicts of the Faculties* in the year 1798. The publication of the book was the result of conflict between the faculties which Kant calls

higher faculty consisting of theology, law, and medicine and the lower faculty consisting of philosophy. On the other hand, the book also has a context in which conflict takes place with the state. With respect to the former conflict, Kant notes that higher faculty is the science beneficial to the public. It pertains to the matters of fact and truth in the empirical world. Higher faculty may be guided by the statutes of the state. It is subordinated to the state as it may direct teachers to teach what is beneficial to the public. However, Kant is of the view that philosophy is the science of all sciences. It has the legitimate right to question all sciences. For example, it has legitimate right to question higher faculty and direct them for morality, justice, and humanity. The reason that he advocates philosophy to question the science is that only a priori reason provides the basis of truth (knowledge) that is the domain of all sciences. The conflict arises when higher faculty enters the domain of philosophy or restricts the entry of philosophy to higher faculty. He himself experienced it when he wrote a philosophical piece on religion,<sup>1</sup> and many theology professors opposed it. Kant argued that theology is mere interpretation of biblical writings which is revelation of God. Kant, on the other hand, argued Bible is the moral text which should be understood a priori through reason and not as an act of revelation. This also meant that Bible is not an absolute truth and the understanding of morality comes from reason. This is what led to the anger of theology professors who also connived and impressed upon the monarch that such writing by Kant corrupts public by eroding the belief in God and the state which carries its task in the name of God. Conflict of faculty is also an indictment upon state as philosopher argues that philosophy is above the state. It is in the interest of state to allow philosophy to roam around all faculty to tell what is justice, morality, and good health? This is what he wanted to convey to the state also when the monarch, Frederick William II, wrote a repressive letter to Kant to refrain from such writing that threatens the belief in God and state. Kant replies in the book, *The Conflict of the Faculties*, 'The philosophy faculty can, therefore, lay claim to any teaching, in order to test its truth. The government cannot forbid it to do this without acting against its own proper and essential purpose' (Kant 1797, p. 45).

Kant was writing in a period when both state and university as an agency of state were evolving to a mature form. German State was a monarch, and seeds of democracy were being sown through the fight for liberty and equality in American and French revolution. University, too, was under the absolute control of monarch, and publication was subject to censor by the state. Under the circumstance, it was indeed an act of courage to take a stand that freedom and autonomy of the university should not be curtailed when it is a question of examining the truth of all sciences through the philosophical discourse.<sup>2</sup> In today's context when science can also lay its claim

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<sup>1</sup>Kant, *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason*, translated by T.M. Greene and H.H. Hudson, Chicago, Open Court, 1934.

<sup>2</sup>Kant writes 'Now the power to judge autonomously – that is, freely (according to principles of thought in general) – is called reason. So the philosophy faculty, because it must answer for the truth of the teachings it is to adopt or even allow, must be conceived as free and subject only to laws given by reason, not by the government' (Kant 1797, p. 43).

on philosophy or philosophizing within its own discipline, all faculty has the autonomy and freedom to test its own truth, and as long as they do so, it is illegitimate for the state to intervene. From above discussion, it turns out that in Teachers' University what is permitted is the conflict and questioning as basic idea to resolve the problem. However, the state should refrain from meddling in the affairs of scholars engaged in the pursuit of knowledge which Kant so boldly notes in *The Conflict of The Faculties*.<sup>3,4</sup>

In Teachers' University, conflict and opposition of ideas is necessary. The resolution of such conflict must take place through the reason, by the unity of consciousness. There are four sites of conflict: first, among the faculty; second, between faculty and administration; third, among the students; and fourth, between teachers and students. With respect to first conflict, today's universities suffer from too much disciplines and fragmentation of knowledge. In all such disciplines, knowledge is created for its own sake. Information is created in separate tiny boxes. No faculty is even aware of what is happening in other faculty. It becomes very difficult to unite the knowledge which may sometimes be conflicting but at times separated and disconnected. In Teachers' University, there should be effort to create a unity of consciousness by linking all knowledge to the questions of humanity as an end in themselves. Hence, knowledge should become the source of happiness by virtue of humanity being fulfilled. Thus, all sciences should be subjected to reason and progress, and they should be united merely through the progress of humanity. That is how the conflicts should not only be minimized rather the fragmentation of knowledge be controlled and directed.

Second, the conflict between faculty and administration today is more ferocious than it ever was. What is the source of conflict? Teachers are appointed and paid by the state. However, once they are appointed as faculty in the university, they are free to pursue knowledge by scientific pursuit. They are under no obligation to follow state in matters of teaching and research. Once it is affirmed that knowledge exists for the progress of humanity, they are autonomous to think what is good for the progress and how knowledge should cater to the progress. Hence, university administration is subordinated to the reason that guides knowledge generation process. However, conflict arises when university administration does not escape from the tutelage of state power and is subordinated by the authority of state. If there are situations when state allows deliberation (reason) as the sign of progress, then of course it allows administration to serve reason, i.e. the pursuit of knowledge generation by teachers. However, it should not be ruled out that state itself may result from manipulation and it may like manipulation and may be envious or even feel threatened by reason that does not admit manipulation. It is quite likely that under manipulative

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<sup>3</sup>Kant writes 'If the government were to consult the Philosophy Faculty about what teachings to prescribe for scholars in general, it would get a similar reply: just don't interfere with the progress of understanding and science' (ibid, fn. p. 29).

<sup>4</sup>Humboldt little later, in 1810, in the context of Berlin University writes 'The state must understand that intellectual work will go on infinitely, better if it does not intrude', and 'It must indeed be aware that it can only have a prejudicial influence if it intervenes' (Humboldt 1970, p. 244).

state, the relation between the Teachers' University and the state will be conflictual (Derrida 1992). However, in a deliberative state, university stands for knowledge beneficial for humanity, which may be suited to the goal of the state which cannot be other than the well-being of the people. Under negative circumstances, faculty and administration may develop conflict as the latter may restrict the freedom necessary for the progress of science and humanities. It is, therefore, necessary that in a Teachers' University, administration should remain under the authoritative direction and control of teachers themselves and they should remain subordinate to the (deliberation) reason and freedom necessary for that deliberation and should not be guided by external control.

Third, the conflict among students is inevitable. Students come from different backgrounds and possess their own subjectivities and ideologies. Often through adhering to different ideologies, they come into conflict with each other. They forget that the beliefs which they carry are subjected to scientific testing and questioning in a university. When some groups (Dalits) question dominant beliefs (of high caste or class), they feel offended as they are blinded by the faith they carry with themselves. Sometimes, they are blinded by the glory of power in which they find support and provocation from external agencies. In Teachers' University, knowledge (reason) is power and not the vice versa. Therefore, in Teachers' University, students must be guided by reason amidst the plurality of views. Conflict among students need to be settled through reasoning and questioning.

Fourth, conflict among teachers and students are often cited in the universities. White teachers offending the black students or elite high-class teachers treat with empathy students of marginalized sections. Students from foreign nationals or those from minority classes may be deprived of equal opportunities. Students of first-generation learners suffer from cultural, language, academic, and economic deficits. With those deficits, they are deprived of equal opportunity of learning. Hardly, they get support from teachers to address those deficits. Teachers' University will rely on teacher-student relationship in a collaborative process. As Humboldt notes, 'both teacher and student have their justification in the common pursuit of knowledge. The teacher's performance depends on the students' presence and interest – without this science and scholarship could not grow' (Humboldt 1970, p. 243), and Teachers' University should reflect that.

## **Self-Assertion of the Essence of Teachers' University**

Martin Heidegger assumed the post of rector of Freiburg University in April 1933. In a short speech on 'The Self Assertion of German Universities', he notes the essence of German university is the 'spiritual mission that forces the destiny of the German people into the shape of its history' (Heidegger 1933, p. 1). He further notes that students and teachers of the university must be rooted in its essence which must have the strength to shape its existence (Dasein). How is this possible? He writes the dominant characteristic of the university's essence is generally thought to

be its 'self-administration'. 'It is to be preserved' (op. cit. p. 1). He clarifies the meaning of self-administration. 'Self-administration means that we set ourselves our own task and determine the way and manner of its realization ourselves, so that in doing so we ourselves will be what we ought to be' (p. 1). Self-administration, however, demands self-examination and with it the self-assertion.

There is indeed a grand similarity between Ambedkar and Heidegger. Ambedkar elaborating upon Teachers' University says that in a Teachers' University the authoritative control over academic affairs should be in the hands of teachers. Heidegger talks of self-administration so that the goals that are set by teachers and students are realized by themselves. Both Ambedkar in the context of Indian universities and Heidegger in the context of German university believe in the comradeship of professors. Professors are treated as community of scholars and as organic intellectuals. This raises an important question for both Ambedkar and Heidegger. Ambedkar's context is the reform of Bombay University under British administration in 1923. Heidegger's context is assuming the leadership of Freiburg University under the authoritarian rule of Hitler. Ambedkar wanted to establish the unity, first, by creating a suitable architecture. For this, he advocated a close union of colleges and university. A close union will facilitate an integration of teachers and students along disciplines as well as across disciplines. Both research and teaching will flourish under the union of teachers and students. In this, the decision-making bodies of the university will be rationally planned so as to have linkages with state and society through senate, while the academic decisions are in the hands of teachers through the syndicate and faculty. Heidegger thinks that a German university should also belong to teachers who should endeavour to realize its essence. In shaping the future of Germany, he is of the view that the essence of a university, namely, search of truth implies that teachers should question the scientific pursuit constantly in order to bring it close to reality, i.e. science must realize its limits and it should essentially grapple with the questions of existence. He writes 'knowing is far weaker than necessity', 'knowing must unfold its highest defiance', and 'theory is not pursued for its own sake but only in the passion to remain close to and under the pressure of what is'. One of the greatest philosophers of the twentieth century writes, 'questioning itself becomes the highest form of knowing. Questioning then unfolds its most authentic strength to unlock the essential in all things' (op. cit. p. 3). Sciences in specialties lead to aimless dispersal of knowledge. With the 'blessing of all world-shaping powers of human-historical existence, such as nature, history, language; people, custom, state; poetry, thought, faith; disease, madness, death; law, economy, technology' (op. cit. p. 3), knowledge dispersal is overcome. A will to the essence of university, namely, rootedness of science to human existence amidst uncertainty, if pursued by the teachers of university, is the surer way to provide stronger foundation to the future of university. This is the deepest purpose of university. Ambedkar does not so explicitly explore the essence, but he is in agreement when he explains the aims and functions of university. He writes each question should be examined on its own merits 'without an eye to their bearing on some cherished theory. He should learn to state fairly, and even sympathetically, the position of those to whose practical conclusions he is most stoutly opposed' (Ambedkar 1938, p. 296). Thus, we observe

that both Ambedkar and Heidegger were of the view that the future of universities is secure in the service of mankind and its existence. It is possible only if teachers pursue science in order to keep spiritual mission, science for human existence, alive. Ambedkar will certainly agree on this point as the university takes head on the fight for the dalit existence through the exploration of scientific knowledge. Realization of this is only possible in a Teachers' University where questioning is the basis of knowledge generation. Wherever this questioning becomes weak, there will be authoritative control coming from the corridors of political power which will be unscientific, therefore, without the sign of progress. It is only universities which can alert through scientific questioning the state power whenever it guides human existence based on whims, biases, favours, and lust for power.

The hope of Teachers' University will be achieved when teachers in the university do self-introspection as to why they have failed to implant in the body of teachers and students the questioning, the opposition, and, through the process of self-examination, the question of existence. If indeed we could satisfy our teaching community the essence of a university, there is a need to give a clarion call for the self-assertion of above through the Teachers' University.

## Wrapping Up the Argument

It was noted at the beginning that conceptualization of Teachers' University by an a priori reason of the freewill (freedom) to pursue the truth for existence is no guarantee of its realization. However, it was noted that a hope in the futures of universities still exists in Teachers' University by way of self-assertion of its essence. The freedom has to have its limits in the responsibility of teacher. What do we understand by responsibility? We need to wrap up the paper with the understanding of the responsibility of teachers in Teachers' University.

Responsibility can be divided into two – internal and external. Responsibility can be understood in a situation where the concept of Teachers' University is pure and perfect, and the reason alone defines the essence of a university. In this situation, internal responsibility towards students is to inculcate the spirit of questioning among students. To know is to understand the limits to knowledge and to question it. Thus, it becomes important to make the students realize that whatever they know is fallible and there still exists some more that is knowable. To open the mind and to realize its potential to know more should be the responsibility of a teacher. Within the context of university guided by pure reason, the external responsibility of a teacher is more problematic. So far as university is established by the state, the role of a teacher is to guide the state in telling what is right dictated by reason. However, in this case, there is no guarantee that a conflict will not take place. The relation between university and state is guided by the balance of power. While teachers in the interest of public may profess on the basis of reason, the state may sometime feel annoyed and even direct the university to follow the terms of their dictation, in that event the responsibility of a teacher is to resist the terms of dictation.

It is this latter responsibility of a teacher that is problematic. University teacher, by its definition, is free. Yet, the freedom is something that is authorized by the state. State may intimidate the university and reduce it to margin if it is convinced that existence of state is not to be served by reason. It may be probable that state withdraws the funding to the university. State may divert the resources for research to research institutions outside university, and it may promote the privatization and contract appointments. It may tighten the string of bureaucratic control and intervene in the internal affairs of the university. Technological rationality might dominate to prove the futility of teachers. It may even define and promote certain faith and ideology. It may, in other words, break the unity of teachers. Under such uncertainties, what could be the responsibility of teachers in a Teachers' University? None other than fight the divisive forces. Resist the forces that negate the essence of Teachers' University. Idea of Teachers' University is not transcendental idea; it has to be achieved in whatever form through the Teachers' movement. Only then, the future of higher education is secure.

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# Chapter 4

## World Ranking of Universities: What Does It Entail for the Future



Saumen Chattopadhyay

### Introduction

In a globalizing world with the expanding academic networks being facilitated by the rapid advancement in information technology (IT), increased mobility of students and teachers and a growing importance of knowledge in spurring growth, the universities are undergoing transformations in the way of functioning and in the manner in which the universities seek to address their missions and envision the future. This is being supported by the policy making in higher education at the national level in a globalizing world, with faith being reposed on the market to foster competition amongst the universities and within the academia to achieve excellence in teaching and research. Ranking has gained popularity in the recent years as an indicator of quality both for the purpose of signalling as well as for auditing as universities are not driven by the objective of profit maximization like typical business firms which produce a well-defined set of marketable output using a well-defined technology. In the process, world ranking of the universities has emerged to play a pivotal role in shaping the future of the universities in the emerging global knowledge economy because it was needed to assess and map the excellence in higher education at the global level. The very concept of university, as we have traditionally known, is undergoing a change as the competing universities are negotiating with the changes triggered by the world ranking and the forces of market. Though these changes are reconfiguring the universities in the wake of the transformation in the production of knowledge and its dissemination, the issue of a critical assessment of these changes remains valid in a country context. Addressing these questions assumes importance in view of the challenges the higher education system faces both in the developed and the developing world arising out of rising

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enrolment, decline in public support and intensification of the global dimension of the public good character of higher education.

World ranking is the valuation of university output in relation to other universities in the world. Before we trace out the implications of ranking on the university system as a whole, we would like to spend some time on some measures of a few world ranking agencies as these measures influence the way the universities conduct research and engage in teaching and the way the universities connect with the society and cater to the demand for knowledge. In this paper, we begin with an analysis of some such measures as practised and propagated by some of the world ranking agencies and how the rise in world ranking globally is affecting the university system.

## **Measuring University Performance by the World Ranking Agencies**

In the realm of economics of education, universities are classified as multiproduct firms (Stiglitz 1975). The universities produce a variety of outputs which are not marketable and hence not amenable to market valuation. However, are the performances of the universities not only to be assessed but also to be measured with respect to other universities globally? Identification of what does a university produce and ought to produce and how the different components are to be weighted to arrive at an indicator or a number which would essentially capture the university performance holistically is a task which is not only difficult but highly contentious. Generally, the components of university output are as follows (Stiglitz 1975): (a) educational output that improves students' both cognitive and social skills which are necessary for higher productivity and therefore higher income; (b) informational output, reporting of student's academic performance and other attributes to the prospective employers and the students; (c) research output, developments in knowledge, theoretical as well as empirical, and creation of arts which may directly and indirectly contribute towards economy's productivity; and (d) consumption benefits which refer to the students' experiences. This, in a country like India, is of immense significance because based on the kind of experiences it inculcates citizenship and fosters sociability. The classroom and the campus are the spaces for socialization which is a prerequisite to respect and appreciate a country's diversity and the need for inclusivity in the society which are essential to become responsible citizens (Chandra 2017). We should add one more dimension, the outreach activities or service the way universities seek to engage with the society. From a broader perspective of the concept of quality education and research, Nandi and Chattopadhyay (2012) aver that the important dimensions of quality education are to foster citizenship, inculcate values, moral and ethical and contribution to the sociability which remain grossly neglected in the parameters of ranking.

## Select Measures of World Ranking

To discern the possible linkages through which ranking affects the way universities function and evolve over time, we discuss select set of ranking parameters advocated by the ranking agencies. To put it differently, how do the different measures of ranking seek to stratify and order the universities in terms of excellence, we may take the examples of three major world ranking frameworks, the Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings, the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World Ranking and Shanghai's Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) which has apparently gained the most in terms of its use and credibility within 10 years from its inception.<sup>1</sup> Though ranking of higher education institutions has been in vogue in the USA for nearly 90 years, the ARWU developed in China has turned out to be a game changer. We briefly discuss below how these three ranking agencies seek to assess and quantify university's excellence.

The three ranking agencies use different methodologies but all essentially uphold the supremacy of the Anglo-American research centric university (Marginson 2016a). The Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings uses 13 indicators that are grouped into 5 core university performance indicators, such as teaching, research, citations, international outlook and industry income (as a proxy for knowledge transfer) which are assigned 30%, 30%, 30%, 7.5% and 2.5%, respectively. Within the measure of teaching, 15% is based on reputation survey, 4.5% to staff-to-student ratio, 2.25% to doctorates-to-bachelor's ratio and 2.25% to institutional income. For research, 18% is based on reputation survey, 6% each to research income and research productivity. For international outlook, 7.5% of weight assigned consists of 2.5% to international-to-domestic student ratio and 2.5% to international collaborations.<sup>2</sup>

For the QS Ranking, six metrics are used. They are academic reputation (40%), faculty-to-student ratio (20%), citations per faculty from SCOPUS (20%), employer reputation from global survey (10%), proportion of international students and proportion of international faculty (5% each).<sup>3</sup>

Shanghai's ARWU identifies four different categories of indicators for assessing the excellence of universities. They are quality of education indicated by the alumni of the institution winning Nobel Prizes<sup>4</sup> and Field Medals (10% weightage) and

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<sup>1</sup>Shin et al. (2011) gave an estimate that there were 33 ranking systems in the world in 2009.

<sup>2</sup>The THE ranking excludes those universities if undergraduate courses are not offered by them, or if the research output amounted to less than 1000 articles during 2012–2016 or a minimum of 150 per year, or if the activity is concentrated to the extent of 80% in one of the eight subject areas listed by them. Research influence is measured by the number of times a university's publication work is cited by scholars globally. The THE claims that Elsevier examined more than 56 million citations to 11.9 million journal articles, conference proceedings, books and book chapters. See for weights <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/methodology-world-university-rankings-2018> accessed on 28 December 2017.

<sup>3</sup><https://www.topuniversities.com/qs-world-university-rankings/methodology> 28 December 2017.

<sup>4</sup>Literature and Peace Prizes are not considered.

20% to Nobel Prizes and Field Medals by the existing faculty, and quality of faculty is measured by giving 20% weightage to the ‘most cited’ researchers in 21 broad subject categories compiled by Thomson Reuters and 20% to papers published in *Nature* and *Science*. For research output, 20% is assigned to papers indexed in Science Citation Index-expanded and Social Science Citation index, and 10% weightage is given to per capita academic performance of an institution.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Quantification and Ordering of University Performances***

Since identification of what all does a university do is contentious, selection of the proxies for the set of university outputs and to ensure that these proxies are reflective of excellence vary with respect to the different ranking agencies. Combining all these aspects into a single number requires assignment of weights to identified proxies for different components of university output. The underlying assumptions of this contestable exercise are well defended by the ranking agencies. The choice of indicators and weights not only reflects the different approaches adopted by the agencies in understanding university excellence but they may also have some objectives albeit mostly unstated, behind their choice. However, we should note as pointed out by Teichler (2011a) that rankings are driven by the availability of data worldwide, and therefore the search for better indicators remains constrained. Moreover, it is not possible either to quantify all that a university does for the students and the society, the non-monetary personal and societal benefits. The competing universities eventually respond to the indicators which are measurable and are the ones chosen by the agencies which constitute the meta-evaluative exercise.

Gingras (2016, p 68) raises a fundamental issue about the choice of indicators. He argues that the exercise of combining various components into a single measure, which is tantamount to the transformation of a multidimensional space into a zero-dimensional point or at least a one-dimensional line, is fundamentally flawed. In the process, crucial information and important dimension of a university’s performance such as the teaching-learning environment, student-teacher relationship, campus life which constitute students’ experiences and the nature of teachers’ engagement in their academic activities and their academic freedom remain outside the purview of the indicators selected by the ranking agencies. Shin and Toutkoushian (2011) point out rightly that the ranking measures capture quality of teaching and research only partially.

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<sup>5</sup>The list of highly cited researchers is selected by Clarivate Analytics. The ARWU was developed by an engineering professor, Liu Niancai, in Shanghai Jiao Tong University primarily in 1983 to highlight the university’s contribution in China’s science and technology and assess how far a university has to travel to catch up with the universities in the West, basically the American Universities (Marginson 2016: 51–53). See <http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU-Methodology-2017.html> accessed on 28 December 2017.

Out of the three, QS is the least research metric dependent and the methodology being survey dependent to the extent of 50%, arguably, it lacks both rigour and stability. Marginson (2016a, p 73) argues that reputation and research performance are closely connected as reputation attracts talents and resources which feed eventually into the research performance. The first 50 universities show stability in their ranking by all the three ranking methods, but lower down the rank, there is diversity (ibid.). The THE ranking is the most comprehensive one. The ARWU Global ranking seeks to develop a global market for higher education by influencing the choices of the students and the prospective PhD students and the faculty, funding decisions of the various funding agencies and the donors and the industry which explains the dominance of ranking over time in shaping the global higher education. Gingras (2016) argues that the final index of the ARWU is also a composite one, as it is a combination of several heterogeneous measures, and given its narrow focus to assess research quality, it cannot truly reflect a multidimensional aspect of a university's contribution.

If we compare the indicators used by the three ranking agencies as discussed above with the standard identification of the components of university output, we note that teaching-learning, consumption benefits and outreach activities remain undermined in varying proportions. Because of ranking, credibility of the information, that is, grades awarded to the students and its valuation by the employer in the job market becomes dependent on the ranks of the universities the students graduate from.

Marginson (2016b) argues that the norms and the methods applied in ranking should be assessed in terms of the norms of social sciences. The ranking methods combine techniques used by research in sociology, economics, psychology, business studies and market research. He has suggested several criteria for evaluating the ranking systems. These are materiality, objectivity, externality, comprehensiveness, particularity and ordinal proportionality. All the measures fail to satisfy more than one of the suggested norms, which casts doubt on their credibility and usability in the evaluation of university's performance. Can ranking therefore capture the real world of university, teaching and research? He argues that the ranking measures should not suffer from any subjectivity bias. Ranking based on prior subjective criteria would have a tendency to recycle the established status called the halo effect (ibid. p. 186). Survey-based data, such as reputation survey, which suffer from noises should not be given much weightage in ranking. Therefore, giving undue weightage to students' assessment in ranking is not warranted as apart from the subjectivities involved, students are not, truly speaking, the customers but are rightly called the co-producers.

## **Implications for the Future of the Universities**

Ranking sets target for the universities to achieve through reorganization and re-prioritization of university activities. Ranking impacts the way universities are evolving while negotiating with the challenges at the national and global level in the face of a globalizing world. The organizational structure and the processes of the successful universities are emulated by the less successful ones because it is cost effective and useful resulting in mimetic isomorphism (Morphew and Swanson 2011).

The universities are undergoing transformation primarily because of the neoliberal dominance over the policy makers across the world. There are two major aspects of neoliberal ideologies which derive their support from the extant state of affairs. First is the fiscal constraint faced by the governments no matter what the status of the economy is, developed or developing. This has led to the reduction of public funding and a move towards internal resource generation and an increased dependence on extramural funding. Second is the government failure as the policy makers believe that this problem is intrinsic to publicly funded universities similar to other public sector organizations. In the absence of a market as well as accountability measures, the poor performance of a majority of the government-funded universities is indicative of abuse of academic freedom. In view of these developments, we see a rise in private participation in higher education and governance reform based on corporate principles what is called 'new public management' (NPM). All these set the stage for construction of a quasi-market in higher education which the World ranking reinforces. Ranking by ordering the universities in terms of excellence helps in decision making by the students and the teachers in their pursuit of selecting universities of their choice particularly at the global level. The institutions too in the absence of any precise objective measurement of output look forward to know how they are placed in the national and global higher education system. Sovereignty in choice making requires information about the universities, and there exists no other way to assess and compare the best of the universities other than the world ranking which stratifies the universities and map them at the global level.

World ranking of the universities has accelerated the process of globalizing the knowledge economy which has accorded higher education the status of a global public good. In a globalizing world, the universities now cater to a diverse set of students across the globe with a diverse set of teachers. Higher education has become a global public good, and the realm is a global one for the best of the universities.

The second impact of ranking is on the way the universities function. Participation in the global ranking entails compliance with the rules of the game the ranking agencies frame. Despite being aware of the pitfalls of participating in the global ranking, ranking has become more widespread and more commanding than before with its growing acceptance by the policy makers world over.

The collaboration amongst the universities and formation of networks take note of the positioning of the universities at the global level. The top universities form network amongst the ranked universities which are located in the developed countries. The ranking agencies are not free from ideologies. They have certain objectives like promotion of internationalization. So the universities show tendencies to deviate from their missions for which they were set up and reorient the activities to follow the targets set by the ranking agencies instead.

In the following section, we focus on three aspects of universities to understand the impact of ranking on the universities and what lies in store for the university system as a whole. However, not all the universities in the world are in the race to feature in the league table in view of wide diversity across the universities in terms of their missions and strengths. Around 20,000 universities in the world are effectively competing for the global status. The status of world-class universities (WCUs) is earmarked for the universities that are making strategies to be featured in the league table.

## Ranking and the Global Market for Higher Education

Ranking contributes to the process of consolidation of a global market for higher education. Though a typical neoliberal construction of market is just not possible for higher education, some of the essential elements that are required to move towards construction of a global market are indeed fostered by ranking. Dissemination of information about the universities for effective choice making was the most important objective. Prestige maximization associated with featuring in the league table substituted profit maximization which is necessary to generate competition amongst the participating universities in a game where the rules are clearly spelt out by the ranking agencies. However, despite competition, the concept of efficiency a market is supposed to attain is very different from a typical market for consumption goods (Chattopadhyay 2012). The crucial inputs of the students and the teachers are optimizing agents and not passive, and the supply of the best in the short run is given. Given that the market is not a perfectly competitive one because of the intrinsic differentiation amongst the university output, the linkage between efficiency and quality is rather nebulous. For both of these aspects, the embodiment of human capital in the human resources which is not replicable, the students and the teachers is the reason. Efficiency in resource use achieved by a university, what is called technical efficiency, may also contribute to the delivery of quality output through optimum utilization of human capital. However, this has its own limit as the allocation of quality human capital across the universities remains limited by the very nature of selection-based efficiency or S-efficiency as compared to exchange-based efficiency or E-efficiency (Glennerster 1991; Winston, 1999). We elaborate on this fundamental aspect in detail below.

### *Selection and Stratification*

While the students and the teachers make informed choices to select the institutions they would like to be associated with, the institutions too choose the students and the teachers depending on their academic standing or ranking being supported by financial endowments as students and the teachers are the most important determinants for the attainment of excellence. The competition amongst the institutions at the top of the ranking list to attract the best is fierce.<sup>6</sup> Since the best of the minds converge to the best of the institutions and the universities strategize to attract the best possible talent given their reputation and endowments, the good institutions remain entrenched at the top of the ranking table accentuating the hierarchy which renders

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<sup>6</sup>This adds a new dimension to the nature of competition in higher education compared to the industries where even quality inputs are produced, and hence they are, in general, reproducible. Product differentiation is attributable to the technology or idea that combines the inputs. If the quality inputs were replicable, it would have been feasible for the universities to produce as per need huge amount of quality inputs. The competition in the market amongst the universities would have been similar to a typical textbook-type monopolistic competition.

the ranking table rather stable at the top. Bok (2003, p. 104) argues that 'In higher education, the cards are stacked against any institution that lacks an established reputation and a lot of money'. He points out 'Success begets more success, which helps to explain why the list of top-rated universities in 2000 looks remarkably like a similar list in 1950 or even 1900' (ibid.). However, the world-class universities (WCU) are set up particularly for the purpose of entering the club of top 500 by any of the reputed ranking agencies, and the importance of selection-based competition is the defining feature of higher education market, and it highlights the importance of making strategies to participate globally in the game of university ranking.

In India, a select set of universities both public and private have been accorded the status of Institute of Eminence which are being nurtured and nourished with additional public support to become world class universities. This select set of universities are given the freedom to select the students based on their merit and research interests of the faculty. The weightages assigned to internationalization would prompt universities to admit foreign students. Inclusiveness of universities to foster social mobility would remain circumscribed therefore.

### *Competition and Excellence*

Apart from measuring the performances of the universities, the reason why the policy makers favour the best of the universities to compete globally and feature in the world ranking is not only to benchmark quality but also to improve the quality of university performances albeit as per the indicators of the ranking agencies. However, this aspect is a little tricky. The neoliberals argue that valuation of output or what a university produces is a prerequisite to fix accountability and improve governance. Quality of university output can be thought to be a function of quality of human capital embodied in the teachers and the students and university governance which is an indicator of potential utilization of all the resources at the disposal of the university at the expense of the remaining universities, but the competing universities may benefit from improvement governance in the process of gearing up to face competition in national and global ranking. This is where an educational production function can be invoked to understand how ranking could impact on quality.

Quality of output = f (quality of human resources (H), quality of physical infrastructure (I) and quantum of financial resources (F)).

These three sets of inputs are not independent of one another. Financial resources are necessary to provide for good physical infrastructure and to attract quality human resources, the best of the students and the teachers. While physical infrastructure is replicable the quality of human resources is not. Further, it remains embedded in the students and the teachers which means it is a zero sum game as gain by one university comes at the expense of others. At any point of time, therefore given the distribution of human capital across the university system, the improvement in the quality of output remains constrained by the allocation of



human capital amongst the optimizing decision-making agents, the students and the faculty. Therefore, ranking would bring about an improvement in the performances through changes in the governance triggered by competition to get the best out of the human capital at the disposal of the universities during the short period. For two universities, A and B at time  $t$ ,

$$UO^A_t = f^A(H^A_t, F^A_t, I^A_t)$$

$$UO^B_t = f^B(H^B_t, F^B_t, I^B_t)$$

Let us assume that university A is ranked higher than university B. University A attracts the talented ones, and therefore  $H^A_t$  is augmented by the addition of meritorious and good quality human capital who flocks to A. The performance of the university improves further:

$$UO^{A*}_t = f^A(H^{A*}_t, F^A_t, I^A_t) \text{ where } UO^{A*}_t > UO^A_t$$

Improvement in governance essentially means better utilization of resources, particularly human resources. This is reflected in the transformation of  $f^A(\dots)$  given  $H^{A*}_t$ ,  $F^A_t$  and  $I^A_t$ . This second source of improvement is the application of corporate principles which strengthens the functional form of the educational production function as better utilization of resources improve university output.

$$UO^{A**}_{t+1} = f^{*A}(H^{A*}_{t+1}, F^A_{t+1}, I^A_{t+1}) \text{ where } UO^{A**}_{t+1} > UO^{A*}_t$$

So,  $UO^{A*}_t$  improves further to  $UO^{A**}_{t+1}$ , as shown above. The new public management (NPM) type of governance would ensure strict accountability and eliminate slothful conduct. Because of the given distribution of  $H^0$  across the universities, the relative positions of the universities would change and the difference would widen in the ranking table. Ranking-induced governance changes would help achieve efficiency in resource use and only a limited improvement in the quality in the short run because of the concentration of good quality human capital amongst the top ranking ones at the expense of others. With adequate financial resources, over time and strategies in place, a university can climb up the ladder of the league table as the university acquires quality human capital and supportive infrastructure. The teachers and the students, given their respective qualities, deliver the best, but it is the quality of human capital deployed which becomes a binding constraint. This leads not merely to the perpetuation in the ranking order but the gap in the ranking can get larger. For university B, the improvement comes only from governance reform which may negate their loss of quality human capital to university A as this tries to compete without having the benefit of the acquisition of an improvement in human capital :

$$UO^{B*}_{t+1} = f^{*B}(H^{B*}_{t+1}, F^A_{t+1}, I^A_{t+1}) \text{ where } UO^{A**}_{t+1} > UO^{B*}_{t+1}$$



A university's decision to produce in accordance with the ranking parameters would entail some kind of mechanism to guide the faculty output in line with the ranking parameters and weights assigned to the components of output. The globally competing universities may have to build in an incentive structure to reward excellence achieved by the faculty particularly in terms of contributing in accordance with the proxies used by the ranking agencies and attract the talented and retain them. However, as Teichler (2011a) points out, there is hardly any evidence that ranking has led to any improvement in the quality of the system of higher education as a whole as mobility within the system declines, compromising the balances of regional development and inclusiveness.

### ***Status Competition and Social Mobility***

As universities are ordered vertically in terms of excellence, the credentials are ordered too in the job market as stressed by Marginson (2016b). Given the distribution of human capital across the universities and their concentration amongst the universities at the top of the ranking, the market for higher education is essentially a status competition (Marginson 2016a). Since those who are from the high ranking universities stand to gain and they gain at the expense of those who are at the bottom, it turns out to be a zero sum game (ibid.). As merit gets more importance in the selection of students by the best of the universities and the university system gets stratified, a near absence of affirmative policies circumscribes inclusiveness in selection of students and consequently limits social mobility.

### **University Governance and Autonomy**

The freedom to restructure academic programmes along with the envisaged changes in the governance structure would require the competent authority of the WCUs to be authoritative, good managers and master strategists to compete globally. Definitely, this will render the academic ambience highly competitive which will weaken collegiality and undermine trust as desired in a shared governance structure of a liberal university. The governance structure in the WCUs will evolve to be more hierarchical in tune with the principal-agent model where principals delegate tasks and responsibilities to the agents, i.e. to the teachers, precisely speaking. As Salmi (2008) pointed out, the interference by the bureaucrats and the managers to be appointed in the university governance will have to be minimized because a university engaged in the pursuit of excellence cannot be run like a firm based on corporate principles as cost minimization and insistence for strict compliance with financial rules may conflict with the exercise of academic freedom essential for fostering innovation and creativity particularly in science research.

Neoliberal type of university governance reform, which reaffirms the hierarchy in the governance structure and views students as customers and teachers as mere service providers, does not seek to address university reform in this manner which entails all the stakeholders to work together to achieve excellence.

### ***Ranking, Autonomy and Conformism***

Academic autonomy is the hallmark of a university. As the universities participate in the global competition to feature in the world ranking, possibly the most important issue is what happens to the autonomy of the universities and the faculty. Given the weights assigned to the measures of ranking, a competing university would be keen to produce output in a way so as to conform to the extent possible with the purpose of gaining the most from participation in the ranking.<sup>7</sup> Once a university decides to take note of the ranking parameters, the compromise with the institutional autonomy would percolate down to the faculty putting restrictions on their exercise of academic freedom.

Once a university chooses a particular ranking agency, keeping in mind the relative strengths and weaknesses of the university in view of the weights assigned by the agency, the academic activities of the universities are required to be restructured and designed so as to produce and deliver primarily in sync with the weights of the chosen ranking agency. Therefore, the academic autonomy boils down to an exercise in conformism to gain maximum mileage from the weights assigned to the proxies of university output used by the world ranking agencies.<sup>8</sup> This would entail reallocation of the university budget to facilitate conformism. Humanities and social sciences are most likely to be given less priority in the process of restructuring as the proxies chosen by the ranking agencies are tilted heavily in favour of natural sciences (Teichler 2011a).<sup>9</sup> Each ranking method is different as each one is founded upon different notions of a university's mission and the associated concept of quality education.<sup>10</sup> There is neither any commonly accepted notion of quality nor any accepted method consisting of a set of indicators to assess quality. After all, weighting of indicators is subjective and it is most unlikely to do justice to the mission of

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<sup>7</sup>Generally, the universities accorded with the status of world-class universities (WCUs) with a definite mandate are the ones that would be keen to effect the changes required to conform to the ranking parameters.

<sup>8</sup>Homogenization of university mandate or convergence amongst the aspiring universities is recognized to be a side effect of competing globally to rank high in the world ranking table (Shin et al. 2011).

<sup>9</sup>The citation index is the weights given to natural science research, and the choice of journals like *Nature and Science* by the ARWU indicates this.

<sup>10</sup>Shanghai Jiao Tong group argues in favour of focusing on research as data related to research is more reliable. The Times Higher Education is argued to be more holistic but is based on poor response rate. Composite approaches for the purpose of comprehensive assessment may not be a good idea as they may reveal a convoluted picture as well.

a university. Holistic university ranking becomes a fallacy (van der Wende 2008, p.57).

A matter of concern is increase in undesirable practices that the faculty and the institutions often indulge in (Washburn 2005; Taljedal 2013). The acceptance of the inevitability of embracing the world ranking in a globalizing world is a form of internalization which is followed by the institutionalization of the ranking system's rationales and the processes have unintended and undesirable consequences (Locke 2011). Obsession with the ranking parameters constricts academic freedom in the manner in which research questions are raised, research is conducted and results are disseminated. Quality of a university depends on what the quality students and faculty do with motivation. However, the option remains with the university to critically evaluate the faculty performances in the light of the ranking parameters and take steps to improve without much of a compromise with their academic freedom and university mission. Non-tenure jobs have become the norm for faculty contract which suppresses their voices and extracts their allegiance and conformity which erodes the vibrancy of a university and deters the university from being the site of liberal education, a lifelong intellectual pursuit for self-cultivation and cultivation of sound judgement.

All these crucial dimensions of a university functioning give rise to the possibilities of crucial trade-offs between financial sustainability and the selection of best minds, the students and the teachers. Under the sheer pressure of ranking and the imperatives of funding, the aspiring universities will be governed by a top-down rather than bottom-up approach. As argued by Locke (2011), that since reputation can be more important than quality, the university authority divert resources towards activities which enhances reputation rather than quality genuinely speaking. Academic freedom will be kept reserved only for the best of the faculties with proven record, which is absolutely essential for creativity and innovation and the rest is put under monitoring and surveillance.

### ***Knowledge Generation and Its Dissemination***

As we have noted, the ranking has the potential to give directions to the mission of the research programmes. The objective of research in the WCUs and its dissemination is getting increasingly determined by the indicators that the ranking agencies use. Quality of research is determined by the citation factors, the impact factor of the journals, income from research, etc. For example, ARWU gives weightage to citation factors or winning of Field Medal or Nobel Prize excluding peace and literature. The use of citation factor as the proxy for quality is somewhat problematic. Industry funding of research and the drive for patenting as a source of revenue deserve careful analysis on a case-by-case basis. As it has been pointed out by many (e.g. Bok 2003; Washburn, 2005), industry's involvement in research has led to severe compromise with the conduct of research in the context of the USA. As

pointed out by Locke (2011), the socio-economic impact of research gets weaker as research gets oriented and guided by the ranking parameters.

Social sciences and humanities pose a different set of problems (Teichler 2011a). The social science journals are not often classified in terms of impact factors and their reach may also be limited. In view of the coexistence of different theoretical paradigms in social sciences, it is difficult to measure research quality and compare them even within a country context and more so across the borders. The dominance of English language tilts the balance in favour of English-speaking countries; after all English is the language of research publications (Marginson 2006, Teichler 2011a).

### *Unethical Practices*

In the race for securing a place in the ranking table, the universities undertake activities which are not often ethical and some can outright be classified as corrupt practices as social pathology of deviant scientific behaviours like forgery, plagiarism and fraud (Arimoto 2011). Dissemination of information to influence the choice making by the students through exaggeration of achievements and facilities is inappropriately prioritized with the purpose of misleading the students and influencing their choice making. The data therefore may not reveal the true picture. Given the proliferation of ranking agencies both nationally and globally, the students remain confused and bewildered to make informed decision about the true quality of the academic programme of their choice. Washburn (2005) argues with reference to extramural funding of university research that the problem is not the university-industry relationship which has been in existence for long but the gradual disappearance of the line between academia and commerce with the gradual invasion of market forces into the realm of the academia. Faculty's inventions are marked for earning royalty and profits and the faculty are encouraged to invest their endowment money in risky start-ups which often generate conflicts of interest. The faculty does play a very proactive role in setting up of industrial parks and for-profit companies and explore venture capital funds. Corporate funding often comes with strings attached which leads to ceding of control over research to the companies resulting in suppression of crucial information regarding health threats and delaying of publication (Bok 2003; Washburn 2005). Faculty are paid to endorse products and put their names on the paper ghost written by industry (ibid.). Intellectual fraud to score high on citation index takes various forms (Gingras 2016).

Excessive reliance on external funding has serious implications for the conduct of social science research too. The dominance of ranking parameters in the realm of research can manifest in terms of choice of theoretical paradigms, the nature of the questions raised, methodology to be followed and observations made which feed into policy making, directly and indirectly (Teichler 2011a).

To what extent that the societal concerns get articulated through market-based funding and in particular industry funding remains unclear and contestable. High

citation research need not always feed into policy making in both sciences and social sciences. As such social science research does not get adequate importance in ranking indicators. Partly it has to do with the biases of the ranking agencies against humanities and social sciences, as evident in the choice of indicators in the ARWU, and given the nature and purpose of social science research, the urge to feature in ranking and the most cited at the global level will have significant influence on the conduct of research, choice of theoretical paradigms and the relevance research topics for local concerns. The social science journals, which are often published in vernaculars and have a local appeal, remain undermined in the world ranking (Gingras 2016). A greater reliance on books in humanities and social sciences, single author publication in some of the disciplines such as history and philosophy with citation picking up slowly over a period of time, put social sciences at a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis natural sciences when it comes to world ranking.

### *Teaching and Learning*

In general, the world ranking does not give much importance to the quality of instruction and learning outcomes (Teichler 2011a; Marginson 2016b). More focus on research raises the issue of how teaching quality is affected by allocation of resources both at the individual level, time and financial, and at the institutional level. Though it is believed that teaching and research reinforce each other, there could be various possibilities of a trade-off between the two. Hours needed to prepare for classroom teaching are not given adequate importance, which may result in slighting of the teaching programme resulting in undermining of Humboldtian conception of a university which emphasizes the coexistence of teaching and research. As Webber (2011) argues that the intuitive link between teaching and research is not yet confirmed statistically. Assessing the quality of teaching-learning is difficult, and any comparable indicators across the universities (ibid.) do not exist. Arimoto (2011) has lamented the separation between research and teaching because of the increased focus on research productivity and internationalization of research paradigm. In modern universities, the centres of learning are based on research productivity rather than teaching and research productivity.

Some ranking measure like QS gives more weightage to students' satisfaction compared to other indicators. Banking on students' satisfaction is a little tricky or delicate because it emits an ambiguous signal about quality. Students being the customers, there is a tendency amongst the universities dependent on cost recovery from student fees to appease them at the expense of rigour and quality teaching. Teaching and learning is an activity which is co-produced by the teachers and the students, and students' satisfaction depends on their own efforts to learn what the teachers deliver. While ideally they enthuse each other, they can demotivate each other too. In case they are averse to putting in effort but keen to earn certificates, their satisfaction level ceases to become a good indicator of good quality education.

The use of student-staff ratio as a proxy for teaching quality serves a limited purpose as this ratio varies with respect to the different stages of the academic programme and different types of courses that a university offers.<sup>11</sup>

### *University Social Responsibility*

How does a university engage with the society is not assigned much importance in global world ranking. Though one may argue that after all what a university does is for the society and the economy, the way indicators are chosen by the ranking agencies, the link between research and the need of the society and the economy is weak. For example, assessing quality of research by focusing on impact factor of a journal and citation index across the different disciplines is rather problematic. Choice of research areas is determined keeping in mind the possibility of publications in select journals and citation factors which are assumed to be indicative of quality research. Lack of inclusivity in selection of students also undermines social responsibility. Importance given in the ranking to internationalization also presents before the universities the trade-off between the national and the global outlook.

### *Public Good Character of Higher Education*

The public good character of higher education is primarily the positive externalities it generates.<sup>12</sup> Higher education fosters sociability and consolidates social relations (Marginson 2014). Through value education it inculcates moral values and citizenship. The publicness and the privateness do not constitute a zero sum game. They can be reinforcing each other (Marginson 2016b). The extent of publicness depends on the nature of privateness in the sense other than skill, what kind of education is imparted to change the preferences of the students to help them become responsible and concerned citizen. To generate externalities, there has to be a transformation of the self to begin with. Students from humanities and social sciences and institutions publicly funded are argued to be more socially sensitive.

The transformation of the higher education system is generally explained by the impact of the forces of market as policy making is guided by the neoliberal principles. Nixon (2011) identifies the ascendancy of the neoliberal logic as the main reason behind the reconceptualization of the university as an idea and as a concept. The retreat of the public has redefined the purpose of the universities. The world

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<sup>11</sup> In a government-funded university, the intake of research students can be regulated by the regulations which govern the admission of the universities like in India.

<sup>12</sup> Higher education is best described as a mixed good or a quasi-public good as it is a combination of both private which is in the form of higher stream of incomes and externalities that graduates generate.

ranking tables have set clear agendas for the research-based top of the table elite universities. It is very difficult for the best of the universities in the world today to remain outside the realm of global competition to feature in the list of world ranking. Barnett (2014) seeks to envision the future of the universities in the form of ecological universities. Universities are viewed as networks of reason, communication and research going beyond the national boundaries. He argues that there can be two ways of looking at the concepts of universities, the internalist and externalist conceptions. With regard to the direction in which universities are moving, it is the externalist which is swaying over 'internalist' which focuses on the development of mind, students' entry into a form of reasoning and understanding. The economic aspects of the universities are getting more importance over social and cultural aspects. The urge to compete in world ranking brings about a change in the way universities function from a system where faculty autonomy is supreme to a system where ranking parameters determine institutional mandate and eventually it makes the faculty surrender to the imperatives of ranking.

As argued above, world ranking helps create a global market for higher education and nudges the universities to undertake governance reform based on corporate principles. Since ranking is supposed to measure excellence, it would safeguard the universities from succumbing to the commodification. This can happen because of a possible conflict between good quality research and 'propertization' of knowledge. In general, the urge to compete in world ranking would create a culture which would undermine the publicness of higher education by relegating social sciences and humanities and identification of research problems under the influence of ranking parameters than the immediate local and national needs.

There is a need to '...find out ways of living together that recognize our shared humanity as social and civic beings in and of the world' (ibid. p.117). Higher education has played a crucial role in this regard by contributing to the public good comprising human capability, human reasoning and human purposefulness notwithstanding the encroachment into the sphere of the public by four C's, commercialization, commodification, competition and classification. The impact of the world ranking on the university system will be different from the sheer pressure of market forces but there would be a great deal of overlap between these two sources of changes sweeping the higher education system.

By definition, ranking reinforces classification at the global level. It is with respect to classification, Teichler (2011b) raises the question whether rankings disregard horizontal differences as vertical stratification gets formally entrenched. Related to this is the issue whether the trade-off between excellence and mediocrity undermines horizontal differences.

Bhushan (2016a, b) argues for the importance of public reason and the importance of 'public sphere' for the sustenance of democracy and this is where lies the importance of university as a space to help facilitate public reason and university to connect with the social world upholding the principle of objectivity and universality of knowledge. With the growing institutionalization of ranking in university governance, the publicness of higher education remains at stake.



## Global Ranking and National Policy Making

World ranking does not only affect the universities that compete at the global level. As the best of the universities gear up to compete globally, the rest of the higher education system does not remain immune to the global competition amongst the select best. Expectedly, there would be country-wise variation depending on the level of prosperity. Building universities for world-class status requires policy support from the government. Salmi (2008)<sup>13</sup> gives us an overview of the challenges faced by the countries in setting up world-class universities (WCUs) and suggested ways to overcome the challenges. Basically there are three sets of complementary factors which are essential to set the stage for launching the project of building the WCUs. They are as follows: (1) convergence of the most talented students and teachers in the best of the universities, (2) profusion of resources to achieve world-class excellence in teaching and research and (3) a flexible governance structure supportive of strategizing which would not remain vulnerable to the bureaucratic interference.

As pointed out by Salmi (ibid.) and Marginson (2016b, p. 75) we can discern two broad strategies being pursued by the governments for the purpose of enabling universities to compete globally and feature in the list of world ranking universities. One is 'rewarding quality' and the other is 'picking winners'. The first strategy is to rely on the ranking and accreditation score to generate competition with the purpose of creating differentiation amongst the universities followed by dedication of resources to the top few which have performed as per the assessment of the national-level quality assurance agencies and accountability mechanisms. In the second category of strategy, the government decides to infuse resources to a select group of universities with potentials for becoming world class. The selection may involve competitive bidding. A high concentration of resources in a few elite institutions may result in curtailment of budgetary support for the remaining universities (Teichler 2011a) which accentuates the differentiatedness of a higher education system.

### *Concentration and Differentiation*

While diversity in any university system is desirable, differences in quality of education and research delivered by the universities are not, though it is intrinsic to the university system; therefore it is inevitable. The question is to what extent should the policy makers contribute to the process of differentiation by further categorization of the universities in terms of quality? Therefore, in an already highly hierarchical university system, granting of the status of the WCUs will now create a formal category defined in terms of excellence which will prove to be crucial for the overall

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<sup>13</sup>In *The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities* published by the World Bank.



higher education system. Concentration of the budgetary resources for financing the WCUs and convergence of the talented to the WCUs have serious repercussions for the entire university system. The credibility of the degrees earned in the job market is explicitly determined by the status of the universities. The universities in the developing countries in general suffer from systematic biases of the international ranking systems (Teichler 2011a). While referring to the low international ranking of some nationally reputed big universities, Marginson (2011, p.17) argues that this global comparison is unwarranted as it undermines the roles that some these universities play at the national level. He remarks aptly:

A national pride becomes a national disgrace. This distinctive model, which is functional in its own terms, is unnecessarily placed in question in the eyes of public and government. These universities might be in need of reform, most universities are, but not a global template driven reform that deconstructs them at the foundations, severs them from the nation and wipes the virtues accumulated in their history.

### ***Horizontal Differentiation and Diversity***

Since there exists a wide variety of institutions with different mandates located in different sociopolitical and cultural contexts both within the countries and across the borders, ranking is sensible and meaningful within defined groups of comparable institutions (van der Wende 2008: p. 55). From methodological point of view, ranking has been subject to some valid criticisms. Assessing quality of a university based on some predetermined indicators would never be an easy job given the multiple products a university produces which are often not measurable. Ranking would foster a culture to achieve targets which are measurable at the expense of the vital which is non-measurable. The mandate of each institution is unique and has been created to serve a purpose which is well-articulated in its mission. This tendency towards a conformity and eventually convergence would have a tendency to dilute the mission of the university.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Ranking has emerged to be a major global force ushering in irreversible changes in the way universities function and deliver while the changes triggered by the market forces remain profound. While we are critical of the manner in which ranking measures excellence, it has the potential to negate some of the negative tendencies of commercialization. Overall, ranking reinforces the forces of market as the universities lose their autonomy as the faculty are compelled to conform to the ranking parameters in their teaching and research. Ranking parameters undermines humanities and social sciences and therefore negates some of the dimensions of publicness of higher education like fostering sociability and inculcation of values and citizen-

ship. But as publicness of knowledge gets augmented in a globalizing world driven by the advancement of IT, it is difficult to ascertain the role of ranking in this regard. But when ranking emphasizes on industry funding, patenting and innovation, the global character of knowledge gets compromised. To maintain autonomy and to facilitate conduct of world-class research, the WCUs are therefore required to be profusely funded as cost recovery model is often inimical to the attainment of excellence. The universities have always found ways of reaching out to the society and contribute to the process of nation building. The dominance of the ranking system therefore brings about a change in the way universities function and what the universities seek to achieve. As discussed, the hallmark of the university system is academic freedom, and ranking has considerably restricted the scope of academic freedom by interfering with the decisions of the faculty in their academic engagements. As technology takes over our daily life, as economies continue to fight against inequalities and various forms of deprivation, democratic functioning of the institutions, critical thinking, the improved performance comes at a cost. The higher education system gets further differentiated as the top ones attract the best. 'Over-competition' may damage the potential of the below average universities, and the gains from concentration amongst the top stand to be overwhelmed by losses the below average universities suffer due to 'brain drain' (Teichler 2011b). As massification continues and the higher education system gets differentiated and ranked, the universities evolve compulsorily marking a departure from the traditional conceptualization of the universities. The changes which are being ushered in the knowledge system are systemic. What is contestable is the conceptualization of excellence by the ranking agencies because that is the best way the universities are being made to strive for. As Rider et al. (2013) have nicely put it as the supply and demand of quality wherein 'the notions of quality and demand merge'. Bornmann (2011) argues that bibliometric indicators do have specific pitfalls such as lack of fairness and dominance of certain biases towards race, sex and region. However, at the level of higher aggregation, these indicators appear to be reliable to assess research impact. One way of tackling the problem is to design system keeping in mind the diversity that exists in the higher education system and reduce the impact of straightjacketing of policy making. Marginson (2016b) argues that the ranking parameters should capture the realities in higher education and it should be devoid of opinion survey and reputation. For an effective and meaningful comparison of the higher education system across the world, there is a need for the data used for the purpose of ranking to be comprehensive and broad based.

In a developing country context, governance failure has prompted the policy makers to invoke neoliberal approach to university reform based on economic principles of incentivization and entrepreneurialism invoking competition and efficiency, allocative and technical for reform of the higher education system as a whole. The improvement in the organizational effectiveness is desirable, but it will come at a cost of undermining the public character of higher education, which is so vital for the restoration of order in the society and attainment of inclusive growth. However, this is not the best way to reform the university system, as the true state of a higher education system needs to be objectively examined, and collectively a blue-

print is to be designed with active involvement of all the stakeholders of the university system. It is not so peculiar that the agency amongst the teachers and the students to build up collectively a vibrant academic ambience has been conspicuously absent as the system remains stuck at a low-level equilibrium as noted by Chandra (2017) in the Indian context. The promotion of a select set of WCUs does hardly do any good for the overall higher education system; in fact, it may worsen. To score points in the ranking and move up the league tables, intellectual fraud and unethical practices, overt and covert, subtle and not too subtle are gradually pervading the realms of research and its dissemination, like writing papers, teaching and grading of students in a way to appease them as pointed out by many (Bok 2003; Washburn 2005; Chattopadhyay 2012; Gingras 2016). Though the ranking system continues to respond to the criticisms and changing scenario in the world of knowledge, the overarching framework and the larger implications of ranking remain unchanged. The global space of higher education, ordered and hierarchical, is now a part of a larger system of regulation, social and economic, by the informal, non-government forms of organizations, i.e. the world ranking agencies (Marginson 2011; p. 12). Ranking would become discipline based and regional based on language, culture, multiple systems to capture diversity amongst institutional missions (Shin 2011). World ranking may foster higher education as a global public good, but it may come at the cost of dilution of ‘publicness’ of higher education at the national level.

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# Chapter 5

## Global Wars, National Legacies, and State Controls: The Dilemmas of Institutionalism of Public Universities



Manisha Priyam

### Introduction

The most important development that seems to be recasting the nature of public institutions, specifically the public university in developing countries, is that of globalization. Whereas in the decades following World War II, anti-colonialism, nationalism, and its legacies have justified an arena of ‘publicness’ in higher education (itself viewed as a public good), now for many reasons of global competition, and faltering state control, this easy pursuit of the ‘public’ is a strongly challenged norm and practice. The external impetus for these changes is synchronous with an emerging global consensus for an agenda of liberalization, privatization, and globalization and the appearance of the World Trade Organization (WTO) as a new forum replacing the earlier multilateral arrangements for trade. The inclusion specifically of trade in services and knowledge within the ambit of the WTO’s trade discussions in the Uruguay round of discussions in 1995 has enabled such discussions with respect to higher education. Two decades since its inclusion in the forum of discussions for global trade at the WTO, there is now a perceptible rush for understanding higher education as a truly global phenomenon. The rise and fall of universities are understood within a global framework of competition for rankings. There are regional and now national variants of the rankings too, but the pride of place is reserved for select global rankings such as the Times Higher Education, or the QS World University rankings. Top echelons of the global rankings mostly confirm that the prominent ‘core’ of the university system still remains firmly within the English-speaking West. Yet, there is something significant happening in the ‘peripheries’ too – these are countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, having struggled with colonial or

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authoritarian rule in the past, and having arrived late on the scene as far as setting up public institutions for higher education is concerned. The phenomena of massification of higher education in these erstwhile peripheries of higher education – regions and geographies outside of Europe and America – are seen as a global template of advancement, indeed a new possibility of recentering the periphery.

Hertig (2016) notes that university rankings have become the ultimate tool for global branding. Many use it to simply understand institutions on a single metric, while for others it is a tool for governance, used in their benchmarking and controlling exercises; and for many it is the principal tool of economic competitiveness in the global market for students. In an important study on how rankings are reshaping higher education on a global scale, Hazelkorn (2011) notes that there is a growing obsession with rankings around the world. What started as an academic exercise in the early twentieth century in the USA became a commercial information service for students in the 1980s and the ‘progenitor of a “reputation race” with geo-political implications’ (p. 4). In this worldwide battle for excellence, status of individual institutions, quality of higher education systems, and global competitiveness – all seem to be gauged on just one metric. Besides the Shanghai Jiao Tong’s Academic Ranking of World Universities, and QS World University Rankings, and Times Higher Education World University Rankings, Hazelkorn notes that there are over 10 more global rankings of varying significance and 50 national ranking systems (2011: 5). While this discussion on competition and rankings on a global scale indicates an emerging ‘flatness’ of asymmetry, as if all national systems can likely compete on linear scales, as if a world systems approach can be taken to understand universities in a global world, this article contests this notion. Asymmetries persist on international scales and with marked dualism within national systems of higher education in emerging economies and the developing world.

Within the arena of nation states, specially developing countries, globalization coincides with a questioning of the predominant model of the public university – one premised on state support, working as an institution for providing adequate equality of opportunity, and avowedly in the service of public interest. National governance models that were created in many of these countries in the immediate aftermath of independence from colonial rule, are now critiqued for their ‘command and control’ approach. Further, downward spread of this model to provincial, state-level, or regional institutions are also critiqued – for their parochial, political embeddedness and ‘locked in’ institutionalism of vested interests. The uneven decline of both – national and state/regional systems of public higher education, has been accompanied by the emergence of a divergent and highly unequal trend in higher education institutionalism in the name of ‘private provision’. While there has been on the one hand a rampant rise of shadow markets’ institutionalism of low quality private higher education, on the other, there is the rise of a nascent, small sector aspiring to be world class. The former gate-keeps aspirations of the severely disadvantaged mass of people, who are stuck in geographical territories characterized by disrupted law and order, and under – development. The latter – i.e. the ‘world class’ – anchors itself in geographical enclaves that are an assemblage of global growth. Surprisingly, in both geographies where these new institutions emerge, the



authority of the national sovereign is weakly felt – in the former on account of weak territorial presence and in the latter due to an overarching preponderance of the norms of globalization.

Not surprisingly, this is also the time when the poorest and severely socially disadvantaged knock at the doors of the universities in their aspirations for substantive citizenship. The massive growth – both in enrolments and institutions – is described in the phenomenon of ‘massification’.<sup>1</sup> In Martin Trow’s description of the ideal type stages in which transformations of higher education systems in modern societies following World War II will take place, the first stage is that of an ‘elite’ system of higher education, intending to train a few for entry into the ruling class. The stage of ‘massification’ is one where access is enhanced and higher education is akin to the rights of a citizen. In the USA, this stage of ‘massification’ – on account of the dramatic increase in enrolments in the 1960s and 1970s – has been achieved owing to the greater capacity of public universities and colleges to enroll diverse sections of the society, including minorities and disadvantaged social populations. Between 1960 and 1975, enrolments in public universities and colleges in the USA increased by 20 percentage points (Gumport et al. 1997, p. 3). Women, minorities, and low-income students formed the ‘new’ American students on account of directly targeted federal aid programmes. The university grew as a public institution, with the support of directed public policy such as the Morrill Act, 1862. An important figure in giving shape both to the ideas and policy-institutional practices of the public university at this time in the USA was Clark Kerr (1911–2003) – a Professor of Economics and first Chancellor of the University of California (UC), Berkeley, he was a key figure in the formulation in 1960, of a Master Plan for higher education in California. The ‘California Model’ that Kerr put in place guaranteed a place in college for every high school graduate. Access and excellence together were the cornerstones of this model and were secured through diverse, public provision. The ‘excellence’ component was secured in Kerr’s ‘multiversity’ – a large comprehensive science university. As an institution, the multiversity also brought together a plurality of communities, interests, agendas, and beliefs. To date, these two tenets (of access with excellence), and public provision for a diversity of communities, remain the cornerstone of the idea of a public university in the US and elsewhere in the developed world. Further, these ideas will be used as a backdrop against which I will discuss the current dilemmas of public universities in developing countries.

The advancement of the Trow’s noted phenomenon of massification in new geographies can be seen in figures for enrolments. These have increased over 50%

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<sup>1</sup>Martin Trow (1974) is credited with conceptualizing this phenomenon as a stage of growth in higher education in modern societies following World War II. It begins from a stage of higher education for the elite, ruling class to a stage of massification, involving preparation for a broader range of elite roles with skills, leading on to universal access attempting to cover a ‘whole population’. Trow saw these as ‘ideal types’, and not empirical descriptors, and even though the stages are considered sequential in time, vestiges of an earlier type persist. This remains one of the most powerful theories describing growth and transformation of higher education (see Trow 2005 for an updated account).



**Table 5.1** Enrolment in tertiary education, 2012–2017

Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Africa	2,10,47,568	2,26,71,501	2,39,63,494	2,52,91,289	2,63,58,451	2,65,36,327
Asia	9,64,98,441	9,83,16,638	10,93,81,394	11,30,02,465	11,40,82,920	11,45,54,526
Latin America and the Caribbean	2,37,60,046	2,45,23,649	2,55,08,804	2,62,16,597	2,73,03,481	2,74,07,279
Oceania	20,90,644	21,30,524	21,72,000	22,06,834	22,23,438	22,23,438
Northern America and Europe	5,48,00,183	5,28,46,674	5,19,05,792	5,07,41,793	5,00,37,571	4,99,82,669
World (total)	19,81,96,882	20,04,88,986	21,29,31,484	21,74,58,978	22,00,05,861	22,07,04,240

Source: International Student Enrolment in Tertiary Education, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, UNESCO. (Available at <http://data.uis.unesco.org>, downloaded on November 18, 2018)

in the last decade, more so in various parts of Asia. For gaining some insights on this phenomenon in recent years, Table 5.1 gives global estimates of enrolments in higher education institutions for the years 2012–2017. It is based on statistics of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics. The data show that the highest proportionate share for enrolments in total is that of Asia – 52% of the total in 2017. Further, it is in Asia that the real growth in enrolments is happening – from a proportionate share of 49% in total in 2011 in the 5-year period up to 2017, an additional 1,80,56,085 students have enrolled leading to an increased global share of enrolments in 2017. Further, this increase is at the expense of decline in enrolments for higher education in North America and Europe. From 28% of their share in global enrolments in 2012, they now account for only 23% of this share. There is a small but significant rise in enrolments in Africa as well, although their proportionate share in total enrolments (at 12% in 2017) is still lower than the total share of North America and Europe (23% in 2017). So it is in Asia, and here mainly in China and India, that the phenomena of massification is evident in terms of increasing numbers of participation.

Of the noteworthy global growth in enrolments, based on the UNESCO Institute for Statistics figures, Calderon (2018) estimates that by 2040, 594.1 million will be enrolled in higher education, notwithstanding a slight decrease in the population of the youth. Based on an analysis of regional variations in growth trends, he too notes that the real story of growth and change is the enhanced enrolments in South Asia in particular in China and India, followed by smaller growth in Africa; and that Western Europe and North America are witnessing a decline.

Notwithstanding overt similarities in terms of the stages of transition described by Martin Trow, the actual process is noted to be quite complex and differentiated, specially in China and India where most of the increase in numbers is happening. Both countries are marked by extreme social inequalities, and poverty, leaving its impact on the background and capability of the new entrants to higher education. Comparatively speaking, whereas in the USA, massification was achieved through public provision, in the case of Asia, the vehicle of growth is largely private universities and institutions (Futao 2012; Jiang 2011; Wu and Hawkins 2018). Massification concentrated in an expanding private sector may likely give fillip to institutions that are underfunded, of poor quality, and exploitative in its work conditions. Besides, scholars note the simultaneous and increasing process of inequality attendant on this rise in numbers, made more complex given the social circumstances of lack of prior exposure to technical and higher education and of poverty of the ‘new students’ of higher education (Hawkins et al. 2018).

For the new entrants to the university in the developing countries, their imaginary for the university is at once global. Yet, the objective conditions of realization are circumscribed by gatekeeping of ideas as well as institutions. The poor of the global world will likely realize (or not realize) their ambitions for higher education in highly circumscribed conditions and when nation states in the third world are increasingly dissociated from an earlier era of state building, developmentalism, and modernization. It is not Clark Kerr’s idea of a public university with abundant institutional provision for realizing equality of opportunity for marginalised social groups and minorities that is the main stay of institutionalism any longer. While the

author is not uncritical of modernization and its projection of a unilinear scale of development reifying the Anglo-Saxon experience, she argues that the current phase of globalization holds small potential and promise for the poor masses in the developing world. An embedded critique of the globalization and its offerings for higher education in the developing world are the attempted arguments of this article.

Where then does the future lie, both for the idea of the university and its publicness? This article is rooted firmly in the offerings of globalization for developing countries, and explores the contemporary dilemmas for institutionalism specifically for the public university in these countries. The arguments herein rest on three pegs: first, globalization is viewed as a 'tipping point' from an earlier era of 'internationalism' that set the prior context of institutionalism of higher education in post-colonial, developing world. The first section of the article highlights some of the experiences of post-war development and expansion of higher education in select post-colonial societies. Second, globalization is analysed for the changes associated with it. As a phenomenon, it is seen as an assemblage of national and local practices that adopt global rules and markets, and erstwhile self-reliant nationalistic economies adapt to the markets (Sinha 2016). And finally, 'offerings' of the global for public universities in the developing world are analysed in three specific frames of argument: a possible global future of ascendance and catch-up of higher education in the peripheries, alongside the rising economic power of the emerging economies of the 'BRICs' (Brazil, Russia, India, and China); a second arena where new development bonds, with an emerging peer-to-peer China-Africa cooperation in higher education, may hold new hopes (for advancement with non-Western collaboration); and finally some national 'executive developments' in India, with a view to introducing world-class quality and excellence. The findings from each of these three frames reflect the following: an unlikely 'catch-up' of the BRICs with the USA – a global superpower in higher education; a greater 'flow' from China to the USA than from Africa to China; and in India, a concentrated focus on world class for a select few institutions. The affirmation of a 'global core', located mainly in the USA, the inability to 'catch up' is a clear break from the ideals of developmentalism as modernization. Besides, the discourse on inequality, diversity, and equity that were drivers for an earlier era of nationalism, and then massification of higher education, remain relegated to a periphery.

## Understanding Globalization

Given the epochal nature of transformations brought about by this change, it is important to understand the institutions and the processes through which globalization is reshaping the nature of higher education in developing countries and, more specifically, embed this understanding within an understanding of globalization itself. One of the foremost scholars of globalization, Sassia Sasken, argues that notwithstanding the complex transformations associated with it, globalization still

has to engage with the nation state. Changes associated with it are taking place inside the national. It is here that the most complex meaning of national is being constituted (2006: 1).

Further, she argues that a good part of the globalization consists of micro-processes that begin to denationalize what has been constructed as national (Sasken 2006, p. 1), so a thorough consideration of the impact of globalization on higher education requires a look at (i) emergent institutions and processes that are ‘global’ or ‘supranational’ and undermine implicitly the autonomy and authority of the national; (ii) the significance of the national as an arena where high levels of formalization and institutionalization of public institutions have taken place; and finally (iii) the ‘micro-processes’ that are beginning to informalize and denationalize much of what has been constructed as ‘national’. These micro-processes allow us to see that much of instantiations of the global do not need to run through supranational treaty system or global domains; they happen within national territories. Rankings, for example, have not been ushered in by supranational arrangements, but by policy and decision-making of national governments. Hazelkron (2011) gives some illustrative examples: the EU’s *Lisbon Agenda*.

## Early Post-War Development and Higher Education

We need to bring out the difference between early post-World War II system and today’s global system. What is happening now is ‘dislodging of national capabilities’ (Sasken 2006, p. 5). National capabilities in higher education specifically in developing world have been built overtime as complex arrangements following anti-colonial movements and independence. These are attributes of individuals and of systems. Here, I cite the example of Tanzania – a country which gained independence in 1962, and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) came to power. Its leader Julius Nyerere wanted to build a state reliant on the power of its workers and peasants.

In 1967, TANU under Nyerere passed the resolution of ‘Education for Self Reliance’ also known as *Arusha Declaration*, within the overall objectives of creating a worker and peasant society where education will address the needs of the community farming, work, daily life, and holistic development of country. Nyerere gave a call for integration of formal and non-formal education. Till 1977, education for self-reliance remained the guiding principle. The intended outcome was to introduce planned national development including in education.

The idea was education will support national design for man power development. Although the main focus of the new policy was on the universalization of primary education and functional literacy for adults, the critical need for higher education was also emphasized upon. Advanced knowledge and research, critical faculty with freedom of idea, all concentrated in one place would provide for the high level of manpower needed for the society. Nyerere himself articulated some of

the ideas in a speech at the inauguration of the University of Dar es Salaam on 29 August 1970.

An important theme emphasized by Nyerere was that the university should not ignore society as it is being provided for by a society of workers and peasants. Relatedly, higher education in new nations must be appropriate to the problems and aspirations of their own society, even as knowledge in international. 'A nation without a university can be served by graduates from foreign universities, specific research needs can often be met by scholars based at abroad foreign institutions. Tanzania knows this by experience. But there is short term impediment; they help a society while it is establishing or strengthening its own institutions, but they cannot replace them' (p-38, UNESCO Institute for Education 1982 – Nyerere's speech cited from *Freedom and Development* PP-192-203).

Further, Nyerere refers to the international landscape of universities – Harvard University, London University, and Moscow University – each understands its own society and serves its own interests. In Africa, they have only recently realized a similar necessity, for universities to serve the societies they are embedded in. According to Nyerere, African universities were wrongly aimed at understanding Western societies and being understood by them. Their appropriate role is to assist with the development of self-respecting and self-reliant Tanzania. Further, the university must be allowed to experiment, try to encourage new teaching methods, and challenge orthodox thinking on scientific and other aspects of knowledge, just as Galileo did.

In contrast to Nyerere's ideas, the current discourse on globalization replaces national self-reliance by global economic competition, the embeddedness of university in society is replaced by the idea of a linear global scale, and the idea of a self-respecting, self-reliant Tanzanian is replaced by the notion of graduate with defined attributes, as if there were no cultural rootedness. The explicit reference to the labouring poor – who were prioritized in the discussions of national systems building – is replaced by finding participation of income quintiles in higher education institutions. Of course, with great emphasis on accountability and outputs, the teacher simply does not have space to experiment with new teaching methods. New knowledge, as and when it is created, is concentrated in global academic centres of the 'top' in academic rankings. Craig Calhoun (2006) notes that in the background of such type of changes centred around economic competition alone, universities are no longer the central public institutions for critical thought.

## Offerings of the Global for the Developing World

One of the important acclaimed benefits of globalization-related internationalization is the enhanced breadth, depth, and complexity of academic engagements worldwide,<sup>2</sup> one that holds the possibility of recasting an earlier 'core' in higher

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<sup>2</sup>Ennew and Greenaway note that ideas, knowledge, and learning the terms are used interchangeably in the literature.

education, concentrated only in Western Europe and in the USA. Indeed, some scholars even see a transformative possibility where the earlier developmental divide between the West and the rest may be significantly altered, with a possibility of equals in the university sector emerging from the peripheries. Noted scholar of globalization and higher education, Marginson, notes of this process that it could lead to the development of a ‘plural university world’. In the context of the new competition ushered in by globalization and the university sector, he is critical of this dominance of the past, whereas there is now a possibility of equalization. For him the ‘Western nations have run the world for far too long in their own interest, in a frankly imperial fashion. Our self-referential systems have reached a limit in the face of global dimensions...New ideas are needed and they are not coming from within. The West will not disappear, but in the future, it will have global equals’. For him the roots of real optimism lie in the rise of a China-centred ‘Confucian model’ with distinct elements of growth and institutionalism (2012, p. 40–42, 51–52).

## China in Africa: Consensus of the Subalterns?

An important and noticeable development of global higher education – one that is noted to be tipping the global balance somewhat – is the increasing mobility of African students to China. This is to be viewed as a part of the changing global mosaic of greater Chinese presence by way of trade and aid in Africa. China’s foreign policy elites note that Chinese strategic partnership with Africa features ‘political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation and cultural exchange’ (People’s Republic of China Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006. ‘China’s Africa Policy’, cited by Sautman and Hairong 2007, p. 76). The PRC paper affirms the right of oppressed people to assert their rights and claims its aid and trade policies are rooted in African desires for a more equitable and democratic political order, as also an equitable international distribution of wealth.

Prior to the 1990s, the PRC’s Africa policy was primarily political – one where China fostered anti-colonial and socialist solidarity. This process began in 1955 with the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia. The first scholarships for study were provided in the 1960s as a part of Chinese support for southern African liberation movements – for the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola, Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Mozambique, and Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU) in Zimbabwe. Sautman and Hairong note that in this phase China’s practice was of providing aid and supporting state-building activities that did not enrich elites – such as the railway from Tanzania to Zimbabwe – and this still resonates among Africans (2007, p. 78). In the 1980s during Deng Xiaoping’s rule and with the Open Door Policy, there were education exchange programmes which brought African students to China. But the numbers were small, and there was no overall special strategy for China. Burgess (2016) notes that 1988 riots in Nanjing and other places against African students proved to be a dampener.

**Table 5.2** African students in China 2005 and 2015

Year	2005	2015	Increase
Total no. of international students in China	1,41,087	3,97,635	2×
Total no. of African students in China	2757	49,792	17×
African students as % of total international students	2%	13%	

Source: Data for 2005 is from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002262/226219e.pdf>. Data from 2015 is from <https://www.iie.org/en/Research-and-Insights/Project-Atlas/Explore-Data/China/Inbound-Mobility%2D%2D-Past-Years>

However, more recent activities, including in education, seem more profit centred. Today, Africa is seen as the second largest continent with the fastest-growing population and a quarter of the global population by 2050. China sees Africa's growing population as an opportunity, complementary to its approach on trade and investment. While the competing strategies of the USA and the EU are premised on deregulating, privatizing, and compliance to the WTO norms, the Chinese approach is referred to as a competing framework of the 'Beijing Consensus' Here, aid and trade are carried out more in a bilateral format, outside of the WTO, and there is not much insistence on the core principles of the 'Washington Consensus' whose basic principles are the adoption of liberalization, privatization, and globalization.

Since 2000, China's Forum on China-Africa Cooperation summits (first held in Beijing in 2000 and once gain in the same city in 2018) have promised support to African education at home and in China. From under 2000 students in 2003, China hosted nearly 50,000 students in 2015 – a development noted by scholars of the Michigan State University, Breeze and Moore, as a remarkable surge. China now surpasses the USA and the UK as (former) hosts to the largest numbers of African students. Based on figures of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, the scholars note that whereas the USA and UK host a stable number of around 40,000 students from Africa every year, this is a number that China has surpassed since 2014 and is growing further (Breeze and Moore 2017). Today, not only are there scholarship programmes; even households from Africa are paying for the higher education of their children in China in over 200 clearly ranked universities.

Table 5.2 gives an indication of the growing number of African students in China. The rapid rise is evident from the fact that while the total number of international students increases twice over the 10-year period from 2005 to 2015, increase in numbers from Africa is 17 times in the same time period. While the major proportion of foreign students in China still comes from Asian countries including from Japan and South Korea, the fastest growth in numbers is from Africa. Breeze and Moore (2017) note that China's education statistics do not maintain records of specific countries of origin of African students; from institutional data it is evident that a majority are from Eastern Africa – the Anglophone countries (students from the Francophone West African countries still prefer going to France). The authors see this is an extension of the soft power of China, and the rapid increase has been made possible by an increased number of Chinese scholarships for African students, promised at the China-Africa cooperation summits. Besides scholarships, Ngalomba



(2017) delineates various other elements of the Chinese strategy for higher education in and for Africa. University-level collaborations, vocational training, language courses, and funding and construction of university infrastructure are other elements of this strategy.

Besides, the process of African students enrolling in Chinese universities is viewed to be a transparent one – clear online information is provided in English. Burgess (2016) notes that the China University and College Admission System (CUCAS) provides information in English for over 200 clearly ranked universities. Among the other facilitating factors are those of language – Chinese language programmes for African students and approximately 30,000 programmes offered in English language in Chinese universities and institutes for higher education and listed in the CUCAS website. The general atmosphere is now perceived safe, such that even women students are encouraged. Following their degrees, knowledge of Chinese offers these students employment, mostly outside of Africa. They are even employed in Chinese trade and enterprise initiatives back in Africa. (Burgess 2016, pp. 88–90).

Hartig (2015) notes that the Confucius Institutes are also important in this recent effort towards internationalization of Chinese education. Set up in collaboration with many African universities (and elsewhere in the world), they are given grants ranging between US\$100,000 and US\$150,000 in Africa. The Confucius Institutes are viewed as an important tool in China's public diplomacy, employed by the Chinese government to communicate specific elements of its strategic narrative to a foreign public. Hartig is also critical of the fact that these institutes do not project a 'real' view of China, rather a 'correct' view of it, and they are dovetailed to political and ideological concerns of the regime.

While the move to China of African students does represent a 'decentering' of sorts, for erstwhile student mobility was largely to the USA and the UK, how far does it represent a shift to a more egalitarian world order, and to what extent does it enhance Africa's own capacity to sustain its public universities? To the latter question first: Ngalomba (2017) notes that the collaborations are not really reciprocal or equal. The main funder of these collaborations is China. Should Chinese strategic or trade interests wane, or priorities change, there will likely be a collapse of the African higher education sector. The recent fall in commodity prices, for countries of sub-Saharan Africa dependent on mining and production of raw material, posed precisely such a challenge for its countries. Although comprehensive accounts or evaluations of these collaborations are not available, for one such programme the Partnership for Skills in Applied Sciences, Engineering, and Technology (the PASET), where 31 universities from sub-Saharan Africa participated; experts came from the Shanghai Jiao Tung University's Centre for World Class Universities; and significant gains were made on programme goals, some observations can be made. None of the participating African universities made it to the Shanghai ranking – the Academic Ranking of World Universities due to lack of significant research production.

Besides, the deficits in African budgets in higher education imply poor quality of their own graduates, unable to compete in global markets. Ngalomba (2017) calls



for science, technology, and innovation funding from an African perspective. Although comprehensive data on countries of origin for students, specific disciplines they enrol in, and postgraduate pathways is missing, it is not out of place to conclude that on the whole this type of mobility increases the soft power of China, whereas for the countries of origin, its net effect is the persistence of elite systems. For sub-Saharan Africa, Darvas et al. (2017) note that tertiary education retains its elite bias, with exclusions based on gender, geography, and ethnicity. It is the elites who compete well and move out amounting to a brain drain. So features of elitism persist, and the ideal type of ‘massification’ with a right to tertiary education eludes regions of Africa. Both objectives of achieving excellence with greater access, on a common public basis, are far from being realized in an ‘African’ model of the public university.

On the other side, while China has attained world class, and that too in a limited span of time under state-directed plan process, the net outflow of students from China to the USA believe the arguments of a new phase of internationalization under globalization recasting the Centre. Notwithstanding the greater aspirations for world class in higher education institutions in the peripheries, academic superpowers remain very much concentrated in the USA and the West.

## **Emerging Economies and Academic Superpowers: The Case of BRICS**

The BRICS, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, after the year 2010 are among the fastest-growing economies of the world. The original term ‘BRICS’ was coined by Goldman Sachs Chairman Jim O’Neill in 2001.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the four countries included were Brazil, Russia, India, and China. Their share in the world gross domestic product (GDP) at this time was 8% and expected to rise up to 23% by the end of the decade. This anticipated fast growth and large share was to have an impact on global economic growth, and the conventional group of the advanced economies of the world – the G7 group – took note of their power and of the need to align fiscal and monetary policies. Higher education was to play an anticipated role in their growth as formidable global economic players. Besides, these countries are expected to have an important role in the development of an international higher education market, and compete on global rankings for a world-class status, just as they are able to assert their economic might on a global high table.

Noted scholar of higher education, Philip G. Altbach, observes that while the economic trajectory of the BRICS demonstrates a definite upward trend, the same cannot be said with certainty for their higher education. There are significant varia-

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<sup>3</sup> Jim O’Neill’s “Building Better Global Economic BRICS” can be accessed at <https://www.goldmansachs.com/insights/archive/building-better.html>. In 2001 when the report was written, the BRICS did not include South Africa.

tions in details, with different academic traditions, current realities, and future paths (Introduction by Altbach in Altbach, Androushchak, Kuzminov, Yudkevich & Reisberg, edited 2013).

Brazil, China, and India face challenges of expansion to accommodate large enrolments while simultaneously trying a funnel of world class at the top. With these characteristics, they can at best be viewed as ‘transitional’ academic systems on road to massification. Altbach notes that the ‘BRICs remain peripheral in the global knowledge system. China and India send the largest number of students in the world overseas for international study. Indeed, those two countries account for close to half of all global student mobility’ (Altbach and Salmi 2011, p. 3). Further, these numbers are only likely to increase.

By geography, the USA remains the most popular destination for students. Nearly 500,000 students from China alone are in the USA in 2015. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates 8 million international students moving by 2025. This movement of fee-paying students will be aided by mobility of financial flows, support from Bretton Woods Institutions, and the English language. This also confirms a decline of the ‘public’ in the Centre.

## **India: In Anticipation of World Class and Massification**

India has a fairly large higher education system with an estimated 36.6 million enrolments, and an institutional infrastructure consisting of over 900 universities and 39,000 colleges.<sup>4</sup> The gross enrolment ratios for the 18–23 age group is estimated to be 25.8% in 2018 – a definite transition from Martin Trow’s classification of the stage of ‘elite’ higher education, and on the road to ‘massification’. While this GER for higher education is just a little over half of what is reported for China – 48.1% in 2018 – given the large size of India’s population of the young, every percentage increase in enrolments has a dramatic impact on the absolute numbers entering higher education on a global scale. Further, nearly one-third of the Indian universities are now private owned, and so are over two-thirds of the colleges. Most of the new growth in institutions is also in the private sector.

Notwithstanding the large number of institutions and growth in private sector facilities for higher education, the outmigration by way of student flows remains very high. In 2017–2018, the US attracted the largest number of Indian students with 186,000 travelling out for higher education. This was followed by Canada attracting 100,000 students from India (Nanda 2018; Umarji 2018). Besides the two countries, Australia, New Zealand, Europe, UK and Singapore also remain important destinations for higher education. The cost of acquiring degrees in these countries is fairly high, so there are indications that Indian households with greater ability to pay have contributed to the global flow of students. Also, there is little

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<sup>4</sup>All India Survey of Higher Education, 2017–18, MoHRD, GoI.

evidence of a reverse flow of students from the developed countries to India, as anticipated in arguments about the edging out of differences between the ‘centre’ and the ‘periphery’, and the creation of a more plural university world order. For instance, the number of US students in India was a meagre 4704 in 2017–2018. In this same year, Indian students are reported to have contributed US dollars 7.5 billion to the US economy, and constituted the second largest group of foreign students (17.9%) after the Chinese (33.2%). On the basis of these statistics presented, it can be argued that while India is entering a phase of ‘massification’, it is also now a part of the global trade in higher education as a commodity, mostly by way of students moving out to the developed North – i.e. a net importer. This manner of a trade relationship is unequal, and confirms the persisting, even enhanced dualism on a global scale. Unlike in a past era of development cooperation related internationalism, ‘collaborations’ in the era of globalisation are hinged primarily on getting the fee paying graduate student from the periphery to the core of university institutions. The extent of this dualism is confirmed to a large measure by way of poor performance on global rankings – especially as even the top Indian universities are unable to make it to the top 100 of any of the global rankings of world universities.

If this is the situation at the top, then what of the vast plethora of central, state and private universities that constitute a majority of the institutional presence, and continue to be the first-generation learner’s access to higher education? Given the pervasive nature of rural poverty, increasing urban marginality and persisting social inequalities in the nature of social caste, for the large numbers of the new entrants (as suggested in the phenomena of ‘massification’), publicness of higher education is critical to the realisation of its promise and potential. Rampant privatisation and shadow market institutionalism in the form of self-financing courses, affiliating institutions and colleges without any care to quality, pose challenges of offering nothing, even as a whole new generation of students from underprivileged backgrounds access higher education with aspirations for social mobility and substantive citizenship. Patnaik (2014) affirms the pervasive nature of this dualism when he says that the elite institutions at the top are no longer an arena for creativity and self-realisation – valued goals of academic achievement – and endorse commodification of knowledge. Whereas, the vast majority of the institutions of higher education, especially those funded by state governments, have become extremely poor in quality due to resource crunch, and the inability to pay among the state governments. So much so that many institutions do not even have faculty to teach, and students may have to fend for themselves.

In this scenario, executive policy has now veered towards creating a culture of excellence, and a push towards improving quality, largely through institutional transformation, initiating a culture of academic outputs. The new education policy announced on the eve of the new Indian government assuming power in May 2019, indeed talks of aligning India’s higher education institutions by easing up regulatory structure, and changing the institutional landscape of higher education by creating large, multidisciplinary, liberal universities, that can compete with the best in the world (MoHRD 2019). Indeed the goal is to create ‘world-class universities’ through planned policy action, similar to what China has been able to achieve since 1993, when it began its efforts for planned development of higher education. There is an

explicit admission in the new policy that India will be a large economy, next only to the US and China by 2030, and that economies of the future are indeed 'knowledge economies' propelled by the university sector. As a starting point, select private and public universities have been given the status of 'institutions of eminence'. They will be given the necessary autonomy – regulatory and curricular, as also state support to develop to world class. That having been said, questions of dualism still persist. What promise does the pursuit of excellence and change in top elite institutions hold, when 'massification' indeed implies greater participation in the ordinary institutions at the bottom? Also, in what ways can these institutions for masses improve in quality, as state finances and public provision are indeed scarce in availability? In the flow of students to academic centres of the world, in its quest for achieving world class in select higher education institutions and in adopting the culture of academic outputs and accountability, norms and ideas of globalisation are now accepted as national policy template. The question that still persists is whether the university will remain an institution of public good, in its ability to inspire critical thought, and national self-reliance who have struggled as masses, and have high aspirations of and from higher education.

## Conclusion

I argue in conclusion that neither a consensus of 'subalterns', as seen in the increasing China-Africa collaborations in higher education, nor an emergent grouping of new economic powers, such as the BRICS attempting to become academic super powers, is able to significantly alter the balance of power with respect to higher education. This clearly rests with erstwhile academic superpowers in Western Europe and the USA. Also, Marginson's idea of a plural university world order, and his optimism based on the emergence of a strong Asian sector of higher education, based on Confucian values, still falls short of reversing unequal balances. It is largely realized by a net student and resource outflow from the developing world to the developed. Further, the public university was also tasked with a public mission in the optimism of post-war developmentalism, as I have shown in the discussions of Nyere's ideas in Tanzania. It was implicit in this public mission that the knowledge of the university was to be used for challenge and falsification of orthodoxy, spur public debate, and build a democratic world order. In this context, Craig Calhoun (2006) rightly notes that these new patterns of instrumental evaluations of universities as provider of private goods are making the achievement of these ideals difficult. Differences between institutions and intellectual approaches are all being reduced to a single hierarchy – of markets and rankings. To reclaim the institution of the university as a public good, Calhoun suggests there is need for greater public debate both within universities, and on national and international levels. I see this as the road to deliberation – for an optimistic future – both for developing the institution of the public university as an arena of knowledge for the masses, in the developing world and for reclaiming its public purpose.

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# Chapter 6

## The World-Class University Discourse: Disentangling the Conflict Between Efficiency and World Class-Ness



Aishna Sharma

### Introduction

Primarily, world-class universities enjoy abundance of funds, have an atmosphere of academic freedom, undertake international collaboration and have talented faculty and students, also from across the border.<sup>1</sup> The nations, round the globe, are recognizing that for economic growth an economy driven by knowledge is needed, which needs research. This is leading to an emphasis on developing research universities which would produce research to enable nations to enter into knowledge economy of the twenty-first century and compete globally (Altbach and Balan 2007, p. 2<sup>2</sup>; Salmi 2009). As a result, every nation wants to have a world-class university. Whereas the phenomenon of establishing world-class universities or fostering the existing universities into world-class universities finds prominence in many nations particularly the West, the world class-ness discourse has taken its formal roots very recently in India. More formally, the UGC came up with a regulation in 2016 titled ‘UGC (World Class Institutions Deemed to be Universities) Regulations, 2016’ to the effect, which aimed at establishing 20 world-class universities and determined the criteria for the existing universities to be featured as one (GOI 2016b). Of these 20 universities, 10 would be public universities and the remaining 10 would be the private universities. In 2017, there was a change in the nomenclature of regulation and was called as UGC (Institutions of Eminence Deemed to be Universities) Regulations, 2017, with the broad prescriptions remaining the same. The strategy chosen by the state, by and large, is handpicking the winners, that is, the universities which have already achieved pres-

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<sup>1</sup>Section “What is a world-class university?” discusses in detail the features of a world-class university.

<sup>2</sup>As cited in Shattock (2017)

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tige in the academics and fostering them further. In case of private universities, however, the proposal of a sponsoring organization to establish new universities would also be considered, if they meet all the criteria. The former could be called as ‘picking the winners’ model and the latter the ‘clean slate’ approach (Altbach and Salmi 2011). These universities are expected to be featured in the national ranking and eventually in the global rankings too. All these universities are expected to produce research of an international quality, and thereby, compete globally. Competition in the national as well as global arena would call for particular kind of strategies or practices, if the universities want to (a) achieve the world-class status and (b) after having attained such status retain it. These practices would be governed by the power-knowledge relationships (which will be detailed upon later), under the larger discourse of globalization.

This chapter would try to link these power-knowledge relationships with the competitive practices, underlying which would be the need to achieve efficiency, in the Indian context. It needs to be noticed here that one of the crucial features of a world-class university is academic freedom and quality output. This chapter critically looks at the conflict between the pursuit of these efficiencies and achievement of academic freedom and quality, the two very crucial ingredients for a university to be called world class in true sense.

## What Is a World-Class University?

The meaning of a world-class university has been discussed in the literature by many. Broadly there emerge three basic features for a university to be called ‘world class’: (a) high concentration of talent (faculty and students), (b) abundant resources to offer rich learning environment and to conduct advanced research and (c) favourable governance features that encourage innovation, strategic vision and flexibility and that enable institutions to make decisions and manage resources (Salmi 2009; Altbach and Salmi 2011). Later, Shattock (2017) expanded these features by adding three more to the above list, which were as follows: (d) the age of the institution (the longevity of an institution gives it a space to develop reputation), (e) its physical location (universities which are located in growing centres of economic activity are at an advantageous position) and (f) external political climate facilitating academic freedom.

Academic freedom and an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity along with research performance underpin a world-class university. The faculty and the students in such universities have freedom to pursue knowledge and publish work freely without fearing any external control (Altbach 2015). The strategies, at both the national level and the global level (which would happen eventually, after having been selected as amongst the 20 world-class universities), would revolve majorly around garnering research output. Another extremely crucial requirement, which also supports research and attracts talent to these universities, is the abundance of funds. In sum, the research-related and fund-raising-related strategies, in addition to academic freedom, should broadly guide the very life of such universities, which would have the world-class status (institutes of eminence).



In India, the UGC in 2016 passed a regulation on establishing world-class universities. Some of the select key features which resemble the ones already existing globally, as mentioned in the UGC regulation 2016, are (GOI 2016b):

- Freedom to hire faculty from across the world. A good proportion of foreign or foreign-qualified faculty.
- A reasonably good mix of Indian and foreign students.
- Academic, administrative and financial autonomy.
- High level of funding.
- Ability to leverage alternative funding sources and autonomy to utilize.
- Facilities for cutting-edge scientific research.
- Collaboration with foreign universities.
- Having a corpus fund of rupees 200 crores, with a guarantee of additional rupees 500 crores and a credible plan that additional sources are available on demand and which should not be less than rupees 1000 crores.
- There should be laboratory facilities to undertake cutting-edge scientific research for doing scientific research. In case of humanities, social science and other interdisciplinary areas, the faculty should be engaged in research and field work in frontier areas using the latest methodologies.
- Should strive to achieve social impact by engaging in applied research and innovation in issues of concern to developing societies.
- Should develop teaching and research collaborations with a reasonable number of global universities figuring in the most reputed global rankings.
- A culture that would support publication in peer-reviewed journal.
- Should be considered as one of the top 500 in any of the world-renowned ranking frameworks (such as the Times Higher Education World University Rankings or QS or Shanghai's Jiao Tong University) within the first 10 years of setting up and be in the top 100 eventually over time.
- Would be free to fix fees, for both domestic and foreign students as per its internal policies. The World-Class Institution Deemed to be University shall have complete financial autonomy to spend the resources raised and allocated.
- Shall have complete flexibility in fixing of curriculum and syllabus. The institution shall have the freedom to offer courses within a programme.
- Should recruit the most talented people, no matter where they come from, who are open to new ideas and approaches. May hire personnel from industry, etc. as faculty, who, while being experts in their areas, may not have the requisite higher academic qualifications.

The 2017 regulation further ensured an assistance of up to an amount of rupees 1000 crores or 50–75% of the requirement projected in the perspective and detailed plans submitted by the institution, whichever is less, to each institution in a span of 5 years starting from the financial year of declaration of institute as Institutions of Eminence.

Thus, a university which fulfils the above criteria could apply for the institutes of eminence status. It needs to be noted here that in July 2018, six institutes have been conferred upon with the status of institutes of eminence: Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) Bombay, IIT Delhi and IISc Bangalore are from amongst the pub-

lic universities category, and Jio Institute by Reliance Foundation, BITS Pilani and Manipal Academy of Higher Education are the three private universities which have been granted the status of Institute of Eminence.<sup>3</sup> On 5th September 2019 some more universities have been declared as institutions of eminence by the Ministry of Human Resource Development.

A world-class university is the one which is held to be the best in the world. With this understanding of the definition of world class comes also a sense of ‘position placement’ of universities with respect to other universities. Thus, rankings of universities assume a special and an inevitable significance when discussing about the world class-ness of universities. The rankings would be a reference point for universities to assess their performance vis-a-vis other universities globally (Kumar 2015). The push given to rankings of universities signifies that the universities are considered to be key to economic growth and global competitiveness, being driven by knowledge generation. And, these institutions are not just repositories of knowledge creation but also a point of pride and comparison amongst nations (Salmi 2009).

In India, the practice of ranking the universities began in 2016, with the institution of National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF). This can instil competition amongst universities within the country and also a quest to appear in the global rankings. The NIRF document clearly mentions about the need to improve quality of higher education in order to become world class, for which national rankings and research assessment could play a vital role (GOI 2016a). Thus, the discourse of world class-ness and rankings go hand in hand. The next section would specifically look at Indian policy pertaining to establishing institutes of eminence (or universities of world-class repute).

## A Brief at Policy

Whereas rankings and competition took its roots in many (Western) countries decades back, the idea of competition amongst higher education institutions increased only gradually in India. The first step, albeit in a more diluted manner, was with the setting up of National Assessment Accreditation Council (NAAC) in 1994, providing a platform for universities to be ranked or compared with each other. However, the competition and hierarchy found a stronger grip on the Indian higher education realm since the beginning of 2013, when there were two major policy recommendations: (1) was the making accreditation by NAAC mandatory and (2) institution of Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA), which also had a provision of providing performance-based funding to the universities. However, the exact import of this competition would not have been felt by all the universities. This can be understood as follows. Whereas NAAC was made mandatory, within each grade, there could be many universities despite a variation in their score. A university with the score 4 would get a grade A++, as a university with the

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/education/six-universities-granted-institute-of-eminence-status/article24370554.ece>

score 3.51.<sup>4</sup> With a focus on grade, there was little reason for universities to worry about their place in the hierarchy. Second, even though RUSA proposed a performance-based funding for universities, the state universities were to be provided with an initial fund, leaving them with no competition (in real sense of the term) being percolated down their daily life. Moreover, with the already limited resources, it is expected they adjust their motivation level downwards. It is doubtful if such a prescription would motivate them to compete and thereby improve their performance under RUSA. Notwithstanding the loopholes of NAAC, a university which continues to get an A grade may not find it remunerative to enhance its performance beyond their comfort zone and possibilities.

With the inception of National Institutional Ranking Framework providing a picture of the relative standing of each university, there was a greater scope of a sense of competition grasping Indian universities (at least some of them). The universities are more closely pitted against each other than before. This would lead to the leaders and academics reorienting their strategies, at least in the short term, which would further entail the universities scouting for funds, students and faculty from abroad, conducting research (in collaboration as well) to portray its world class-ness. With NIRF there is greater visibility of universities relative position, putting a pressure on them to perform in the areas which would render them the status of world-class universities. That the NIRF has global competitiveness as one of its aims could be seen by the following excerpts:

Naturally many of them are similar to those employed globally dealing with excellence in teaching, learning and research (GOI 2017, p. 1).

The Expert Committee set-up by the UGC for developing National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) for Higher Education Institutions under the ambit of University Grants Commission, discussed and deliberated upon reputed globally recognized rankings of the world-class universities and performance of Indian educational institutions in these rankings (GOI 2016a; Preface).

In the Indian context, two kinds of models are chosen by the policy in order to confer the status of world class-ness/eminence. First, 10 public universities from the existing universities, preferably based on the rankings, were picked. Second, 10 private universities could either be the existing universities or new universities. It takes time for a university to acquire the status of world-class university (Shattock 2017) (that issue would be taken up later).

Notwithstanding the problems associated with any ranking, like measuring only the data available, bias towards science publication than others and prioritizing research performance over teaching (Shattock 2017), using subjective measures of assessment, not grounded often in realities of higher education and not comprehensive (Marginson 2014), etc., the upcoming sections would take up the following two issues related with ranking and the quest for world-class status: first, the power-

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<sup>4</sup>Until 2016, any university which scored between 3.01 and 4 used to get an A grade. Since 2016, this range has been divided into three: A++ for a score between 3.51 and 4, A+ for a score between 3.26 and 3.50 and A for a score between 3.01 and 3.25.

knowledge relationships that are rationale for the competition and hence efficiency to survive and, second, the infusion of competition and the nature of it.

### ***Ranking as a Policy Technology***

The ranking and featuring in the world-class universities through performance assessment is one of the tools of the New Public Management (NPM)<sup>5</sup> in public universities. Under the wave of globalization, the New Public Management has been created with the aim to make public sector more efficient and effective. The central planning, under neoliberal school of thought, is considered as (1) inefficient and (2) a threat to the freedom of the individual (Olssen and Peters 2005). The objective is to reduce state spending, retreat of government institutions in favour of market enterprises or incorporation of market/private sector inside state structures and granting institutional autonomy to institutions which would enhance their self-regulating capacity. It constitutes business-oriented approach to government, contract management, emphasis on quality, performance and its evaluation and assessment as well as accountability, emphasis on economic rewards and sanctions. There has been a decentralization of management control from the centre to the individual institutions, i.e. a focus on individualization and atomization process, coupled with new accountability and funding structures (Marshall and Peters 1999; Toonen 2007; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). Thus, there has been a growing emphasis on output in terms of quality of research and teaching. The NPM assumes that institutes can achieve excellence if they are freed from state interference; over-governance can discourage innovation and quick decision-making (Sporn 2007). However, a prerequisite for attaining institutional autonomy is a diversified funding. A diversified funding base is a prerequisite for autonomous and entrepreneurial universities, through which the higher education institutes can attain independence from one sponsor (mostly the state) (Sporn 2007).

Ranking is an accountability mechanism under NPM, whereby the individuals are 'governed at a distance' (Marginson 2007, p. 5). At a deeper level, these practices impact the very behaviour of the individuals, like the faculty, the leaders of the universities or the students, seeking to transform them into amenable subjects of the neoliberal discourse. It is a governmentality technique. Governmentality can be thought of as a composite of the words – government and rationality. Foucault defines government as 'the conduct of conduct' and thus a term which ranges from governing the self to governing others. The practice of government leads to a multitude of techniques, schemes and ideas deliberately mobilizing in attempting to direct or influence the conduct of others (Doherty 2007) (the import of such governmentality would be seen later in this chapter).

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<sup>5</sup>New Public Management is a management practice which is premised on marketisation, privatisation, performance based accountability, managerialism and contractual relations.

## What Is the Nature of This Competition?

The establishment of institutes of eminence (or world-class universities) has a potential to foster competition in the realm of higher education. The possibility of competition emanates from such universities being primarily oriented towards research, which generates competition between individuals for research grants and publications and also between institutions for research status (Shattock 2017). Such universities have large research-based populations and engage in competition to attract the best researchers, even globally (Shattock 2017, p. 6).

It needs to be noted here that at the same time, a large number of universities, which fail to satisfy the requirements, would remain outside the purview of this competition. This is the story of majority of state universities in India. These 'left out' universities may try to compete and feature in the rankings so that they could also feature as eminent or world class. This is subject to two qualifications however: (1) those universities which will have been selected for world-class university would slip down their world-class status/eminent status and (2) those universities trying to be featured in those 20 universities would only be those which were featured somewhat above the rankings. In the more realistic scenario, these universities would not compete at all, given the environmental constraints they face.

Another problem associated with this kind of enforced self-regulation is that rather than encouraging competition, in true sense, of which the free entry and exit of producers is a major prerequisite, it creates barrier to entry. This is created by imposing financial requirements, infrastructure requirement, staff-related requirement and programme requirement, like accreditation (Jongbloed 2004). The UGC regulation to this effect states that the universities which intent on applying for the status of world-class universities are mandated to pay a processing fee of rupees 1 crore. In addition to this, the amount of funds that these are required to have, as stated above in Section "[What is a world-class university?](#)", are bound to create barrier to entry for many state universities, which already suffer from resource crunch. By regulating the market structure in such a manner, many universities would be outside the purview of competition, which is supposedly installed with the objective to improve quality under the neoliberal school of thought (Olssen and Peters 2005).

It would lead to a selection bias or S competition (Glennester 1991), that is, the universities which enjoy high rank or reputation already would attract more funds from various sources as compared to the ones which do not enjoy better reputation. Under this kind of mechanism, the funders would provide funds to more reputed universities, leaving out the low ranked or low in reputation universities, and thus lead to selection bias, rather than providing a level playing field to all. As also argued by Winston (1999), the higher education market is hierarchical than operating on a level playing field. He contends that the universities which are well endowed in terms of funds would attract better quality inputs like students and teacher, helping them to achieve quality output; there arises selectivity and hence excess demand. As one goes down the hierarchy (low-ranked institutions), they would attract relatively lower quality inputs. The quality of output further determines the future fund-

ing to the university. Therefore, there is a very bleak chance of universities which are ranked lower to move up the ladder. Thus, an institution competes generally with 10 schools above them and 10 below them (Winston 2000). In a similar vein, Shattock (2017) conjectures that it does not make sense for the middle-ranking regional universities to compete with the top universities when none of the institutional environment factors have changed. If they did, it would only lead to loss of morale.

Therefore, only the top reputed universities would compete amongst themselves in order to be featured as world class or institutes of eminence. Those universities which do not have sufficient resources or culture amenable to world class-ness would choose to stay out of these competitive practices and thus would not be a credible threat. Thus, competition, which is thought of as improving quality, would remain confined to a few top universities. The neoliberal argument of competition improving the quality of work does not percolate down to a major chunk of universities in the Indian higher education system.

The upcoming few sections would look at how the world-class universities would try to engage in the efficient practices in order to achieve competitiveness. Later on, it would be seen if such a pursuit of efficient practices is in conflict with what is called as world class.

## **Theoretical Structure for Further Analysis**

In order to further analyse the efficient strategies which might be taken up by such universities, a framework is proposed in this section. The study uses the theoretical framework of Foucault's power-knowledge relationship to understand the possible practices or strategies undertaken in the universities in the present neoliberal discourse of ranking. The quest for world class-ness begins with the quest for featuring in the rankings. Ranking could be called as a technology of the state for the universities/faculty to self-regulate. The state steers the behaviour of the individuals, but from a distance (Jongbloed 2004), by creating a market framework for them within which they are supposed to perform. In the context of rankings, this would mean that universities monitor their own performances by keeping a track of what they are doing with respect to a predetermined standard. It is a mechanism under neoliberalism to regulate institutions and individuals. This determines the overall strategies that the universities undertake.

There have to be certain types of practices which are expected of the universities competing for the world-class status and also later for those that will have be part of the 20 world-class universities. These practices are to be found in the power-knowledge nexus, which would be highlighted later.

### *Power-Knowledge Nexus*

Foucault (1980) has discussed about this nexus of power and knowledge. It must be pointed out at the outset that this power is not a repressive power. It does not work against the will of the individuals, but it functions by making those individuals or institutions as the subject of the discourse, in a way that they behave out of their own accord. This goes well with the idea of self-regulation, only that it is an ‘enforced self-regulation’ (Jongbloed 2004), because it is mandated by the (neoliberal) state.

The underlying discourse in the present quest for achieving the status of world class lies the discourse of ranking and, hence, globalization. It is one of the aims, as postulated in the UGC document, that the universities are envisaged to be featured in the international ranking eventually, failing which the status of world class would be repealed. Thus, the overarching discourse of globalization will also have a role to play in order to understand the kind of practices that would prevail.

The analysis of power-knowledge relationship would be for the universities which would fight for such a world-class status and about the scenario when 20 universities will be selected, and there would still be universities that will try to achieve this status (if there are universities who would slip down the status of world class) and how power-knowledge relation would operate in that scenario.

For this purpose, this chapter would draw on the theory put forth by Foucault (1980). The power understood here refers to the power of the discourse, that is, what all possible practices do the discourse allows to take place. Knowledge refers to the knowledge of these practices which the subject has, about themselves as a part of larger discourse. As a result of power effect/effect of discourse, the subjects (re) constitute themselves. The neoliberal discourse pertaining to world-class universities would render knowledge amongst the individuals that they are but a subject of the power relations. By this is meant they would identify themselves with the rationality of the larger discourse and would mould their behaviour accordingly. The individuals by constantly monitoring their performance in order to be featured as a world-class university would become a ‘numbered subject’ (Ball 2015). Anything that could be measured would be undertaken at the expense of anything which cannot be directly counted. Their identity getting attached to numbers becomes the truth of the discourse. There would emerge other truths as well; the works within the universities could reorganize by orienting academic to the larger academic discourse, and the students would be treated as customers for being a potential source of raising revenue.

This power-knowledge relationship takes place as a result of the larger discourse, which in the present context is discourse of neoliberalism. The power-knowledge relationship in a particular domain of a discourse takes shape through certain technologies. The world class-ness discourse uses the tool of ranking or relative position of universities in order to bring about a particular kind of power-knowledge relationship.

The power is exercised not as a repression or force but as a productive means to produce certain relationships within the society so as to legitimize the discourse.



Thus, central to analysing power-knowledge relationship is understanding power relations. These are not hierarchical relation but the relationships between individuals whereby they identify themselves as subjects of the discourse. Thus, power could be called as actions that individuals take vis-a-vis each other. However, this is not to undermine the role of institutions. The individuals direct their own conduct within certain institutions, which may constitute of the state or the market or the immediate place of work. These institutions reflect the rules of the game which exist in a particular discourse. The individuals identify themselves vis-a-vis others within these institutions. Thus, understanding power relations would mean understanding the relationship of an individual with the other individual as well as these institutions.

### *The Kinds of Efficiencies*

At this juncture it needs to be mentioned that rankings inevitably mean infusing a sense of competition in the university behaviour. It is believed that competition would enhance the quality of work performed by the universities by making universities perform efficiently. Efficiency would bring in quality and improvement or at least universities maintaining some minimum standards. The efficiency could be of three broad types, as mentioned in Jongbloed (2004): dynamic efficiency, internal efficiency and allocative efficiency. By dynamic efficiency is meant that providers would look for new products that are differentiated from existing ones. This differentiation could be horizontal, which means producing other products or it could be vertical, which means an improvement in quality. It also refers to a long-term investment in innovations. Only when a firm does that can the product be differentiated from the others. Internal efficiency means technical efficiency, that is, production requiring few resources or providers looking for better means of production, producing services at a lower cost. Internal efficiency of an educational institution measures how funds could be best allocated; it is obtaining the greatest educational output for any given level of spending (Lockheed and Hanushek 1994). Producing high-demand output at lower cost would lead the institution to save and thus invest the gain in the less-demanded activity (Massy 2004). The third kind of efficiency, allocative efficiency, is where goods or services are produced in accordance with the needs of consumers. It could lead to lowering the price of the good or service, making it more attractive to more consumers. This allocative efficiency, or responsiveness to demand and supply, also enhances the dynamic efficiency of the institution (Massy 2004).

A common theme that could be inferred from above, for any university trying to be efficient, is that the focus would be on producing output which is concomitant with the demand in the market or needs of consumers and at the same time on reducing costs. It is pursuit of these efficiencies which would determine the practices and the strategies of universities. Thus, it is broadly the market that would presume a crucial space for universities to make strategies. Since the purpose is to compete globally, the market-oriented strategies would span the global space as well.

Now, since all the practices of the universities/faculty would be guided by the larger discourse of competition and thus efficiency, the practices would be disentangled to see how these efficiencies operate in each of the practice. After having understood this, this chapter would look at the implications this would have on freedom and quality/performance improvement, the two basic features of a world-class university. This section would in particular focus on understanding power-knowledge and efficiency relationship and the implications would be dealt with in a later sub-section.

As discussed already, it is the quest for ranking which guides the practices in the universities, and the indicators that would be chosen to understand the ensuing rational practices would emanate from the ranking framework and also the UGC regulation pertaining to the establishing world-class universities.

Ranking would work as power technology leading to certain power-knowledge relationships to emerge in the society. This would be understood at broadly two levels: (1) with respect to institutions, that is, how the institutions lead the exercise of this power, and (2) at the individual level, that is, how the individuals relate to themselves and with each other. The paper would look at this power-knowledge relationship in the pursuit of universities to achieve efficiency through competition.

At this juncture, it is vital to comment on those universities which would not contend to be in this race of world class-ness for they are already featured at lower ranks. These universities which are in the first place are required to perform under RUSA, failing which they would not get funds. Since they do not have enough funds, they would not be able to take appropriate actions to improve their performance, forcing them to remain at a lower rank or out of the purview of NIRF. The policy is focusing on institutional-level development of 20 universities, in the quest of which again, only a handful may revamp their internal dynamics. Since it is not focussed upon a holistic development of entire higher education system, the lower ranked and in shambles state universities would always remain there. Thus, whereas a typical neoliberal argument would be that the policy would instil a competition amongst universities, it needs to be noted that a majority of universities are not well equipped to participate in this competition. And even those may not really be able to attain the status of world class in true sense.

The universities competing with each other for garnering funds in order to invest for achieving the world-class status would have an implication also on the nature of knowledge produced. This could mean that fundamental research could be replaced in favour of applied research, endangering the public tasks on the universities (Jongbloed 2004, p. 109).

## **Implications for Efficient Practices**

As discussed above, the broad objective of this chapter is to understand the impact of this discourse on achieving quality. In the neoliberal discourse, quality is said to be achieved through competition. Another point raised is that WCU essentially

enjoy more freedom. What needs to be noted here is that the possible practices as envisaged above are guided by the idea of competition. In any power relation, there would be an element of competition in order for the universities to become effective. The core of competitive behaviour is to ensure optimal outcome by achieving efficiency and freedom. The next sub-section would aim at locating the market efficiencies as well as the element of freedom (or unfreedom) in these practices.

As required by the UGC regulation, the universities trying to achieve the status of world-class universities should feature in not only the national ranking but also in the international rankings, that is, the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) rankings, Times Higher Education (THE) world university rankings or Shanghai's Jiao Tong rankings.

In the international rankings, THE world university rankings devote over 60% weightage to research alone and 30% to teaching, which also has components pertaining to PhD awarded. Reputation surveys on teaching and research explicitly mentioned are given 33% weightage. Half the assessment in the QS rankings is based on reputation, with academic reputation constituting 40% and employer reputation constituting 10% of total score. The academic reputation is calculated by taking experts opinion regarding the teaching and research quality at universities. Citations per faculty constitute another 20% of the total score. Thus, research assumes a sizeable weightage in performance assessment under QS rankings. The third international ranking where also the Indian world-class universities/institutes of eminence aim to be featured in is the Shanghai's academic ranking of world universities. This ranking gives almost 100% weightage to research outcomes.<sup>6</sup>

Also, the former two international rankings have component of international outlook or international faculty and students. That the international students would take admission in a university or an international collaboration would take place would in turn depend upon the reputation of the national university.

Therefore, conducting research is a predominant criterion for getting featured in international rankings, which also render reputation to a university. Thus, for Indian universities to be featured in the global space, their practices need to be oriented more towards research and then towards the quality of teaching.

For practices to take place, the individuals as well as institutions transform themselves into the subject of the discourse. They undertake rational practices as per the larger discourse of neoliberalism. As discussed in the section on framework, the power-knowledge relationships would work at two levels: at the level of an individual and at the level of an institution. That is, the relationship would be altered amongst individuals, between individuals and institutions and, thirdly, amongst institutions. These power relations are to be found in the very practices. In the quest for becoming institutes of eminence or achieving the world-class status, this would translate into undertaking certain practices within these power relationships which would be efficient.

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<sup>6</sup> While the 90% weightage is given to indicators directly related to research outcomes, the remaining 10% is given to the indicator 'Per Capita Academic Performance', which is calculated by dividing the weighted scores of all other indicators by the number of full-time equivalent academic staff. This indicator also, therefore, depends on the research performance of the university.

Before looking at the rational practices that the universities, particularly the individuals, would undertake, it is crucial to understand that first there would be a change in the relationship between the institutions (the state and the global space) and the individuals. It is this relationship which would further guide the very practices in the universities.

#### A. University with the State:

The push for world-class university has certainly led to legitimating the significance of ranking. The NIRF ranking is a step, at the national level, in this effect. The ranking is a form of governmentality, that is, the technology used by the government to regulate the behaviour of the individuals within the university. This is done through self-regulation, which was discussed earlier in this chapter. The university monitors its own performance with respect to the expectations setup globally (because the aim, as mentioned in the UGC regulation, is to find a place in the global rankings). Another mechanism used by the state is to instil financial autonomy in such universities by rendering them with the freedom to raise resources and expend those resources. Such a regulation would render the knowledge in the subjects that they are amongst the strong contenders for the world-class status and they would, thus, alter their practices inside the universities, which would be discussed in detail in sub-section C.

Such a distancing of the state is found to be efficient because often the state interference by way of funding is argued by neoliberals to be leading to inefficiencies. The next two power-knowledge relationships would detail upon what kind of efficient practices are expected to undertake in the given neoliberal discourse.

#### B. University and the International Realm:

In order to be featured in the international rankings and appear world class, the universities would undertake collaboration with universities abroad for projects and also recruit faculty and students from abroad. Another major practice that the universities would try to emulate would be a greater focus on research in order to gain better reputation.

#### C. Intra-university Practices.

The practices that the university would undertake could be either internal or international. The international would be networking with faculty from abroad, collaborating with the foreign universities and admitting students from abroad, emulating the outcomes to be achieved in international rankings. The internal could be recruiting industry personnel in the university as faculty, raise in student fees and student evaluation.

Let us look at the possible practices which could lead to internal efficiency, on the one hand, and dynamic and allocative efficiency, on the other hand.

#### **Internal Efficiency**

The objective of internal efficiency would aim at minimizing the costs so as to reduce wastage. The practices which would emerge as a result are as follows: collaboration with the faculty from other universities majorly online, recruiting foreign

faculty, albeit those who relatively demand less salary or focus on applied research than the basic research, because basic research is costly in terms of money and time and involves risk (this would be detailed later).

### **Dynamic and Allocative Efficiencies**

The way that universities would differentiate from each other would be by producing cutting-edge research and out-compete each other. This would majorly lead to collaborating with industry and producing the much-in-demand research output. Again, as mentioned in the UGC regulation, the focus would be to produce applied research than basic research.

These universities have to be featured in the national rankings as well, which require the data on mean salary of students as well as their placement records. At the same time, the UGC regulation renders enough freedom to the universities to recruit faculty from the industry. This would lead to a change in the curriculum, to that oriented more towards the needs of labour market. This, when coupled with the financial autonomy that these universities are provided with respect to deciding the tuition fees, would call for providing courses which would enhance only the skills needed by the market. The courses pertaining to management or engineering would replace provision of conventional courses, for these universities to justify raising of tuition fees.

The nature of knowledge generated would alter from basic research to applied research. This would be an offshoot of not only internal efficiency, but also due to possible collaboration with industry. The private investors, providing funds to the university, would need a return to its investment and therefore would expect a certainty in output. Basic/fundamental research, on the other hand, is a risky proposition. Another reason is that rankings are undertaken every year, so rational behaviour given the urgency to register output would call for risk reduction and thus the focus would be more on applied research.

### **Concluding Remarks: Conflict between Efficiency and World Class-Ness in True Sense?**

It needs to be noted that infusion of this competitive kind of behaviour would alter the very nature of higher education. The first change would come by way of change in the value function or the mission of the universities. Ideally, the value function of the universities should reflect the interest of the society than the private interests of faculty (Massy 2004). Social interest means pursuing the 'public good' nature of knowledge/education. Whereas the UGC regulation states that such universities should pursue the social interest, but in pursuit of efficient practices, the public good nature of education comes under attack.

The attainment of efficiency is in conflict with two basic features which are the pillar of any world-class university: quality and academic freedom, which is discussed as follows:

## *Quality in Higher Education*

It is very difficult to articulate or measure what is quality in higher education. Quality is often value-laden, in that its definition depends on the fitness of purpose. If the higher education meets its stated purpose, it is touted as ‘quality education’. Quality is the relative concept; for different stakeholders it may mean different things (Green 1994; Tam 2001). The universities have research and teaching as their primary objective, and in a world-class university, it is research which takes precedence. The quality research would be defined by the neoliberal discourse. However, ideally a university conducts research to meet the societal needs. There is a public good character attached to higher education. By this it means that education creates externality by spilling over the benefits of an individual acquiring the education to others in the society (Marginson 2011). However, the nature of higher education<sup>7</sup> is determined by policy and configuration of funding provided (Marginson 2011).

### **Allocative Efficiency and Quality**

A world-class university thrives on funds, which come from collaboration with industry or other private agencies. When the UGC regulation has provided such universities with complete autonomy, it gives them enough scope to explore private mode of funding. The university might strive to achieve allocative efficiency by equating the supply of its services to the market demand. This has following possible impacts:

- (a) The world-class universities would undertake applied research at the cost of basic research. Applied research does not lead to as significant breakthrough as basic research does (Nelson 1959). A private entity would undertake any research-related investment in a university with the expectation of certainty of returns to that investment. Often in basic research the direction of research may change, but the results of applied research are often predictable, making it more profitable for industry to fund applied research (Nelson 1959). The basic research would be relegated as also the needs of society which are dynamic in nature.
- (b) The market forces make the institutions evaluate what they do and how they do and thus make them cross-subsidize across different activities. It is research which is much in demand because that is what renders them visibility. A major problem associated with rankings for achieving a world-class status is that they are based on research, which reduces the relative importance attached to teaching (Marginson 2014; Shattock 2017). This would take away the focus from teaching quality, which is as important for a university to be called world class in true sense.

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<sup>7</sup>The extent of publicness or privateness

- (c) Another problem would arise within teaching itself. Teaching has a potential to become a private good. The placement of students and their preparedness for labour market provides reputation to the university.<sup>8</sup> The pursuit of allocative efficiency would reorient the curriculum of the universities as per the labour market needs.

Therefore, the scope of research and teaching would be reduced, getting tilted to the need to be featured in the rankings and become world class. The education activities in a holistic sense would cease to take place.

### **Internal Efficiency and Quality**

The internal efficiency refers to minimizing unit cost of production for a given output. In economics of education, this refers to expenditure incurred per student. Applying such an objective in an educational institution is flawed because a reduction in cost does not guarantee that quality remains the same. There lies, rather, a positive relationship between costs incurred and quality of education provided (Majumdar 1983).

### **Dynamic Efficiency and Quality**

Another point worth noting is that the dynamic efficiency may not really lead to improvement in quality. The ‘university status ladders’ are conservative as they produce same order from generation to generation (Marginson 2011).

### ***Academic Freedom***

Marginson (2007) argues that neoliberal technique like rankings for differentiation (dynamic efficiency) expands the choice making of individuals only within the realm of competitive strategy, whereas other choice making is not; the research is often application based. It limits certain forms of agency and academic freedom.

Under private funding, there is a specification of course content and workload by management, which erodes professional autonomy over work in relation to both teaching and research. Targets and performance criteria are applied from outside the academic role that diminishes the sense in which the academic – their teaching and research – are autonomous. ‘The rising importance of “managed research” and the pressures to obtain “funded research” constitute further evidence that academic freedom, at least in terms of the academics determination over research are concerned, are increasingly “compromised”, or at least “under pressure”’ (Olssen and

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<sup>8</sup>There are specific indicators to this effect in NIRF and QS ranking.



Peters 2005, p.326). When education is viewed as a marketable commodity, as under privatization, the independent thinking is subdued by the ideological objectives of the advanced countries, the propagators of commoditization of education. It views higher education as transaction between teachers and students and is driven by the student demand, students being the consumers. This gives justification for private funding of higher education. With increased privatization, the higher education institutions serve the interest of market forces and cease to serve the society at large (Patnaik 2007).

The preceding implication discussed the inclination towards applied research than basic research under the present world-class university discourse. Many academics may not want to undertake applied research but would rather need timelessness and undertake basic research. Academic creativity and quality of work flourish under the state of academic freedom, which can neither be timed nor put under a framework of measurable output. When it is the students who are the potential funders of the university, the course curriculum might get structured as per the needs of the students, giving very less freedom to the faculty to design the course.

The channelization of human agency to the needs of competitive strategies would crowd out the intrinsic motivation of at least some faculty. The quality work in academia thrives on creativity and motivation. When the two major pillars of a world-class university, that is, academic freedom and quality, are out in peril, can the objective of world class-ness, by establishing institutes of eminence, be achieved in true sense under the neoliberal regime?

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# Chapter 7

## Idea of a University: Rethinking the Indian Private Universities Context



Sangeeta Angom

### Introduction

University plays an important role since ancient time in making a person an enlightened one and developing the nation as a whole. The word ‘university’, coined from the Latin word *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, means ‘community of teachers and scholars’ (Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th Edition), and it was used to refer to the University of Bologna, the first university, established in Italy in 1088 (Wan et al. 2015). It is one of the most important institutional legacies which the modern world has inherited from medieval Europe (Cobban 1992). Universities have always been changing its nature and roles with time. In India, like the earliest university of western world, teaching was of prime importance with an objective of pure knowledge for its own sake in Taxila and Nalanda, the first centres of higher education in India. The university education was for the few privileged sections of the society. With emergence of modern university concept, the idea of university throughout the world has changed from mere teaching to coordination of teaching and research. So, while Humboldt coupled teaching and research, Kerr who coined the term ‘multiversity’ envisioned the university to further broaden its role into services as well as having an economic role in the knowledge business. In the modern view of western world, one of the major roles of the university as quoted by Wann et al of Kerr’s view, as outlined, was its economic role of knowledge to the economy and society. Further, in the knowledge-driven economy, the role of university is confined not only to the dissemination of knowledge through teaching but, importantly, to the creation of new knowledge and expansion of existing knowl-

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edge base through research activities as well as the promotion and dissemination of knowledge to society through teaching and service. With the demand of the society, the features of newly established university change. Knowledge being looked at having instrumental role, the importance of applied aspect of knowledge is gaining importance. As a result, university is supposed to cater to the skill development among the youths. Universities in this scenario are supposed to link themselves to the labour market. In India, ever since the inception of the first three universities during 1857, universities have responded to the changing economic and political contexts of the country. With the twenty-first century, globally and nationally, we have entered the era of mass university; a university either public or private in India is expected to play a challenging role in relation to fulfilling the mission of university in terms of its traditional function extending it to applied aspect of knowledge generation.

In this context, this paper seeks to revisit the idea of a university with specific focus on this societal institution in the context of India. In recent years, the expansion of higher education is also associated with the growth of private universities. In a mix of public and private universities, how the transformation of the classical idea of university is taking place, and at what cost, in the phase of massification is an important question to understand the future trajectory of university system in India? The chapter is divided into various sections: the first section is on idea of university, the second on public university in India, the third on transformation of public university character and the fourth on private universities in India and its implications in terms of future of universities in India followed by conclusion.

## **Idea of Classical Universities**

Much of the classical ideas of a university can be traced back to the ideas of German as well European Philosophers, namely, Immanuel Kant, Wilhelm Von Humboldt, Habermas, Karl Jasper, John Henry Newman and others. Kant advocates the idea of public university as a place for enlightenment. His idea of public nature of a university is the place where knowledge is generated and disseminated for the benefit of public. His idea of protecting by the state the freedom of faculty who is engaged in the examination of knowledge is well reflected in his work in 1798, 'The Conflict of Faculties' (Bhushan 2016). According to Kant, the university as a public university or public institution has to handle the entire content of learning by mass production by division of labour, so that for every branch of the sciences, there would be a public teacher or professor appointed as its trustee, and all of these together would form a kind of learned community called a university (higher school). The university would have a certain autonomy, and accordingly, it would be authorized to perform certain functions through its faculties headed by a dean: to admit to the university students seeking entrance from the lower schools and having conducted examinations, by its own authority to grant degrees or confer the universally recognized status of doctor on free teachers (teachers

who are not members of the university) or to create doctors (Conflict of Faculties, Translation Copy 1979, p. 23).

Further, Wilhelm Von Humboldt, the then Prussian Minister of Education, who founded the University of Berlin in 1810 advocated that university is the place where research and teaching is unified for advancing and expanding knowledge fields across all disciplines. He also advocated the unity of teachers and students with solitude and freedom. He is regarded as the architect of modern university where teaching and research plays an important role and the two functions must go hand in hand. The three principles of new university following the model of Humboldt may be described as (i) the unity of teaching and research, (ii) the freedom to teach and learn and (iii) the principle of self-governance. These three principles served to inspire modern universities in many parts of the world including India (Beteille 2010). These were the idea of the university during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although the ideas were not fully realized in any university, including the University of Berlin.

Karl Jaspers envisaged that the university is by no means an Ivory Tower dedicated to the higher realm of academic scholarship (Zangwill 1965). Like Newman, he fully accepted that the duty of the university is to provide professional training and other kinds of specialist knowledge which community may demand. To him, teaching vitally needs the substance which only research can give, and it is the combination of two that is the spirit of university education. In this context, Bhushan (2016) rightly mentions that Karl Jasper further elaborates upon the idea of university. However, in his idea of university, he goes beyond the ivory tower conceptualization of university. He is fully aware of the fact that the purpose of university is to provide professional training and other kinds of specialist knowledge. Habermas is a critique of the idea of university in a democracy. Habermas (1971) argues that university is a public sphere and reason alone can prevail to unite the functions of a university. For him, pragmatic reason not only permit but promoted the critical discussion of practical questions at the university; then students naturally have greater right to take part in the discussion. Students have a legitimate role in determining local and national policies about the university. All the three parties, professors, junior faculty and students, would take part with the opportunity of asserting their own interest; in doing so, the dualism of academic and the administration of institutes would be overcome.

The first European thinker on the very idea of university, John Henry Newman, the founder of Catholic university of Ireland, in his famous classic book, *The Idea of a University*, defined the object of the university as 'intellectual' and not 'moral'. To him, if object were religious training, the universities could not be the seat of science and literature. He further treated the university as philosophical and practical with an appeal to common sense and not to ecclesiastical rule (I, IX.I) (Gupta 2008). Responding to the utilitarian attack on the traditional Oxford curriculum, Newman had insisted that knowledge was an end in itself. University is a place of teaching universal knowledge, so its object is on one hand intellectual, not moral; on the other, that is the diffusion of extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. His *Idea of a University*, his work on university education, is famous for its

advocacy of a liberal education as the principal purpose of a university. Many get mistake with his meaning of liberal education, but to him, it is simply the collection of the intellect and its object is nothing more or less than intellectual excellence (Drake 2001). Liberal education (education of a whole) means a university should in principle be open to learning anything that is knowledgeable. His idea is also that the interaction and interdependence of the various branches of knowledge is important both for his education of a university as an institution and for his conception of liberal education.

To summarize, the classical thinkers understand university as the storehouse of knowledge with distinct teaching mission in the four thoughts: theology, law, medicine and philosophy. Later, with the growth of disciplines in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, domain knowledge in various branches of knowledge rather proliferated and an appeal to the idea of university meant uniting them. Habermas maintaining the idea of university rationalized it in terms of intersubjective communicative rationality and sought to think in terms of a public sphere for the enlightenment of the public. Moreover, in such public sphere, reason alone can prevail to unite the functions of a university. The university would have certain autonomy, and accordingly, it would be authorized to perform certain functions through its faculties, such as admission, conducting examination, granting degree, etc. Further, beyond ivory tower conceptualization, the purpose of university is to provide professional training and other kinds of specialist knowledge for the benefit of public. The principal purpose of the university is liberal education as advocated by Newman. Humboldtian reforms contributed to the development of teaching and research as the important functions of universities.

## **Research University in the USA**

Following from a classical idea of university, research university can be understood as a modern university with core mission of generating new knowledge and exploring new knowledge which can be applicable for the society. They do teaching but their function is more of research. Research university concept is still rare in India as most of the university is in teaching activities with less research. Altbach (2011) reflected that research universities produce much of the new information and analyse that not only leads to important advances in technology but also contributes just as significantly to better understanding of the human condition through the social sciences and humanities. They are central universities for educating students at the doctoral level and produce the bulk of research output. In most countries, these universities produce bulk of original research – both basic and applied – and receive the most funding for research, and the academic culture of such universities focuses on research. Historically, the universities were largely devoted to teaching and preparation of professionals until the beginning of the nineteenth century where research university con-

cept evolved as 'Humboldtian Model of University', focused on national development and applied work, in Germany. The Humboldtian ideas of freedom and learn for freedom to teach enshrined a great deal of autonomy and academic freedom in the university. This model was supported by the Prussian Government as it promised to assist national development and help the government to achieve national power and influence. This model was first adopted by Japan and the USA. However, Altbach stated that the US research university varied from the German model of research university in several important respects: (a) it emphasized service to society as a key value; (b) the organization of the academic profession was more democratic, using discipline-based departments rather than the hierarchy of the chair system; and (c) its governance and administrative arrangement was more participative (by the faculty) and more managerial (by deans and presidents who were appointed by trustees or governing boards rather than elected by peers). It was rightly mentioned that by the mid of the twentieth century, US research university became the global model through strong support from the states, effective academic governance, vibrant non-profit academic sector and having academic freedom of open enquiry as a core value of the system. Some of the leading research universities in the USA during the twentieth century were Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Stanford and Chicago. Majority of research universities in the world are in the USA. By the end of the nineteenth century, the research universities acquired their own momentum in the USA, and particularly after World War II, the pressure to be productive in research began to be increasingly felt in better universities (Betteil 2010). Deeper idea about US research university system was reflected in the work, 'Learning Productivity at Research Universities' by Kuh and Hu (2001). The author mentions that research universities, a complex organization, perform an array of functions unlike that of any other educational institutions, ranging from basic and applied research virtually every field, graduate and professional training and baccalaureate education. US research universities are not without critique, and in this context, the authors note the arguments in favour and against of research universities in the USA. The research universities are being criticized relating to degradation of quality of undergraduate teaching by The Boyer Committee on Education Under Graduate in Research Universities (1998). While the advocates for research universities argue that undergraduate study at research university is superior in terms of both education and economic value (quoted by author Noel 1998; Vencow 1999), Kuh and Hu (2001) mention that undergraduate experience in research university in the USA is not substandard.

## **Public University in India**

With the establishment of the first three universities in 1857, there emerged the concept of public and organized university system in the country. A public university in India, central or state, is funded by the government and established through



the Act of Parliament or State Legislature. The mission for such universities is towards seeking truth and to generate new knowledge, unfettered by the need for commercial application or external justification and to preserve and transmit both these truths and society's underlying cultural heritages. These universities are regulated by the public regulatory bodies and bound by the rules and regulations of the government. Public universities are more accountable since it is fully maintained through public money and any changes therefore can happen with such institutions at the will of public or government. As the sources of finance are purely government funds, they charge minimal fee, and admission is restricted through purely merit or through entrance test. The university teachers are recruited on the basis of certain minimum criteria as per rules and regulation of the government. Such universities offer all sorts of disciplines, namely, humanities, social sciences and sciences, and are controlled highly by the state and have little autonomy in terms of decision-making, say introduction of new courses, appointment of staff, building new infrastructures, etc. Public institutions follow serious academic norms formulated by the government which is generally for shared governance between the institution and government and mainly anti-authoritarianism. Universities are coordinated to maintain standards by University Grants Commission (UGC). Majority of them are state affiliating universities which dominate the system in terms of number and enrolment size. One of the specific features of a public university is its teaching as well as affiliating. Moreover, at times political influence is at high rate in such university.

Various commissions and committees stated about the autonomy of such universities. University Education Commission (1948–1949, p. 42), the first university commission, recommended that universities should be released from the control of politics as the 'intellectual progress demands the maintenance of the spirit of free enquiry'. Kothari Commission Report (1864–1866, pp. 650–654) also mentions that the universities have to continually earn and deserve their autonomy by discharging their intellectual and public obligations effectively and also university should be immune to direct governmental intervention and also from direct public accountability in financing. Universities are under the state control as funded by the state and are to be functioned with no profit motive. These universities are disciplinary focused and teaching being the dominant function besides research and extension activities. Autonomy and freedom in the university will be accompanied by accountability (NPE, 1986 Report, p. 26).

## **Transformation of Public University Character**

Like the case of other countries, the character of Indian universities evolves across time. In the beginning, a university was mainly an examining body as teaching was held in the affiliating colleges. Later on, teaching became an important part of the university. With the establishment of new universities and also with the recommen-

dition of Kothari Commission 1964–1966, research became an important part of the university. During the twentieth century, the roles of the universities have much more than teaching, research and extension with added new critical roles for developing a modern economy, a just society and a vibrant polity, and it creates young people with skills relevant for labour market and opportunity for social mobility and also creates all responsible citizens who value a democratic and pluralistic society. Moreover, the country faces in the twenty-first century the challenges to find a path to achieve the divergent goals for the growth of higher education. One of the strategic aims was to focus on three Es – expansion, equity and excellence. In order to achieve the goals, the higher education needs to follow the principles: (i) expansion with quality; (ii) to meet the needs of employment as well as to offer a wide range of paths to success for our youths by developing world-class research universities and to have sophisticated teaching institutions to impart vocational and generic skills; and (iii) implementation of excellence in diversity through governance reforms. So, the universities were expected to expand to achieve enrolment target by additional capacity and ensuring equal access opportunities, while being supported to improve the quality of teaching-learning, attain excellence in research and contribute to economic development (12 FYP document of Government of India, 2013).

Till 1980, education was fully publicly funded, and with liberalization and with new economic policy of India, slowly states withdrew from funding the institutions. Though private institutions were running on philanthropic mode, the profit motive institutions established by private bodies or companies come into the picture. With the change of time and with more demand from the society, newly established private institutions started to offer market-oriented courses. In the course of time, the transforming nature of public universities can be understood in terms of discipline transformation and introduction of self-financing course. During the twentieth century, the pressure to accommodate new branches of study has increased and the expansion of knowledge has been accompanied by differentiation between and within academic disciplines. The Indian universities have found accommodation for many new subjects that had hardly any existence in the earlier public universities. Universities have become more competitive to attract students and to accommodate ‘self-financing courses’ in order to augment their revenues. This is all due to the demand of the students who are no more learning for the sake of acquiring knowledge but for the job-oriented market-driven subjects. These all are related to the aspiration and demand of the today’s generation youths. Thus, with the change of time and with demand of the society, the university transforms its nature of so-called knowledge sharing and creation. They have to adapt to the demand of market by offering market-oriented courses than the traditional subject and even have to change their teaching-learning process with technology, i.e. from brick wall to click wall.

Reflecting on Ghosh’s (1983) work, one could view that when society changes its outlook with demand of time, the characters of university change and it could no longer be determined on traditional concepts and functioning of universities. The changing requirements of life in new situations and possibilities are the primary forces that determine the character of universities. With the dawn of independence,

universities of specialized studies were introduced, and the idea of university is different from traditional universities aimed at 'universality of subjects'. The establishments of such universities have made marked changes in the concept and character of universities. This has removed the wrong notion that a university means an institution where instructions for all branches of knowledge are imparted. Students of the twenty-first century are not prepared to stick to any particular traditional concepts as their life is influenced much by the knowledge explosion and technologically advanced world.

Though the concept of modern university owes its origin to medieval Europe, organized institutions were in existence in India since Buddhist period. Some of those institutions, for instance, Nalanda, rose to the status of a university having all the components of the concept and functions of the university of today. The first three universities in the country were only conducting examinations and rewarding them academic degrees, and they had no responsibilities of teaching. Teaching and research were none of their functions. So, as the days passed by under new situations and demand, universities kept on changing their character, and today, they have a different meaning from the meaning of the nineteenth century. From traditional universities, a new character is found in the idea of the university, 'Open university'. By the twentieth century, we also see the emergence of private universities which are founded by the corporate or business firm having different mission, and with their mushrooming growth, the scenario of university education seems to have taken a different trajectory.

## **Private University in India**

Setting up of universities under the State Private University Act by individuals and private trusts is a new trend of privatization of higher education in the country witnessed during the twenty-first century. Indian private universities are established by an Act of State Legislature. While the Private Universities Establishment and Regulation Bill, 1995, introduced in Rajya Sabha, was still pending to pass in the parliament, some state governments have taken the initiatives by introducing Bills for establishing private universities in the state legislatures. The concept of a private university has been pioneered by Chhattisgarh with its Act in 2002. As per this Act, Chhattisgarh government may by notification in the Gazette establish a university with the recognition and authorization to conduct a syllabus or to grant degrees or diplomas or awards. Subsequently, many states have established private universities through separate acts. Since then, there is mushrooming growth of private universities in the country, and this increase in the number of private universities over the years is a cause of concern on several counts.

Today, state private universities are the fastest-growing segment of the sector in the country. In terms of number, the growth rate of private universities is phenomenal, and their number has gone up from 42 in June 2009 (UGC 2009) to 282 in

2017 (UGC 2017). The total enrolment in private universities is 7,68,389 which comprises 11% of the total enrolment in various types of universities in India as per AISHE, 2016–2017 (Government of India 2017). Majority of the students enrol in diploma and integrated courses. Category wise, the state universities are the largest universities with 365 in number (UGC 2017). There are around 89 deemed university private (AISHE 2017).

Private universities are set up by individuals or private trusts following legislative permission granted for their establishment. These universities are regulated by the UGC (Establishment of and Maintenance of Standards in Private Universities) Regulations, 2003. Further, for the purpose of ascertaining the standards of teaching, examination and research of a university, the UGC causes inspection of any department or departments. Privatization of higher education following new education policy, private sector responding to the market demand as well as their response to the demand of students for job-oriented courses are some of the reasons for the growth of private universities. In contrast, the rise of modern public universities in the country may be the result of two factors: the pressure from the growth and expansion of specialized knowledge and the pressure on the universities to become socially more inclusive. In the twenty-first century, it has become increasingly difficult for a university to cover every branch of knowledge and yet retain its coherence and unity as an institution unless the conditions are exceptionally favourable. As a consequence, either the universities are bursting at the seams, as at Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi, or new universities with a more limited scope and a sharper focus are coming up such as agricultural universities, medical universities, universities of judicial sciences, etc. (Beteille 2010). Besides, the modern universities are with teaching as well as affiliating functions. The concept of university focusing on only research is still very rare in India. The Humboldt model of modern university and its three principles were inspiring modern universities in many parts of the world including India. However, the modern Indian universities, though guided by principles of teaching and research as well as principle of the freedom to teach and to learn, but the third principle of self-governance is to some extent not fully applied in public university.

## **Understanding Features of Public and Private Universities in India**

Unlike public universities, the private universities are non-affiliating, are unitary, are self-financing ones and not-for-profit organizations. As per UGC regulations 2003, the private universities shall operate within the boundary of the state concerned. It would be permissible to open up offshore campuses and study centres after 5 years of its coming into existence, fulfilling certain conditions. Some founders of private university, namely, Amity University, established around eight Amity Universities in different states, but these are enacted under respective state

**Table 7.1** Comparative table of features of public and private universities in India

Dimensions	Public university	Private university
Mission or purpose	Serve the public mission mostly on public interest	Mission serves the private interest of students /clients
Ownership	Publicly owned either by central government or state government	Private body
Source of revenue	Public money through tax payers or public revenue	Mainly tuition fee
Admission/ selection criteria	Centralized system of admission in majority of public university and merit-based admission	Admission criteria are decided by the individual university. Admission is generally not so transparent
Control by government	Highly controlled by the state	Limited control and high autonomy
Teaching-learning process	Semester, CBCS Traditional method of teaching in majority of the public university Slow process of curriculum revision	Semester, CBCS, modern method with ICT in case of many of them Quick process of curriculum revision
Fee	Minimal fee from the students	Higher fee from the students
Curriculum/ subject taught	Traditional subjects such as Arts, Science, Commerce	Market-oriented subjects like Engineering, Management, Medical, Pharmacy, etc.
Recruitment and salary	As per UGC	Rare case of following UGC norms
Management norms	Academic norms; shared governance between state and centre	Operated like business with high management control

legislation. Many private universities offer multidisciplinary professional courses similar to the state-funded universities; however, institutions offering single stream specialization programmes are also in existence. They offer courses leading to both diploma and degree and also integrated dual-degree programmes. Just as the case of public universities, the private universities are regulated by the UGC with respect to the maintenance of standards. Based on Angom's 2013 research report entitled 'A Study on Private Universities in India', let us understand some of the important features of private universities and how the idea of university has become far away from the idea of classical university/public university in India (Table 7.1).

1. *Mission or purpose*: Like the western perspective, opponents of privatization of higher education claim the core mission of a traditional university, which is to seek truth and generate new knowledge, is found to be always unfettered by the need for commercial application in the case of private universities (Table 7.2).
2. *Ownership*: Public universities, established by an act of parliament or state acts, are fully funded by the government, regulated by the public regulatory bodies and bound by the rules and regulations of the government. They are more accountable to public since it is fully maintained by the public money. Any changes, for example, opening of new departments, appointment of teachers and

**Table 7.2** Mission of universities

University	Mission
Mysore University – public university	Aims at promoting teaching and research in conventional and traditional domains of Arts, Humanities, Pure and Applied Sciences and Professional disciplines
Sikkim Manipal University – private university	To be a preferred choice of students, faculty and industry in every discipline undertaken by the university

promotion, etc., can happen with public universities at the will of government. Whereas private universities are also established by state act, however, the financing and management is purely done by the founders (private firms or private body or family or private companies). They are more accountable to the private owners who may seek the advantage as per the vision and mission of the university.

3. *Admission and selection criteria:* Unlike the strict admission process in some of the top private universities in the USA like Harvard, Princeton and MIT, in Indian case, those who are not admitted to good public universities seek admission to private universities. Admission is not purely on merit, as in the case of public university which follows centralized and transparent admission policy. In the case of private university, those who have paying capacity get admission. Some private universities do have autonomy to decide their own policy to admit students (Angom 2015). Private universities are able to cater to those who are unable to enter public institutions or university due to particular entry requirement. The admission into public universities is generally competitive and focuses on academic performance. Nowadays, public universities generally either conduct entrance test or admit on merit basis. Private universities have a more flexible and less stringent admission system, e.g. some admit students in engineering courses with lower joint entrance ranking and lower pass percent in qualifying examination. Reflecting on classical idea of university, most private universities do have autonomy to develop their own admission policy except for few universities which follow state admission policy.
4. *Curriculum and subject taught:* Majority of Indian private universities offer courses in subjects that require good investment in laboratory facilities and are market-driven compared to humanities or social sciences such as courses in Engineering, Information Technology, Medical and allied subjects, Pharmaceutical, Business Management, Computer Applications, etc. (Table 7.3). Enrolment at PhD is almost negligible, and enhancing research activity is a challenging task for them. While reflecting on ideas of university as put forward by the thinkers, the public universities offer all types of streams humanities, social sciences and sciences, management, etc. However, private universities focus more on market orientation and are less interested in the offering of humanities such as logic, philosophy and other social science courses. Their main target is to produce graduates for industries neglecting the very idea of university ‘the knowledge generation’.

**Table 7.3** Courses offered by sample private universities (2010–2011)

University	Programmes			
	PG	UG	Diploma	PhD/M.Phil
Private university – Jaipur	Master in Nursing, MBA & MCA (Integrated), M.Pharm, M.Sc	MBBS, BDS, B. Tech, B.Pharm,	Nursing, Pharmacy, Paramedical and Engineering	Biotech, Microbiology, Biochem and Pharmacy Sciences
Private university – HP	M.Tech, 5-year dual degree in M.Tech+B. Tech, 6-year dual degree in M. Pharm+B.Pharm	B.Tech, Physics, Maths, Management & Humanities	N.A.	Engineering, Physics, Maths, Management, Humanities
Private university – Sikkim	M.Pharm, MA-Hospital Management, M.Tech, MCA, MSc, Integrated Course in M.Sc Biotech	B.Tech, B.Pharm, MBBS, B.Tech, BCA, BS (Engineering Twinning Programme), BBA, BMLT, BSc (Nursing)	N.A.	Engineering, Medical, Management and Sciences
Private university – Gujarat	M.Pharm, M.Tech, MCA, MBA, M.Sc (Biochemistry and Biotechnology)	B.Tech, B.Pharm,	Engineering and IT	Technology, Pharmacy, Sciences

Source: A Study on Private Universities in India, Research Report (unpublished), NUEPA, 2013

The research area is still neglecting in case of many private universities due to various reasons and one reason being the lack of research funding. This will lead to poor teaching research linkages and fragmentation limited to few professional courses that limit unity of subjects and arrive at holistic knowledge.

5. *Control by government:* Public universities are controlled highly by the state or central government. They are variously constrained in terms of following rules, regulations and procedures and obtaining financial sanctions whether it relates to the introduction of new courses, appointment of staffs, building new infrastructures, etc. While this severely restricts the autonomy of public universities, many a times the government facilitates the public universities to encourage opening of courses as per the needs and requirements of society. For example, it facilitates opening of courses in education under National Mission of Teachers and theoretical and applied sciences under the Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research (ISSER). On the other hand, private universities are not controlled by the state on such matters. The founder of the institution, say family or private firms or companies, take decisions with respect to the opening of courses, recruiting the faculty and developing the infrastructure in terms of cost-benefit analysis guided by the market rules and risks. The classical idea of control of state on the universities is still at minimum in the case of private universities.



6. *Source of revenue and fees:* Unlike public universities, private universities seldom receive any grants from the government and their main source of income is student fee. Tuition fee levels are inadequate to provide sufficient funds for institutional survival, and this necessitates careful planning with regard to student numbers, cost per student and expenditure levels. The total income of private institutions is determined, therefore, by the number of students and the rate of tuition fees levied. Generally, they try to attract students by introducing courses that are popular in the job market and are not offered by the traditional universities. Therefore, the tuition fees are generally on higher side. Angom (2013) revealed that in private universities, a student has to spend annually Rs.2,80,000 for an MBA course; Rs. 3,43,050 for MBBS, and 1 lakh for M.Ed courses.
7. *Teaching and learning:* Like public universities, private universities follow semester system and continuous evaluation system. However, evaluation in most of the case is purely internal. Unlike public universities, an individual private university has the autonomy to revise the curriculum, introduce new courses and adopt assessment or evaluation method without approval from the government. Further, it appears that the enforcement of the criteria for granting of licence/recognition to private universities has had a positive impact on the quality of facilities for teaching and learning in the institutions. Some of the sample private universities, for example, Nirma University, Gujarat and Jaypee University of Information and Technology, Solan, have state-of-the-art facilities that are the envy of students in some, if not all, public universities, where there are dilapidated infrastructural facilities. Private universities do manage well and update the curriculum with the changing demands. The courses are conceptually manageable for understanding by students and courses are covered in time (Angom 2013, 2015). Here, the knowledge dissemination is guided by the learners' needs, and fast-changing technology demands the regular updating of curricula which private universities, if they have to survive, are bound to update. In the public university, autonomy of teacher is partly preserved, as they are free to update curricula, normally not available to the teachers of colleges of public universities.

Another feature found was that the percentage of failure and repetition is quite low or graduation rates are high in the surveyed private universities (Angom 2013). Moreover, student's progress was monitored closely in these universities. The argument here is that low quality of education is responsible for high repetition. On the other hand, liberal marking is done to attract students, and in this case, repetition is low. However, getting quality students still remains a challenge in the case of many private universities unlike in public universities. Overall, teaching and learning process seems to be happening mostly in tune with market demand.

8. *Recruitment and salary:* In public universities, selection and recruitment of staff is as per the norms of state government or UGC with the approval of Board of Management or Academic council. Individual public university has no autonomy of filling the vacant post or recruitment without the approval from the gov-

ernment. The State Private University Acts have provided for a complete autonomy in to the individual university in the recruitment of staffs without approval from the government. The private universities have a selection committee like the public universities for selecting candidates to various teaching posts; however, the members of such board or committee are different from public universities. The final decision for the selection of candidates lies with Governing Council or Board of Management of the university. For instance, the selection committee for faculty recruitment for a private university in Gujarat consists of some experts, management committee, representatives of the trustees, VC and Registrar. Further, the universities may adopt any favourable method of appointment as decided by the selection board. However, the final decision for selection of candidate lies with the Governing Council or Board of Management of the university. Moreover, at the will of the management body, they may remove any staff. Unlike public universities, the private universities do not adhere to the same policies of quota system for selection of teachers; majority of them hardly follow UGC pay scale (Angom 2013).

In a public university, a teacher who joined the university full time or permanently has freedom to teach or communicate ideas or facts or generate knowledge without being targeted for repression, job loss, etc. than a teacher in private university.

## **Idea of University in the Context of Private Universities and Its Implications for Future University**

Private universities are also expected by the state to contribute to economic development of the country besides creating additional capacity and ensuring equal opportunities, improve quality of teaching-learning and attain excellence in research (12 FYP). As mentioned by Wan et al. (2015) regarding the case of Malaysian private university, Indian private universities have been planned to fully utilize the economic potentials of higher education. For example, private universities are allowed to charge fees that ensure profitability and financial sustainability and do not need to address the socioeconomic and political needs of society. While public universities meet socioeconomic needs, private universities adapt to changes in the market by innovations such as dual degree, twinning programmes and encouraging competitiveness. Thus, private universities while serving market and fully utilizing market potentials become exclusionary as they exclude few meritorious but poor students.

While reflecting on ideas of university as put forward by the classical thinker on liberal education in a public university, it is evident that private universities are less interested in offering of humanities such as logic, philosophy and other social science courses. They focus more on market-oriented subjects like Engineering, Management, Pharmacy, Medicine and up to some extent Law. Their main target is to produce finished products for industries neglecting the very idea of university in

terms of ‘the knowledge generation’. The research area is still neglected due to various reasons, and they hardly have extension services to the society. A public university is governed by the bodies of the university but controlled by the government. Except for academic matters such as admission, course selection and teaching-learning process, the autonomy of the university is restricted up to a certain extent. The public universities are regulated by the UGC and AICTE, and moreover, it is a known fact that there is always political influence for appointment of Vice-Chancellor. Indian private universities, as they are not funded by the government, have more autonomy at the institution level to take their own decision. Also the appointments of important posts rest with the university itself. The autonomy in case of private university needs more in-depth thinking.

*Are the private universities working along the lines of the very idea of a university? This argument has been built upon the following important areas:*

First, the university should be publicly funded, and it should be for public good.

However, the private universities are self-financed universities, tuition being the only source of income. The government has little role in terms of controlling it. So, most of them are working towards profit in a businesslike manner. In this case, it is quite contradictory with the very idea that higher education is for public good, not for private good.

Second, the private universities are mostly focused on market-driven subjects like Engineering, Management, Computer science and Pharmacy, and they seem to focus on imparting skills. Nageshwar (2016) argues that polytechnics impart skills. But, universities raise fundamental questions on the existing knowledge and make additions to knowledge of both natural and social phenomena besides transmitting generated knowledge from one generation to the other. Such prime purpose of a university is not easily being delivered by the private university. The idea of university for humanism is lacking in terms of the kind of discipline the private universities offer.

Third, the fundamental question that often comes to the fore while debating on the policy to encourage private universities is whether such varsities promote social exclusion or social inclusion. Some scholars are of the view that the inherent profit motive and the consequent prohibitive cost of pursuing education in private universities raise serious concerns over inclusive character of higher education when it is opened for market forces. This very nature of private universities contradicts with the idea of the university which is intimately connected with democratic ideas.

Fourth, while reflecting on the history of origin of universities worldwide, there is a common understanding that the idea of a university is routed in the philosophical doctrine that intellectual enterprise requires autonomy. In this regard, Nageshwar (2016) also noted that universities aid the democratic societies. Furthermore, Tagore’s idea of university free from political influence is the essence of university. Unlike public university, the private university is free from political influence in many ways, however, the academic autonomy of such university is subject to private management. Thus, it contradicts the idea of university of having autonomy in the intellectual enterprise.

Finally, reflecting on the nature of private universities ‘Can the market-driven universities that often commodify higher education create intellectual pioneers who offer guidance for society’? Will the private universities, guided by principle of free market provide intellectual space for students with intellectually charged teachers? One also needs to answer the question posed by Nageshwar (2016) about how far private universities ensure meaningful social connect.

## Lessons Learned and Conclusion

It has been learned that idea of universities is changing all over the world in order to meet needs of today and, more critically, that of tomorrow. The idea of the university evolved from pre-medieval ages, and it will continue to evolve itself into the future. The role of the private university must be sensitive to the nature and growth of population and to the inclusive agenda for flourishing of democracy.

While thinking of the way forward for Indian Public Universities and private universities in particular, it is important to recognize that the previous ideas and models of western university may have served tremendously well. The public universities from 1857 onward have played a crucial part in building and moulding the capacity of development of the country, while private universities have contributed to widen access into higher education and further unleash the economic potential of the Indian higher education sector.

In terms of the idea of university as the centre of learning through its teaching mission, we need to reflect on what the NPE, 1986 has to say. The policy notes the value of higher education in terms of developing social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity. Private universities do not seem to have fully corroborated the above values of higher education.

The landscape of higher education is ever changing, and the policies of education have to be flexible enough to accommodate them without compromising its core values and its overarching goals of nurturing a balanced personality.

While thinking on evolution and the purpose of new universities, the private universities during the last 10–15 years have failed to inculcate democratic values as they have been guided by market principles. The university mostly focuses on offering market-oriented courses neglecting humanities and social sciences; attracting students who are capable of paying the cost. They give more emphasis on training rather than knowledge generation. If we look at the vision and mission of **a private university in Himachal Pradesh** ‘*to develop as a benchmark university in emerging technologies, to provide state-of-the-art teaching-learning process and a stimulating R and D environment, and to harness human capital for sustainable competitive edge and social relevance.*’ It is evident that values development is a missing vision and mission of the university. The vision and mission of a private university in Sikkim is ‘*to be a preferred choice of students, faculty and industry in every discipline undertaken by the university,*’ we can well understand how industry plays an important role in

deciding the courses and components of the study. The very objective of university becomes a ‘degree-generating mills’ or producing finished product for employment in the market. The very idea of knowledge generation seems to be missing here. Therefore, the nature of publicness is found to be lacking in the evolution of private universities in India.

Reflecting back on the very core purpose or objective of higher education in the country as spelled out in Radhakrishnan Commission 1948–1949, Kothari Commission 1965–1966 and Education Policy 1968 and 1986; the ideas of Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; there is a need for re-aligning the private university in terms of its objectives and functions.

## Conclusion

The idea of the universities that has been envisioned by prominent western thinkers like John H. Newman, Immanuel Kant, Humboldt and many others may have served the nation well in the past. Their ideas must have served the universities in different generations. However, one needs to rethink constantly the idea of the university in the phase of globalization where market forces are guiding the process of development. The role of private universities assumes importance to cater to the development by means of curricula guided by industry needs. Surely, private universities have fulfilled this role to a varying degree. The need of the future is to align the development of private universities in terms of developing values and support the inclusive public sphere. Unfortunately, higher education in India is currently experiencing the mushrooming growth of the private universities that operates on business mode neglecting the ethos of the idea of a university. So, the future of higher education policy should gear towards moulding the private university to inculcate the character of publicness of a university.

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## **Part II**

# **Finances**



# Chapter 8

## Future of Higher Education Financing and Governance



Sudhanshu Bhushan

### Introduction

Vishwajeet project, a scheme aimed at allocating around Rs. 8700 crore to seven top Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), as part of ongoing efforts to enhance their global standing, was turned down by the Finance Ministry of the Government of India. When V. Ramgopal Rao, Director of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Delhi, expressed disappointment over it at a function in New Delhi, the Minister of Human Resource Development, Government of India, proposed an alternative to the centrally sponsored project in terms of the Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA), the Uchchatar Avishkar Yojana and the Prime Minister's proposed scholarships of Rs. 75,000 a month (Hindu, September 12 2017). Another centrally funded project, called Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA), to provide support to the state universities and colleges, having a low success in terms of gap between resource allocation during 12th plan and meagre resource disbursement during the same period, is also a pointer to the fact that less reliance has to be placed on centrally sponsored projects in the higher education financing in the future for which the budgetary resource comes from the taxes. The minister's suggestion to move towards Higher Education Finance Agency which is a debt-based financing to the institutions of higher education and Uchchatar Avishkar Yojana which is industry supported financing is clearly an indicator that there is a move towards market-based strategies in the financing of higher education in the future. Heavy reliance is also being placed on educational loan as a means of financing to the students which is clear from the fact that during 2013–2014 the total quantum of educational loans by commercial banks stood at Rs. 70,282 crore (Rani Geetha 2016, p. 183). The amount of scholarship disbursed is a meagre sum of Rs. 316 crore by the higher

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education department of central government during 2015–2016 (Department of Higher Education 2017). Furthermore, the tuition fees are enormously high with the spread of self-financing courses in higher education institutions (Bhushan 2008). The future of higher education financing is moving towards high tuition fee, from a scholarship to loan-based system to students and from centrally sponsored assistance to the institutions towards market-linked loans from commercial banks and support from industries. It is therefore clear that there is a paradigm shift in the financing of higher education in India (Errol D'Souza 2004; Chattopadhyay 2009).

Financing of higher education affects the mode of governance. Market-based strategies call for an efficient system whereby the debt is repaid to the lenders. Hence, the question of efficiency in higher education acquires importance. Question of efficiency affects higher education in many ways. First of all, resource allocation has to be based on the rates of return criteria. There are two types of rates of return, social return and the private return<sup>1</sup>. The market-based strategies of financing relegates the importance of social return and gives an important role to the private return. However, the primary and secondary education which has a much higher social return and a lower private return in comparison with higher education may be justified for government funding, whereas higher education financing may be left to the forces of market because of its high private return. Hence, the resource allocation in higher education in the future will be guided by the higher private return and financing from the private sources<sup>2</sup>. Second, the grant of the subsidy by the government will also be examined by the criteria of efficiency and not by the criteria of distributional benefit to the poor sections of the society. Efficiency will outweigh the distributional advantage. The question of educational finance in the higher education will be more guided through the targeted subsidy as it will be considered to be more efficient. Hence, once over all subsidy is reduced, higher education will be subjected to higher tuition fees. Third, the consideration of efficiency will affect the overall higher education system by the question of higher productivity. An overall policy drive may be seen to be guided by increasing productivity by increasing the hours of teaching and research, reducing salary payment to the teachers, increasing part-time teachers, ban in the recruitment of permanent teachers and increasing use of technology in governance as well as teaching learning. There might be cut in library, infrastructure, etc. and an advocacy for the use of technology may be intensified. Fourth, the question of efficiency will also give rise to increasing accountability not only for the teachers and staffs who are being paid by the government but

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<sup>1</sup> Private return is based on wage differences at different levels of education, whereas social return is inclusive of externalities related to nonwage differences such as prestige, honour, civility, political participation, national development, etc. associated with different levels of education.

<sup>2</sup> The past literature on the rate of return on education is so far inconclusive as it mainly depends on the level of economic development. In a major study, Psacharopoulos (1994) noted that both private and social rates of return are higher at the primary and secondary levels in comparison with the higher education justifying the preference for resource allocation in favour of school education. However, estimates vary from country to country. The recent estimates on private returns to education in India suggest that "there is an incentive to acquire higher levels of education as returns to higher education are positive and monotonically increasing" (Geetha Rani 2016, p. 187).

also for the students in terms of attendance, discipline and control over student's union activities. Wherever the autonomy to the institutions will be granted, there will be a rider to the autonomy in terms of performance and responsibility not only in the areas of teaching and research but also in terms of efficiently raising resources through the market.

What all this amounts to in terms of the financing and governance of higher education in the future? As the financing of higher education will be linked to the forces of market in the future, the injustices to the marginalized sections of the society will grow. Surely, state will step in to mitigate the injustice by providing a concession to the marginalized sections, yet it will not prove to be sufficient and there will be growing dissatisfactions in the campuses of higher education institutions. This will lead to the failure of law and order in the University campus and growing strains on the academic leadership to control the situation. Another challenge will be that teachers will be subjected to much more discipline, accountability and performance in the face of rising shortage of teachers as the government will be withdrawing the resource to support the higher education. The discipline and command over teachers will grow through the regulatory mechanism and the substantive autonomy of the teachers will be much more threatened in the name of maintaining professional accountability. The teaching community will be subjected to authoritative control by the bureaucracy and will feel alienated from the system of higher education. They will be guided by rules rather than the passion and love for teaching and research. The third and the most important challenge in the future seems to be the crisis of the public system of institutions. The governance failure will loom large in the face of financial shortage and the resulting difficulties to manage the system. Public institutions will be discredited ultimately to find ways for private institutions to rule in the future. Thus, the problems of marginalization of poor students, alienation of teachers and surveillance and governance failure of public institutions will remain an important challenge for the future of higher education.

The objective of the paper is to show the shifts in the financing of higher education, structural changes in policy reform and the resulting problems and challenges in higher education.

### ***Expenditure Pattern in Higher Education***

It would be interesting to analyse the higher education expenditure by the central government during 2011–2012 to 2015–2016 to understand any shift in the pattern of financing. (i) The total plan expenditure of higher education during the first 3 years increased from Rs. 12,575 crore to Rs. 14,244 crore, declining sharply to Rs. 12,591 crore in 2014–2015 and then increasing to Rs. 14,428 in 2015–2016 in nominal terms. During the 5-year period, the expenditure in real terms, adjusting for inflation and growth in enrolment rate, should have gone up over Rs. 18,000 crore, assuming at least 10% annual growth rate in nominal terms. The expenditure cut in higher education was sharply felt in the university and higher education, particularly

grant to UGC. It has declined from Rs. 5341 crore in 2011–2012 to Rs. 3605 crore. The downfall since 2013–2014 may be noted. The expenditure cut to UGC has been felt in terms of shortage of plan allocation to the state universities and colleges. There has been a centrally sponsored scheme of RUSA for funding state universities and colleges initiated during the 12th plan period to compensate for the shortfall in the resource allocation to UGC. However, it may be noted that originally 12th plan earmarked Rs. 22,500 crore under RUSA. However, in the first 4 years of the 12th plan till 2015–2016, the disbursement under RUSA has been less than Rs. 2000 crore. Hence, overall even after making an adjustment for RUSA, there is a clear evidence of fall in the plan expenditure of higher education since 2013–2014. Hence, direct subsidization of higher education out of budget has been declining. (ii) Another interesting aspect of the financing of higher education is the increasing reliance upon student financial aid. It consists of two components – interest subsidy and scholarship. To compensate for the decline in direct subsidy, the interest subsidy component has been introduced since 2013–2014. The allocation to interest subsidy has been increased to Rs. 1960 crore in 2015–2016. On the other hand, there has been a nominal increase in the scholarship as compared to interest subsidy. The allocation for the scholarship stands at Rs. 228 crore in 2015–2016. It shows another trend in terms of a shift from plan direct subsidy to university and colleges to interest subsidy meant for students. It indicates a move towards encouraging education loan by the students in order to fund higher education studies. Fall in direct subsidy to universities and colleges would mean an increase in tuition fees will be encouraged to meet rising development cost. Hence, an increase in tuition fees will go hand in hand with increasing loan to students. (iii) It may be interesting to note that plan allocation for technical education has been stagnant in last three years in nominal terms, thereby indicating a fall in real terms. However, technical education has not witnessed a decline of the same magnitude as in the case of general education. The worst sufferer of the cut in the plan has been university and higher education and not technical education. (iv) In the case of open and distance education, too, there is no compensating increase, though in the last 3 years, it has registered a significant increase in the plan allocation (Table 8.1).

Overall, it may be observed that non-plan expenditure for university and higher education has registered an increase in the first 3 years, and in the last 2 years, it has remained stagnant, thereby indicating a sharp fall in real terms. So far, as technical education is concerned, there has been an increase, at least in nominal terms, in the non-plan expenditure in the last 5 years. It shows that in real terms, university and higher education has suffered in comparison with technical education (Table 8.2).

### **Structural Shift in Financing: From Subsidy to Loan**

Empirically, it was noted above that there is a structural shift to push the financing of higher education from tax-based subsidy suppressing the tuition fee to a lower level to a system of reduced subsidy allowing the rise in the tuition fee to be met by

**Table 8.1** Central plan expenditure of higher education: Component wise (Rs. Crore)

		2011– 2012	2012– 2013	2013– 2014	2014– 2015	2015–2016 (RE)
1.	University and Higher Education (UHE)	6094	6112	5129	3613	3829
1.1	UHE of which UGC	5341	4990	4966	3474	3605
2.	Promotion of Indian Languages	165	227	240	183	295
3.	Student Financial Aid (SFA)	163	115	1719	1737	2188
3.1	SFA of which interest subsidy	–	–	1524	1544	1960
3.2	SFA of which scholarship to students	163	115	194	193	228
4.	Planning, Administration and Global Engagement	24	27	104	79	96
5.	Open and Distance Education	471	296	205	206	430
6.	Technical Education	5711	5926	6578	6354	6533
7.	RUSA			267	416	1055
8.	Total	12575	12726	14244	12591	14428

Source: Source: Outcome Budget, 2014–2015, 2015–2016, 2016–2017, Department of Higher Education, MHRD, Government of India, available on [http://mhrd.gov.in/documents\\_reports?field\\_documents\\_reports\\_category\\_tid=11](http://mhrd.gov.in/documents_reports?field_documents_reports_category_tid=11)

**Table 8.2** Non-plan expenditure of higher education: Component wise (Rs. Crore)

		2011– 2012	2012– 2013	2013– 2014	2014– 2015	2015–2016 (RE)
1.	Secretariat	58	62	66	67	99
2.	University and Higher Education	4471	4863	7387	7313	7397
2.1	UHE of which UGC	4400	4686	5124	5432	6095
3.	Promotion of Indian Languages	85	93	103	104	115
4.	Planning, Administration and Global Engagement	31	27	33	44	48
5.	Open and Distance Education	4	5	6	6	7
6.	Book promotion and IPR	17	30	215	275	300
7.	Technical Education	2262	2582	2654	3013	3272
8.	Total	6929	7718	10274	10577	10971

Source: Outcome Budget, 2014–2015, 2015–2016, 2016–2017, Department of Higher Education, MHRD, Government of India, available on [http://mhrd.gov.in/documents\\_reports?field\\_documents\\_reports\\_category\\_tid=11](http://mhrd.gov.in/documents_reports?field_documents_reports_category_tid=11)

the students through borrowing in the financial market. The shift is evident from the very fact that Central grants through different schemes and programme do not commensurate with the increase in the enrolment. As a result, private institutions are flourishing with high tuition fees and government, and government-aided institutions have to resort to generating internal resources through raising the tuition fees in a regular programme or by means of self-financing courses. Government's new plan to encourage educational loans through the institutional arrangement to meet

the cost of education is emerging as a new policy initiative. It is, therefore, important to understand the implications of subsidy versus loan.

In the literature, the implications have been examined primarily from the point of view of efficiency, equality and equity perspective of subsidy and loan as policy instruments. (Cecilia García-Peñalosa and Klaus Wälde 2000). There is the traditional argument that subsidy, by depressing the tuition fees, enables equality of opportunity to higher education to all sections of the society irrespective of which income group they belong to. Whether subsidy also supports the equity objective of higher education can be substantiated only if there is a net transfer of income from the rich to the poor as a result of the introduction of subsidy. This can certainly happen when tax to support the subsidy is collected from the rich (relatively to the poor), and the introduction of subsidy leads to an increase in the potential as well as actual increase in the income of the poor in comparison with the rich who graduate from higher education. In this case, there is a net transfer of income from the rich to the poor and the introduction of subsidy also results in the fulfilment of equity objective. Moreover, if all the graduates of higher education, whether rich or poor, acquiring higher skills, are employed in the labour market at higher wages, the effect of subsidy may be said to increase overall income without any wastage, i.e. without any efficiency loss (i.e. loss in output). However, it may be argued that whereas subsidy provides equality of opportunity, there is an efficiency-equity trade-off in actual practice.

Efficiency may be achieved if higher access to higher education as a result of subsidy leads to the generation of higher skill and higher income in modernized system in comparison with a state when there is no subsidy and production takes place with the low skill and low wages in traditional system of production. However, it is argued that in actual practice, the greatest beneficiary of higher education are those who belong to the rich. Either the poor class do not get admitted because of merit-based admission policy or even if they get admitted, they drop out implying a lower graduation rate of the poor. In such a scenario, when the graduates of higher education are students who are relatively from rich background, they have high probability of getting a high-skilled higher-wages job in the labour market. In such cases, if on a net basis taxes collected from poor (in relation to the rich) to support the subsidy go to the benefit of increasing the income of the rich through the intermediary of higher education, then it is a case of reverse distribution: there is a net transfer of income from the poor to the rich. In such a scenario, there is no doubt that there will be efficiency gain due to higher employment and income, yet equitable distribution of income suffers due to reverse distribution from the poor to the rich. There is an efficiency-equity trade-off, namely, higher access of relatively rich leads to gain in efficiency (increase in output) with the reverse distribution of income, exacerbating inequality in income. Alternatively, even assuming that all the graduates of higher education – rich or poor – are the beneficiary of the tax subsidy and, in particular, relatively the poor benefits with resulting distribution of income in their favour, it is quite likely that this may result in graduate unemployment due to oversupply of skilled labour. In such a case, there may be a possibility of redistribution of income from rich to the poor, yet there will be a loss in the efficiency due to unemployment of skilled labour graduating from higher education institutions.

It may be noted that in spite of efficiency-equity trade-off, politically, the instrument of subsidy was found favourable for a longer time in Indian higher education as also the worldwide on the ground that it serves social justice. In the phase of mass expansion of higher education, however, state found it increasingly difficult to mobilize sufficient resources without adversely affecting the rate of growth supported by consumption good and financed by the private corporate sector. An increase in taxes to mobilize resources for higher education would have meant disincentivizing private sector. In such a scenario state was caught in a contradiction. Either it could cut the rate of growth of economy through taxing corporate sector and support subsidy or encourage the rate of growth of economy through a reduction in tax and curtailing subsidy. The problem acquired greater dimension when the phase of expansion of higher education was seriously marred by lack of desired growth of subsidy. Educational institutions could not maintain the quality of higher education due to the shortage of infrastructures and teachers along with the unrestricted entry of students. It was argued that higher education institutions are inefficient in the sense that they are only capable of producing unemployable graduates through insufficient resources. The equity argument was replaced in the policy discourse by the efficiency argument. The old political ideology of subsidizing higher education gives way to the new political ideology of loan-based higher education to improve the efficiency and increasing quality by generating sufficient resources and help in reducing the unemployable graduates. Private corporate sector created a new discourse on “unemployable graduates” which are becoming a burden on the economy. Such was the effect of reduction in the government grant on a real per capita basis to the universities and colleges. It was thought necessary to search for an alternative to the tax-based subsidy if the government wanted to improve the efficiency of higher education without harming the interests of private corporate sector. It may, of course, be argued that subsidy by allowing larger participation in higher education has much higher social return due to the externalities of education. However, many arguments in favour of externalities may not be quantified and proved. Ultimately, the strength of subsidy being the basis of financial support to higher education supporting equity objective was getting weaker and weaker in the policy discourse dominated by elite circles (Windham Douglas 1976). Subsidy argument being discredited, it gave rise to a new discourse – loan-based financing of higher education.

Does financial market guarantee that there is no efficiency-equity trade-off and is therefore a policy instrument of loan to be preferred over subsidy? It needs a closer examination as to what reason justifies it. There could be four types of loan-based system. Commercial banks borrowing without interest subsidy, commercial banks borrowing with interest subsidy to the banking system, income contingent loan and graduate taxation. In India, interest subsidy to the commercial banks to encourage education loan to the students and a new policy of higher education finance through Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA) to the higher education institutions have been introduced recently. Let us first understand the implications of education loans without or with interest subsidy. If tax-based direct subsidy is falling, the tuition fees will have a tendency to rise. This will discourage poor students to access



higher education due to the lower level of affordability of poor students. Equality of opportunity will be severely curtailed. However, if the government assures that any student who cannot afford higher education can avail loan facility which may be paid back to the banks with interest after graduation from the higher education, probably the equality of opportunity is restored under conditions of no risk and uncertainty. Graduates trained from higher education, if they are able to get a job in the labour market, will also contribute to the economy through higher income and will presumably pay back the loans with interest. There might be efficiency gains due to higher output without a fall in output as subsidy withdrawn from higher education will be utilized by the government in other employment avenues. Equality and equity-based argument with loan-based financing of higher education can be sustained only when risk and uncertainty associated with the student loan is taken care of by guaranteeing perfect financial and capital market and the perfect labour market. Only then the fear in the mind of students can be removed about the uncertainty of getting the loan or getting a high wage job in the labour market so as to repay the loan with interest. Since commercial banks insist on some collaterals, the poor students' probability of joining the higher education institutions will be much less in comparison with the rich. This might give rise to reverse distribution phenomenon or at least resulting income opportunities in favour of graduates of privileged sections thus jeopardizing the equality as well as equity objectives. In any case, the fear of uncertainty of getting a decent high wage job will also come in the way of poor students availing the loan facility by the commercial banks. Therefore, loan-based system of financing of higher education is a way to restrict the entry to higher education institution which might result in efficiency gains, but the equality and equity objectives of higher education will suffer.

In order to assure the commercial banks that if there is default in the repayment of loan by the students, government will compensate for the default through the interest subsidy. The instrument of interest subsidy is not so much to assure the students of non-repayment of loans if they do not get a decent job. Hence, it is not going to incentivize the students of resorting to student loans. It is simply an insurance to the commercial banks and therefore some sort of encouragement to achieve higher volume of lending on account of education. Commercial banks might be willing to park some of the surplus for education loan, given interest subsidy support by the government. Interest subsidy is not directly going to help poor students in any way to provide premium against risk and uncertainty associated with borrowing or with the labour market.

There are two other loan-based policy instruments being tried out in Australia, New Zealand and England, namely income contingent loan and graduate loan. These two policy instruments have so far not tried out in India. In the case of income contingent loan, the repayment to loan to cover the tuition fees is activated only when the graduates after finding the job have income levels higher above the stipulated level of income. When graduates fail to obtain a high wage job or remain unemployed, they are free from the repayments of loan. Whatever is the loss on account of non-repayment to the banking system is fully compensated by the government. Income contingent loan might increase the chances of equality of opportu-

nity, might result in efficiency gain but may not necessarily promote equity. There might be reverse distribution as taxes (out of poor in relation to the rich) financed for the non-repayment of income contingent loan may outweigh the resulting income of the poor graduating from the higher education institutions. The graduate loan takes care of this because in this case the graduates with higher income have to pay not only the loan plus interest but also some sort of a tax component in the repayment of loan so that it compensates for the non-repayment of those graduates who fail to obtain the decent job and repay back the loan. In this case, the banking system does not get compensated for the loss out of tax collected. Only the graduates who have got decent job, having acquired the capacity to pay surplus over and above their own repayment, are asked to pay the tax element in the repayment.

## Reality Check

Loan: P Geetha Rani (2016) from the unit level data has examined loan as means to financing higher education in India. Some of her findings are worth noting:

- (i) Number of educational loans increased from 1.1 lakh in 2000–2001 to 25.9 lakhs in 2013–2014.
- (ii) Amount of education loans released increased rapidly from Rs. 1028 crore in 2000–2001 to Rs. 70,282 crore in 2013–2014 at an annual average growth rate of 38%, while rate of growth of government expenditure was at 15%.
- (iii) Share of education loans constituted around 8.8% in total expenditure on higher and technical education in 2000–2001, the share exceeding 100% in 2013–2014.
- (iv) Education loans and interest subsidy were highest for medical, followed by architecture, law, fashion and management.
- (v) Loan sanctioned and interest subsidy were higher for top quintile in comparison with bottom quintile across all social groups, general, OBC and SC and ST students; besides general category students got highest benefits of loan sanctioned and interest subsidy followed by OBC and SC and ST students.

From the above, it is clear that the structural shift towards loan as means to financing higher education is becoming popular. It has already exceeded the quantum of government expenditure on higher and technical education. Besides the advantage of education loan and interest subsidy has tilted in favour of rich income class.

In 2016, the education loan facility has been extended to central and state government-supported institutions of higher education. If the grant to these institutions are withdrawn the institutions will be forced to take loan. In the first stage, technical and professional institutions supported by the central government who may expect to charge user fee for any facility extended to students supported by loan may come forward. State government-supported universities and colleges imparting general education will hesitate to borrow money from Higher Education Funding Agency due to their inability to charge user fee from students.

This will increase hierarchy of – technical and general and central and state funded – institutions of higher education. HEFA has the provision of zero interest rate financing. Since the central government has not announced subsidy on this account, it is not clear how HEFA will manage to raise money from the financial market? Heavy reliance being placed on donors and Corporate Social Responsibility fund for subsidizing the loan programme is to be tested when the loan scheme is rolled out. Besides the borrowing capacity is restricted to five times the annual collection of fees from the students, institutions charging lower fees will have lower borrowing capacity than the institutions higher fees. It also implies the scheme will have the tendency to increase fees from the students in order to have larger borrowing capacity. The reality check of education loan to students and in the future education loan to institutions points towards future of higher education in India favouring rich class and privileged communities affording higher education in view of the fact that subsidy component has a tendency to decline.

GST: Another reality check is the introduction of Goods and Services Tax (GST) in 2017. It is said to result in 42% devolution of pooled resources to states, as recommended by the 14th Finance Commission, up from 32% recommendation by the 13th Finance Commission. The consequence of this much greater devolution to the States is that the fiscal space for the Centre will reduce in the same proportion. This will have the effect of Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS), in fact, Central assistance to State Plans as a whole, to reduce (PIB 2015). The effect may be felt in higher education. RUSA as CSS will have much lower scale of assistance to state universities and colleges in the years to come. Higher education, being in the concurrent list, is the responsibility of both the centre and the state. Yet the state governments in a new regime of GST will have to take greater care of development needs of state universities and colleges, whereas centre will be more responsible for centrally funded institutions, and only residual fund will be devoted to maintain the quality by the centre which is the responsibility of the central government. To fulfil the responsibility of the maintenance of the standards of higher education, as per the Constitution of India, the central government will resort to various policy measures rather than support through plan assistance. The future of higher education will, therefore, witness the central government's role in higher education reform through policy directives by the centre. GST is said to support fiscal federalism. The implication of GST-supported fiscal federalism will be that the state governments will have to find ways to support the social sectors, including higher education.

NITI Aayog: Another reality check is end of an era of central plan funding with the abolition of Planning Commission. National Institution of Transforming India (NITI) Aayog was established in India on 1st January 2015 as a policy “think tank” of the Government of India. NITI Aayog is chaired by the Prime Minister of India so as to shape up the direction of policy of the government in the spirit of fiscal federalism noted above through the greater devolution of resources from centre to states. Hence, NITI Aayog will be instructed to give policy directions from time to time. As a major step towards this, NITI Aayog has been asked to prepare vision 2030, 7-year strategy and 3-year plan of action (2017–2018 to 2019–2020) for the economy, including higher education. The salient feature of action plan is five-point policy direction: (1)

designation of World Class Universities; (2) autonomy for top colleges and universities (3) reform of the regulatory system – a tiered system of universities; (4) establish system of project/researcher-specific research grants; and 5. increased focus on vocational and profession-led education. A detailed 7-year strategy and 2030 vision is yet to come to determine policy direction of higher education in the medium and long run. World class universities have now been designated as Institutions of Excellence and a scheme has been launched with an invitation bid to select 10 from among public and 10 from among private universities. Action plan under the heading reform of regulatory system notes the three-tier university system having differing autonomy and performance-based funding. The first tier with research universities will have freedom from regulatory control. The second tier with teaching (and a focus on employability) will have relatively lower degree of freedom. The third tier will be residual category with the aim of universalizing higher education, having least degree of freedom. Movement from one tier to another will be permitted depending on the performance, and a third tier university, if it is continuously a non-performer, may be closed down as well. Above action plan of NITI Aayog notes the objective of future governance to be driven by accountability, efficiency and performance.

Memo of Understanding: Another reality check is the move of the Ministry of Human Resource Development to develop a memo of understanding with all centrally supported institutions and universities. The objective of the MOU is to enhance the performance through target setting by the institution/university on the critical parameters of the organization. Institutions/universities are sought to be provided autonomy with delegation of financing powers so as to raise internal resources. General Financial Rule of the Ministry of Finance on user charge (Rule 47) notes that “Ministries/Departments must ensure that the user charges recover the current cost of providing services” (GFR 2017, p. 17). Subsequently, the MHRD issued instructions to raise internal resources to the extent of 30% of total income of the organization. No doubt, many centrally funded institutions/universities will shy away from signing an MOU and committing to raise the internal resources to the tune of 30%, yet it will become a benchmark for the years to come.

The reality checks of various recent changes pronounced by the government indicates that the future of higher education financing will move towards raising internal resources through fees. Loan as component of financing households and institutions of higher learning will rise. Institutions of higher education will acquire more autonomy to raise resources and will be subjected to market risks. Institutions will furthermore be subjected to prove the accountability and fund support will be linked to performance of institutions. Hierarchy among institutions, as a result, will grow with three-tier system of autonomy and funding. Institutions of higher education located in rural areas will have to be closed down for want of funding or if they continue they will impart low quality of education to the masses. The claim of fiscal federalism and resource transfer to states, if not translated to higher funding support to state universities and colleges, will siphon away resources to meet populist demands rather than meet the ambitions of poor to study in higher education institutions with subsidized support. What will be its effects on governance of higher education institutions?

## Governance Failure

First of all, it is necessary to understand the governance failure on account of over regulation by UGC. In recent years, the UGC has been trying to cover up the failure of its schemes and programmes through a maze of regulations. While failures of its schemes and programmes were the result of the failure of the state to mobilize resources sufficiently to fund the mass higher education, it was thought that traditional model of governance through regulation cannot be sustained. It is in this light that the NITI Aayog, 3-year plan of action, states that “We should introduce a system of regulation that focuses on information disclosure and governance rather than micro management of universities” (NITI Aayog 2017, p. 139). This is suggested in the context of UGC’s failure to micro manage the universities “as an overarching regulator of every aspect of higher education from student fees to curriculum to teaching and course hours” (ibid., p. 139). The body like UGC which could steer the growing system of higher education in 1960s and 1970s to some benchmark of standards of higher education through uniform regulations, today it stands discredited due to failing regulatory system. The expansion of public and private higher education was not in the hands of UGC. It grew in response to demand without any quality check by state governments and university system run under the command of state governments. When the public university system began to crumble with the shortage of teaching and non-teaching staff and physical resources and infrastructure, it was impossible for UGC to correct the public system of higher education through regulatory control. Besides, UGC also failed to check the growth of large private higher education institutions and practices to privatize higher education as it has no authority such as seizing degree granting power to control them. Today, in spite of regulations the private system of higher education is not effectively under the control of UGC. UGC is running without the substantive appointment of Chairman and Vice Chairman for little less than a year. This is an ample proof that the government may think of overhauling the regulatory regime. The action plan of NITI Aayog mentions about that, too. In fact, it also speaks about “rationalization of the role of professional councils” (ibid. p. 139). What direction it takes may be given in the 7-year strategy document? At present, the central government’s constitutional responsibility to maintain the standards through regulatory method seems to be in limbo. Control is directly exercised by the central government, UGC’s role becoming perfunctory in nature. The hint of voluntary disclosure means that institutions will have to survive through market competition but at the same time individuals and institutions will be subject to control through the strict accountability in output terms.

It would be not out of place to understand the new decision-making process in the government and its implications. There are now groups of secretaries on various sectors which are constituted by the Prime Minister. There are also additional secretaries and Joint secretaries meet with the Prime Minister. Sometimes ideas picked up take place in a meeting of Prime Minister with young CEOs. The group of secretaries then come up with the ideas and suggestions in line with the party manifesto of the government such as Skill India, Digital India, Make in India, start-up pro-

gramme, etc. The ideas relate to transforming India through transparent governance. Such ideas are then carried forward through the Prime Minister's office to the NITI Aayog and respective Ministries to translate into proposal which is approved with its financial allocation by the Finance Ministry. The proposal is then passed to the respective ministries for implementation. Group of secretaries' discussion and proposed transformation into projects or programmes for implementation suffers from many problems. The proposal suffers from absence of autonomous decisions of the respective ministry where there used to be large-scale consultation with experts and various stakeholders. There is over centralization of ideas and decision-making at the level of Prime Minister's office. NITI Aayog makes consultations and simply ensures the proposal finalization with the help of respective Ministry. Group of secretaries thinking may have no connection with the reality of the situation. New approach to decision-making is important to highlight as it negates the role of UGC and professional councils to take autonomous decisions and perform the role of maintaining standards through regulations. It rather points out the burden of regulations. The projects put its faith on performance-driven approach which can be monitored through targeted output indicators.

## Conclusion

The future of higher education financing relying on education loan will have consequences for governance that need to be understood. Reliance on market borrowing will link higher education to market principles of governance. With the financial restructuring taking place and centralized decision-making process at the level of group of secretaries, the governance will be steered through accreditation and ranking process in place. NAAC and National Institutional ranking framework will ensure that more and more institutions are under its ambit. The new move towards tiered autonomy as state in the action plan of NITI Aayog will give greater autonomy to a group of higher-ranking research-dominated universities, and lesser autonomy will be available to teaching and rest of the institutions. The scheme of institutions of eminence will be another category in the hierarchy of institutions. In the future, the academic and financial autonomy will be given to the universities, and institutions will be more self-governing. They will have to be competitive for and generate more and more resources.

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# Chapter 9

## Shifts in the Financing of Higher Education



P. Geetha Rani

### Introduction

The recent decades depict a number of salient shifts in the financing of higher education in India. At the macro level, there has been a clear shift in the approach to financing higher education from public (state) funding to household (private) funding from family resources and borrowings (Tilak 2004; Geetha Rani 2007). In other words, there has been a paradigm shift in the financing of higher education from “state” resources to market-based assistance through loans for both institutions and individuals. At the systems level, the shift can be evidenced from the increase in fees and privatization of publicness in state institutions, increasing private sector in higher education paving way for more cost recovery from households inducing borrowings from various sources including education loans from banks. At the institutional level, shift in funding is visible from the block grants to scheme-oriented or component-specific and earmarked funding under the centrally sponsored scheme like Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA). Another recent level of shift is a new regime in financing, i.e. from centrally sponsored scheme to market-based system of lending to support institutions, such as setting up of Higher Education Funding Agency.

It can be broadly said the shifting has been from supply-side financing to demand-side financing. Given these shifts, the present paper attempts to explore whether these shifts are structural in nature. Also these shifts implicate profound changes in the fee structure; course structure offered by institutions; course choices by students

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resulting in changes in enrolment pattern such as the divide between general and professional courses and divide between centrally funded and state-funded institutions and universities; promotion of world class (institutes of eminence) universities; etc. The present paper attempts to examine a few select aspects of the impact.

## **Data Sources and Methodology Adopted**

The paper makes use of a number of data sources. The secondary data sources include Selected Educational Statistics, Selected Statistics on Higher and Technical Education, All India Higher Education Survey and Analysis of Budgeted Expenditure on Education published by the Ministry of Human Resource Development; Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in India and Basic Statistics relating to Banks in India published by the Reserve Bank of India; and Economic Surveys of India published by the Ministry of Finance. It uses the unit-level administrative data on the beneficiaries of the Central Sector Interest Subsidy Scheme (CSIS) on education loans (details in section “[Analysis of education loans](#)”). The survey data sources are various NSSO rounds pertaining to education, viz. 52nd, 64th and 71st rounds.

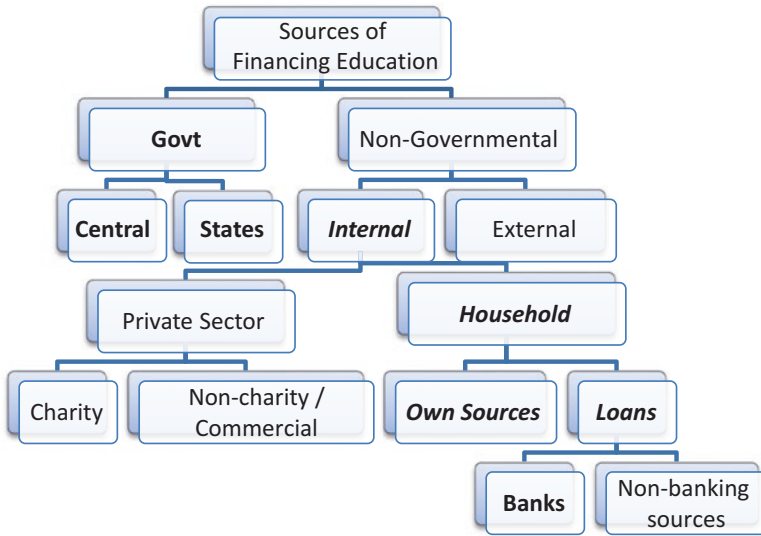
The paper adopts an explorative and analytical methodology to explain the phenomena of a structural shift in the financing of higher education and its impact. The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section “[Shifts in the financing and provision of higher education](#)” elucidates the shifts in financing and provision of higher education and the impact. Section “[Analysis of education loans](#)” examines the education loans and its impact on the choice of course by gender, etc. Section “[New ways of financing higher education](#)” attempts to explain the new ways of financing higher education. Section “[Is the shift structural?](#)” makes an attempt to understand whether the shift is structural. The last section concludes.

## **Shifts in the Financing and Provision of Higher Education**

This section elucidates the shifts by estimating the total expenditure on higher education. Then it proceeds to describe the shifts in financing higher education. Subsequently, it analyses the impact of such shifts.

### ***Estimates on Total Expenditures on Higher Education***

An attempt is made here to piecing together the financial puzzle – accounting for all available expenditures on higher education. In principle and practice, expenditure on education including higher education comes from both governmental and non-governmental sources (see Chart [9.1](#)). It is easy to get the information on gov-



**Chart 9.1** Sources of financing education

Note: In bold, fully included; bold and italics, partially included as there is no full information available. The rest of the sources are not covered as there is no information available

ernment expenditures on education. The non-governmental sources remain a problematic area and include both internal and external sources. Here we focus on internal sources only. External source of financing higher education however comes from the World Bank Technical Education Quality Improvement Programme, besides many academic exchange programmes and collaboration in universities outside India and other country governments.

It is not only India receives such funding and technical support from other countries but also India supports many developing countries in the African and Asian regions. Given the lack of such information, to that extent the estimates here are underestimation and include internal sources only. The above chart depicts the sources of financing education.

The internal sources of financing education include private sector and households. The private sector contribution can be either charity or non-charity (for profit educational provision). The private sector contribution can range from corporate social responsibility to private individual contributions to the cause for education. Income generated through fees is the main source for the private or self-financing institutions to finance the physical and human resources. The fee income is generated by charging full cost fees and/or capitation fees. Further, these are found to be not only accounted but also cease to follow transparent admission methods. They also charge excessive and mandatory fees of various kinds and forms starting from application fee to migration certificate fees. On the private sector front, there is hardly any information available in terms of their financial contribution to the education sector. Limited and scanty knowledge can be extracted from the NSSO, with regard to the Unorganized Education Services on their volume, type, nature of

workers either full or part time, by gender, etc. (NSSO 2003a, b). It can be noted that education sector as a whole is covered here as no further disaggregation is available by levels of education.

The households finance their education expenditures from their own sources and loans. The household expenditure on education data is collected by periodical surveys. Here, we exploit the information from NSSO specially designed to collect information on Expenditures on Education, one significant source which provides information on household expenditures. Household expenditures on education is taken from three surveys of NSSO, the 52nd, 64th and 71st rounds, corresponding to 1995–1996, 2007–2008 and 2014, respectively.

Another proxy is household final consumption expenditure (HFCE), provided by the Central Statistical Organisation. It includes the consumption expenditure on goods and services by the households residing in India. The advantage with CSO's private final consumption expenditure is it is a time series data, but the problem is it is available on education as a whole but not on higher education in particular.

When the households are unable to finance their education expenditures, they borrow from either banks or non-banking sources such as friends, relatives and also money lenders. We take advantage of the data on education loans to cover this source of banking financing of higher education (details in section “[Analysis of education loans](#)”). Hence, in our estimates total governmental expenditure on higher (technical) education consists of central and state governments expenditures, education loans released and household expenditure (see Table 9.1). Table 9.1 and Chart 9.2 reveal that expenditures on central government expenditures increase faster than the states' contribution to higher education. The rate of growth of central expenditures on higher education almost doubled than the growth of states' expenditures on higher education.

However, the growth of spending together (centre and states) is much less than the other two segments (i.e. education loans and household contributions). Highest growth rates are reported with education loans with 33.6% over the period 2000–2001 to 2014–2015.<sup>1</sup> This gets further strengthened when we examine the relative shares of each of these sectors reported in Chart 9.2. The shares of education loan increased and stabilized over the period. On the other hand, the governmental contribution is on the decline. The households and banks put together spend more than two thirds of the expenditure on higher education. In the recent periods, households especially the middle- and low-income parents spend one of the highest shares of their income on education of their children. It was noted that meeting children's education expenses induces them to savings.

Moreover, the share of other than food items like education, health, durable goods, consumer services and conveyance is increasing. Education has reported the fastest growth rates among different items of expenditures (Shukla and Bardoi 2013). Evidences unambiguously spell out that education loans have become a dominating source of financing higher education. Yet another intense shift is found in the provision of higher education, whether the state-funded or market-based higher education.

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<sup>1</sup> One reason for this spectacular growth could be because it started with a low base, hence such high growth rates.

**Table 9.1** Growth of education loan and government expenditure on higher and technical education during 2000–2001 to 2014–2015 (Rs. in crores)

	Central govt expr on higher and technical education	State govt expr on higher and technical education	Total govt expr on higher and technical education	Education loans released	HH expr on above higher secondary education <sup>a</sup>	Total expr on higher education
2000–2001	11,548	8295	20,036	1028	4361	21,064
2001–2002	1752	7592	9543	1527	5134	11,070
2002–2003	1762	8209	10,188	2870	6042	13,058
2003–2004	3162	8515	11,893	4179	7112	16,072
2004–2005	3541	8887	12,649	6398	8371	19,047
2005–2006	3855	10,572	14,670	10,804	9853	25,474
2006–2007	4713	11,581	16,583	14,012	8496	30,595
2007–2008	16,393	12,611	22,864	19,748	10,000	51,108
2008–2009	10,878	14,571	25,871	27,646	11,771	65,420
2009–2010	13,529	17,934	32,065	35,628	13,855	84,599
2010–2011	15,094	24,748	39,843	36,923	16,307	98,341
2011–2012	27,518	19,178	46,696	42,993	50,443	120,226
2012–2013	32,916	19,956	52,872	48,220	51,350	139,452
2013– 2014(R.E.)	42,441	23,819	66,260	52,739	62,133	170,349
2014– 2015(B.E.)	43,283	26,942	70,225	57,164	75,182	189,522
GR	23.0	10.8	15.2	33.6	33.1	23.8

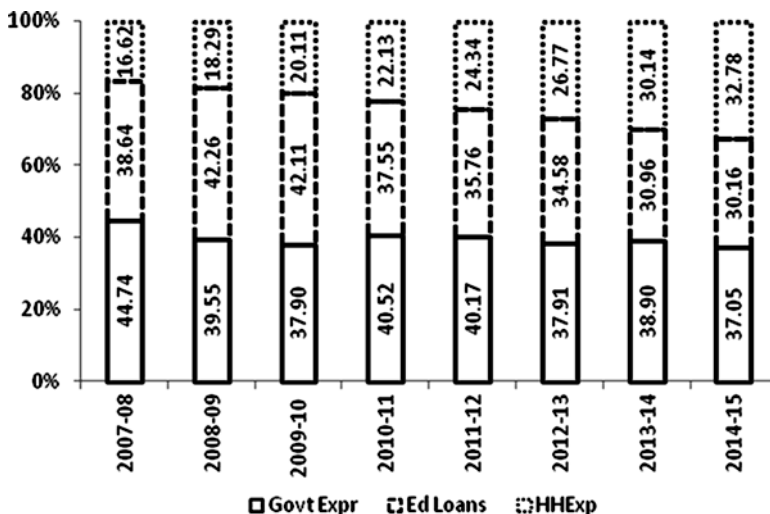
Note: <sup>a</sup>estimated compound annual growth rate between 1995–1996 and 2007–2008 and extrapolated accordingly; GR growth rates estimated from time trend

Source: Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in India; Analysis of Budgeted Expenditure on Education, various issues; Corresponding NSSO Reports

### *Shift in the Provision of Higher Education*

Private sector participation in education in India is not a new phenomenon. Historically, private initiatives in education began for philanthropic reasons. It changed its characteristics in terms of meeting the social demand and to reap the potential profit starting from the 1990s (Tilak 2004). Policy prescriptions at the macro- and sub-sectoral levels have paved way for these changes in the growth of private sector. Such changes are often attributed to the macroeconomic reforms polices since the 1990s. As well known, they forced a squeeze on the government expenditure on education and higher education as well. These policy shifts led to seek out for alternative means – privatization through hike in student fees and self-financing courses; encouraging private sector in higher education; performance-based resource allocation; fostering inter-institutional competition; efficient financial management structures; etc.

The private higher education surge can be explained under two broad phases of development and financing of higher education, viz. the rise of private higher education since 1985 till 2000 and the trends in the recent decades of post-millennium.



**Chart 9.2** Distribution of estimates on the total expenditure on higher education. (Source: Based on Table 9.1)

The information on either higher educational institutions or enrolment is available from All India Higher Education Surveys (AIHS) 2010–2011. Alternatively, the growth of private unaided sector was understood from the NSSO survey data. However, the availability of official data was limited prior to 2010–2011. Hence, the growth of private sector from 1985 to 1995 can be understood more by how the public policy at the national and state level influenced the growth of the private sector in India. As can be seen in Table 9.2, private sector has been contributing to the growth of higher education in a big way. That share of institutions by private unaided sector is almost two thirds (64%) of total higher educational institutions.

Alternatively growth of enrolment share of government and government-funded institutions is around 60% of total enrolment. What are the probable impacts of these shifts in financing and provision of higher education? A few select aspects of the impact are discussed subsequently.

### ***Impact of the Shifts on Provision and Financing of Higher Education***

Table 9.3 reports the share of course choices among students in the private unaided higher educational institutions. Market orientation in both courses and private sector is clearly reflected in course choices across rural and urban areas also at different points of time.

**Table 9.2** Distribution of institutions and enrolment by government and private sector in India

Type	2000–2001 <sup>a</sup>	2005–2006 <sup>a</sup>	2010–2011 <sup>b</sup>	2012–2013 <sup>b</sup>	2014–2015 <sup>b</sup>	2015–2016 <sup>b</sup>
<b>Institutions</b>						
Government	33.2	25.0	26.8	26.9	23.9	22.40
Private aided	42.1	32.0	14.2	14.9	15.0	13.81
PUA	24.7	43.0	59.0	58.2	61.0	63.80
Total	13,072	17,973	16,499	24,120	29,506	35,667
<b>Enrolment</b>						
Government	41.0	35.8	39.2	37.7	34.6	32.98
Private aided	37.3	33.5	23.8	22.7	22.6	21.44
PUA	21.7	30.7	37.0	39.6	42.7	45.58
Total (in 000s)	8399	10,481	11,552	16,853	22,554	25,731

Source: <sup>a</sup>Agarwal (2009); <sup>b</sup>All India Higher Education Survey, various issues

The high private return on investment on market-oriented courses signals the expected higher level of income associated with it, thereby influencing the choice of the courses. Preference of courses by students and family is determined by a number of factors, viz. the choices, affordability, expected future earnings, labour market signals, social status, intent for social mobility, etc. According to human capital theory, course choice is largely influenced by the expected costs and benefits of a particular choice of a course (Mincer 1974; Schultz 1961).

The students who opted for general higher education was 10% in 2004 in private unaided sector improved to 14% in 2007–2008 and increased to 21% by 2014. In other words, the government and government-funded sector declined from 90% in 2004 to 79% by 2014 among the rural male students, while among the professional courses, the share of private sector grew from 25% in 2004 to 40% in 2007–2008 to 47% in 2014 among rural male students. Either such similar or indeed higher share of private sector enrolment is found among the rural female, urban male and urban female students. The extent of growth in *rural* areas and among the professional and vocational courses has been substantial than in urban areas. It confirms with the early hypothesis proposed by economic historians such as Gerschenkron (1952) and Abramovitz (1986) that at least under certain circumstances, “backward” countries (regions) would tend to grow faster than rich countries/regions in order to close the gap between the two regions. This catch-up phenomenon is referred to as *convergence*. In the Indian context, a divergence across educationally developed and backward states is found (Geetha Rani 2015).

Among the private unaided sector, the market-oriented technical and vocational higher education record higher growth compared to other general courses. Since private unaided sector is expanding predominantly among professional courses, the private cost of higher education is larger in these courses than general higher education (Table 9.4a and Table 9.4b).

Household expenditures on education by management type can be considered as a good proxy for the household demand for education across economic groups. Table 9.4a, Table 9.4b gives the private/household cost of higher education by dis-



**Table 9.3** Course choices of currently attending persons in private higher educational institutions by location and gender (in %)

	2004			2007–2008			2014		
	General	Technical <sup>a</sup>	Vocational <sup>b</sup>	General	Technical	Vocational	General	Technical	Technical
<b>Rural</b>									
Male	10.6	25.5	30.0	15.0	40.2	50.2	23.0	47.3	47.3
Female	10.2	19.9	42.0	12.3	46.6	61.4	18.0	50.2	50.2
Person	10.4	23.5	33.5	13.8	41.9	53.5	20.8	48.2	48.2
<b>Urban</b>									
Male	22.4	27.9	26.8	35.8	47.5	36.9	44.0	49.6	49.6
Female	20.5	24.9	42.8	31.1	37.8	34.9	39.6	49.7	49.7
Person	21.5	26.6	32.2	33.7	43.4	36.1	41.9	49.6	49.6
<b>All</b>									
Male	14.3	27.0	28.3	20.2	44.5	45.8	28.5	48.4	48.4
Female	14.2	23.5	42.5	17.2	40.1	50.2	24.3	50.0	50.0
Person	14.2	25.6	32.8	18.8	42.9	47.3	26.6	49.1	49.1

Note: <sup>a</sup>Engg, Medicine, etc.; <sup>b</sup>diploma above graduate level almost equivalent to vocational

Source: NSSO (2006); p. A46-51; NSSO (2010) and NSSO (2016)

**Table 9.4a** Average annual expenditure (Rs.) per student in higher education by type of institution in 2007–2008

Level of education/ management type	Rural			Urban			All		
	Govt.	Pvt. aided	PUA <sup>b</sup>	Govt.	Pvt. aided	PUA <sup>b</sup>	Govt.	Pvt. aided	PUA <sup>b</sup>
General <sup>a</sup>	5520	6374	9422	7122	8413	14,343	6293	7387	11,575
Technical	13,861	32,377	30,412	22,599	35,677	43,058	19,989	34,282	38,675
Vocational	8030	11,198	17,713	8192	16,253	26,348	8089	14,082	20,063

Note: <sup>a</sup>General higher education; <sup>b</sup>PUA private unaided

Source: NSSO (2010)

**Table 9.4b** Average expenditure per student pursuing technical/professional education by courses, location and management type in 2014 (in Rs.)<sup>a</sup>

Management type	Medicine	Engineering	Management	IT/computer	Vocational <sup>b</sup>
<b>Rural</b>					
Govt.	57,292	40,828	39,511	27,094	13,675
Pvt. aided	76,383	61,516	60,548	36,401	30,872
PUA	91,391	69,439	69,473	43,453	30,598
<b>Urban</b>					
Govt.	72,636	43,418	46,050	29,718	14,508
Pvt. aided	99,468	74,291	62,778	54,976	33,567
PUA	148,510	83,443	121,150	59,626	39,166
<b>All</b>					
Govt.	64,968	42,401	44,519	28,686	13,942
Pvt. aided	90,205	69,696	62,124	48,858	31,852
PUA	118,657	78,227	105,188	51,051	33,773

<sup>a</sup>This table is taken from NSSO (2016) and used in Geetha Rani (2017)

Note: <sup>b</sup>From ITI/recognized vocational institutes; PUA private unaided

Source: NSSO (2016)

cipline. As expected, the highest average household expenditure is incurred on medicine and in private unaided institutions and in the urban areas. The least average expenditure is incurred on vocational courses in government institutions in rural areas.

As noted in section “[Shifts in the financing and provision of higher education](#)”, when households are unable to finance the increasing expenditures of their children’s education, they attempt to borrow from different sources. In order not to deny those poor students the opportunity for higher education merely on the grounds of the increasing costs, the educational loan scheme was introduced in 2001.

## **Analysis of Education Loans**

The scheme is administered by commercial banks unlike the earlier government-operated National Student Loan Scholarship programme. It provides loan to almost all programmes from graduate to research studies for Indian students who have secured admission in India or any other country. Parental/family income is not one of the eligibility criterions. Also the academic achievement is neither an eligibility criterion, i.e. there is no minimum qualifying marks required. The loan amount covers study and living costs. The loan amount is a maximum of Rs. 7.5 lakhs for studies in India and Rs. 15 lakhs for studies in abroad. No margin money or collateral security is required for loans up to Rs. 4 lakhs, whereas loan exceeding Rs. 4 lakhs requires 100% collateral security or third-party guarantor for full loan amount. Margin money range from 5% to 15% for loan amounts above Rs. 4 lakhs. Interest rate is as per the base rate for loans up to Rs. 4 lakhs, while 1% extra to base rate is charged for loans exceeding Rs. 4 lakhs. Repayment period range from 5 to 7 years, and it starts either 1 year after completion of studies or 6 months after getting employment, whichever is earlier. Simple rate of interest is charged during the study and grace periods. Repayment is made in equal monthly installments.

It can be noted this scheme is inconsiderate to the needs of the poor that there are no considerations in terms of security, government guarantee, lower or no rate of interest or extension of the repayment period, repayment in accordance with earnings, waivers, etc. Despite such problems, as evidenced from section “[Shifts in the financing and provision of higher education](#)”, education loans as a source of household financing of higher studies increase rapidly.

### ***Interest Subsidy on Education Loan***

A scheme on interest subsidy on education loans was launched in 2009–2010. This is applicable to loans from scheduled commercial banks under the Educational Loan Scheme of the Indian Banks’ Association (IBA). The scheme was launched with an objective of helping the economically weaker students. It is means-tested scheme wherein the eligibility criterion is based on the parental income which cannot exceed Rs. 0.45 million per annum. It covers all professional courses for the period of moratorium, which includes course period, plus 1 year or 6 months after getting job, whichever is earlier. Students can avail interest subsidy from this scheme once, either for the first undergraduate course or postgraduate degrees/diplomas or for integrated postgraduate courses. Students who are discontinued or expelled on disciplinary or academic grounds will not be able to claim this subsidy. However, it is available to students for discontinuation on medical grounds. To promote the scheme, the students availing interest subsidy will get 1% concession in interest subsidies.

**Table 9.5** Student loan interest subsidy beneficiaries by course choices by gender

Course	2009–2010		2010–2011		2011–2012		2012–2013	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Diploma	82.4	17.6	81.2	18.8	85.1	14.9	88.0	12.0
Hospitality	86.1	13.9	83.6	16.4	86.6	13.4	87.1	12.9
Engineering	71.9	28.1	70.9	29.1	72.1	27.9	71.6	28.4
Management	72.6	27.4	71.9	28.1	72.2	27.8	70.6	29.4
Law	62.4	37.6	71.5	28.5	62.2	37.8	60.6	39.4
Architecture	60.3	39.7	62.8	37.2	57.6	42.4	58.1	41.9
BCA/MCA	62.3	37.7	77.2	22.8	60.5	39.5	57.9	42.1
Pharmacy	62.2	37.8	57.8	42.2	58.2	41.8	57.5	42.5
Science	53.6	46.4	60.8	39.2	56.0	44.0	53.9	46.1
Fashion	45.4	54.6	76.5	23.5	51.8	48.2	51.7	48.3
Others	55.6	44.4	59.8	40.2	53.8	46.2	51.0	49.0
Commerce	55.5	44.5	65.0	35.0	50.5	49.5	46.5	53.5
Physiotherapy	38.6	61.4	58.8	41.2	45.3	54.7	43.6	56.4
Medical	40.7	59.3	41.3	58.7	36.5	63.5	38.6	61.4
Education	36.4	63.6	36.8	63.2	34.5	65.5	34.2	65.8
Nursing	18.8	81.2	26.0	74.0	18.5	81.5	15.3	84.7
All	65.1	34.9	66.1	33.9	64.7	35.3	64.8	35.2

Source: Unit data

### *Impact of Loans on Course Choices and by Gender*

While analysing the cost of higher education, market orientation and course choices, it is equally important to note that though women are enrolling in professional/technical education, the choice of course tends to be feminine centred. Gender differences in course choices in higher education may reflect a variety of underlying factors. These factors have been studied as schooling choices, academic performance, labour market opportunities, social identity and marriage prospects. Nursing is the female-centred course and later a profession as more than 75% of the women students are from this disciplinary choice (Table 9.5).

Followed by nursing, the course choice by women students is education with 65%. Gender parity in course choice can be found in courses like commerce and fashion. Diploma and hospitality course choices are primarily male dominated among low-income students. Engineering and management are male-dominated courses and the highest share of male students benefiting from interest subsidy. Yet another trend is feminization of course choices did not change over the years (Geetha Rani 2019).

Tuition charges and student loans across course structure do promote inequity and imbalance in the overall course requirements at the macro level. Chapman (2006) points out that the structure of tuition charges is determined in part by subsidies and in part by course costs, with the latter differing markedly. There is hardly any information available on the fee structure and the share of subsidy and course cost. However a comparison is made here by examining the average educa-

tion loan across courses. It can be argued that education loan can be interpreted as a proxy for cost of higher education. In such case, the inbuilt assumption is that the fee is completely financed by education loans.

For instance, education loan, the proxy for cost of higher education for medicine, is six times more than low-cost courses such as education. Given such structure of course costs (education loan), equal interest subsidies across courses essentially create unequal interest subsidy across courses. Interest subsidy for medicine, the high-cost course gets the highest subsidy over the years. Gap<sup>2</sup> between education loans across the high-cost course, medicine, and, for instance, one of the low-cost courses, education (reported in the last row of Table 9.6), widens from 5.17 in 2009–2010 to 7.98 by 2011–2012 and marginally declined to 7.61 in 2012–2013. Gap between the same courses across interest subsidy increased from 2.32 in 2009–2010 to 7.08 by 2012–2013 (Table 9.6).

Preference of courses by students and family can indicate not only the choice and affordability but also expected future earnings. Course-wise education loans and interest subsidy indicate that highest loan provided to is medical course, followed by architecture, law, fashion and management. Both medical and architecture get more than Rs. 3,00,000 on an average. While courses like diploma, commerce and education obtained the least amounts less than Rs. 1,00,000. Such hierarchy in courses which acquired highest loans was served with highest interest subsidy. Furthermore, the relationship between the size of loan and the number of years of study may be pressurizing less advantaged students into opting for shorter duration and/or more vocational courses (Forsyth and Furlong 2003).

Courses such as medical and engineering are not only relatively long duration and high-cost courses but also high-paying degrees. This pattern indeed perpetuates the inequality across lifetime earnings. Such competition in the market would result in imbalance in the course structure as more and more able and talented students opt for market-oriented courses than the conventional courses, creating an imbalance. This may lead to shortage of teachers in pure and basic science, mathematics and humanities disciplines.

*Expansion in private higher education is pronounced in the market-oriented courses, and this leads to higher cost of market-oriented courses thereby leading to higher amount of education loans for these courses. In other words, this tends to strengthen the nexus between expansion and deepening of the private sector in certain market-oriented courses and the growth of education loans.*

## **New Ways of Financing Higher Education**

Recently, a number of new schemes are in offering by the Government of India. One of the ambitious schemes is *Vishwajeet*. It was proposed to allocate Rs. 1250 crore to the first seven IITs each in a span of 5 years starting from 2016 to 2017 by the

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<sup>2</sup>Gap is measured as the ratio of loan size (interest subsidy) of medicine to that of education.

**Table 9.6** Student loan and interest subsidy and by disciplines in India (in Rs.)<sup>a</sup>

Course name	2009–2010			2010–2011			2011–2012			2012–2013		
	Education loan	Interest subsidy	Education loan	Interest subsidy	Education loan	Interest subsidy	Education loan	Interest subsidy	Education loan	Interest subsidy	Education loan	Interest subsidy
Medical	335,077	5726	326,511	10,568	333,370	17,095	344,461	21,642	314,137	11,744	278,437	15,208
Architecture	291,815	4795	248,745	5097	313,408	9410	314,137	11,744	252,480	11,546	274,430	15,104
Law	232,654	4052	181,779	5708	297,536	14,367	259,212	19,069	274,918	18,811	237,839	10,699
Fashion	271,637	4739	300,749	14,230	274,918	18,811	237,839	10,699	239,743	10,683	234,054	14,620
Management	269,925	7785	261,922	13,130	232,726	11,440	233,495	12,410	225,797	7640	233,495	12,410
Nursing	231,394	3503	249,507	7421	233,133	10,528	231,271	13,827	226,708	11,642	205,557	14,357
Engineering	231,024	4378	225,797	7640	226,708	11,642	205,557	14,357	233,133	10,528	205,438	8948
Pharmacy	228,000	4813	229,268	7447	226,708	11,642	205,557	14,357	226,708	11,642	172,293	9392
Hospitality	225,602	4770	230,876	8662	193,005	11,167	205,557	14,357	193,005	11,167	172,293	9392
Others	194,762	4198	190,731	7359	196,133	6886	205,438	8948	196,133	6886	157,227	8374
Physiotherapy	215,592	3493	99,630	3170	176,742	7875	172,293	9392	176,742	7875	157,227	8374
Science	178,799	3560	159,277	5459	155,837	6633	157,227	8374	155,837	6633	125,821	8203
BCA/MCA <sup>b</sup>	157,131	3326	220,669	7315	124,348	6122	125,821	8203	124,348	6122	97,502	5348
Diploma	117,078	2968	145,851	5069	99,255	4274	97,502	5348	99,255	4274	45,265	3057
Commerce	115,713	2404	151,124	5127	41,776	2793	45,265	3057	41,776	2793	238,322	15,162
Education	64,860	2467	66,123	2767	235,692	12,261	238,322	15,162	235,692	12,261	32,17	31,19
All	233,949	4708	229,907	8188	32,64	34,50	32,17	31,19	32,64	34,50	7,61	7,08
CV (%)	29.24	27.46	29.42	37.84	6.12	6.12	7.61	7.08	32.64	34.50	7.61	7.08
Gap <sup>c</sup>	5.17	2.32	4.94	3.82	7.98	6.12	7.61	7.08	7.98	6.12	7.61	7.08

<sup>a</sup>This table and the section are taken from Geetha Rani (2016), and the copyright permission is taken from Science publication

Note: CV coefficient of variation; <sup>b</sup>BCA Bachelor of Computer Applications; <sup>c</sup>MCA Master of Computer Applications; refer foot note 13; Source: Unit data

Ministry of Finance, however remained as a non-starter.<sup>3</sup> Other new initiatives include the Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA), the Uchhatar Avishkar Yojana (UAY) and the Prime Minister's proposed scholarships of Rs. 75,000 a month. An attempt is made here to understand the modalities of the recently established Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA).

HEFA is a non-banking financial intermediary. It is a joint venture of MHRD and Canara Bank. The purpose of its creation is to fund for capital asset creation in institutions of higher learning. This was announced in the Union Budget, 2016–2017. HEFA is a not-for-profit company under Section 8 of the Companies Act 2013. It is professionally managed by Canara Bank, a leading PSU. HEFA will leverage funds from the market and supplement them with donations and CSR funds. It will also raise capital and debt funds from the market to finance the institutions at a competitive rate. It will channelize funds from corporate and provide as grants to the institutions for development of R&D infrastructure. It is established after taking note of all the above facts. HEFA would help in increasing the investment in these premier institutions so that they can compete with their global peers and to enable Indian institutions of higher education achieve financial autonomy. It is expected that HEFA would motivate resource generation within while allowing considerable investments through market borrowings simultaneously which is to be repaid in the long run (for details on the mission/vision and modalities, see Table 9.7 in annexure).

It is already operational, leveraging Rs. 2000 crore of which government equity would be Rs. 1000 crore of budgetary support and creating Rs. 20,000 crore of funding. It is claimed that the amount is sizable given the budgetary allocation for top institutions in the 2017–2018 budget. For example, 20 Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) were allocated Rs. 1030 crore in the current budget, including Rs. 190 crore for establishing new IIMs. The University Grants Commission, the apex higher education regulator, has a budget of less than Rs. 4700 crore. It is to create the best research infrastructure in the higher education sector. It is no more a grant but a loan to be repaid, however without interest. HEFA finances the term loans for the physical (civil and lab) infrastructure through a long term of say 10-year loan. It is expected the repayment will be done through internal resource generation such as fee receipts, earnings from patents, sale of publications, etc. The interest of the long-term loan will be paid from the plan assistance. The central government-funded institutions are eligible for joining as members of HEFA, but not the state-funded institutions. Even to become members of HEFA, the institutions must confirm to escrow a specific amount from their internal accruals to HEFA for a period of 10 years. These guaranteed flows will be securitized by HEFA for mobilizing the funds from the market. Each member institution would be eligible for a credit limit as decided by HEFA based on the amount agreed to be escrowed from the internal resources. It is suggested that institutions like IITs, IIMs and IISERs

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<sup>3</sup>The scheme proposed to upgrade infrastructure, hire foreign faculty and collaborate with foreign institutions to break into the top league in global rankings. It was approved "in-principle" by the IIT Council with a view to help seven Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) at Kharagpur, Delhi, Bombay, Kanpur, Madras, Roorkee and Guwahati.



require more funds than what they generate from fees and HEFA funds are expected to help them. In other words, these interventions are expected to develop these centrally funded institutions to become financially self-sustaining. Further, it is expected that they do not depend on the government for all their growth requirements. It encourages to exploring several options including floating tax-free education bonds, bringing in corporate social responsibility funds from companies, etc. As adopted in public infrastructure projects, the MHRD is preparing to introduce target-based incentives and penalties for promoting the performance of educational institutions.

Yet another sweeping shift is the proposed Higher Education Commission of India (Repeal of UGC) Act 2018. This is a drastic attempt to take away funding powers of University Grants Commission (UGC), which has already been under severe pressure since 2014. The role of UGC has been dual that of funding and to promote, coordinate and determine standards in higher education institutions. In the recent years, the UGC's role as a funding and quality assurance agency has gradually been eroded even without necessary approval of parliament. Now, the proposed HECA Act is to justify the illegal administrative actions taken by the government u/s 20(1) of UGC act.<sup>4</sup> It relates to HECA Act and repeal of UGC Act, 2018, thereby funding being controlled by central government.

## Is the Shift Structural?

A structural shift can be referred to an economic condition that occurs when an industry or market changes the way it functions or operates.<sup>5</sup> These structural changes are induced by the paradigm shifts in development trajectory enhancing and/or jeopardizing the capital and labour inflows and outflows which are influenced by the quantum shifts in technological advancement. Besides there could be many other forces such as resource crunch due to the catastrophes such as war or natural disaster, political exigency, etc. Structural change can also be initiated by policy prescriptions. For example, the major economic reform policies adopted in India since the 1990s are a direction towards structural change in the Indian economy. The driving force for this change is globalization. The driving force in previous decades is the technology. It is believed now that the driving force is robot technology. So, the structural change happens due to the dynamic characteristics and the interdependent economic coordination. All these paradigm shifts have a direct as well as indirect influence on the provision, function and financing of the higher education system.

Technological innovations are a booster for the structural changes. Fostering research and development (R&D) plays a critical role in ushering technological innovations. Though creative destruction is imperative for technological progress, structural changes do come along with their flip sides. Given this backdrop and

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.news18.com/news/opinion/opinion-is-the-proposal-to-scrap-ugcs-funding-powers-a-cover-up-1797951.html>

<sup>5</sup> [www.investopedia.com](http://www.investopedia.com)

based on the analyses in sections “Shifts in the financing and provision of higher education” and “Analysis of education loans”, financing and provision of higher education has brought in profound changes within and across the sector. The structural changes identified include the following:

- (i) Increasing role and share of financing of higher education by the household and/or private sector leads the way to the increasing demand for education loans in financing higher education.
- (ii) The growth of private unaided sector was minimal during the early 1990s which gradually grew till the new millennium. Deepening of reforms and privatisation; direct and implicit forces; policy and market signals enabled the private sector grow at faster rates in the later phase. Based on the available estimates, we can say that almost around 60–70% of the provision and financing is by the private higher education system. This can be yet another structural shift in the provision and financing of higher education.
- (iii) Yet another phenomenon which is implicit and subtle in the discussion is the privatization of public higher education, though not discussed in the paper.
- (iv) New ways of financing higher education through HEFA are yet another structural shift by creating an agency which lends higher education institution.

## Concluding Remarks

The increasing role and share of education loans in financing higher education tends to strengthen the nexus between expansion and deepening of the private sector in higher education and privatization of public higher education. It is however unambiguous that reduction in state finances led to a surge in private sector expansion which led to increasing education loans. Expansion in private higher education is pronounced in the market-oriented courses – the same trend getting reflected in the course choice of students who took education loans. Market orientation is reflected in course choices and thereby leading to higher education loans. However, such multiple yet parallel changes led to a structural shift in both the provision and financing of higher education. This indicates that market and state resources are being substituted. Though there has been a re-assertion that the private sector can play a vital role only in supplementing the government’s efforts, the trends indicate otherwise.

By way of concluding, the paper raises few select important questions for exploration: How did the government respond to these changes? Are there mechanisms in place to ensure the quality of private provision? What is the extent of asymmetry between the information provided to candidates and actual provision? How do the system and students cope up with these changes? What is the relationship between cost of higher education across courses and demand for education loans? What are the various sources of higher education borrowing? How does it vary between public and private institutions of higher education? What kinds of relationship exist between cost and quality? How does it balance the economics and social composition of students?

## Annexure

**Table 9.7** Vision/mission and modalities of HEFA

Vision/mission	Enable infrastructure creation	To help them compete globally	Improve financial support	Catalyst for improving infrastructure	
What <i>Only the nonrecurring portion</i>	Construction of buildings or facilities	Setting up laboratories/ high performance computing (HPC) facilities/ libraries and equipping them	Research projects funded by GoI – cost of nonrecurring part	Setting up Centres of Excellence funded by GoI	Campus common infrastructure/ facilities including student facility centres
Whom <i>Central govt. institutions</i>	Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs)	National Institutes of Technology (NITs)	Indian Institutes of Information Technology (IIITs)	Indian Institutes of Science Education and Research (IISERs)	Central universities (CUs)
How	Apply for loan online through the “Login”	HEFA loan processing system – detailed guideline available	List of general documents <sup>a</sup>	Responsible lending <sup>b</sup>	
Eligibility and limits	Should agree to escrow a specific amount <sup>c</sup>	Credit limit to be identified by HEFA <sup>d</sup>			
Repayment	Institute opens an escrow account with our bank	Escrows a portion of their cash flows from which the repayment is made	Interest – through normal government grants		

<sup>a</sup>Duly filled and self-attested application form with photo affixed; KYC Documents – ID proof and address proof; Trust deed/MOA/AOA/bye-laws/partnership deed; registration/incorporation certificate; AICTE/DTE/ICSE/CBSE or any other relevant authority approved; primary and collateral security-related documents; financial documents; latest 3 years financial along with audit report; latest 3 years income tax returns; latest 12 months bank statement of mail operating account; and existing loan sanction letter and loan statements since inception

<sup>b</sup>When granting loans, it begins with a long-term commitment with customers. It makes a careful evaluation to gain an understanding of a personal or business customer’s financial situation. It offers loans that are appropriate to their needs and financial capacity and makes sure that they understand their financial obligations. It places an emphasis on exercising expertise in credit assessments and due diligence process. Detailed policies are available inside the institute login

<sup>c</sup>From their internal accruals to HEFA for the loan repayment period

<sup>d</sup>Will be decided based on the escrowed amount

Source: <http://hefa.co.in/>

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# Chapter 10

## Pattern and Determinants of Household Expenditure on Higher Education: Evidence from Rural Odisha



Pradeep Kumar Choudhury

### Introduction

The Indian higher education (HE) sector has undergone massive expansion, though not uniformly, during the seven decades following independence. However, looking at the growth pattern of HE reveals that in post-1990s, there is greater intervention of the private sector in providing higher education in India and simultaneously the role of the state towards this sector has become quite insignificant. The growth in the number of private universities established during the last 5 years is unprecedented as out of the total 235 state private universities, 168 have been established after the year 2010 (UGC 2016). There are more than 78% colleges running in private sector (aided and unaided taken together) that caters more than two-thirds of the total enrolment. It is argued that the growth of higher education, particularly in the post-liberalization period, is a market-mediated process facilitated mostly through private institutions (Varghese 2015).

In the early 1960s, public funding and philanthropic contributions for higher education were the major part of the resource to this sector in India, and the contribution from private sources in terms of tuition fee and other payments from students were negligible. The trend has shifted towards private funding of higher education, particularly with the implementation of the New Economic Policy of 1991. The higher education in India is moving towards the conception of private good largely financed by households (Panchamukhi 1990; Mathew 1996; Rani 2004; Chakrabarti and Joglekar 2006; Indira

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The chapter is based on an ICSSR-sponsored study titled 'Effectiveness of Select Scholarship Schemes for the Improvement in Access and Retention of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Students in Odisha'.

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2006; Chattopadhyay 2007; Prakash 2007; Varghese 2013). In the process, apart from increasing student fees in private HEIs in India, many public universities have initiated efforts to generate additional resources through the offering of 'self-financing courses' where the major part of the cost is borne by students. Several studies in India reveal that in the post-1990s, households bear a significant proportion of the costs in the form of fee (particularly tuition fee) and non-fee expenditures incurred on purchasing books, stationery, uniform, conveyance, private coaching and other necessary expenses related to their children's higher education compared to the pre-1990s. However, there is less evidence on the changing pattern of household spending on higher education in recent years, though few studies are available in the domain of school education (e.g. Tilak 2002; Kingdon 2005; Azam and Kingdon 2013). Also, there is hardly any study on this in the context of Odisha, a state with a low level of socioeconomic and human development. More importantly, there are very few studies on household costs of higher education in rural areas and also with a focus on marginalized sections of the society such as scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes. Considering these research gaps, this chapter examines the variability of household expenditure on higher education among the students of lower social groups in rural Odisha and its relationship with their individual, household and institutional characteristics. This chapter uses the data collected through a student survey in two tribal dominated districts of Odisha (Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar) in 2016–2017.

## Past Studies

A considerable body of research suggests that the amount of household investment on education differs significantly with their socioeconomic settings, particularly by gender, family income, parents' education and location of the household (rural-urban). Past studies that have discussed these four important factors in detail are reviewed briefly in this section. A theoretical analysis of household decision-making in the investment in education by gender is discussed in Pasqua (2005). Circumstantial evidence for the existence of pro-male bias in household spending on education has been documented in many countries across the world, including India (Panchamukhi 1990; Subramaniam and Deaton 1991; Li and Tsang 2003; Gong et al. 2005; Kingdon 2005; Lancaster et al. 2008; Zimmermann 2012; Masterson 2012; Saha 2013; Iddrisu et al. 2018). Preference of the households to invest in the education of boys rather than girls is widely prevalent in India and such difference widens further in case of higher education (Chaudhuri and Roy 2006; Kambhampati 2008; Kaul 2018). Many studies have confirmed that the variation in household investment in education by gender is due to the parents' preference for better quality education for boys (by investing more) over girls (Aslam and Kingdon 2008; Himaz 2009; Azam and Kingdon 2013; Saha 2013).

A positive relationship between household income and investment in education has been found in many studies (King 1998; Acevedo and Salinas 2000; Psacharopoulos and Mattson 2000; Urwick 2002; Psacharopoulos and Papakonstantinou 2005; Tansel

and Bircan 2006; Omori 2010; Shafiq 2011; Acar et al. 2016). Examining the determinants of household expenditure on school education in rural India, Tilak (2002) has found that households tend to spend more on education with the increase of their income, the value of the income elasticity coefficient being 0.20. Educated parents (also other educated adult members of the household) are more aware of the benefits of education and hence spend more on it, which has been established in many studies, both in India and elsewhere (Kanellopoulos and Psacharopoulos 1997; Psacharopoulos and Mattson 2000; Tilak 2002; Dang 2007; Omori 2010; Masterson 2012; Saha 2013). Saha (2013, p. 233) has reported that the higher the educational level of the parents/guardians, the greater is the spending on education of their offspring in India. In a recent study, Chandrasekhar et al. (2019) have found that rural households spend 15.3% of their total expenditure on average in higher education while it is 18.4% in urban areas. However, there are limited studies that examine the pattern and determinants of family spending on rural HEIs and socially disadvantaged students like scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes and also in the context of Odisha. This study examines the variability in household expenditure on higher education in rural Odisha by including a set of factors (individual and household characteristics, students' academic background and institutional factors) that are expected to influence household's decision to invest in it.

## Data and Methodology

The study uses the data collected from the primary survey conducted in 19 higher education institutions (HEIs) located in two tribal dominated districts (Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar) of Odisha in 2016–2017. The survey covers 563 students (169 SC, 353 ST and 41 OBC) pursuing their undergraduate and post graduate courses in these two sample districts<sup>1</sup>. The representation sample students by type of institution, gender, caste, religion and region are provided in Table 10.6 in Appendix. Majority of the students (95%) surveyed are from undergraduate courses (three-fourths being from B.A. programme only), as in most of the HEIs there have no postgraduate courses except North Orissa University and MPC Autonomous College. Out of the total respondents, 48.5% are from aided colleges, 29.5% from unaided HEIs and 22% from government colleges<sup>2</sup>. Around three-fourths of students surveyed are female.

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<sup>1</sup>Institution-wise students surveyed are given in Table 10.5 in appendix.

<sup>2</sup>In Odisha, degree colleges are classified into five groups on the basis of fund they receive from the Government of Odisha. These are: government, aided, block grant, unaided, and self-financing. The government HEIs receive highest fund (almost all the expenses) from the Odisha Government, aided and block grant colleges get partial funding while unaided and self-financing colleges do not get any money from the government. For this chapter, the sample colleges are categorised into three groups: government, aided (aided and block grant colleges taken together) and unaided (unaided and self-financing combined).



The pattern of household expenditure on higher education in rural Odisha is discussed by students' individual characteristics, household and institutional factors. Two separate household expenditure functions are estimated using Ordinary Least Square (OLS) technique to analyse potential factors determining household expenditure on higher education: first, for total household spending on higher education (fees and non-fee items) and second, the household spending on education that includes only non-fee items. Examining the factors determining household spending on non-fee items is attempted separately as it constitutes a major share of the total expenditure on higher education. Also unlike fees, the expenses on non-fee items are elastic to income/needs of the students after enrolling the HEIs.

## Pattern of Household Expenditure on Higher Education

The survey results show that the total expenditure per student per annum is about Rs. 61,490 which constitutes approximately 30% of the annual family income. Of the total household expenditure on HE, students spend only about 5% on fees and the rest on non-fee items like food and accommodation, textbooks, transport, tuitions, computer classes, mobile and Internet (Table 10.1). Amongst the non-fee expenditure, major proportion of expenses are made in food and accommodation (29.43%) followed by textbooks (19.31%), private tuition or coaching (18.46%), computer class (9.41%), transport (8.99%), mobile (4.75%) and Internet (4.57%). Households have spent a reasonable share of their income on private tuition or coaching. It is observed from the interaction with the students that majority of them go for private tuition as the quality of teaching in the colleges is very poor. As the students belong to socially backward communities and also in many cases being first generation learners, they need more support to perform better in class and also

**Table 10.1** Annual per student household expenditure on higher education

Items of expenditure	Per student household expenditure (in Rs.)	Percentage of total
<b>Fee</b>	<b>3129.93</b>	<b>5.09</b>
<b>Non-fee expenditure</b>		
Food and accommodation	18098.16	29.43
Textbooks and study materials	11874.93	19.31
Transport	5525.08	8.99
Private tuition/coaching	11349.35	18.46
Computer class	5784.92	9.41
Mobile	2917.80	4.75
Internet	2810.05	4.57
<b>Total non-fee</b>	<b>58,360.31</b>	<b>94.91</b>
<b>Total expenditure (fee and non-fee)</b>	<b>61,490.24</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Compiled by the author from the field survey data

**Table 10.2** Annual per student non-fee household expenditure on higher education for hostel students and day scholars

Items of expenditure	Hostel students		Day scholars	
	Per student household expenditure	Percentage of total	Per student household expenditure	Percentage of total
Food and accommodation	30974.35	50.80	14362.07	34.63
Textbooks and study materials	14965.28	24.54	10364.49	24.99
Transport	1299.64	2.13	3069.95	7.40
Private tuition/coaching	8003.57	13.13	5757.51	13.88
Computer class	1262.36	2.07	3697.12	8.91
Mobile	2410.07	3.95	2321.53	5.60
Internet	2059.29	3.38	1903.87	4.59
<b>Total</b>	<b>60974.56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>41476.54</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Compiled by the author from the field survey data

to continue with higher education successfully. Being from socially disadvantaged strata of the society, students have difficulty in learning and completing their courses. Interestingly, fee paid for private tuition or coaching is relatively high for science streams, followed by commerce and then arts.

Often, it is argued that the household expenditure on non-fee items (particularly on food and accommodation) varies substantially between hostellers and day scholars, while fees paid by them are more or less similar. This is also found to be true in this study as students residing in the hostel spend Rs. 19,498 more on non-fee items such as food and accommodation, textbooks and study materials, transport, private tuition/coaching, computer class, mobile and internet annually than the day scholars<sup>3</sup>. Per student annual household expenditure on non-fee items was Rs. 60,974 for hostel students and Rs. 41,476 for day scholars. Interestingly, students residing in the hostel spend more than half of the total non-fee expenses on food and accommodation. Also, the expense of hostellers on this is more than two times of the expenses by day scholars<sup>4</sup>. As expected, day scholar spends about Rs. 250 per month on transport which is close to three times the expenses incurred by the students residing in hostels. This reveals the expected trend as day scholars commute to the college from home and henceforth spend more on transportation. Similarly, expenses on mobile and Internet are more for the students residing in the hostel as compared to day scholars as they wish to remain in contact with their families regularly (Table 10.2).

<sup>3</sup>Out of the total students surveyed (563), only about 20% stay in the hostel and this share varies significantly by type of HEIs. More than half (54%) of the students in government institutions avail hostel facilities while it is 11.36% in aided institutions and 10.24% in unaided institutions and this variation is largely due to the availability of such facility in sample HEIs.

<sup>4</sup>The expenditure of the day scholars incurred on food and accommodation largely includes their occasional spending in college canteen and short-term stay in private accommodation during examination time.

**Table 10.3** Annual per capita household expenditure on higher education by type of institution, gender, caste and annual family income (in Rs.)

	Fees	Non-fee (hosteller)	Non-fee (day scholar)	Total (hosteller)	Total (day scholar)
<b><i>Type of institution</i></b>					
Government	2893.73	72310.15	41048.64	75203.89	43942.37
Aided	2964.38	48019.60	44774.23	50983.97	47738.61
Unaided	3572.95	40494.35	36542.18	44067.29	40115.13
<b><i>Gender</i></b>					
Male	3283.37	51113.46	45632.15	54396.83	48915.52
Female	3076.19	62048.56	39777.90	65124.75	42854.09
<b><i>Caste</i></b>					
SC	3183.56	57038.06	44147.34	60221.62	47330.90
ST	3041.58	56277.00	38443.12	59318.58	41484.69
OBC	3664.44	102100.4	54388.28	105764.8	58052.72
<b><i>Annual family income</i></b>					
Lower income	3007.02	55873.85	34952.00	58880.87	37959.03
Lower middle income	3002.25	50726.53	43064.99	53728.78	46067.24
Upper middle income	3169.66	77735.04	43140.44	80904.70	46310.10
Higher income	4512.70	77733.60	37918.15	82246.30	42430.85

Source: Compiled by the author from the field survey data

The pattern of household spending on higher education by type of institutions reveals few important points. First, students pursuing their course from government and aided HEIs have spent more than the students enrolled in unaided higher education institutions, and interestingly, this difference is largely due to the difference in the payment of non-fee items such as private tuition, food and accommodation, transport, Internet, etc. (Table 10.3). This finding does not go in line with the results of many other studies which show that students attending unaided/private HEIs spend more than the government and aided institutions. It is largely because the binary between government and private HEIs discussed often in the literature is not the same here. The unaided and self-financing colleges in rural Odisha (included as sample in this study) largely offer undergraduate courses on liberal arts, basic sciences and commerce. The total cost of attending these colleges is comparatively less than the government and aided colleges as these are located in remote rural areas and very close to the vicinity of the students, and therefore households do not spend much on non-fee items such as food, accommodation and transport. The private colleges also not charge much on fees due to the fee regulation policy of the state government and also this will be a major barrier for getting students in the college. These colleges are providing higher education for long (in some cases for the last 25 years) with the expectation that they will be converted to aided colleges that will

help them to get financial support from government, particularly to cover teacher's salary and fund for infrastructure. The conversion of colleges from unaided to aided is a practice followed in past by the government of Odisha, though it is not smooth and often teachers go for long strikes to put their demand.

The analysis finds that male students spend more on higher education than female students on fees. Also, in non-fee items there exists pro-male bias for the day scholars. However, female students residing in hostels spend more (Rs. 62,048) than male students (Rs. 55,113) on non-fee items. The annual per capita household expenditure on higher education is substantially higher among OBC students followed by SC students and ST students, and there is not much variation in the pattern of spending between hostellers and day scholars (Table 10.3). As expected, the annual average household expenditure on higher education increases with the increase in the annual income of the family and it is true for both fee and non-fee items except some variations between lower income and lower middle-income groups<sup>5</sup>.

## Determinants of Household Expenditure on Higher Education: OLS Results

This section estimates two separate household investment functions on higher education using the OLS technique. The first model considers the total household expenditure (fees and non-fee items), while the second model includes the spending on non-fee items. The OLS equations used for the estimation are as follows:

$$\ln Educost1 = \alpha_1 + \beta_i X_i + \varepsilon_1 \quad (10.1)$$

$$\ln Educost2 = \alpha_2 + \gamma_i X_i + \varepsilon_2 \quad (10.2)$$

Where,

$\ln Educost1$  = Natural logarithm of annual total household expenditure on higher education (expenses on fees and non-fee items taken together)

$\ln Educost2$  = Natural logarithm of annual household expenditure on non-fee items of higher education

$\alpha_1$  and  $\alpha_2$  = intercept terms

$\beta_i$  and  $\gamma_i$  = regression coefficients that measure the influence of explanatory variables on the household expenditure on higher education

$X_i$  = explanatory variables

$\varepsilon_1$  and  $\varepsilon_2$  = error terms

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<sup>5</sup>The families are classified under four different groups according to their annual family income which ranges from Rs. 5000 to Rs. 2,35,000. These are lower income (< Rs. 20,000), lower middle income ( $\geq$ Rs. 20,000 but < than Rs. 40,000), upper middle income ( $\geq$  Rs. 40,000 but < Rs. 60,000), and higher income ( $\geq$ Rs. 60,000 but < Rs. 2,50,000).

The explanatory variables used in the regression are broadly categorized as follows: individual characteristics, household factors and institutional factors. Several other determinants of household expenditure on education like household size, household budget for items other than education, opportunity cost of studying higher education, etc. are not considered in the analysis because of data limitations. The notation, definition and summary statistics of the explanatory variables used in estimating household expenditure functions on higher education are presented in Table 10.7 and Table 10.8, respectively, in Appendix.

The issue of gender bias in household expenditure on education has been a topic of much research, particularly in the context of developing countries. The regression results show that female students spend 14.8% less than the male students on higher education in rural Odisha. The pro-male bias in household spending is more visible for non-fee items ( $\ln\text{Educost2}$ ) as the value of the coefficient is 15.3% (Table 10.4). Though in some households parents send both sons and daughters to colleges, they prefer better quality education for boys (by investing more) over girls, and it is more so in rural settings and also among marginalized sections of the society. Several other

**Table 10.4** OLS estimate of the determinants of household expenditure on higher education in Odisha

Variable	lnEducost1		lnEducost2	
	Coefficient	Robust standard error	Coefficient	Robust standard error
Gender	-0.148***	0.056	-0.153***	0.061
SC	-0.211*	0.122	-0.234*	0.129
ST	-0.384***	0.121	-0.429***	0.129
OBC	Reference			
Religion	-0.088	0.093	-0.073	0.100
Father_edn	0.004	0.006	0.003	0.007
Mother_edn	0.006	0.007	0.007	0.007
Father_occpn	0.074	0.075	0.085	0.081
Family_size	0.007	0.009	0.007	0.010
$\ln\text{Family\_income}$	0.017*	0.028	0.018*	0.031
Government	0.264***	0.085	0.322***	0.090
Aided	0.148***	0.056	0.181***	0.062
Unaided	Reference			
Stud_accomdn	0.052*	0.035	0.045	0.041
Parttime_job	-0.021	0.065	-0.027	0.070
PMSS_regular	0.044	0.057	0.052	0.063
$\ln\text{PMSS\_amnt}$	0.001***	0.001	0.002***	0.002
Constant	10.370***	0.317	10.263***	0.344
R square	0.118		0.116	
F value	4.55		4.73	
No. of observations	522		522	

Note: \*\*\*significant at 1% level of significance; \*\*significant at 5% level of significance; \* significant at 10% level of significance

studies, both in India and outside (Panchamukhi 1990; Kingdon 2005; Lancaster et al. 2008; Jensen 2012; Zimmermann 2012; Saha 2013), support this finding.

Though some studies have found that students from lower social class (SCs and STs) have significantly less chance of attending higher education and it is particularly low in professional courses (Azam and Blom 2009; Chakrabarti 2009), there is hardly any study that shows the variation in household investment on higher education by caste, particularly in the context of Odisha and in rural areas. The OLS result shows that SC and ST students spent around 21% and 38% less on higher education respectively as compared to OBC students in Odisha. More or less similar picture is also visible in the household spending on non-fee items. The difference in the spending may be larger if compared with the general category students whose data is not collected in the survey as the study was on marginalized sections of the society. Gangopadhyay and Sarkar (2014), using household-level data from West Bengal, find that SC households spent significantly less on private coaching of their children compared to other households, and this finding is consistent with the results of this study.

The regression coefficient for the annual income of the family (*lnFamily\_income*) is found to be positive and statistically significant in both the models, with a marginally higher effect on non-fee items than total household expenditure on higher education. Results support the findings of many other studies which reveal that rich households spend more on the education of their children than poor households (King 1998; Acevedo and Salinas 2000; Tilak 2002; Acar et al. 2016). Quite surprisingly, parents' education (father and mother education taken separately in the equation) did not come out to be statistically significant in explaining the variation of household spending on higher education in Odisha, though the coefficients give expected sign. This may be due to the lack of heterogeneity in the parents' educational pattern, as close to two-thirds have attended below the primary level of education, and a similar pattern is also found among mothers.

Students enrolled in government and aided higher education institutions have spent more (on both *lnEducost1* and *lnEducost2*) than the students of unaided institutions. More clearly, students from government institutions spent 26% more and unaided institutions spent 15% more on higher education than the students studying in unaided institutions. Both the coefficients are statically significant at 1% level of significance. Similarly, students of government and aided institutions spent around 32% and 18% more respectively on non-fee items as compared to unaided institutions. The finding here does not go with the common understanding that students of unaided/private HEIs usually spend more as compared to the government institutions. Therefore, it is important to note that the unaided HEIs covered in this study are the undergraduate colleges that offer courses in liberal arts and are located very close to the vicinity of the students. Thus, students (particularly from marginalized sections of the society) access these colleges with low cost. But, students enrolled in government and aided HEIs usually stay in the hostels or private accommodations (as these institutions are largely located in district headquarters) and spend more on non-fee items. Also, majority of the students accessing these institutions belong to relatively well-off families (within lower social groups) and therefore spend more on their education.

Several studies reveal that the probability to enrol and continue in higher education increases with the availability and accessibility of financial assistance to students, as it helps them to spend more (Glocker 2011; Iriti et al. 2017). Furthermore, it helps better to the students belonging to poor and marginalized sections of the society as they are not in a position to cover their costs for higher education. The regression results show that the amount of the scholarship received by the students (*lnPMSS\_amount*) is positively related to the annual per capita total household expenditure on higher education and the household spending on non-fee items. The regression coefficient of *lnPMSS\_amount* for the first household expenditure function (*lnEducost1*) finds that If the amount of scholarship is increased by 1%, we expect total household spending on HE to increase by 1%, and the expenditure on non-fee items of HE will go up by 2%.

## Conclusion

This chapter examines the variability of household expenditure on higher education in rural Odisha, one of the backward states of India, using the data collected through a student survey in two tribal dominated districts of Odisha (Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar) in 2016–2017. The findings suggest that the annual average household expenditure on higher education among marginalized sections of the society in rural Odisha is around 30% of the annual family income. Of the total household expenditure on HE, students have spent only about 5% on fees and the rest on non-fee items such as private tuition, food and accommodation, transport, Internet, etc. Interestingly, the non-fee expenses on higher education by the households vary significantly between the students residing in hostels and day scholars. Households have spent close to one-fifths of their total expenditure on higher education annually on private tuition or private coaching. It is observed from the interaction with the students that majority of them go for private tuition as the quality of teaching in the colleges is very poor. As the students belong to socially backward communities and are mostly first generation learners, they need more support to perform better in class. Fee paid for private tuition or coaching is relatively high for science streams, followed by commerce and then arts. While discussing about this with the institution heads, shortage of teachers came as a serious issue to provide quality higher education to the students as many HEIs appoint temporary/guest teachers to teach. However, a detail discussion on this issue is outside the scope of this chapter, though it is an important issue and needs urgent attention both in academics and policy domain.

Students enrolled in government and aided HEIs have spent more than the students enrolled in unaided higher education institutions and interestingly, this difference is largely due to the difference in the payment of non-fee items. The regression results suggest that the 'type of institution' had a significant effect on household expenditure on higher education. Students enrolled in government and aided institutions have incurred higher level of expenditure than the students studying in unaided



institutions and this is true in both total and non-fee household expenses. This suggests that though students access low cost higher education in unaided colleges (as these are located close to vicinity), quality is a serious concern. Many of these undergraduate colleges in rural Odisha are running with very few teachers and seriously lack physical infrastructure that were evident from the fieldwork.

The household expenditure on higher education in rural Odisha varies widely across socioeconomic groups such as gender, caste and family income. The results presented show pro-male bias in household spending on higher education, i.e. the household expenditure on higher education is more for male students than for female students in rural Odisha. The pro-male bias in household spending is little more in case of non-fee items than the total household expenditure on higher education. The analysis of the annual per capita household expenditure on higher education by caste shows that OBC students spend more than SC and ST students in both fee and non-fee items. Thus, ST students spend the least on their higher education and it may be due to their poor economic status. As expected, students belonging to poor households have invested less on higher education than the households with better income. Thus, from a policy perspective, reducing the financial burden of poor households in rural areas is the need of the hour to provide wider access to HE among them – a target that is being set up since independence and emphasized consistently thereafter. This may be possible by allocating more public funds on need-based scholarships to the students belonging to the marginalized sections of the society, particularly in rural areas.

When considering and interpreting the findings of this chapter, some limitations should be borne in mind. First, the willingness of the household to investment on higher education is shaped by their choice for institutions and courses of study and thus, it could be argued that a discussion on parental preferences for HEIs and relating it with household expenditure would have been better. Second, the data is collected from students who are currently pursuing undergraduate and postgraduate courses of select disciplines, and therefore it may not provide the complete picture of household investment on HE in rural Odisha (e.g. the expenses on costly disciplines like engineering and management are not taken into account). Third, an interaction with parents and getting their experiences on managing the expenses on HE of their wards should have been done to provide a better picture on the issues discussed in this chapter. Despite these caveats, this chapter makes a contribution to the economics of education literature by unfolding the story of household investment in higher education among marginalized sections of the society in the context of rural Odisha – an area which is grossly ignored both in academia and policy domain. The analysis in this chapter should be useful to policymakers seeking to design interventions aimed at increasing participation in higher education in rural Odisha, particularly among marginalized sections of the society.

## Appendix

**Table 10.5** Institution-wise number of students surveyed for the study

S. No.	College name	District	Institution type	Students
1.	North Orissa University	Mayurbhanj	Government	26
2.	MPC (Autonomous) College	Mayurbhanj	Government	39
3. <sup>a</sup>	Government Women's College, Baripada	Mayurbhanj	Government	15
4.	Utkalmani Gopabandhu B.Ed. College	Mayurbhanj	Government	3
5. <sup>a</sup>	Government Women's College, Keonjhar	Keonjhar	Government	34
6.	Anandapur Anchalika Training College	Keonjhar	Government	7
	<b>Total (government)</b>			<b>124</b>
7.	BB College, Baiganbadia	Mayurbhanj	Aided	58
8.	Seemanta Mahavidyalaya, Jharpokharia	Mayurbhanj	Aided	35
9.	Anandapur College, Anandapur	Keonjhar	Aided	21
	<b>Total (aided)</b>			<b>114</b>
10. <sup>a</sup>	Shree Maa Mahila Mahavidyalaya	Mayurbhanj	Block grant	69
11.	Anchalika Mahavidyalaya, Hatadihi	Keonjhar	Block grant	45
12. <sup>a</sup>	Kanaka Manjari Women's College	Keonjhar	Block grant	45
	<b>Total (block grant)</b>			<b>159</b>
13.	Baripada Degree College	Mayurbhanj	Unaided	15
14.	Sriram Chandra Bhanj Degree College	Mayurbhanj	Unaided	43
15. <sup>a</sup>	Biswa Tarini Women's College	Keonjhar	Unaided	33
16.	Pateswar Mahavidyalaya, Suakati	Keonjhar	Unaided	4
17.	Santoshi Maa Regional College	Keonjhar	Unaided	19
18.	Baula Degree College, Soso	Keonjhar	Unaided	21
19.	Laxmi Narayan College, Pipilia	Keonjhar	Unaided	31
	<b>Total (unaided)</b>			<b>166</b>
	<b>Grand total</b>			<b>563</b>

Note: <sup>a</sup>Women's colleges

Source: Compiled from the Field Survey Data

**Table 10.6** Sample students by type of institution, gender, caste, religion and region

Institution Type	Gender		Caste			Religion		Region		Total
	Male	Female	SC	ST	OBC	Hindu	Others	Rural	Urban	
Government	25 (20.16)	99 (79.84)	24 (19.35)	89 (71.77)	11 (8.87)	117 (94.35)	07 (5.65)	108 (87.10)	16 (12.90)	124 (100)
Aided	71 (26.01)	202 (73.99)	71 (26.01)	188 (68.86)	14 (5.13)	253 (92.67)	20 (7.33)	258 (94.51)	15 (5.49)	273 (100)
Unaided	49 (29.52)	117 (70.48)	74 (44.58)	76 (45.78)	16 (9.64)	160 (96.39)	06 (3.61)	158 (95.18)	08 (4.82)	166 (100)
Total	145 (25.75)	418 (74.25)	169 (30.02)	353 (62.70)	41 (7.28)	530 (94.14)	33 (5.86)	524 (93.07)	39 (6.93)	563 (100)

Notes: (i) Figures in parentheses are the percentage of students by type of institution; (ii) 'others' category in religion includes all non-Hindu religion students

Source: Compiled from the Field Survey Data

**Table 10.7** Notation and definition of the variables used in the regression analysis

Notation of the variable	Name of the variable	Definition of the variable
<b>Dependent Variable</b>		
<i>lnEducost1</i>	Household expenditure on higher education (fee and non-fee)	Annual per student household expenditure on higher education (in logarithmic form)
<i>lnEducost2</i>	Household expenditure on higher education (non-fee)	Annual per student household expenditure on non-fee items (in logarithmic form)
<b>Independent Variables</b>		
Gender	Gender of the students (dummy variable)	= 1, if the student was female = 0, male
Caste	Caste of the students (dummy variables)	
SC	Scheduled caste	= 1, if the student belongs to SC = 0, otherwise
ST	Scheduled tribe	= 1, if the student belongs to ST = 0, otherwise
OBC	Other backward class	= 1, if the student belongs to OBC = 0, otherwise
Religion	Religion of the students (dummy variables)	= 1, if the student belongs to Hindu = 0, otherwise
Father_edn	Father's schooling	Years of schooling of the father
Mother_edn	Mother's schooling	Years of schooling of the mother
Father_occpn	Occupation of the father (dummy variables)	= 0, if the father is an agricultural worker = 1, otherwise
Family_size	Size of the family	Family size of the student
<i>lnFamily_income</i>	Annual income of the family	Annual income of the family (in logarithmic form)
Institution_type	Type of institution (dummy variable)	Cont...
Government	Government higher education institutions	= 1, if the students have enrolled in government institutions = 0, otherwise
Aided	Aided higher education institutions	= 1, if the students have enrolled in aided institutions = 0, otherwise
Unaided	Unaided higher education institutions	= 1, if the students have enrolled in unaided institutions = 0, otherwise
Stud_accomdn	Student accommodation (dummy variable)	= 1 if students stay in hostel = 0, otherwise
Parttime_job	Whether students do part-time job during their course or not (dummy variable)	=0, if the students do part-time job =1, otherwise
PMSS_regular	Whether students are getting PMS regularly (dummy variable)	=0, if the students receive PMS regularly = 1, otherwise
lnPMSS_amnt	Amount receive from PMSS	Annual amount of scholarship money students receive (in logarithmic form)

**Table 10.8** Summary statistics of the variables used in the regression analysis

Variables	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
lnEducost1	522	10.53	0.60	8.57	12.98
lnEducost1	522	10.43	0.66	7.50	12.98
Gender	524	0.73	0.44	0	1
SC	524	0.30	0.46	0	1
ST	524	0.64	0.48	0	1
OBC	524	0.06	0.25	0	1
Religion	524	0.06	0.24	0	1
Father_edn	524	7.47	5.07	0	17
Mother_edn	524	5.09	5.00	0	17
Father_occpn	524	0.15	0.36	0	1
Family_size	524	5.90	2.44	2	24
lnFamily_income	524	10.14	0.87	7.24	13.30
Government	524	0.21	0.40	0	1
Aided	524	0.49	0.50	0	1
Unaided	524	0.30	0.46	0	1
Stud_accomdn	524	0.54	0.87	0	4
Parttime_job	524	0.79	0.41	0	1
PMSS_regular	524	0.68	0.47	0	1
lnPMSS_amnt	524	8.35	0.69	5.70	9.46

Note: The number of observations (NOB) is 524 except for some variables with missing information. Weighted means and standard deviations (SD) are reported, which were corrected for the differences in sampling probabilities

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# Chapter 11

## Impact of Public Education Expenditure Across Different Levels on Higher Education Access in India: A Panel Data Study



Sandhya Dubey

### Introduction

The idea, approach and context of the goals of higher education should keep evolving in order to be in coordination with the rapidly changing global and national challenges. Increasing access and equity are two of the globally accepted goals of higher education. Along with the socio-political commitment, it is finances which are of extreme importance for the realization of these goals. As India is the youngest nation of the world and sits on a demographic goldmine, the future of Indian higher education highly depends on how India will design its access policies and its approach towards financing the same. This chapter analyses the impact of educational finance on higher education access in India and advocates evidence-based policy-making for the cautious shaping of the future of Indian higher education.

Competition for creating comparative advantage in terms of human capital has been increasing globally. Therefore, over the past decade, the elite-centric nature of higher education has rapidly diluted in favour of the evolution of its mass-centric slant across the world. In India, the enrolment ratios have more than doubled from 9.97 in 2004–2005 to 24.5 in 2015–2016. As per Johnstone, this worldwide expansion of higher education has occurred not only because of growing individual demand for higher education but also because of national goal to achieve social justice and enhance competitiveness in global economy (Johnstone 2004). Thus, States play a fundamental role in college access and have the primary responsibility for providing education and ensuring equity in post-secondary education (St.John et al. 2004).

Another worldwide emerging trend in education finance is the reluctance of governments to subsidize the massification of higher education. There is gradual departure from the traditional approach of low or free tuition for higher education towards

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market-oriented strategies like privatization and student loans. Now the key issue that arises is how to finance the access to higher education considering the issue of equity and diminishing public resources for education sector across all the levels in proportion to rising demand. The analysis which can partially help Indian Government to understand and answer this question is the impact of public education expenditure on higher education access in India. This is what this chapter has endeavoured to offer.

Education is organized in a hierarchical manner, and financing lower stages is a precondition for attaining higher education (Su 2006). The state and private investments at the elementary and secondary level create the cohort, which is the potential demand group for higher education. Therefore, issues of financing the higher education access cannot be studied independently ignoring the influence of the education finance at elementary and secondary levels. The policies that the government use to finance all the three levels of education influence the college access directly. This chapter caters only to the public spending across the levels of education and hence tests the hypothesis that the expenditure allotted by state governments to elementary, secondary and tertiary education, along with per-student public spending on these three education sectors, affects the higher education access in India. The chapter also analyses how this relationship between public education finance and higher education access differs across different social groups (females, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes) and for high-income states.

As the context for this study has been set in this section, the next Section “[Theoretical background](#)” discusses the theoretical support weaved out of the selected literature available on the impact of finance policies on the higher education access. Section “[Methods and data](#)” deals at length on the methodology adopted to conduct this study followed by the results, comparative analysis and discussion in Section “[Results of fixed-effect estimations](#)”.

## **Theoretical Background**

Section “[Impact of public education finance on college access](#)” tailors out a brief narrative based on selected studies related to the impact of educational finance on higher education access. Section “[Literature gap and research objectives](#)” discusses the literature gaps and resulting research questions.

### ***Impact of Public Education Finance on College Access***

The policies that states use to finance education influence financial access (St.John et al. 2004). Numerous studies focus on the role of the education finance policies which shape up the students’ economic needs to finance their higher education access (Blondal et al. 2002; Johnstone 2002; Palfreyman 2004; Dolton et al. 1997; Vossensteyn 2004). These research studies have validated the notion that increase in



tuition costs hampers the higher education access across the countries, predominantly for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, which may lead to social exclusion. Barr (1993) highlighted the negative effects of reduced grants on higher education access of low-income students, the most financially needy. Mitra (2015) has argued that at all-India level, there is pro-rich distribution of subsidy at the higher education level. With respect to the impact of student loans on higher education access, Shen and Ziderman (2009) argue that whether a loan programme successfully promotes college access has not been clearly defined, and the evidence did not indicate any high degree of success in increasing the university access of the poor. The study by Yang and McCall (2014), while examining the relationship between education finance policies and higher education access among 86 countries from 1998 to 2009, has concluded that for a fixed amount of total budget and rising demands for higher education, various nations have reduced spending per college student and drawn on more private resources to expand higher education access. In addition, some research studies have explored the effect of net college cost, that is, grants minus tuition (Heller 2006; Palfreyman 2004). They find that as the costs of college are shifted from the government to the students, it is the lower income students who are most likely to be forced out of higher education, or at the very least forced to attend lower-cost or less-prestigious institutions. Thus, the literature on the impact of educational finance on higher education access mostly indicates the importance of the public expenditure on education as indispensable for promoting college access, especially among the socially and financially weaker section.

### *Literature Gap and Research Objectives*

Various studies to assess the impact of state financing policies on higher education access (Dresch 1975; St. John and Asker 2003; Daun-Barnett 2008) have been conducted mainly in the USA. St. John (2006) uses fixed-effect models to analyse state indicators and examines the relationship between the adoption of new education policies and related outcomes (e.g. college-going rates) across the 50 states in the USA. By modifying the analytical framework based on panel data model developed by St. John (2006), Lijing Yang and Brian McCall (2014) develop a strong framework to attain a macro view of the relationship between the world education finance policies and higher education access in 86 countries across the world. The contributions of these studies along with the studies mentioned in Section “[Impact of public education finance on college access](#)” have been very enriching in analysing the trends of higher education access along with public spending policies for education at the international or national level. But in the context of India, none of the existing research has provided inter-state empirical evidence as to whether or to what extent the public expenditure on education across different levels has promoted higher education access in 28 states of India in the past decade. Therefore, this study aims at employing the panel data econometrics to trace the impact which public education expenditure has on higher education access in India.

There are three main reasons which specifically carve out the rationale for this study of the impact of public expenditure across different levels on higher education access in India: firstly, changing demography reflected by the falling child population in elementary education, on the one hand, and the youth bulge resulting in greater demand for higher education, on the other hand; secondly, rising aspirations of higher education of burgeoning middle class due to the rapid economic growth; and thirdly, shrinking public resources in social sector, especially education, due to various budget constraints.

Therefore, inter-level distribution of public expenditure on education has a greater significance in addressing increasing aspirations and access for higher education.

In the light of the above arguments, three research objectives form the core of this study area: (1) to study the impact of public expenditure on education across different levels on the higher education access in 28 states of India in the time period of 2004–2005 to 2013–2014, (2) to assess how the relationship between the public expenditure on education and higher education access differs for the states having high Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) per capita (high-income states) from other states and (3) to find out how the public expenditure on education affects the higher education access in states across different social groups, viz. females, scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs).

## Methods and Data

Following subsections explain in detail the econometric models, variables and the data sources used to achieve research objectives.

### *Econometric Model*

In the case of panel data, two of the most commonly used models are the fixed-effect model and the random-effect model. The fixed-effect model allows state-specific time-invariant effects to be correlated with the independent variables. On the other hand, the random-effect model assumes that a state-specific effect is drawn from a specified distribution and is independent of the other independent variables. Thus, the econometric model which has been used to estimate the impact of the education finance on higher education access in 28 states of India is as follows:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{1it} + \dots + \beta_k X_{kit} + \mu_i + \varepsilon_{it}$$

where

$Y_{it}$  = Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education across 28 states (GER in total for model 1, GER of females for model 2, GER of SCs for model 3 and

GER of STs for model 4 have been used as dependent variables in four different models).

$i = (1, 2, 3 \dots N)$  denotes the  $i$ th state,  $N = 28$ ,

$t = (2004\text{--}2005 \dots 2013\text{--}2014)$  represents the year,

$\alpha$  = intercept,

$\beta_k$  = coefficients associated with the independent variables  $X_k$  ( $k = 1$  to  $9$ ).

$\mu_i$  = state-specific effects which are either random or fixed,

In the fixed-effect model,  $\mu_i$  is part of the intercept, while in a random-effect model, it is considered part of the error term.

$\varepsilon_{it}$  = is the error term. By assumption,  $\varepsilon_{it}$  is independent and identically distributed with  $E(\varepsilon_{it}) = 0$  and  $\text{Var}(\varepsilon_{it}) = \sigma^2$ .

A random-effect model has the distinct advantage of being able to capture between-group variation and, if between-group variation does exist, the serial correlation can also be captured. In modern econometric parlance, 'random effect' is synonymous with zero correlation between the observed explanatory variables and the unobserved effect, i.e.  $\text{cov}(X_{it}, \mu_i) = 0$  (Wooldridge 2002). The model may lead to biased results if the random effect is correlated with other independent variables.

Therefore, the Hausman test has been conducted to check the independence assumption of the random-effect model. The Hausman specification test compares the fixed-effect and random-effect models under the null hypothesis that the individual effects are uncorrelated with the other regressors in the model (Hausman 1978).

## Variables

Based on the objectives of the study, brief theoretical framework and the availability of the data, nine independent variables have been formulated to address the three research questions.

To address the first research objective, GER in higher education has been taken as a dependent variable along with the nine independent variables denoting education finance and economic growth. To address the second research objective, the 28 states of India are divided into two categories using the dummy 'A'<sup>1</sup>, where 'A' signifies the top ten states of India based on the NSDP per capita of 2013–2014 (at constant price of 2004) and are denoted by 1, and all the other states are denoted by 0. Nine interaction variables have been created that interact the dummy 'A' with independent variables. These interaction variables allow relationship between

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<sup>1</sup>The states taken as 'high-income states' in descending order of their NSDP per capita (2013–14) are Goa, Sikkim, Haryana, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Kerala, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab.

higher education access and public expenditure on education to depend on the level of economic development in the states.

To address the third research objective, GER in higher education for SC, ST and females has been used as a dependent variable. Thus, in total, four different panel models have been generated and results are analysed accordingly. Independent variables used are the same for all the four panel models.

Independent variables identified are as follows:

1. Public spending on elementary education (percentage of NSDP).
2. Public spending on secondary education (percentage of NSDP).
3. Public spending on higher education (percentage of NSDP).
4. Log of per-student expenditure on elementary education in states.
5. Log of per-student expenditure on secondary education in states.
6. Log of per-student expenditure on higher education in states.
7. Log of the NSDP per capita of the states.
8. Proportion of total secondary education budget allocated to scholarships across states.
9. Proportion of total tertiary education budget allocated to scholarships across states.

### ***Significance of the Selected Variables: Essential Clarifications***

Cumulative GER, female GER, SCs GER and STs GER in higher education have been used as dependent variables in model 1, model 2, model 3 and model 4, respectively. Enrolment ratios used in this study are the combination of the enrolment in university and the technical education, which is calculated based on the number of young people in the age group of 18–23 by the All India Survey of Higher Education (AISHE).

There is no denying the fact that GER does not cover the qualitative aspect of the access to higher education like the academic preparation, social, economic or personal impediments faced by the students for attaining higher education, but it fairly provides a macro overview of the proportion of the population enrolled in higher education to that of the population in the relevant age group (18–23) traditionally declared for higher education. The net enrolment ratio (NER) is an alternative measure of access; however, part of the student population is outside the expected age cohort of 18–23. GER is therefore taken as the standard enrolment indicator for higher education access (Azam and Blom 2009). The Five Year Plan (FYP) documents (11th FYP and 12th FYP) also take GER as the indicator of higher education access (GOI 2012). Another argument which demands detailed addressing is that it is logically consistent to study the relationship between the independent variables representing only the public education finance (ignoring private spending on education) and the GER which includes the enrolments in the public, aided as well as unaided private institutes. It is important to note that the investments made by the state in elementary and secondary education prepare the cohort ready to demand

and attain higher education. Students ready for higher education can choose either public or the private institute based on their academic preparation, enrolment policies and the propensity to invest in higher education. Thus, it can be fairly argued that the public finance policies of education have a direct or indirect impact on the overall enrolment scenario in the higher education, be it in public or private institutes. There is only a meagre compromise by not taking the variables of private education finance (consistent data for the same anyhow are not available in cross-section time-series format). There has been effort to compensate this compromise by taking the NSDP per capita as one of the independent variables, which denotes the economic growth and is highly correlated with the individual's propensity to spend on education.

*The independent variables* included in the study are the variables that indicate the state of public funding of education. The main variables representing the public spending on education include budgeted expenditure across all the levels of education as the percentage of NSDP. The significance behind employing this variable is that it allows controlling the general increase or decrease in public expenditure on education across all the levels. Using the public spending on education as the percentage of the NSDP may support the study to capture different dynamics of the state budgetary process than other measures of the state's support to education (Tandberg and Griffith 2013). Thus, it helps in assessing whether the way in which a state prioritizes education in relation to its overall allocation of resources to all social sectors has an impact on higher education access.

The next important finance variable is the per-student expenditure on elementary, secondary and higher education in Indian states. Public expenditure per student measures how much governments invest in each student, not only in the form of student aid like scholarships but also in direction and administration, assistance to universities, government colleges, non-government colleges and engineering colleges and institutes and training. This indicates the role of government in sharing college cost and student unit cost in distributing public resources. The trend in the public expenditure per student across all the levels of education gives an extremely important insight into the proportionate change in the budgetary expenditure and the enrolments across different levels.

Proportion of secondary and tertiary budgets allocated to scholarships has also been taken as the independent variable to find out if these indicators of the government's commitment towards student aids have any influence in promoting access and equity in higher education.

The study uses NSDP per capita for each state (at the constant price of 2004) in the analyses to control for economic differences among the states. The employment of NSDP per capita as an indicator of economic growth is appropriate because it roughly reflects the economic prosperity of the state, average income of the people of the states and hints towards their affordability of higher education.

With the help of these variables, the study tests the hypothesis that the budgetary finance across all the levels of the education influences the GER in higher education in India. The data of these variables are transformed using the natural logarithm to reduce skewness as the NSDP per capita and public expenditure per student at different levels of education are not normally distributed.

## ***Data Source***

The data set for enrolment ratio that has been used in this study is drawn from the online database All India Survey of Higher Education (AISHE) maintained by the Ministry of Human Resource and Development (MHRD) for the years 2010–2011 to 2013–2014. The supplementary source of higher education enrolment data used is the Statistics on Technical and Higher Education for the period 2004–2005 to 2009–2010. The data for the enrolment in the primary and secondary education have been drawn from the state report cards maintained by the Unified District Information System for Education (U-DISE) and the database maintained by the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA). The gaps have been filled by using the data on enrolments from the appendix of Annual Reports of MHRD for various years. The data on NSDP per capita have been drawn from the database managed by the Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation (MOSPI). The population for this study includes 28 states (data for all the variables for newly formed state of Telangana are not completely available; hence, it has been excluded from the study) and covers a span of 10 years from 2004–2005 to 2013–2014. Therefore, the study has the panel data set of 280 observations.

## **Limitations of the Data**

Although the data quality has been continuously improvised by the data-collecting agencies, that is, the MHRD, NIEPA and the MOSPI, there are still innate data problems in the variables used in the study. The sample contains a considerable amount of missing data. Since the mechanism of the missing values is assumed to be completely at random, the study tried interpolation methods. The missing data for the scholarships in the secondary and the higher education have been adjusted with the average of the two data points in adjacent years. This dilutes the credibility of the finally generated data set on scholarships.

## **Results of Fixed-Effect Estimations**

As shown in Table 11.1, model 1, model 2, model 3 and model 4 have good explanatory power reflected by adjusted  $R^2$  values, as high as 0.860, 0.863, 0.61 and 0.64, respectively. The Hausman test for model 1 ( $\chi^2 = 51.48$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), model 2 ( $\chi^2 = 32.36$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), model 3 ( $\chi^2 = 69.14$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and model 4 ( $\chi^2 = 20.52$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) rejects the random-effect specification, which indicates that the fixed-effect models in all the four cases are preferred over the random-effect model. With the inclusion of interaction effects, the F-test statistics show that the interaction effects are significant for all the four models [model 1 (F (39.24,  $p < 0.001$ )), model 2 (F (40.34,  $p < 0.001$ )), model 3 (F (10.62,  $p < 0.001$ )), Model 4 (F (12.15,  $p < 0.001$ ))].

**Table 11.1** Fixed-effect models of regression on tertiary enrolments (cumulative, females, SCs and STs)

	Model 1 <sup>a</sup> GER	Model 2 <sup>a</sup> GERFemale	Model 3 <sup>ab</sup> GER SC	Model 4 <sup>ac</sup> GER ST
Public expenditure on elementary education (% of NSDP)	-1.28** (0.47)	-1.07* (0.50)	-4.14* (1.80)	-0.38 (1.13)
Public expenditure on secondary education (% of NSDP)	1.36* (0.70)	1.57* (0.75)	4.60* (2.02)	0.37 (1.70)
Public expenditure on higher education (% of NSDP)	7.3*** (1.15)	8.4*** (1.24)	10.12** (3.27)	5.20 (2.78)
NSDP per capita (in constant 2004 INR, log)	24*** (7.05)	26.30*** (7.57)	-9.32** (19.30)	24.27 (16.97)
Public expenditure per elementary student (INR, log)	8.4** (3.02)	6.56* (3.24)	19.10* (9.95)	3.58 (0.62)
Public expenditure per secondary student (INR, log)	0.58 (1.67)	0.35 (1.79)	-1.5 (4.13)	1.03 (4.02)
Public expenditure per tertiary student (INR, log)	-10*** (1.31)	-8.7*** (1.41)	-15.8** (3.43)	-11.23*** (3.17)
Scholarships as the % of budgeted expenditure on secondary education	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.27)	-0.17 (0.24)
Scholarships as the % of budgeted expenditure on higher education	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.35 (0.28)	-0.01 (0.18)
Interaction terms				
High-income states * elementary expenditure	1.2* (0.49)	0.98 (0.53)	4.19* (1.84)	-0.71 (1.19)
High-income states * secondary expenditure	-1.2 (1.56)	-0.65 (1.68)	-10.48** (3.96)	-2.49 (4.22)
High-income states * tertiary expenditure	19.7*** (4.36)	18.16*** (4.68)	16.31 (10.72)	-0.75 (11.06)
High-income states * NSDP	13.04 (9.34)	14.16 (10.02)	37.90 (24.36)	7.01 (23.14)
High-income states * expenditure per elementary student	-5.9 (3.73)	-5.13 (3.99)	-15.31 (11.26)	-11.20 (9.22)
High-income states * expenditure per secondary student	8.02 (6.19)	7.61 (6.64)	12.25 (15.05)	19.68 (16.65)
High-income states * expenditure per tertiary student	-23.15*** (4.07)	-23*** (4.37)	-10.28 (9.98)	-35.06*** (110.75)
High-income states * scholarships in secondary education	-0.37 (0.62)	-0.61 (0.66)	0.56 (1.50)	-0.39 (2.97)
High-income states * scholarships in higher education	-0.63 (0.34)	-0.55 (0.37)	0.09 (0.86)	-2.17* (0.93)
Intercept -	-82 (18.38)	-97.56 (19.77)	-2.02 (45.85)	-72.94 (46.63)

(continued)

**Table 11.1** (continued)

	Model 1 <sup>a</sup> GER	Model 2 <sup>a</sup> GERFemale	Model 3 <sup>ab</sup> GER SC	Model 4 <sup>ac</sup> GER ST
R2: Adjusted	0.860	0.863	0.618	0.64
F-test	39.24***	40.34***	10.62***	12.15***

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  (two-tailed tests)

<sup>a</sup>Models preferred by the Hausman test; standard errors (S.E) in parentheses, <sup>b</sup>Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh have not been taken into model 3 due to zero reporting of tertiary enrolment ratios of SCs; <sup>c</sup>Punjab and Haryana consistently have reported zero enrolment for STs, and hence have been dropped from model 4

This implies that the effect of at least one of the education expenditure variables on higher education access differs for the high-incomes states.

### *Comparative Analysis and Discussion*

The results of the panel data models achieve research objectives with some discourse enriching findings. A statistically significant negative relationship between the public spending on elementary education as the percentage of NSDP and higher education access in India has been observed. This study puts forward a prima facie evidence that as funding is diverted from the elementary education, the tertiary enrolment ratios happen to increase for overall ( $\beta = -1.28$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), females ( $\beta = -1.07$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) and SCs ( $\beta = -4.14$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) in India. Proper funding of elementary education is a necessary, if not the sufficient, condition for promoting higher education access if mediated by the highly effective secondary education system. This negative relationship can be explained by two probable reasons. Firstly, low quality and excessive wastage in the elementary education sector of India lead to low elementary-secondary linkage which further impedes the quality (in terms of academic preparation) and quantity of the student cohort ready for higher education. There are many research, which have proved the excessive wastage in the elementary education in India (Ekka and Roy 2014; Bhattacharjee 2015; Kumar et al. 2013). Secondly, excess allocation of public resources to elementary education impedes the investment in secondary and tertiary education under the scenario of the severe budget constraints for education sector. Therefore, when funds are diverted from elementary to secondary and higher education sectors with the vision to attain some balance in funding between different levels, the tertiary enrolments happen to increase.

Another interesting observation in this context is that the negative relation between the public expenditure on elementary level and higher education access in high-income states is extremely low ( $-1.3 + 1.2 = -0.1$ ) in comparison to other states; moreover, the relationship happens to be positive in case of scheduled castes' enrolments ( $-4.14 + 4.19 = 0.05$ ). This hints towards better forward linkages between different levels of education in high-income states as compared to other states.



The study finds a strong positive relation between the public spending on secondary & tertiary education and the overall, female and SCs higher education enrolment ratios. For high-income states, the positive impact of public funding on higher education is much more intense in comparison to other states. This hints towards the policy of reallocating funds from elementary to secondary and higher education to enhance higher education expansion. The diversion of the fund should be such that the spending per elementary student should not be reduced, but rather increased, as the study has registered a positive impact ( $\beta = 8.4$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) of spending per elementary student on the higher education access. The child population in the elementary age group is gradually falling in India; therefore, the enrolments in the elementary sector are also decreasing. Due to this, the expenditure per elementary student is rising slowly even if the total amount of spending dedicated to elementary education is not rising. The study advocates for the policies focusing on enhancing the per-student expenditure at the elementary and secondary levels, on the one hand, and on the reduction of the wastage in these sectors, on the other. The strengthening of elementary-secondary-tertiary linkage for smooth transition of students across these levels of education is the area to be highly considered.

The negative relationship ( $\beta = -23$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) between public expenditure per student in higher education and overall gross enrolment ratios in higher education for all the states needs a thorough explanation. It is likely that the competition for higher education resources under fixed budget allocation system may lead to an inverse relationship between public expenditure per student and college enrolment (Su 2006; Yang and McCall 2014). Therefore, the estimated negative relationship provides some evidence that budget levels on higher education are relatively fixed across the states and do not increase proportionately with enrolment levels. Also, the negative relationship between the public expenditure per tertiary student is much more intense ( $\beta = -10-23 = -33$ ) in the high-income states; this explicitly explains that the public budget on higher education in high-income states has been strictly out of proportion in relation to the increase in the number of tertiary enrolment over time. This shows that high-income states are more inclined towards market-based strategies like privatization of higher education for expanding higher education access in comparison to other states.

Consistent with the literature suggesting economic development as a determinant of higher education access, this study reveals NSDP per capita as an important predictor of college enrolment in states during the period of 2004–2005 to 2013–2014. Much of the observed increase in average higher education enrolment ratios appears to be due to the substantial increase in per capita NSDP in the given period ( $\beta = 24$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). This shows that the affordability of the higher education increases with the increase in NSDP per capita. One of the most serious findings of the study is that the NSDP per capita has a negative impact on SCs tertiary enrolment ratios, whereas the impact on STs' tertiary enrolments is statistically insignificant. This shows that the rapid economic growth is not enough to facilitate SCs' and STs' access to higher education.

Next, the major finding in the context of the impact of NSDP per capita on tertiary enrolments is the statistically insignificant difference between the impact of

NSDP per capita on higher education access in high-income and other states. This simply means that the demand for higher education is increasing almost uniformly across the Indian states along with economic growth, or in more specific words, there is no significant difference in the way enrolment ratios respond to NSDP per capita in high-income states and the other states.

The medium explanatory power of the models assessing the impact of public education finance on SCs' and STs' tertiary enrolment ratios shows that there exist some other important determinants of SC and ST access to higher education which have been omitted in the model. The most important determinant of the higher education enrolments of the disadvantaged groups is the reservation policy. There are various studies, which prove the reservation policy as the dominant factor of higher education access for SCs and STs in India (Weisskopf 2004; Verma 2013; Bagde et al. 2016). Thus, it can be fairly argued that increasing the public expenditure on education is not a very effective policy instrument for strengthening the college access for SC and ST students. There should be targeted spending of student aid and proper implementation of reservation policy in order to enhance or establish a significant relationship between the public financing and enrolment ratios of the SC and ST students.

The student aid is supposed to have a positive impact on the higher education access, especially for the marginalized sections of the society. But in the case of Indian states, scholarships in secondary and higher education as the percentage of total budgeted expenditure on secondary and higher education happen to be statistically insignificant. The most probable reason for such a result is the nature of the data on amount allocated to scholarships in secondary and higher/technical education in India. It is widely misreported and there are significant numbers of missing values, which makes the data set weak for the successful employment in the econometric models.

Finally, this study demonstrates that the use of panel data models can be extremely beneficial for carrying out the future research in the education sector in India regarding themes where cross-section time-series data are available. The unavailability of cross-section time-series data on student loans, the transition rate from secondary to higher education and the need-based and the merit-based scholarships is a big hurdle in providing a complete macro overview of the higher education finance and access in India. Thus, it is suggested that agencies involved in data collection for the education sector in India should improve and expand their data collection and dissemination for all the states so that it can help in realizing the goals of the evidence-based policy-making in the education sector.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The empirical findings from this study suggest that the present pattern of public spending on education has failed to create an ideal linkage between different levels of education when seen from the perspective of impact of public spending on education in facilitating higher education access in India. Thus, this study recommends

that future access policies of higher education in India should target schools to guide students and raise their aspirations for higher education in their early receptive years. The access policies shall also focus on achieving higher levels of academic preparation of students for higher education by improving the quality of elementary and secondary education. There should be investment in confidence building among scheduled castes and scheduled tribes students and a proper distribution of the financial aid information among students belonging to the economically weaker section of the society. Therefore, what is required is that universities and schools must invest in achieving stronger backward and forward linkages and establish sturdier cooperation with schools located in the disadvantaged and rural areas of states.

Thus, there is need for enduring improvements in the overall education system of India. Higher education access and finance policies are going to have a limited impact if they focus merely on the aim of entry to universities or technical institutions. Strong transition within the education system across all the levels and within the stages of higher education is required to provide a wider picture of India's vision of higher education. Along with this, it is highly expected of the Indian state to reconsider its gradual withdrawal of funds from higher education, as the evidence provided in this study strongly show that privatization-dominated access expansion is highly biased against SC and ST students. Even economic growth is not a significant determinant of SC and ST enrolments. Hence, public funding is indispensable for achieving the goals of equity in Indian higher education.

There is a saying that, while driving, one must not look only in the rear-view mirror, but it is equally important to look at the road ahead. Drawing an analogy from this saying, the study finally concludes that the discourse on the access policies and how it is related to the public spending on education in India must be consistently updated with the new challenges emerging from the world of science and technology, international relations, labour market, demography, social and political scenarios and regional differences. The uncertainty engulfing the future of India's labour market due to rising protectionism and digital revolution can highly affect the education finance and higher education access scenario. India shall watch closely!

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# Chapter 12

## Factors Influencing Household Expenditure on Private Tutoring in Higher Education



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### Background

Higher education in India is undergoing a stage of massive expansion, with enrolment figures touching 36.6 million (2017–2018) and GER (Gross Enrolment Ratio) at 25.8% (MHRD 2018). Expansion of this sector is the outcome of increasing social demand along with expanding supply, mainly by the private players. According to 2017–2018 All India Survey of Higher Education (AISHE) data, around 36.6 million students are enrolled in institutions of higher education in India, of whom around 26.55 million (67.3%) are enrolled in private aided or unaided higher education institutions. This massification has ushered in numerous anomalies, one being inadequate representation of the socially and economically disadvantaged groups who face challenges not only at the point of entry but also within campus, with respect to lack of academic preparedness, vernacular medium of instruction at the pre-college level, etc. (Sabharwal and Malish 2017). This coupled with deteriorating teaching-learning quality at the higher education institutes (Global Industry Analysts 2016) has led to the mushrooming of private coaching. It has, in turn, contributed in magnifying distortions in the realm of higher education, further eroding its public good nature (Tilak 2004; Bhushan 2009). In this context, this chapter attempts to capture the factors influencing household expenditure on higher education using the latest education round of NSS (National Sample survey) unit-level records pertaining to the year 2014–2015. To attain this objective, this chapter has been divided into five parts; following this section, “Existing literature” discusses the existing literature; “Data set and Methodology” engages with the data set and methodology, followed by Section “Patterns of expenditure and

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participation in private tuitions” which captures the patterns of expenditure and participation in private tuitions and factors determining household expenditure on private coaching.

## Existing Literature

The turn of twenty-first century ushered in an unprecedented expansion in the realm of private tutoring globally, which was initially centred largely around East Asia (Bray 2009). Private coaching, considered synonymous to shadow education, has been defined by Stevenson and Baker (1992) as a ‘set of educational activities outside formal schooling that are designed to improve a student’s chances of successfully moving through the allocation process’ (p. 2). Additionally, the metaphor *shadow* has been used as it mimics the mainstream education system (Stevenson and Baker 1992; Lee et al. 2009). Bray and Kwok (2003) looked at private tutoring as a supplementary phenomenon to mainstream schooling, which is provided for financial gain in return. Earlier evidence point at the prevalence of the incidence of private tutoring especially in East Asian countries (Tansel and Bircan 2005) like Japan, Republic of Korea and Taiwan (Bray 2003). But latest research hints at its growth by leaps and bounds across the entire world, both in developed and developing nations alike (Bray 1999; Bray 2003; Buchmann et al. 2010; Tansel and Bircan 2005). According to a study conducted in 2016, Global Industry Analysts (GIA), the global private tutoring market, has been projected to reach \$227 billion by 2022. GIA figures state that United States, Europe and Asia-Pacific (notably Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, South Korea and China) are responsible for more than 90% of the global private tutoring market and, most importantly, South Korea alone is going to reach \$19.5 billion of the entire market. While Asia has clearly led the global tutoring boom, the United States is catching up. The mentoring industry existing in India has had a record growth of almost 35% in the past 5–6 years. At present, the size of private coaching industry is \$45 billion and is projected to surpass \$102.8 billion (GIA 2016).

From the context of private coaching, available literature has described education as a positional good (Jonathan 1990), whose consumption is not free and comes at the expense of other’s benefit. The literature brings to fore a gamut of reasons for the existence of private coaching, one such is to clear competitive examinations, as has been seen in the countries of South Korea, Greece, Japan and Turkey (Tansel and Bircan 2005). The major reasons which have contributed towards private tutoring in developing countries are centred around an array of reasons comprising of low public educational expenditure, large-sized classes and inadequate number of universities (ibid). In addition to this, private coaching has been considered as a response to dismal quality schooling of the public education system (Kim and Lee 2001). Interestingly, the mushrooming of private coaching in developed countries is not because of any of the reasons cited above; the study of Aurini (2004) based in Canada held the business and profit-making motive responsible for its growth,

terming it as educational entrepreneurship. The other important aspect includes aspirations of parents who intend to experience a smooth and successful transition of their wards from school to university and eventually to the work space (Stevenson and Baker 1992), wherein the family's economic well-being shapes the decision for private coaching (Kim and Lee 2001), thereby throwing light and concern on the aspects of quality and inequality associated with education.

In case of India, the study by Biswal (1999) documented private tutoring stemming from poor teaching, low monitoring at workplaces and a conscious effort to create a conducive market for private coaching to flourish. Sen (2002) also highlighted the prevalence of private coaching in the primary school level which reflects the inefficiency of primary schooling. Sujatha (2014) study on private coaching focused on secondary level of education, in which reasons laid out were poor teaching, inability to follow instructions in the classroom, peer pressure and to qualify public examinations. The studies by Atherton and Aslam (2012) and Dongre and Tewary (2014) showed the positive effect of private coaching on examination results in case of elementary level of education in India. The nationally representative study undertaken by Alcott and Rose (2015) brought to fore that private coaching improved learning of children from poor and rich backgrounds alike; additionally, it was also found that private coaching is not a sufficient measure to check learning gaps which arise from various socioeconomic reasons. The study looked at both government and private schools of rural India and Pakistan. Drawing on IHDS II household survey data, Lakshmanasamy (2017) concluded that income of household, urban residence, forward community identity, education of household head, private school enrolment and school fees have positive effect on household expenditure on private tuition.

Specifically in the Indian context, very few studies have delved into unravelling the various facets of private coaching with almost negligible research in the area of higher education, specifically for large sample surveys. Thus, this chapter attempts to use the latest National Sample Survey (NSS) round on education (71st round unit level records) to address the following question: whether social, economic, locational, family background variables, type of institution and nature of subject influence an individual's household expenditure on private coaching in higher education. Moreover, what warrants attention is the growing demand for private coaching and its bearings on the aspects of equality and quality of education imparted. Given the GER of 25.8% (AISHE 2017) in higher education which is close to massification, it becomes even more pertinent to examine the burgeoning incidence of private coaching in the level of higher education.

## Data Set and Methodology

This chapter draws from NSS 71st round unit-level records, schedule 25.2, pertaining to *Social Consumption: Education* (2014–2015). The survey comprises information on household characteristics, demographic particulars of every individual in



the household, educational details of students in the age group of 5–29 years and particulars of educational expenditure of students currently attending various levels of schooling. For each currently attending child, the survey collects information on type of education, level of current attendance, class/grade/year of study, type of management of educational institution, details of benefits received, if any, such as fee waiver, scholarship, free study materials and free mid-day meals, and detailed break-up of private educational expenditure. Information is also furnished for students currently not attending school in the age group 5–29 years with the reasons for dropping out. The data classify institution into four categories: government, local body, private aided and private unaided. Information on private expenditure incurred on the education of household members, including those who are residents of students' hostel at the time of survey, extent of educational wastage and their causes in terms of dropout and discontinuance and IT literacy of persons aged 14 years and above is also furnished.

The number of households surveyed in 71st round was 65,926 (36,479 in rural areas and 29,447 in urban areas). The survey covered the whole of the Indian Union except (i) interior villages of Nagaland situated beyond 5 km of the bus route and (ii) villages in Andaman and Nicobar Islands which remained inaccessible throughout the year.

### *Estimation Strategy*

The expenditure on private tutoring, which is the dependent variable, is zero for many households, thereby being censored at zero. The estimation method of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) cannot be used for estimation as it requires the dependent variable to be continuous and normally distributed. Thus, to furnish consistent estimates, maximum likelihood method of Tobit analysis is used for estimation, the specification of which is as follows:

$$Y_i^* = \beta'X + \varepsilon_i \quad (12.1)$$

The observed value of Y:

$$Y_i = 0 \text{ if } Y_i^* \leq 0 \quad (12.2)$$

$$Y_i = Y_i^* \text{ if } Y_i^* > 0 \quad (12.3)$$

where  $Y_i^*$  is the latent variable and  $Y_i$  is its observed counterpart, X is the vector of explanatory variables as explained in Table 12.1,  $\beta$  is the vector of parameters to be estimated and  $\varepsilon$  is the normally and independently distributed error term.



**Table 12.1** Description of variables used

Variables	Description of variables
Dependent variable	
Ln_hhexp_p~g	Logarithm of household expenditure on private coaching (in rupees)
Explanatory variables	
Female	If individual is female =1, 0 otherwise
ST	If individual is ST = 1, 0 otherwise
SC	If individual is SC = 1, 0 otherwise
OBC	If individual is OBC = 1, 0 otherwise
Rural	If individual is in rural sector = 1, 0 otherwise
Ln_mpce	Logarithm of monthly per capita consumption expenditure
General	If individual studies general subjects = 1, 0 otherwise
Govt_insti~e	If individual goes to government institute =1, 0 otherwise
North	If individual is from Northern region =1, 0 otherwise
North_East	If individual is from North eastern region =1, 0 otherwise
West	If individual is from western region =1, 0 otherwise
South	If individual is from southern region =1, 0 otherwise
HH_element~y	If household head has completed elementary level of education =1, 0 otherwise
HH_secondary	If household head has completed secondary level of education =1, 0 otherwise
HH_highers~y	If household head has completed higher secondary level of education =1, 0 otherwise
HH_gradabove	If household head has completed graduate and above level of education =1, 0 otherwise
STEM	If individual has taken science, technical, engineering and medicine =1, 0 otherwise

## Patterns of Expenditure and Participation in Private Tuitions

The burgeoning private coaching sector in India has been estimated by the Asian Development Bank to be worth \$6.4 billion every year, growing at an annual rate of 15% over subsequent four years. The rising middle class and the consequent aspiration for staying competitive in a global economy coupled with poor quality of teaching has resulted in the mushrooming of private coaching at the school level. Moreover, a recent article points at private coaching not contributing to human capital but rather adversely affecting creative minds of students (Goyal 2019). However, there is scant literature throwing light on the situation in the level of higher education. It is seen that within the higher education category, 19.1% individuals take private coaching and 80.9%<sup>1</sup> do not. Though a large section in higher education does not take private coaching, still it would be insightful to unravel and understand the 19.1% who do. Thus, this section makes an attempt to capture the pattern and

<sup>1</sup>These figures have been calculated by the authors from NSS 71st round unit-level records.

cost (at the household level) of private coaching in India for higher educated individuals pertaining to the age group 18–23 years across social groups, gender, location, type of institutions and MPCE quintiles.

To understand the burgeoning private coaching sector, it becomes pertinent to examine what cost the household incurs. Moreover, what households pay tends to differ with their ability to spend. As can be seen from Table 12.2, on an average, the household expenditure on private coaching is seen to increase with increase in MPCE quintiles across all the four social groups. ST category incurs the lowest expenditure on private coaching at Rs. 675 in the lowest quintile and Rs. 3948 in the highest quintile. The unreserved category of others incurs maximum household expenditure on an average across all the five MPCE quintile. The difference in expenditure is seen to converge in the higher quintiles for ST, SC and OBC (with the expenditure by STs exceeding SCs and OBCs). On the contrary, the difference in household expenditure widens when compared with ‘Others’ (non-reserved category students).

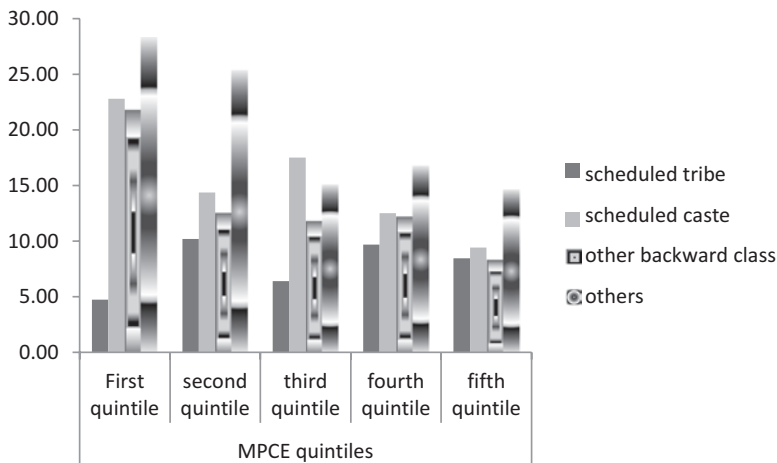
As seen from Fig. 12.1, the proportion of annual household expenditure incurred on private coaching decreases with increase in MPCE quintile for all the social groups (SC, OBC and Others), implying that a larger burden of private coaching falls on the poorer households. It could stem from two things: one, because in lower income quintiles, for calculating proportion figures, the value of denominator is low thereby increasing the proportion and, two, it could imply poor quality of classroom teaching which requires higher incidence of private coaching, thereby further disadvantaging this group who have to shell out their scarce resource on private coaching. Only for STs, the proportion is seen to increase, reflecting their lack of affordability to spend on private coaching in lower income quintiles, which gradually increases as income quintiles increases. Nonetheless, as expected, ‘Others’ spend the highest proportion on private coaching in every income quintile, which stands at 28.3, 25.3, 15.12, 16.8 and 14.68%, respectively, across the five quintiles (starting with the lowest) (Fig. 12.2).

At the aggregate level of all India and consequent disaggregation at the level of rural and urban sectors (Table 12.3), it is observed that the average household expenditure on males and females increases with consecutive increase in MPCE quintile. However, males incur a relatively higher household expenditure on an

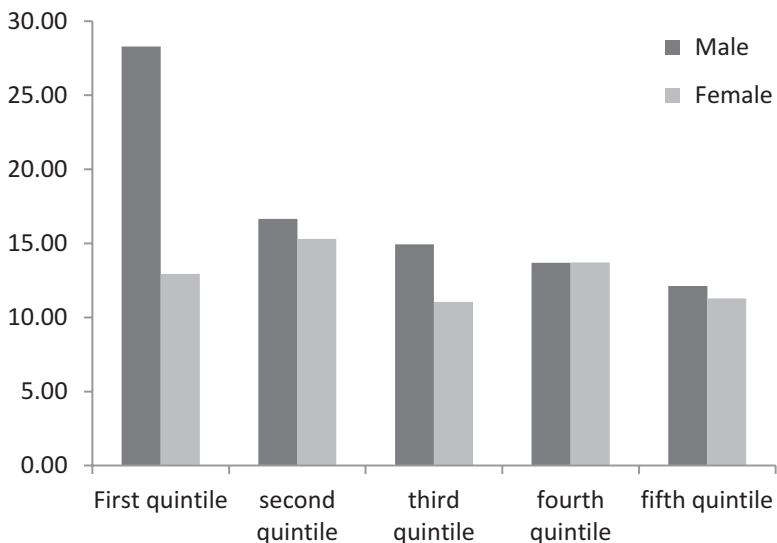
**Table 12.2** Average household expenditure on private coaching (annual in ₹) by social groups and MPCE quintiles

MPCE quintiles	Social groups				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
First quintile	675	1368	1891	2544	1876
Second quintile	830	1563	1652	2075	1694
Third quintile	817	2377	1753	2353	1991
Fourth quintile	2037	2446	2411	3038	2621
Fifth quintile	3948	3260	3043	6029	4666

Source: Authors’ calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records



**Fig. 12.1** Expenditure on private tuition for higher education students as a percentage of annual household consumption expenditure (Source: Authors’ calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records)



**Fig. 12.2** Expenditure on private tuition for higher education students as a percentage of annual household consumption expenditure. (Source: Authors’ calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records)

average when compared with their female counterparts which is Rs. 2209.15, Rs. 996.97 and Rs. 2992.10 and Rs. 1233.96, respectively, for males and females in rural and urban sectors for the first quintile (poorest MPCE quintile). Though in the highest quintile also, males incur a higher expenditure than females, the raw gap

**Table 12.3** Average household expenditure on private coaching (annual) by gender, location and MPCE quintiles (Rs)

MPCE Quintiles	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1st quintile	2209	997	1722	2992	1234	2326	2294	1021	1785
2nd quintile	1872	1687	1791	2546	2222	2385	1967	1778	1882
3rd quintile	2460	1703	2162	2182	2116	2155	2412	1779	2161
4th quintile	2642	2652	2646	3485	3488	3486	2920	2996	2952
5th quintile	3488	2918	3274	6664	6102	6422	5486	5087	5322

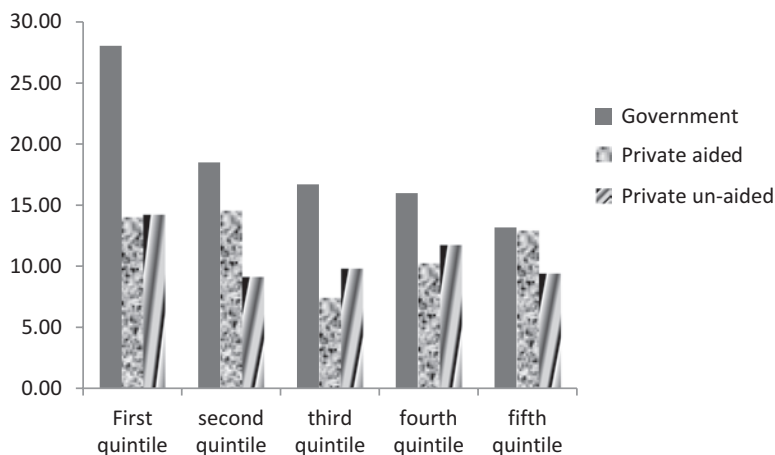
Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records

between the amounts of expenditure narrows down. This stands at Rs. 570.13 and Rs. 561, respectively, in the rural and urban sectors in the highest quintile as compared to a higher gap of Rs. 1212.18 and Rs.1758.14, respectively, for rural and urban sectors in the lowest quintile. This brings to fore the preferential treatment meted out to male members of the family which is more pronounced in the lower quintile groups, reflecting upon the patriarchal norms shaping household expenditure patterns in both rural and urban sectors alike. As can be corroborated from the descriptive statistics, males outnumber females with respect to taking private coaching across all the MPCE quintiles. As can be seen from Table 12.3, across all the quintiles in rural and urban sectors, the proportion of males and females stands at 66, 33, 70 and 29%, respectively, in the first quintile. Though the proportion of females increases with increase in quintile, their share is lower than their male counterpart, which reiterates the lower spending on females for private tutoring when compared with males. As on an average, the cost figures are less for females (which definitely is not getting depressed by a high denominator), thereby hinting at a low spending (Fig. 12.3 and Table 12.4).

The proportion of household spending on private coaching is seen to be maximum for government institutes, representing the poorest MPCE quintile, the burden being 28.04% for those going to government institutes. This proportion falls to 13.17% in the richest income group, but still those going to government institutes shell out a larger proportion of total household expenditure on private coaching when compared to private aided/unaided institutes.

### ***Participation in Private Coaching by Social Groups and MPCE Quintiles***

The percentage participation in private tutoring is the least for STs, closely followed by SCs. Even among the reserved categories, STs lag behind SCs and OBCs, and in the highest MPCE quintile, proportion of STs is lower than SCs and OBCs in the lowest quintile. The difference in participation between ST and 'Others' keeps increasing with higher MPCE quintiles alike in rural and urban sectors (which



**Fig. 12.3** Expenditure on private tuition for higher education students as a percentage of annual household consumption expenditure (Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records)

**Table 12.4** Average household expenditure on private coaching (annual) by type of institution and MPCE quintiles (Rs)

MPCE quintile	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Government	Private aided	Private un-aided	Government	Private aided	Private unaided	Government	Private aided	Private unaided
<b>First quintile</b>	2286	584	1207	2179	3883	760	2274	1048	1175
<b>Second quintile</b>	2147	1561	817	2329	2159	2461	2173	1662	1102
<b>Third quintile</b>	2701	1088	1611	2600	1854	1467	2684	1226	1584
<b>Fourth quintile</b>	3046	1980	2264	4217	2508	3034	3445	2208	2539
<b>Fifth quintile</b>	3501	3334	2910	6869	6746	5768	5558	5755	4759

Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records

stands at 62.6 and 43.3, respectively, in the highest quintile of urban and rural sectors) (Table 12.5).

For SCs, it is seen that their participation decreases with increase in MPCE quintile (in both rural and urban sectors), which could plausibly hint at the relatively large concentration of SCs in the lower quintiles (thus, relatively larger proportion in lower quintiles). A contrast situation is seen in case of *others*, with proportion participating in private tutoring increasing with increase in MPCE quintile (implying larger concentration of this unreserved category in the higher MPCE quintiles). The above table implies that the unreserved category 'Others' is relatively in a privi-

**Table 12.5** Percentage of graduate and above-level students taking private tuition by caste and income groups

	Rural						Urban								
	Scheduled tribe	Scheduled caste	Other backward class	Others	Caste inequality (others-ST)	Scheduled tribe	Scheduled caste	Other backward class	Others	Caste inequality (others-ST)	Scheduled tribe	Scheduled caste	Other backward class	Others	Caste inequality (others-ST)
<b>First quintile</b>	2.40	25.90	36.50	35.20	32.80	0.00	33.20	40.60	26.20	26.20	0.00	33.20	40.60	26.20	26.20
<b>Second quintile</b>	3.00	18.10	42.70	36.20	33.20	5.40	16.10	53.90	24.60	19.20	5.40	16.10	53.90	24.60	19.20
<b>Third quintile</b>	5.00	18.00	36.80	40.20	35.20	3.90	16.10	37.30	42.80	38.90	3.90	16.10	37.30	42.80	38.90
<b>Fourth quintile</b>	5.10	15.70	44.70	34.60	29.50	2.70	15.30	38.10	44.00	41.30	2.70	15.30	38.10	44.00	41.30
<b>Fifth quintile</b>	3.30	19.20	31.00	46.60	43.30	3.00	7.90	23.50	65.60	62.60	3.00	7.90	23.50	65.60	62.60

Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level records

**Table 12.6** Participation in private coaching by gender, MPCE quintiles and location

MPCE quintile	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>First quintile</b>	66.4	33.6	70.3	29.7
<b>Second quintile</b>	59.5	40.5	53.2	46.8
<b>Third quintile</b>	65.1	34.9	52.0	48.0
<b>Fourth quintile</b>	65.8	34.2	47.2	52.8
<b>Fifth quintile</b>	65.4	34.6	57.8	42.2

Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level record

leged position to take private tuitions when compared to the reserved categories (ST/SC/OBC).

Within a social group, across MPCE quintiles, there is not much difference with respect to taking private coaching except in case of *Others* wherein the difference is 11.4% and 39.4%, respectively, in rural and urban sectors between the lowest and highest MPCE quintiles (Table 12.6 and 12.7).

Average household expenditure on private coaching increases with increase in MPCE quintile for all subgroups under analysis. For government institutions, the increase in cost with higher quintiles could be because of relatively low participation (since the cost figure is average, low denominator inflates the figure).

Proportion taking private coaching in case of government institutes in rural sector is higher than its urban counterpart across all MPCE quintiles. Corroborating with the purpose for taking private coaching, it comes to fore that across all subdivisions and quintile groups, majority take private coaching to augment basic education,<sup>2</sup> which could plausibly explain the fall in proportion with increase in MPCE quintile, implying relatively better quality education imparted to individuals from higher MPCE quintile and thereby relatively lower percentage taking private coaching.

For secondary school students, the incidence of private coaching has been documented to be higher in urban sector for government and private aided/unaided (MHRD 2016). However, for both sectors, with increase in MPCE quintile, the proportion of individuals taking private coaching decreases, which reverses when individuals from private aided and private unaided institutions are looked into (with increase in MPCE quintile, participation in private coaching increases).

### *Determinants of Expenditure on Private Coaching*

The following section gives the maximum likelihood estimation results of expenditure on private coaching.

<sup>2</sup>The study by Sen (2009) pointed out that in case of school education, 54% of parents in West Bengal who could not send their children to private coaching was because they could not afford it.

**Table 12.7** Percentage of graduate and above-level students taking private tuition by type of institution and income groups

MPCE quintile	Rural				Urban				
	Government	Private aided	Private unaided	Government	Private aided	Private unaided	Government	Private aided	Private unaided
<b>First quintile</b>	58.6	18.0	22.6	50.6	26.9	22.2	50.6	26.9	22.2
<b>Second quintile</b>	59.0	20.3	19.4	50.6	26.2	21.8	50.6	26.2	21.8
<b>Third quintile</b>	54.1	19.5	26.1	49.5	23.5	26.1	49.5	23.5	26.1
<b>Fourth quintile</b>	48.5	22.5	28.8	42.3	30.0	27.1	42.3	30.0	27.1
<b>Fifth quintile</b>	36.5	22.7	40.5	29.6	30.0	40.0	29.6	30.0	40.0

Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level record



At all-India level and also at the disaggregation of rural and urban sector,<sup>3</sup> being a female proves to be unfavourable when compared to their male counterpart in the context of household spending on private coaching. As can be seen from Table 12.8, being a female lowers the expenditure on private coaching by 7% when compared with males (at the level of all India). This finding bears consonance with the findings of the previous section which showed low proportional and absolute spending on females with respect to private coaching, thereby reiterating the deep-rooted patriarchal notions which shape household decision-making.

When an individual's social background is factored in, it is seen that as expected, being from a reserved category has an adverse impact on private coaching expenditure. The maximum disadvantage is experienced by those from the ST category, which is highest in the rural sector. Being an ST lowers the spending on private coaching by 45, 50 and 22%, respectively, at all India, rural and urban sectors. On corroborating with the patterns of participation and expenditure, it is clear that even with the same income (MPCE) quintile, the STs spend less on private coaching. Thus, plausibly, it is not always because of lack of affordability but could also hint at the varied aspirations among the caste groups which shape decision-making.

Expenditure on private coaching has a positive impact with respect to the educational level of the household heads. A graduate and above-level head would spend 13%, 7.7% and 14.5% more, respectively at all India, rural and urban sectors than their illiterate counterparts on private coaching, thus reiterating the importance of having an educated household head which in turn influences decision-making.

Locational factor reveals that, residing in the rural sector, an individual spends 24% less (significant at 1%) on private coaching when compared with their urban counterpart; a similar yet insignificant finding came to fore in case of secondary level of education (MHRD 2016; Tansel and Bircan 2006; Kim and Lee 2001; Bray 1999). One of the probable reasons could be relatively large household sizes in the rural sector which acts as a constraint on household expenditure decision, consequently influencing expenditure on private coaching, which bears implication on the lower purchasing power of these households. In addition to this, from the descriptive statistics (in the Appendix section), it comes to fore that the proportion of the disadvantaged groups (SC/ST) is higher in rural than in urban areas. From the previous section, it is clear that these marginalized groups on an average spend less on private coaching. Literature on divergence in rural/urban private coaching expenditure reasons it on the ground that in urban centres, there is better availability of coaching centres (Tansel and Bircan 2006; Bray 1999), with competitive pressures emanating from urban neighbourhoods (Kim and Lee 2001; Sujatha 2014<sup>4</sup>).

With respect to regions, besides the western region, all the other regions (North, South, Northeast) spend less on private coaching when compared to those residing in the eastern region. The per-student average household expenditure is highest in

<sup>3</sup>Though, for rural and urban sectors, the coefficients are insignificant.

<sup>4</sup>This study was based on 4031 samples of secondary school students across four states (Kerala, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh).

**Table 12.8** Tobit maximum likelihood estimation results for private tutoring expenditure

	All India			Rural			Urban		
	Coefficients	Std. errors		Coefficients	Std. errors		Coefficients	Std. errors	
Ln_hhexp_p~g									
Female	-0.07***	0.04		-0.09	0.06		-0.02	0.05	
ST	-0.45*	0.07		-0.51*	0.09		-0.23*	0.10	
SC	-0.14**	0.06		-0.11	0.08		-0.17**	0.09	
OBC	-0.22*	0.05		-0.24*	0.06		-0.17*	0.06	
Rural	-0.24*	0.04		n/a	n/a		n/a	n/a	
Ln_mpce	0.47*	0.04		0.39*	0.06		0.53	0.06	
General	0.13*	0.05		0.21	0.06		-0.05	0.07	
Govt_insti~e	0.02	0.05		-0.01*	0.07		0.09	0.06	
North	-0.22*	0.05		-0.3*	0.07		-0.10	0.06	
North_East	-0.21*	0.07		-0.26	0.09		-0.02**	0.08	
West	0.07	0.07		0.04	0.11		0.13**	0.07	
South	-0.25**	0.11		-0.18	0.14		-0.33	0.16	
HH_element~y	0.01	0.05		0.02*	0.07		-0.02	0.07	
HH_secondary	0.17*	0.06		0.26	0.09		0.04	0.07	
HH_highers~y	0.15**	0.07		0.14	0.11		0.12***	0.09	
HH_gradabove	0.13**	0.06		0.08*	0.10		0.15	0.08	
STEM	0.39*	0.05		0.47*	0.07		0.25	0.06	
_cons	5.01*	0.34		5.3*	0.46		4.56*	0.46	
Number of observations	4481			2053			2428		
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.13			0.10			0.10		

Note: \*\*\*1% level of significance, \*\*5% level of significance, \*10% level of significance

Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level record

the western states at Rs. 5227.41, followed by the eastern region at Rs. 4160.70<sup>5</sup> (figures calculated by author using NSS 71st round unit-level records).

The proxy variable for income of the household (MPCE) reveals that income plays a very significant role in shaping decision associated with expenditure on private coaching. At all India level, with 1% increase in MPCE, spending on private coaching increases by 47%, which is highest for urban sector (when compared to its rural counterpart), wherein a 1% increase in MPCE increases expenditure on private coaching by 53.4%.

Individuals going to government institutes spend about 2% more than their counterparts in private institutes on private coaching at the level of all India (though the coefficient is insignificant). This definitely has a bearing on quality of teaching and learning in government institutes of higher education but should be cautiously interpreted with respect to the quality of private institutes. From the table on descriptive statistics, it is clear that a larger proportion of students go to government institutes, thus plausibly impacting the coefficient value. The selection of subjects which has an impact on future career choices also impacts decisions on incurring private coaching expenditure; individuals opting for STEM subjects spends 39% higher in private coaching as compared to students who do not opt for STEM subjects.

## Conclusions

Despite an unparalleled growth in higher education with the gross enrolment ratio (GER) reaching 25.8% (AISHE 2018), the challenges in higher education have increased manifold. One such aspect is the proliferation of private coaching, which distorts the system by introducing more layers of variation and many a times adversely impacting inclusiveness, thereby making it pertinent to explore and examine private coaching in the context of higher education.

Analysis of the paper has found that the proportional household expenditure on private coaching for the unreserved category of *Others* is the highest in every income quintile, implying that despite having similar purchasing power, plausibly the difference in aspirations shapes decisions associated with spending on private coaching. Disadvantage with respect to lower expenditure on private coaching is maximum for ST individuals in the rural sector.

Males incur a relatively higher household expenditure on an average when compared with their female counterparts. Though in the highest quintile, males undertake a higher expenditure than females, the raw gap between the amount of expenditure narrows down. This brings to fore the preferential treatment meted out to male members of the family which is more pronounced in the lower quintile groups, reflecting upon the patriarchal norms shaping household expenditure pat-

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<sup>5</sup>The same figures for Northern region are Rs. 2777.20, Northeast is Rs. 2824.91 and is least for the southern region at Rs. 1306.80.

terns in both rural and urban sectors alike. Being a female lowers the expenditure on private coaching by 7% when compared with males (at the level of all India).

Those going to government institutes shell out a larger proportion of total household expenditure on private coaching when compared to private aided/unaided institutes, with the proportion lowering with increase in quintile. Proportion taking private coaching in case of government institutes in rural sector is higher than its urban counterpart across all MPCE quintiles. Corroborating with the purpose for taking private coaching, it comes to fore that across all subdivisions and quintile groups, majority take private coaching to augment teaching-learning imparted in higher education institutes, which could plausibly explain the fall in proportion of expenditure on private coaching with increase in MPCE quintile, implying relatively better quality education imparted to individuals from higher MPCE quintile and thereby relatively lower percentage taking private coaching.

Higher educated household head influences decision-making in favour of private coaching, thus showcasing the importance of having a higher educated household head.

The proxy variable for income of the household (MPCE) reveals that income plays a very significant role in shaping decision associated with expenditure on private coaching. It is seen that the income (proxied by MPCE) elasticity of expenditure on private coaching is inelastic, a similar situation seen in the study of Psacharopoulos and Papakonstantinou (2005) for Greece.

Largely it has been seen that students opt for private tutoring to augment teaching across various levels of disaggregations which implicitly throws light on the quality of teaching and learning in higher educational institutions (Lakshmanasamy 2017). Further, as seen in the paper, there are a lot of discrepancies among various subgroups with respect to taking private coaching. The choice for uptaking private coaching gets constrained largely by various socioeconomic, educational and locational factors, implying that with quality being compromised not everyone can afford private coaching to supplement learning, thus becoming an instrument of perpetuating disparities in the realm of education. Stringent measures should be taken to ensure quality teaching and learning which would contribute in curtailing the unregulated expansion of private coaching and creating a relatively more inclusive environment. The fact that a large proportion of students opting for private coaching owing to augment basic education throws light on the quality of teaching-learning being imparted in higher education irrespective of it being a public, aided or unaided institute. Additionally, the burden of a relatively higher proportion of household expenditure being spent on private coaching falls on individuals from lower income quintiles. This requires measures to be taken to remedy the situation of poor teaching-learning in higher education institutes which would in turn be helpful in checking the menace of growing out-of-pocket expenditure by households which jeopardizes and distorts the public good nature of higher education.

## Appendix

**Table 12.9** Descriptive statistics (percentage distribution)

	All India	Rural	Urban
<b>Male</b>	52.5	52.5	52.6
<b>Female</b>	47.5	47.5	47.4
<b>HH_element~y</b>	18.0	17.7	18.9
<b>HH_secondary</b>	8.2	7.2	10.5
<b>HH_highers~y</b>	4.0	3.2	6.0
<b>HH_gradabove</b>	5.1	2.6	10.8
<b>HH_illiterate and below primary</b>	30.6	34.7	21.6
<b>Scheduled tribe</b>	9.9	12.4	4.5
<b>Scheduled caste</b>	20.1	22.1	15.7
<b>Other backward class</b>	42.6	42.5	42.7
<b>Others</b>	27.4	23.1	37.2
<b>Technical</b>	21.1	13.8	32.7
<b>General</b>	67.3	72.1	59.8
<b>STEM</b>	31.2	28.4	35.7
<b>Government</b>	44.8	50.4	35.7
<b>pvt_aided</b>	24.0	20.8	29.1
<b>pvt_unaided</b>	30.7	28.3	34.7
<b>Rural</b>	69.0	n/a	n/a
<b>Urban</b>	31.0	n/a	n/a
<b>North</b>	32.4	33.6	29.9
<b>East</b>	24.0	27.4	16.2
<b>North_East</b>	3.5	4.1	2.1
<b>West</b>	20.5	18.6	24.9
<b>South</b>	19.6	16.4	26.9

Source: Authors' calculation using NSS 71st round unit-level record

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**Part III**  
**Capabilities and Others**

# Chapter 13

## Higher Education Policy: Accountability Versus Capabilities



Sudhanshu Bhushan

### Introduction

Higher education is at the crossroads. In the twenty-first century, higher education is experiencing new challenges from all stakeholders' roles and expectations – students, teachers, administrators and last but not the least, society as well as state. What the new roles and expectations are? How can policy help to fulfil new roles and expectations of different stakeholders? I argue that the greatest challenge is to define the transformative role of a teacher and teaching-learning process and create conditions for achieving the same. The chapter takes the analytical perspective of 'capabilities' provided by Amartya Sen (2009) and Martha Nussbaum (2011). Ingrid Robeyns (2011) notes that Nussbaum describes the capabilities approach as a new theoretical paradigm in the development and policy world, which poses the question: 'What are people actually able to do and to be?' Put differently, the capabilities approach asks which genuine opportunities are open to people. Capabilities approach shifts the focus of policy and development analysis from resources to capabilities. Capabilities approach allows the freedom for effective engagement with students by teachers and this freedom goes along with responsibility. It is argued that unless the capabilities of teachers are developed, it would be difficult to raise the standards of higher education and fulfil the stakeholders' expectations from higher education.

The competing approach to policy that is prevalent today is the one guided by formal – bureaucratic and technological – rationality. From the point of view of formal rationality, rules and regulations guide decision-making from external source. It also imposes technology with the purpose to improve the efficiency in higher education. Higher education progress is said to happen with the imposition

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of formal rationality. Stephen Kalberg notes that 'From a technical point of view, the most "rational" type of domination is found in the bureaucracy simply because it aims to do nothing more than calculate the most precise and efficient means for the resolution of problems by ordering them under universal and abstract regulation' (1980, p. 1158). For example, current discourse in higher education policy is guided by formal rationality that advocates the idea of credit system, Academic Performance Indicator (API), National Eligibility Test (NET), model course prescription, accreditation, ranking, impact factor, research evaluation exercise, prescribing hours of teaching, research and extension, students' feedback, etc., which are said to be universal, calculable and efficiency- and productivity-driven. They become instruments of domination and control aimed at directing action. Weber notes that formal rationalization has led to purposive rational action in terms of means-end type of social action (Kalberg, 1980).

The chapter argues that, in the present policy dialogue, we need to move out of the rationalization constructed by the top decision-makers. Policy, guided by the rationalization, has led to too many regulations aimed at uniformity and standardization. It completely bypasses the heterogeneous field reality of higher education. The variation in students' size and composition is one such challenge that no one standard practice can deal with. On the other hand, it may be argued that capabilities approach allows to understand the transformative role of a teacher who can with a greater degree of empowerment deal with varying situations in the context in which she works.

The challenge that a large higher education system such as ours faces today is to develop a bridge of trust and co-operation between the state and the community of teachers. The foundation of mutual trust is missing today. As a result state uses various forms of control and directs the decision-making. Policy in this perspective uses various norms for accountability. Policy becomes the tool for efficiency-driven measures. Productivity rationale dominates the thinking. Community of teachers opposes it, as it wants the decisions to be guided by the discussion amongst themselves. The freedom wherever is curtailed becomes the cause of dissent and conflict. Policy that ignores this space for a teacher gives rise to opposition – covert or overt. I, therefore, argue that the bridges of trust are necessary for policy. In various deliberations on policy that I have taken part, I found that there is a lack of trust. Community of teachers felt that freedom would be curtailed as many decisions through policy would ignore the field reality of colleges and universities and would have little chances of success.

The capability approach provides the way out to face this dilemma. It allows the freedom to the teachers. It also helps build the competency that is necessary for a teacher. Further, freedom can be used only with democratic decision-making process. As a result the impartiality could be maintained. The capability approach also differs in a significant way from the state-directed accountability perspective. It is not the rule-oriented *niti* perspective of justice guiding policy. It is a perspective of *Nyaya* based on realization that guides policy. It means that in actual situation the 'well-being' of a student is examined. As soon as a student enters the portal of higher education, she is assessed and her deficit is addressed to further advance in the pur-

suit of skill and knowledge. What is important within capability perspective is to understand advancement in terms of actual achievement and not in terms of what is desired.

The central point to note is that if policy aims to build trust and not the control over the community of teachers, then the policy should be open to deliberation and allow the decision-making to be in hands of community of teachers. The capabilities approach allows the basic and advanced capabilities of a teacher to grow to use freedom with responsibility. Unless teachers are empowered to use freedom with responsibility, higher education cannot progress to fulfil the expectations of students and community. It will remain an ivory tower. It will not connect itself with the community.

## **Formal Rationality**

Formal rationality in the present industrial society may be said to exist in terms of the domination of 'bureaucratic rationality' and 'technological rationality' in different spheres of life such as legal, economic and scientific.

Unlike purposive-rational action under bureaucratic and technological rationality, the substantive value rationality, on the other hand, directs action in terms of past, present and potential value postulate. Value postulate implies friendship, trust, collegiality, equality and so on. Out of the multitudes of values held by individuals, some value becomes dominant and guides action.

The interactions of the two above-mentioned forms of rationality – formal and substantive – noted by Max Weber point to the policy dilemma in the modern higher education. From the point of view of formal rationality, rules and regulations guide decision-making from external source. It also imposes technology with the purpose to improve the efficiency in higher education. Higher education progress is said to happen with the imposition of formal rationality. This creates disturbance in the world life of the teachers, students and other stakeholders in higher education who are guided by substantive value rationality. Teachers are guided by the world view in which scholars having passion for knowledge is the universal value. However, there may be social and cultural differentiation among teachers which propel them to think in different directions, and creates interests on varied subjects. Higher education is characterized by the differentiation of interests and motivations of teachers. Their disciplinary choice and specialized area of work might be varying. Along the differentiation that characterizes higher education the unifying element is the search of knowledge through questioning. The world view of the teacher gets shattered when the domination of formal rules and technology interrupts the world views possessed by them. The standardization of higher education through the formal rationality takes away the highly differentiated characteristics of higher education.

Formal rationality, as noted above, leads to the 'loss of meaning' and the 'loss of freedom'. Loss of meaning of higher education takes place in the mind of a teacher. Teacher fails to understand whether higher education should be treated as value

proposition whose main aim is to inculcate higher intellect to understand the society critically and make an endeavour towards achieving a better society. The formal rationality, however, through rules and techniques, constantly directs a teacher to treat higher education as an instrument to achieve certain ends. Ends are predefined in terms of material progress achievable through capitalist order of society. There is no scope to critically understand the institutional and organizational structure that directs them to follow rules.

Therefore, loss of meaning is to be understood in terms of disenchantment that external formal rationalization creates directing a teacher to work for the reproduction, efficiency and productivity of the system.

Loss of freedom to a teacher is manifested in the power of bureaucracy and technology that force submission. Teacher, being a paid employee<sup>1</sup> and bound by the rules of the organization in which he works, feels threatened to preserve the substantive value that has so far guided his action, namely, to preserve the liberal values of argumentation and critical understanding of the facts and the habits of questioning. Loss of freedom amounts to submission of teachers' varied ways of doing things to a standard format the negation of which might lead to the infringement of rules. The bureaucratization creates social control over almost every aspect of the intellectual life of a teacher. The formal rationality also makes him feel powerless with the loss of freedom of a teacher. Thus it creates the impression that rules are universal, concrete and objective and creates the boundary which cannot be overstepped and this alienates the teacher from his own life world of diverse values.

It would be instructive to note that Max Weber, a German Sociologist, himself feels dissatisfied with the bureaucratic domination in German universities in the first quarter of the previous century. His candid expression of the dominance of bureaucracy and the fear amongst academics of the power of bureaucracy and consequently the demoralization of the academic community is probably no less relevant today in Indian higher education than the one that existed in Weber's times. (Althoff and Weber 1973).

## Students' Expectations

Students of colleges and universities are diverse groups of people. They belong to diverse social groups. They represent rural as well as urban middle, high and low income group. They are from first-generation learners as well as from second- and third-generation learners. They consist of mix group from hilly places to plain and from north India to southern parts of India. They are from mixed religious groups and their sensitivity to respective cultures may be quite rigid. The gender mix of

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<sup>1</sup> Often, such economic bargain has resulted in the treatment of academic employee of the government as showing loyalty and conforming to the power of state authority without realizing that their independence is critical to the creative construction of the society which the state has to administer for their well-being.

boys and girls in different disciplines of study may be varying. They may be slow learner as well as fast learner. The higher education has also to be receptive to physically and mentally disabled and to the transgender group with whom social stigma is attached. Student community represent mini India.

It is quite clear that when students from diverse groups and communities come from their local setting to the higher education institutions they come with personal biases and expectations. The immediate objective of higher education is to free their minds from narrow interests, personal biases through liberal education that cultivates mind through systematic reasoning. Reason helps them to escape from partisan interests. Reason then prepares them to move in the world of work where they can make use of reason to earn livelihood in a manner that should not be in conflict with other's similar goal.

Students come to higher education institutions to make their transition to the world of work. In certain cases the opportunity cost of higher education may be quite high and for such groups of students there may be the need to make quick transition. It implies that skill building through vocational education and training may be desirable for those groups of students. Hence, an efficient vocational pathway may be desirable for a large number of youth entering higher education.

Challenges of policy in higher education are to meet diverse expectations of students. Diverse needs and expectations are following: (i) All barriers to entry should be minimized. It implies that in the first place, higher education should be affordable. Besides, any other social or cultural barriers need to be removed. (ii) They need to be invoked in the world of objective reason that is free from biases. (iii) Language may be an important bottleneck for students so far trained in vernacular language. (iv) Students' option to choose subjects of their choice must be provided to them. (v) Curricular design should be flexible to allow slow learners to learn at their pace. It implies that teaching-learning process should be learner supported by the teachers.

So far as the first need is concerned, the role of state is to ensure that all such barriers to entry are reduced to the minimum. Higher education should be affordable. It implies that government should take full responsibility of establishing colleges and universities and fees charged in the institutions should not be burdensome or prohibitive. Government should ensure that there is proper infrastructure and teachers are posted in the colleges.

## **Failures of Rationalized Policy**

It is important to note that policy guided by formal rationality aims at efficient path to achieve certain goal. For example, in the direct recruitment for teachers and Career Advancement Scheme (CAS) for promotion the use of Academic Performance Indicator (API) is mandated by UGC through regulation. Under the API, there are minimum scores to be earned under the different categories making a prescribed sum total for entry or promotion. The broader aim is to maintain the

standards of higher education through certain quality control on the qualifications of a teacher. It is a common knowledge that there are difficulties of keeping a record of each and every activity for crediting a point under API. Secondly, under diverse conditions that a teacher works it may not be possible to earn the point under different categories. Thirdly, to earn a point, various ways were adopted. One of the most common methods is the use of ISSN and ISBN for publication in which contribution is made. Then, there are substandard journals in which publication is made to earn a point. Various ways to earn the points not only distracts the mind of a teacher, it also leads to dubious ways of publishing. As a result, it leads to further regulation on the quality of journals. Different universities further clarified a large number of issues relating to earning a point under API. Failure of one regulation (policy of API) leads to another regulation (policy on quality of publication). It is important to note that there is a chain reaction in which regulation after regulation is pursued after the failure of one after another. API was suggested after the introduction of 6th Pay Commission appointed by UGC. Before the introduction of API and even after that, National Eligibility Test continues to be a means to control the quality of teacher for entry into the teaching profession. When NET, API, regulation on publication are simultaneously operating to maintain standards, there was already further regulation on the quality of PhD necessitating the mandatory 6 months course requirement. When all regulations seem to be failing, then quality of institutions are to be attempted to be evaluated through ranking and accreditation and further institutions are mandated to follow credit system and so on and so forth. Bureaucratic rationality and technological rationality with a view to efficiently control quality are never questioned in policy circles. Attempt is made to further design policy to control quality with even more precision. All discourses on policy concerning quality are attempts to move towards more accurate measures, which are frustrated time and again.

Policy is a tool to dominate and disempowering the teacher through the loss of freedom and loss of meaning. It is never examined that students are diverse community and have diverse needs. This diversity can never be treated through homogeneous means of controlling through the regulation. There are students who may have language barrier. Teachers need to address language barrier of students. Students may be first-generation learner and the deficit of cultural capital from which such students suffer is the first important challenge that a teacher has to address. Students in the light of disciplinary and interdisciplinary knowledge need to be trained in objective reasoning and further they need to be freed from biases that imprison their minds. Teachers need freedom with responsibility to address the diverse needs of students. Teachers need to confront the reality in which they engage with students. All measures to maintain standards that bind teachers to follow bureaucratic rationality is an impediment to address the problems relating to the lifeworld of students.

The way out of the complex rational structure in which a teacher lives is to have minimum regulation. However, the capabilities of teachers need to be addressed. My plea, therefore, is that regulatory perspective needs to be substituted with capabilities perspective in new policy discourse.

## Capabilities Perspective of Policy

Accountability without capability is meaningless. Consider the following statement: ‘freedom to choose give us the opportunity to decide what we should do, but with that opportunity comes the responsibility for what we do – to the extent that they are chosen actions. **Since a capability is the power to do something, the accountability that emanates from that ability – that power – is a part of the capability perspective.....**’ (Amartya 2009, p. 19). This may look like duty-centred deontological perspective. Amartya Sen, for a variety of reasons, distances himself away from it and prefers the perspective of social realizations for which the capabilities are of central importance. An important reason to move away from deontological form of duty-based accountability relates to the opposition to transcendental institutionalism which Rawls proposed to present as rule-based system. It essentially assumes the organizational propriety and behavioural correctness for the rules to be observed and duties to be performed. And if this happens the society through the right institutions and the right conduct moves towards a perfect Justice. What Sen proposes to have is a much more inclusive perspective of *nyaya* which is linked with the realizations, the lives of the people and the process through which the realization takes place, not just the institutions or rules we happen to have. Sen no longer believes in a dichotomy that traditionally exists between the consequentialists and deontologists. He clears the ground for the consequential perspective that takes into account the comprehensive outcomes, inclusive of the role of the agency and the processes. Hence, neither duty nor rules are removed from the scene while the realization of the goal for making the lives of the people better is proposed. The whole concept of accountability with a view to meet the goal is supplemented with the ‘freedom to choose’ – developing the capabilities. Capability approach, according to Amartya Sen, focuses on human lives and not just resources. Accountability only then becomes meaningful.

In the context of higher education, the whole notion of accountability, following from Sen, has to be understood in terms of realization-based perspective and the development of the capabilities of a teacher. Hence, we now turn to the understanding of the capabilities of a teacher.

If the realization of the students' interest has to be achieved, freedom of teachers is important. Freedom gives more opportunity to pursue the realization of the interests. It allows teachers to decide and help advance the interests. This aspect of freedom relates to the choice (or opportunity) that helps to realize the goal. Another aspect of freedom relates to the process. A teacher should not feel constrained by others or be forced to follow the prescribed process. Opportunity as well as the process aspect of the freedom are important constituents of capability.

Consider a college teacher has to understand the teaching strategy to address the problems of slow learner in the class. UGC regulation, 2010, Clause 17, code of professional ethics, sub-clause II (iii) states that teachers should ‘recognise the differences in aptitude and capabilities among students and strive to meet their individual needs’. Teacher wants to have the opportunity to go to the University library

which is a few miles away from the college. He, therefore, wants to spend first half of the day in a college and the second half in the library for at least two weeks. In situation A, Principal of a college allows him to do so. In this situation, his opportunity to use the library as well as the process (choice) is facilitated by the Principal. In another situation B, the Principal of a college does not permit him to use the library in the second half in view of the circular of the University that a teacher is supposed to be in the college throughout the day. In this situation, the opportunity aspect of freedom to remain in the first half in the college is fulfilled, but not the freedom to remain in the library in the second half. As he is forced to remain in the college in the second half, the process aspect of freedom is also lost. It is quite clear that in spite of his accountability to address the problem of slow learner in the class, he is not capable to do so. Therefore, unless capabilities in terms of the freedom or opportunity to choose is ensured, the accountability has no meaning as the objective is not realized for want of capability. What is important is the way a teacher achieves the objective of addressing the needs of slow learners by making full use of the opportunity to consider the alternative of going to the library. A teacher's capability is to be understood in terms of the process of the choice involved, within the actual ability to do so.

Examining the capabilities of teachers in higher education requires the focus on information. The informational focus should be assessed in terms of overall freedom and the restraints that are imposed on the freedom. The implication of Amartya Sen's argument does not lead us to a specific design for how an educational institution should be organized. However, the informational material on the constraints over freedom of a teacher will be useful to assess how far loss of capabilities is responsible for non-realization of objectives of higher education and how far capabilities could be enhanced so that teachers are enabled to achieve the objectives with full responsibility.

It needs to be pointed out that the rules and regulations for the maintenance of standards in higher education by the University Grants Commission assume, given the organizational propriety, behavioural compliance in terms of the duty of the teachers. It is then assumed that maintenance of standards will be maintained in a transcendental manner. However, the realization perspective looks at the fact that given the objective of higher education, how far the teachers are capable or have the opportunity or the freedom to achieve the outcome in a comprehensive sense. In other words, 'capabilities are important because of the way in which they may lead to functionings' (Nussbaum 2011, P.25). Thus, capabilities enable functionings. While the former is necessary for the latter, without the latter the former would be pointless and without capabilities of course accountability has no meaning. All teachers are different and the development of capabilities of teachers would mean plurality of the ways in which teachers use the freedom for certain functioning.

An essential area of research pertains to the fact that the constraints to the freedom of a teacher be assessed in terms of those aspects of freedom which are basic to a teacher in order to have the minimum 'basic capability'. The concept of basic capability was advanced by Martha C Nussbaum. 'Basic capabilities are the innate faculties of the person that can make later development and training possible'



(Nussbaum 2011, p. 24). Sen notes that a basic capability is ‘the ability to satisfy certain elementary and crucially important functionings up to certain levels’ (Amartya 1992, p. 45 n. 19). It may be said in the context of a teacher that a basic capability is in terms of the knowledge of the subject – the opportunity to discuss the subject. It is quite possible that a teacher may not have same basic capability. The goal of public policy should be to develop basic capability up to a threshold level so that teachers are able to satisfy certain elementary and crucially important functioning of teaching. This might require that before joining the profession of teaching the threshold level in terms of the basic capability of a teacher be ensured. The development of the basic capability is the opportunity to perform in the class in delivering the knowledge. If a teacher does not possess basic capability he fails to ensure accountability in terms of the delivery of the subject knowledge. Basic capabilities are, however, not simply confined to the meritocracy of teacher. It is not my intension to list all the basic capabilities of a teacher.

Every teacher has some capacity of self-reflection. Without self-reflection, the delivery of the subject is highly monotonous and mechanical. The practice of teaching and theories about learning is a specialized branch of knowledge and teacher must have a basic understanding of the teaching and learning. Teaching is not simply a monologue. It requires an active learner who has to be motivated to ask questions based on the understanding of the subject. The delivery requires a systematic process of imparting subject knowledge from simple to complex knowledge. An enormous preparation for each class requires some basic capability. If there is a large inequality in basic capability of a teacher, special interventions would be required by the policy and planning to equip teacher with basic capabilities.

The later development of a teacher in terms of teaching skills, innovations, analytical ability of questioning, writing, shaping the life of a student to develop capabilities for the different functionings requires advanced capabilities for the teacher. However, if a teacher does not have some basic capability such as the knowledge of the subject, it is highly unlikely that advanced capabilities can be developed in terms of the opportunity to make choice.

Advanced capabilities: There is no attempt to make an exhaustive list of advanced capabilities which can be built from basic capabilities. However, advanced capabilities need some discussion in order to have an idea of education and training for its development.

1. Commitment to liberal democratic values: no distinctions of rank in the functional division of labour and facilities to be made available except for special reason, participation on an equal footing in the decision-making process.
2. Developing capacity for imagination: Teacher should have proper environment, skill and training to develop capacity for imagination. Questioning and critiquing are aspects of advanced mental faculty that is necessary for every teacher to develop.
3. Nurturing talent: Talent of a teacher needs to be nurtured for them to develop special abilities (specialization).



4. Development of work ethic: regular and sustained work without which a teacher can easily slip into apathy and negligence.
5. Effective engagement of students in the teaching-learning process: For example, tutorials, seminars, workshops, IT-enabled learning.
6. Peer group cooperation: Peer group cooperation in all matters of academic life needs to be developed.

Martha Nussbaum notes that internal capabilities are not simply the basic capabilities. They are 'trained or developed traits and abilities in interaction with the social, economic, familial and political environment' (Nussbaum 2011, p. 21). They are states of persons that are sufficient conditions for the exercise of the corresponding function. Internal capabilities build on pre-existing basic capabilities by processes such as education and training. Many internal capabilities require a more structured educational environment. Thus, advanced capabilities of a person are internal capability. It is important to note that internal capabilities can be functional only when environment in which a person works supports it. Martha Nussbaum calls internal capabilities and environment as combined capabilities.

**Combined capabilities:** Combined capabilities are defined as internal capabilities plus the external conditions that make the exercise of a function a live option. The aim of public policy should be the promotion of combined capabilities; this requires two kinds of efforts: (1) the promotion of internal capabilities (say, by education or training) and (2) making available the external institutional and material conditions.

**Environmental factors:** The following environmental factors may be considered necessary for the combined capabilities to work. They are necessary conditions without which capabilities cannot work.

1. A room to work for every teacher: Without a room, gossiping and aimless discussions lead to the wastage of time and also deprives students to meet teacher and clarify doubt, share personal problem and so on. Individual room for a teacher is also security against intrusion for sustained academic work.
2. Diverse and heterogeneous groups: Faculty should be from different region, social and cultural group and gender. It facilitates truly democratic ethos of working in diverse situation. Students' representation from different groups, regions and gender and nationalities enables a lively social environment.
3. Dignity of academic profession: While human dignity is of utmost value in political liberalism (Nussbaum, 2011), the dignity of academic profession gives reputation to a teacher and the institution of academic excellence. Persons of great academic dignity command respect; keep intellectual activity at high pitch. Dignity and character in the life of an academic are remembered for quite long.
4. Physical and material conditions: Adequate classroom for students, clean toilets for everyone, sports facilities for play, laboratories for experiments, and a well-stocked library.

**Negative capabilities:** It would not be out of place to mention that negative capabilities that straightaway restrict the freedom need to be minimized. Bureaucratic and centralized decision-making discourages participation and freedom of the

teacher to make choices in the academic interests of students. Populism is another stumbling block in the capabilities development. Populism invites vested interests and supports negative capabilities.

It needs to be noted that capabilities are important for every teacher. However, 'every teacher has to shape his own evolution, gaining from his own environment, from his colleagues and from the intellectual provocation received from intelligent students' (Dutta 1990, p. 14). It is also not correct to say that the capabilities noted above need to be ensured in totality. It may be argued that there are resource constraints. It may be also argued that autonomy to the teachers may be dangerous for want of being able to use it judiciously. However, the change in higher education can be progressively ensured from a lower to a higher level of the capability of teachers. At one point of time, capital punishment was the order of the classroom. The capital punishment was removed from the teaching practices and this allowed teaching to be more enjoyable. The above list of capabilities are the ways to ensure the accountabilities of a teacher.

## Conclusion

It was noted above that current policy discourse is weighed in favour of rational decision-making dominated by the bureaucratic and technological rationalities. These rationalities have attempted to define and measure with precision the accountabilities in order to ensure efficiency and productivity of the system. This approach leads to complex system of rules and regulations. It is assumed that under proper institutions and behaviours, the policy will be realized in a transcendental manner. However, the failures of rationalized policy-making and further covering up the failures through another policy has only accumulated over the past years and have led to the demoralization of the teachers. It was suggested in the paper that capability approach to policy is more useful approach, as it empowers the teacher to use freedom with responsibility. Teachers can effectively fulfil the diverse needs of students from differing backgrounds. It is necessary that a bridge of trust is developed between teaching community and the state.

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# Chapter 14

## Capabilities of Students



Jitsun Lamo

### Introduction

...Maharaja, have you seen the bird?' 'Indeed, I have not!' exclaimed the Raja. 'I completely forgot about the bird.' Turning back, he asked the pundits about the method they followed in instructing the bird. It was shown to him. He was immensely impressed. The method was so stupendous that the bird looked ridiculously unimportant in comparison. The Raja was satisfied that there was no flaw in the arrangements. As for any complaint from the bird itself, that simply could not be expected. Its throat was so completely choked with the leaves from the books that it could neither whistle nor whisper. It sent a thrill through one's body to watch the process...

...The bird died. Nobody had the least notion how long ago this had happened. The fault-finder was the first man to spread the rumour. The Raja called his nephews and asked them, 'My dear nephews, what is this that we hear?' The nephews said: 'Sire, the bird's education has been completed.' 'Does it hop?' the Raja enquired. 'Never!' said the nephews. 'Does it fly?' 'No.' 'Bring me the bird,' said the Raja. The bird was brought to him, guarded by the kotwal and the sepoy and the sowars. The Raja poked its body with his finger. Only its inner stuffing of book-leaves rustled.

- Rabindranath Tagore (The Parrot's Training (1918))

The Parrot's Training by Rabindranath Tagore, even though written almost a century ago, may still easily find relevance in the current educational context. It captures the compulsiveness and superficiality of the constructed aims of formal education which our society tends to obsessively associate with the 'output' or the end result that is primarily limited to employability and economic prosperity. But one may need to critically analyse the nature of this prosperity. What kind of prosperity are we focusing on? Are the meanings that we hold about the idea of prosperity inherently narrow in nature? Does prosperity only equate to one's purchasing power in the market? Should quality formal education be only treated as a means to another end? Shouldn't the process of education in its truest sense be also considered as an end in itself?

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The current structures of higher education in the Indian context seem to be visibly anchored towards the end result of time and resources ‘invested’ in a formal educational programme. The murmurs around introducing learning-based outcomes in the Indian higher education system have been doing the rounds for a while. Even though the outcome-based approach to higher education may be of great utility, if formulated and implemented well, the focus still comes down to the fact that the formal education is mostly treated as a means to a particular end (which may either be to get educated, or to get employed, or simply to meet the learning outcomes). Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach pulls this argument to the point that education in its very self should be treated as an end. This is not to diminish or underestimate the importance of treating education as a means to a particular end that will help ensure the material or maybe social sustainability of an individual; but the argument is made against reducing education to just only that. Then the question that arises is, ‘How could we look at education as an end in itself?’

It may be considered as a relatively well-established insight, that entry and existence into a formal educational setting provide an individual with a new sphere for socialization. This implies that an individual’s exposure to such a dynamic environment provides new scope for building, changing, disputing or reinforcing one’s attitudes, belief systems, preferences, etc. It creates a new platform to facilitate the process of building one’s self-concept, one’s identity. This makes it imperative for us to understand the elements or factors during one’s educational experience that can either enhance or diminish the freedom and efforts towards holistic well-being.

The ability to critically analyse and question the relevance of existing educational practices is stimulated and developed through a critical and democratic educational pedagogy. The prevalence of rigid structures and norms pertaining to our educational settings restrict the stakeholders to an extent, to do just that. The notions of studying in an institute and education are instinctively understood as identical in nature; being elusive to the idea that entry to a formal educational setting may not directly imply the holistic growth and development of an individual. Our focus is usually on what the parrot is being able to reproduce on paper, rather than how he or she is making sense of the intellectual stimulants around and how he or she can inculcate the wisdom from these resources to lead a well-balanced life.

So, to envisage an optimistic future of Indian higher education system, the process of quality education needs to be perceived as an end in itself. The focus needs to steer sharp at the micro level, towards the main stakeholders in higher education – the students. Policies need to be futuristic as well as retrospective. It is useful to explicitly define the goals and desired outcome of schemes and provisions, it is useful to decipher the past trends and make projections for the future, but besides all the objective parameters, the systems are still lacking in terms of shadowing the humanistic aspect of it, which lies within the experiences of the students.

Out of the many identities that an individual comes in association with, an important one is of being a student. Learning, as we understand, is lifelong, but the interaction of an individual with and within a formalized institution, with peers and contemporaries, with teaching and guiding agents, with institutional administration, can play a major role in either breaking or making one’s social being. It holds the

capacity to determine one's future relationships, ideologies, value systems, interactions, participation in the civil activities, and of course, employability. Therefore, it seems essential to understand the factors that influence this process of an individual existing and growing as a student so as to realize and fiercely protect his or her capabilities.

The present chapter does not aim to critically look at the inadequacy of our formal educational systems, for now; rather it wishes to *first* attempt to understand what are the factors that may influence or hinder the capacity of a student's being, throughout his or her educational journey, starting from schooling to postgraduation. The chapter does not restrict to factors that only pertain to an institution – whether school or university – but also delve into personal and interpersonal factors that may play a role in moulding the existence of an individual as a student. For this purpose, narratives from two students, who have completed their postgraduation from different institutions and carry exceptionally varied personal, social, geographical and cultural backgrounds, were taken using a structured interview schedule, which was then followed by its thematic analysis. The factors analysed and derived from the interview were then substantiated by existing literature. The *second* aim is to envisage a very tentative idea of certain capabilities of a student, on the basis of the thematic analysis, that may be considered as fundamental prerequisites for one's optimal functioning in a formal educational environment.

The theoretical approach which will be the guiding and supporting backbone of the present chapter is Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Martha Nussbaum's expansion of it. The conceptual makeup is influenced by Amartya Sen's idea of Capability Approach, whereas the operationalization of the concept is influenced by both Sen and Nussbaum (which is reflected in the treatment of the analysis).

The notions of agency, freedom, human development and well-being that the Capability Approach puts emphasis on lay the floor for us to ask different kinds of questions about education (Walker, 2006). It attempts to compensate for the limitations of the dominant neoliberal human capital approaches to education, which equate it only to employment and economic productivity, instead of also focusing on the role that education can play in enabling an individual to be and to do; and places human capabilities in the forefront for evaluation of holistic well-being (Walker, 2006). The chapter will first focus on the notion of capability with respect to the Capability Approach and attempt to understand what it means when we talk about the capabilities of a student. Then it will move on to understanding the factors that may enhance or hinder the experience and the very being of an individual as a student. The overarching categorization is influenced by the Ecological Model of Human Development and are broadly divided into personal, familial, interpersonal and institutional categories. The next section will include the methodology of the study undertaken, and its limitations and future scope. Following which, the focus will then be on the thematic interpretations and analysis of the narratives. The findings will also be substantiated by the existing literature. The next section will attempt to derive and conceptualize the capabilities pertaining to a student based on the analysis. The final sections will include the scope of the overall study, its implications and conclusion.

## ‘Capability’ in Capability Approach

Capability Approach can be understood as a way of evaluating an individual’s well-being and prosperity, not just in terms of their employability value in the market but more so in terms of their freedom to be and to do. Amartya Sen (1992) states, ‘in the capability-based assessment of justice, individual claims are not to be assessed in terms of the resources or primary goods the persons respectively hold, but by the freedoms they actually enjoy to choose the lives that they have reason to value’. Therefore, ‘equality of what?’ is responded with ‘equality of capabilities’, rather than equality of economic resources (Walker 2006).

A capability can simply be understood as a potential functioning. A complementary concept in Sen’s Capability Approach is of functioning. The thin line between capability and functioning can be understood as the difference between opportunity to achieve something and the actual achievement. For example, the difference between capability to be well-educated and actually being well-educated. Amartya Sen laid relatively more emphasis on the notion of capabilities rather than the functionings. He believed that more than the outcome or the actual achievements, the very opportunity to achieve so is of more importance. Therefore, ‘capability represents an individual’s freedom to achieve well-being’ so that ‘acting freely and being able to choose are directly conducive to well-being’ (Sen 1992).

For instance, this value system responds to the long-drawn arguments by a section of our society that question the provision of reservations in educational institutions and public employment arenas. One side of debaters argue over the fact that, for example, ‘why do students belonging to the SC category are given relaxation and reservations in higher educational institutes when their financial standing is at par with the students of unreserved category?’ This is where the problem lies; equating one’s standing and well-being on the basis of an individual’s economic status. The most fundamental fact that escapes the notice of this section of debaters is that an individual belonging to a scheduled caste has been, and still is, discriminated on the basis of his or her ‘social’ standing on an imaginary but fully realized hierarchical ladder; then why should reservations, that serve the purpose of reparation and rehabilitation of this disadvantaged group, be based on their economic standing. Few extended arguments also propagate that providing extended constitutional and expending welfare resources on the education of such individuals will not yield equal or substantial returns. This is where the Capability Approach presents the counter-argument: that it does not concern itself with what kind of an outcome the individual in question yields, but just the mere fact that provisions were put in place to bring the individual at an equal position where he had the capacity or capability to attain education – that in itself enhances the well-being of an individual and on a larger context, of the state and society.

Having said that, the concept of functioning does attract equal emphasis when the practice comes down to issues pertaining to, for example, health, education, etc. Here, the freedom to ‘be healthy’ or ‘be educated’ becomes problematic and disputable. These are the kinds of capabilities of humans that must be treated and protected as functionings otherwise the subsequent or future capabilities of the individuals might become compromised.

## The Ecological Model of Human Development

The Ecological approach to understanding human development was introduced by Urie Bronfenbrenner in late 1970s. The approach primarily was to understand the role of various environmental factors that influence the growth of a child, but as the model's understanding grew extensively, its implications could be applied throughout life span development.

Bronfenbrenner realized the importance and influence of the interaction that takes place between an individual and his or her environment. He believed that this interaction shapes the process of human development (Bronfenbrenner 1979). He translated these ideas into his theory of Ecological systems, wherein he conceptualized that an individual's environment can be divided into four different levels or systems – Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem and Macrosystem. He later added another influential element – Time – as the Chronosystem level. The notion of 'Time' in this theory implied the occurrence of specific events, changes and transformations in the individual's culture over a period of time. Bronfenbrenner, also later recognized 'Biology' as creating an individual's potential – whether being realized or not through social and environmental factors. He added it under Microsystem. Therefore, now the model is also sometimes known as the Bioecological model (Ceci 2006).

The different levels of this model can be understood as follows:

*Microsystem:* It is the closest layer to an individual that includes the structural elements which are in direct contact with him or her. Simply put, it is the immediate environment of an individual and the close interaction with the elements constituted in it. These structures or elements can be understood as family, school, peers, religion, etc. (Berk 2002). As this is the most intimate environment of an individual, the interactions that take place here provides him or her with a reference point for the rest of the interactions with the world.

*Mesosystem:* It involves the interaction or relationship between two different elements of microsystem. For example, the interaction or involvement between an individual's parents and his or her school teachers about the academic performance. This relationship can be bi-directional.

*Exosystem:* This level involves the larger social system in which an individual does not have a direct involvement or functioning. The elements in this level interact with the ones in an individual's microsystem/immediate context and exert its influence on him or her. This influence may either be positive or negative. For example, a parent's work place timings or nature of the work might have a dissatisfactory effect on the time spent on his or her child and the activities related. The main elements in an individual's Exosystem that may have an influence can be understood as one's family social networks, parents' workplace, neighbourhood community, mass media, local politics, etc. (Bronfenbrenner 1994).

*Macrosystem:* This level constitutes the cultural and social values, customs and laws surrounding an individual (Berk 2002). This may also be understood as one's socio-economic status, ethnicity, poverty, etc. Besides that, it also pertains to the



ideology or value system that a given societal context characterizes itself with. Simply put, the macrosystems can be understood as a way to understand the social and cultural contexts of a particular society, such as ethnic groups, social classes, religious inclinations, etc. (McLaren and Hawe 2005) and how that context influences the functioning and relationships of the individual on the other levels and dimensions. The macrosystem naturally has an influence on all the previous three layers of the individual. It plays a significant role in how, when and where we carry out our interactions. For example, an individual who belongs to the disadvantaged caste and a poor socio-economic background and who exists in a societal context that strictly functions on caste-based hierarchies might have lesser opportunities and more difficulties for enrolling in a school.

*Chronosystem:* This level involves the dimension of time with respect to an individual's environment. It pertains to the significant events and transitions that take place throughout an individual's life (for example, parent's divorce, death of a close one, disability due to an illness, etc.) as well as the sociohistorical circumstances (for example, legal acknowledgement of transgender as the third gender, increase in career opportunities for women, etc.)

On the basis of the Ecological Model of Human Development, four broad factors were determined for the purpose of the present chapter: *personal*, *familial*, *interpersonal* and *institutional*. To determine the capabilities that pertain to the identity and being of a student, it becomes important to analyse the factors that help or hinder in the transformation of one's aspirations into capability. As per the Capability Approach, these factors may also be known as *conversion factors*. Usually, conversion factors under Capability Approach concern themselves with the process of turning capabilities into functioning. But in the present chapter, the focus will be on the transformation of aspirations into capabilities. The rationale behind this diversion is because an individual existing as a student under a formal educational institution is considered as an end in itself here, therefore, the factors that play a role in converting the aspiration of being a student in a formal educational setting into actually coming in contact with an institution and becoming a student are paid primary attention in this chapter.

The categorization of four broad factors – personal, familial, interpersonal and institutional – is an attempt at encompassing the major factors that may influence the very being of a student. The personal factors include one's own dispositions, for example, one's traits, characteristics, motivation, interest. The personal factors may also pertain to the presence of a physical or psychological condition. The familial factors involve elements or dimensions that pertain to one's family. These can include the family structure, economic status, social status, family's attitude and perceptions about education, etc. The interpersonal factors involve one's interaction with his or her peers; how the group dynamics were – whether the individual as a student felt included or excluded by his or her peers at any level of educational engagement in an institution, etc. The institutional factors relate to (i) the teaching faculty – their engagement and behaviour towards the student, whether their pedagogy was inclusive or not, whether the teachers were approachable or not;

and (ii) the institution in itself – the facilities and provisions that were provided; the rules and regulations; whether the institution was open to students' viewpoints, criticisms, etc.

The present chapter approaches the topic of 'Capabilities of Student' by first analysing the aforementioned factors and then attempting to derive an idea of capabilities that pertain to the very being of a student, because of the assumption that it could have been a mere superficial task to just ask an individual to directly list out the capabilities that he or she thinks are essential to his or her optimal functioning as a student. An individual's capabilities might not always be something which can be extracted in a concrete form from one's conscious awareness. This does not imply that individuals are not consciously aware of their fundamental needs and capacities and choices, but many a times the idea of our basic capabilities might not be in a clear-cut understanding in our conscious thought process. Therefore, the current chapter makes an attempt at trying to understand the idea of capabilities of a student by first asking the individual what and how certain factors influence their capacity to thrive throughout their educational journey in a formal setting. Through the process of attempting to understand the positive or negative role that these factors play, the chapter gains some insight into *what* exactly these factors are hindering or enhancing. This 'what' factor might be able to give a tentative idea of the capabilities of that individual existing as a student.

## Methodology

To understand the factors that influence an individual's educational journey and experience, and derive relevant meanings out of the findings that pertain to the aims of the present paper, the method of narrative inquiry was employed. Since, the present paper is just a personal stepping stone in the overall process of understanding and deriving capabilities of a student, as a means of 'testing the waters', the present study took detailed oral narratives of two participants using a structured interview schedule.

The two participants, both female and of the same age, belonging to exceptionally different terrains of the country – one from Jammu and Kashmir and the other from Maharashtra – pursued their Masters degree from the same college, but different courses. The participants were selected through purposive sampling and it was ensured that both had completed at least their postgraduation.

Participant A is a 24-year-old female who was born and brought up in Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir. She is Buddhist by religion and belongs to the Schedule Tribe (ST) category and comes from a middle-class family background. She did her schooling from LKG (Lower Kindergarten) to 10th at a private school in her village in Ladakh. For her 11th and 12th education, she came to Delhi and studied in a private Christian school. She took up the Non-Medical stream (PCM) during her higher secondary schooling but changed her stream to Social Sciences while applying for Undergraduate studies. She then did her Bachelors in Sociology from a college in Delhi University (DU). Following which, she then pursued her Masters in Social Work from a reputed institute in Mumbai, Maharashtra.

Participant B is a 24-year-old female who was born and brought up in Nasik, Maharashtra. She is Hindu by religion and belongs to the Other Backward Class (OBC) category and comes from an upper middle-class family background. She did her schooling from LKG (Lower Kindergarten) to 10th grade at a private convent school in Nasik. For her 11th and 12th education (Junior College), she came to Mumbai and studied Humanities in an autonomous institution. From the same institution, she pursued her BA Pass in Economics and Sociology. She then did her Masters in Development Studies from a reputed institute in Mumbai, Maharashtra.

## Analysis

For the purpose of analysing the narratives of the participants, a thematic approach was attempted. Isolated but relevant as well as recurrent themes were identified. The overall analysis of the narratives has been divided under five sections: personal, familial, societal, interpersonal and institutional. The personal section includes one's own dispositions, traits, conditions, motivation, interest, etc. The familial section includes family support, family's financial condition, family's involvement, etc. The societal section includes one's domicile background, social perceptions, etc. The interpersonal section involves the peer relations and engagement in formal and informal class activities. The institutional section includes the rules, regulations, teaching pedagogy, teacher–student relations, space for discussions, etc.

Personal	Introversion, but still adaptable
	Not much interest in participating in class even if you know the answers
	Reluctance to participate because of personality and classroom structure
	Resilience; personal motivation and willingness to overcome complexes
Familial	Educational background of the parents influenced the motivation and awareness of opportunities in the participants
	Guidance but still provided freedom to choose the course of action
	Stable source of family income led to explore new career and good college options
Societal	Educational Migration because of lack of good educational opportunities in rural or non-metropolitan cities
	Perception of Engineering and Medical studies over Social Sciences, shaped the career choices, Stigma
Interpersonal	Strong network system of friends and teachers helped in coping with stress of work
	Similar cultures lead to more collectivism in classroom
	Rat race, competition in urban school. Lack of cooperation, and more of competition
	Diversity in urban schools helped in feeling confident about oneself and interacting
	'Group culture' in schools, people restrict to their friend circle
	Seeing other students taking extra tuition created a sense of exclusion since the participant herself was not taking tuitions

(continued)

	Peer encouragement helped in putting oneself out there more
	Diversity of people helps you to understand different perspectives and conditions
	Peer support usually would solve academic problems rather than teacher involvement
Institutional	Exposure, in terms of diversity and space for exploration and practical field work experiences helped in realizing in true interests
	Lack of guidance in schools
	Career counselling from external avenues; since not provided in school
	Opportunities to try new things, like theatre
	Accommodation helped in easing financial strain on family
	Teachers' sincerity is more important than their qualifications
	Pace of the teacher and student should match
	Teachers didn't teach properly in school because they thought that Engineering and Science students would anyway be taking tuitions
	Classroom structure demotivates to participate in class
	Preference of only one way of participating in class – acknowledgement of only English language – other ways of performing or participating are disregarded
	Personal perceptions that teachers cannot be approached outside of class – approachability issue on part of the teachers as well
	Teachers just come and deliver the lecture; good teaching helps sustaining interest in the subject
	Hasty and unprepared implementation of new evaluation system can be very difficult for the students
	Strict language and dress codes, that sometimes even teachers would not follow in classroom
	Strict punishment, fines, for violating dress codes
	Co-curricular groups and societies in college were very exclusive. Information as to how exactly one can get in is also not properly provided
	Sometimes, there are facilities but students are not allowed to use them so as to maintain their condition – library, gym
	Lack of agency in school to address issues
	Extreme religious inclination of school – forced religious practices otherwise breakfast and dinner would not be given in hostel
	Lack of teacher encouragement in formative school years make you less adept and confident to new systems at later stages
	Inclination of the institution to certain ideology can be overwhelming

## Capabilities of a Student and Its Implications

Through the narratives of the two participants, the attempt at thematic analysis and literature review – a tentative idea of the capabilities that pertain to a student's being in a formal institutional setting could be derived. The following set of capabilities are very broad at this stage and requires further substantiation, validation and academic expertise to narrow it down and become more conceptually comprehensive and effective in terms of its application. The capabilities of students are as follows:

1. **Individuality and Personal Agency** – Every individual comes with his or her own set of personality traits, domicile background, physical conditions, interests and preferences; the educational environment should be such that respects and accommodates such individuality. For example, a person who is introvert by nature and does not thrive or gets stimulated by constant classroom participation, should not be perceived or evaluated negatively. Everyone has his/her own way of absorbing the classroom transactions. This does not imply that encouragement and involvement from the teachers and peers towards such students should stop – but a process should be facilitated where in such students can engage at their optimal level without being undermined or judged negatively. As Participant B stated,

Personally, I don't think I was excluded actively by my peers. I think it was more to do with my reluctance to participate due to personality. Also, I think once I got the encouragement from the people in college, I just started putting myself out there by participating and interacting with classmates and in activities.

Walker (2006) points out that 'education in any context should promote agency, and as a key element of this agency that education should facilitate the development of autonomy and empowerment'. Students should be provided with the freedom to undertake the decision-making process themselves, whether it is in terms of choosing a topic, or as simple as what one chooses to wear; students should be provided with the autonomy of directing the course of their own lives. This does not imply that students need to be left unguided. The guidance should ideally only pertain to awareness of different avenues and choices that one can choose from. Agency also is a central concept of the Capability Approach that promotes the freedom to make one's own choices. It states that an individual with lack of agency or a constrained agency can be equated to disadvantage; if the individual comes across obstacles to genuine choices and a life of reflective choices (Robeyns 2003).

Therefore, the institutional structures as well as the primary guardians may create an environment where the student's capability of preserving one's identity and personal agency is safeguarded and enhanced.

2. **Guidance and True Aspirations** – The life of a student involves a lot of decision-making with respect to courses, academic streams, schools, colleges, etc. The educational background of students' family also plays a very important role when it comes to informed decisions about one's education, and unfortunately in many cases not all students are privileged enough to get that kind of informed knowledge about various avenues and prospects. And even when students from disadvantaged backgrounds manage to enter the mainstream educational settings, it plays out to be a struggle for them to catch up to the pace of the educational and institutional transactions and the culture. Thus, the academic institutions and its facilitators can play a very major role here, in terms of educational and career guidance as well as aiding those who need it more, so as to set their feet at par with the others.

Participant B stated,

Coming from relatively small schools to one of the renowned colleges, I had to undergo reorientation in terms of adjusting to diverse teaching methods, a slight advanced course-work and a demanding syllabus. Until junior college, the focus was on rote learning without much scope for classroom discussions. In undergraduate and post-graduation course, classroom discussions were the norm and the courses were demanding of your analysis and opinions which could only be formed after extensive reading and interaction with peers. That itself was a massive change from how I had experienced learning in school.

Sen talks about the issue of ‘adaptive preferences’ where in an individual might internalize his disadvantaged personal, social, or economic condition and has aspirations that are limited to his prevailing situation. The educational environment then therefore should be functional in such a way that the students are encouraged to reflect and identify their true aspirations that are devoid of stereotypical preconceived notions formed by the society and internalised by themselves. Appadurai (2004) asserts the strong need to strengthen the capability to aspire, especially among the poor. He suggests that this capacity involves a resource for people who come from poor economic backgrounds to contest and transform the conditions of their own welfare.

As Participant A stated,

Till my schooling, there wasn’t much motivation as such. Even my parents for that matter, I do not come from a highly qualified educational background. So, as the trend is like in our society, if you get good marks you do Science or Engineering, so after my Boards I opted for Non-Medical Science since I had got good marks in my Boards exams. But after that I realised, when you move out from you know, protective parent shell, from your cocoon, you kind of explore and realise things about yourself and where exactly your interest lie. After my 12th I was very confused about what to do, I just wanted to do something Humanitarian, for society; so, I took career counselling and then there I got to know about Sociology so I took it up later.

*Therefore, the institutional structures may engage their efforts in safeguarding and enhancing a student’s capability of realizing one’s true aspirations and academic footing under necessary guidance or mentorship.*

- 3. Social Relations** – Healthy interpersonal relations with peers as well as the teaching faculty is essential as it helps in creating a conducive social environment that promotes individual growth and development. An individualistic educational environment mainly promotes unhealthy competitions and lack of cooperation and collectivism that is fundamental to the very being of human beings, the social animals.

As Participant B stated,

I do think that my background as a student from a small college and as one who studied in a state board put me at a disadvantage as compared to the rest of my peers. They were just more adept at processing the information thrown at them really well. This I assume was because of better schools and training they may have received due to better resources and better teachers. This I completely acknowledge as a complex that I managed to overcome by the end of my educational journey because of the support of an incredibly diverse range of classmates that I studied with. Everyone had some disadvantage but it was possible to

overcome it if you had the right support from peers, teachers and institution. This acknowledgement just made me more inclusive of the people I studied with.

Therefore, to sustain and prosper in a social-educational environment, a student's capability of forming and maintaining interpersonal relationships plays an equally important role in enhancing the educational experience and the holistic growth and development of the individual.

4. **Inclusion** – Further extending the point on individual differences, it is imperative that the educational environment should not only preserve the identities of the students but also help them develop it. The different lived experiences of students and the diverse socio-economic, personal, religious backgrounds that individuals come from should not only be acknowledged but also accommodated. Sen (1992) argues that 'human diversity is no secondary complication to be ignored, or to be introduced later on; it is a fundamental aspect of our interest in equality'. Therefore, the incorporation of the concept of basic heterogeneity of human beings, human diversity, is central and explicit in Amartya Sen's approach to equality; it is not just an add on factor (Walker 2006).

As discussed earlier, students come from different background and have different way of behaving and understanding in a setting. Especially, those students who migrate from rural to urban areas in search of better educational opportunities, might find themselves in a pool of complexes that emerges by not feeling included in the educational environment. A very evident issue is of language – the orientation of our present educational system is so inclined towards the English language, that many students who might not be familiar and comfortable with it, find themselves behind their contemporaries. The class room structures should be perceptive of this gap. The pace of the teacher and students should be such that these students who come with the 'disadvantage' of not being comfortable with English language, should be given the space and pace to overcome their difficulties while not having to compromise with their equal positioning in a class. In a study conducted by Gallacher et al. (2002) on mature learners in Scotland, it was found out that there is a positive relationship and impact of earlier schooling experiences on the people's perception of themselves as successful learners in the later years.

Therefore, the academic structures should be accommodating as well as respectful of the diversity that emerges in a classroom setting. The curriculum should be inclusive of this diversity and the different lived experiences of the individuals. Education should not just limit itself to the factual dimension, but it should also be looked as a process that validates the student's diverse representation. Therefore, our educational structures should acknowledge, enhance and safeguard the student's capability of being included in the mainstream educational narratives and transactions.

5. **Exposure and Opportunities for Exploration** – Essential to the intellectual growth of a student is not only theoretical knowledge that one receives through classroom transactions – but also practical experiences. It is important that the curriculum should have ample space for field work in the real ground level, field



settings. This not only enriches the academic experience of the students but also helps them in translating their knowledge into real settings.

As Participant A stated,

In Masters college, the lectures used to be given and it used to go for hours and on the other hand we used to have field work which used to be twice a week. We had other exposure also, there were diverse things included. So that's why I think Master's college experience enriched me a lot because it wasn't just that a teacher was sitting there and delivering lectures and you are writing down notes and then you just read through it. There are projects for which we go to ground. We also had a paper called rural practicum where we are given activities for which you are divided into groups and there you work together on various tasks and then are taken to villages to work in groups. We get the ground reality. And I think that since everyone is engaged in it, this also has a positive impact on the class as a whole. It's not just the students who enjoy it, it's also the teachers who enjoy it because the teacher is also himself doing something different other than just sitting in a corner and delivering lectures because I don't think the attention span of a person can be more than 40 minutes or so. Because of all these methods you know, making charts, going on the field, and then writing reports and your reflections and timely submission... all this could be a headache sometimes but when you look back, you realise that you learn a lot.

Besides formal classroom curriculum transactions, it is also important that a student is provided with opportunities to engage in extracurricular activities that helps in the overall growth of the individual. The educational space and curriculum should be created to cater the student's capability of exploration and exposure to varied and real-setting avenues that helps them to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

6. **Presence and Access to Facilitative Institutional Infrastructure** – For many students, better educational opportunities mean migrating from their present place to another, bigger cities. This might not only bring in cultural shock and other set of differences but an added economic strain, especially since the cost of living in such cities are high. Therefore, the educational institutions should either have provisions of hostel or have other networks of accommodation nearby the campus so that students with economic baggage don't have to make compromises with their choice of educational options. Proper infrastructure should also be in place for those students who have any kind of disability, so that their capacity to access the institution is facilitated and enhanced. Besides the provision of having infrastructure and other institutional facilities, equitable access to such provisions should also be ensured and safeguarded. The gap between the functioning of having facilities and the capability of being able to use these facilities need to be realized and diminished.

As Participant B stated,

We had minimum facilities in school and junior college that I wasn't exactly encouraged to utilize. Not that the facilities were bad, but things like libraries, gyms etc. were off limits most of the time. Compared to that in undergraduate and postgraduate, the facilities were beyond my expectations and I was actively encouraged to use them.

7. **Holistic Evaluation** – In majority of the educational institutions, the form of evaluation is very unidimensional that usually pertains to only the kind of marks that a student is getting. Now, different students have different capabilities and



different ways of thriving in a classroom environment. Some might be very good orators and can articulate their points very well in front of an audience, while others may find it easier to put their thoughts on paper. Some might have it more advantageous to assimilate their learning as a term paper, while others might find a classroom discussion a better platform. At the end of the day, it is understandable that the systems remain common for all, and all these methods can be looked as skills that one might have or not have, but which can be developed through proper guidance, personal interest and practical engagement. But the evaluation system should be holistic in such a way that it acknowledges the varied skill set and different abilities and plus points of different students. The evaluation system should be receptive of these differences and be comprehensive in such a way wherein it allows every student's abilities to be assimilated in their evaluations instead of getting written off on the basis of standard parameters of performances. Therefore, the students should be able to perform their optimal best on the assessments without having to be concerned about a reductionist and standard evaluation norms. Their capability of being holistically evaluated should be practiced.

8. **Facilitative Teaching Engagement** – The pedagogy of the teacher is not the only factor that comes to play when we talk about student engagement. Besides the teaching method, another factor that becomes essential is the interest and involvement of the teacher himself/herself. No matter how qualified the teacher may be, if he or she conducts the class with no sincerity, then the classroom transaction will yield no significant results. To sustain the interest and motivation of the students in a subject; besides the content and the matter, the teacher's real interest and willingness to disseminate the knowledge influences the attention of the students in it. The teachers should also be aware of the power equation that he or she has/built with the students in the class. The teacher should be approachable in her interactions so that the students don't hesitate in voicing their concerns and issues with them or about the nature and content of classroom transactions.

As Participant A stated,

...and even in the teachers, I didn't find that sincerity because since I was in engineering, I mean PCM, it was expected that students should be going for IIT or cracking AIEEE. So, they know that students take coaching and tuitions. So, they think about what to teach because students already know everything as they cover most of the content in tuitions, so then the teachers also have that kind of an uncommitted mentality.

Participant B stated,

Because I came from a very small college where professors were mostly for namesake and I didn't have proper grounding in how to go about studying proper coursework, I found the Mumbai college's coursework to be more demanding and challenging. I just couldn't approach the professors because I had no clue about anything. I didn't know professors can be approached outside classroom and you can just ask for help. Moreover, I felt like if I didn't have any knowledge about it or how things work in college, I couldn't ask questions about it either.

Therefore, a student's capability of having engaging teaching agents and the capability to approach one's teaching agents may be considered as a primary stepping stone towards a critical as well as a facilitative educational experience.

9. **Secular, Democratic and Transparent Institutional Culture** – An educational structure is such, that not only plays the role of a medium where students acquire knowledge and skills for life, but also develop their sense of citizenry. This sense of citizenship should be devoid of over imposed religious and other agendas. At the end of the day, the students are being helped to develop into fully functioning citizens of the democracy; therefore, the culture of the educational institute in itself should be democratic in nature and devoid of any personal and hidden agendas of the institution. This can be done if the institute in itself practices the ideals of secularism and democracy. For example, a student body could and should be formed through a democratic process – through student voting, and which also gets to actually get involved with the authorities in the decision-making process that pertains to issues concerning themselves, the students. Appadurai (2004) states that ‘we need to provide opportunities to practise these capabilities, that is opportunities to function. By contrast, pedagogies of silencing and passive learning do not contribute to voice, aspiration, or autonomy’. As Participant A stated,

...And the environment too was like that because it was a protestant school and at times I realised that more than teaching they were more into getting you converted. They would make you sing gospel songs in the morning for like 30 minutes and would always talk about the Lord, and then for hostellers, before you go to attend school, for twenty minutes you first had to do this devotion which was compulsory otherwise you wouldn't get breakfast. And in the evening before dinner, for 45 minutes you have that devotion period again, so there were these rules and you had to abide by them. And I found these rules very senseless that's why I never liked those two years in school.

Every institution has their own set of rules, regulations and certain ideologies and principals that it identifies with. These ideologies should not be imposed on the students to the point that they feel an identity and ideological crisis. An institution should be free of such ideological weight and should rather be structured in such a way which allows growth and development of an individual's own value and belief systems that are healthy and productive in nature. The educational institutions should also not impose strict and principally irrelevant rules that might threaten the decency of a student. And the rules that are in place should be common for all; otherwise, it projects a sense of mismatch and creates the ill feeling of hypocrisy of the institution that naturally hinders the student's experience and outlook towards the relevance and utility of formal structures. As Participant A stated,

...the rules and regulations were very weird. We used to have language and dress code. Language code was that you have to speak only in English and if you speak in Hindi and someone catches you then you would get punished. That was the rule which was imposed by the principal although the teachers themselves used to teach in Hindi sometimes, but that was against the norm actually.

...So, there was an incident when I was told that your dress is not starting from the naval. It wasn't low but it was not above the naval. My class teacher was then called and the Principal told her that this was the issue and then I was asked to pay a fine of Rupees 1000. My class teacher told me not to do it because she didn't see anything wrong with my skirt. Even I

didn't see anything wrong with it but then they were asking to pay it. So, I thought that I was going through my studies and I had come from so far so I didn't want such issues to revolve around me. But the teacher refused to agree with it and then she was asked to leave the school, which she did.

The area in which the regulations should actually be more prevalent is in terms of various activities that are undertaken in an institute. Student bodies and co-curricular groups, fees and other finances, etc. their mechanisms should be common for all and the information about them should be disseminated throughout the institutions. The feeling of exclusivity pertaining to groups and co-curricular societies formed under an institution, the opportunity and the process should be open and available for each and every student to avail.

Participant A stated,

In DU, you have these theatre societies and other groups, you could be in drama, writing and all but there is no inclusiveness as such. There are some people who are already in the group and you know how they got in. Facilities were there but you didn't know how to be a part of them. I got to know about an extra-curricular society that I wanted to be a part of in my 2nd year but then I didn't come to know how to get in. They were not very inclusive you know, like open for all. It doesn't seem like an open space for all. They also say that they have to maintain this exclusivity so not everyone could get in like that.

Every institute has its own culture, and that culture has a deep influence on the students. Many a times, during one's educational journey, various beliefs or attitudes get adopted, some get rejected; our point of view about the world around us changes, our decision-making and problem-solving skills either get sharpened or rough around the edges. A lot of our growth and development reflect our educational institutional culture. Therefore, these structures should be set up in such a way that it does not forcefully impose its belief systems onto the students but instead creates a facilitative ground that lets the students explore and choose what they wish to believe in and how they wish to colour their perceiving lens. It is necessary that the rules and regulations in an institutional structure are serving the purpose of maintaining decorum rather than acting as shackles which deprive the agency of its students. It is also imperative that the structures of the institutions are transparent for everyone, debarring any sense of exclusivity. These are prerequisites for the student's capability of being in a secular, democratic and transparent institutional environment.

## **Limitations and Scope of the Study**

The present chapter was conceptualized and designed keeping in mind that its treatment should be done as that of a pilot study. The purpose of the study was to assess the logistics, hindrances and the gaps that could emerge in the future when this study could be undertaken on a larger scale. The formulation as well as the conduction of the study threw light on the various limitations that would need to be looked at and dealt with for future works. The narratives were found to be in-depth and rich, although, if the understanding of the topic needs to be extended further, the sample

would inevitably need to be more in number and diverse in terms of age, gender, socio-economic status, physical abilities, etc.

Another limitation of the study was that even after persistent efforts, the task of minimizing the length of the interview schedule could not be successful. This has an impact on the respondent's attention and interest in the interview. It was quite evident that after a point into the interview one of the respondent's pattern of answering started becoming relatively less elaborate as compared to the previous answers. This necessarily does not imply that this transition had direct relationship with the length of the interview, but this fact cannot and should not be ignored for future endeavours. At the same time, the feedback provided by the participants shed light on to the gaps in the interview schedule and what more questions or aspects could be added.

This study was conceptualized as exploratory in nature as there was paucity of similar researches done in the Indian context. Therefore, the idea and concept behind the study needs more scrutiny and critical assessment by peers and experts who have been working in this area.

Working in the future on filling the aforementioned gaps does not imply that the final form of the design of the study and the questionnaire will be in a perfect state – the presence of errors or limitations will always be a reality, but efforts should nonetheless still be made to build the concept and structure of the study to its best possible level.

## Conclusion

The idea and the relevance attached to education require us to perceive it in a more holistic way. Its significance should not only be looked at as a means to a specific end, for example, attaining a degree or employment. This is not to imply that aligning education with visible outcomes such as the aforementioned, are not valuable. But limiting our anchor regarding education to only tangible and measurable goals, shifts our attention from less visible but equally important, if not more, influence that education can play in an individual's life. An individual's experience in an educational setting can make or break his or her being. It has the power to shape one's values, attitudes and concepts about the world around, but even more so, about himself or herself. It helps an individual in situating oneself in the larger context – the society. Therefore, it becomes important to study the various factors that can influence one's educational experience.

This chapter, as a preliminary step, attempted to understand few factors that were categorized as personal, familial, societal, interpersonal and institutional and what kind of influence they had on the educational journey of the students. Based on that, a tentative set of capabilities pertaining to a student in the context of the Indian education system were derived, which are as follows: individuality and personal agency; guidance and true aspirations; social relations; inclusion; exposure and opportunities for exploration; presence and access to facilitative institutional infrastructure; holistic evaluation; facilitative teaching engagement; and secular, democratic and transparent institutional culture.

The aim of the chapter was not to conclusively derive the set of capabilities that pertain to the identity and being of a student. That requires a more rigorous and elaborate work. But the present chapter may be looked as just a mere starting point of personally understanding the factors that play a major role in the educational journey of a student. At this stage, the study may not have very concrete implications for educational policies or educational institutional practices, but it may be considered as a preliminary step into attaining an understanding of the relevant and prevalent conditions that may or may not be conducive for a student's optimal functioning in the present Indian educational scenario.

Needless to say, there is an inclination to build on the conceptual understanding and practicality of the present chapter that may be possible through more literature review, continuous guidance and extensive and more rigorous research methodology; for which, future engagements and the bent towards the Capability Approach of a Student, in a more comprehensive and thorough sense, can be undertaken.

The implications of this chapter, even though existing as a very nascent phase, may primarily be for the educational institutional structures and culture, as well as the pedagogy. This can be justified through the lens of capability approach, which stands right in the face of commodity, utility and outcome-based approaches that assess the quality of life and experiences from the perspective of tangible outcomes, commodity possessions and approximations based on economic and visible capacities. It pushes us to ask more questions and bring in an even deeper argument on the idea of well-being by aligning it with an individual's capabilities, freedoms, functionings and agency; an important notion that should be treated as an imperative point, if not the starting one, when we deliberate on the importance of education and the quantitative as well as qualitative value that it can bring to the life and well-being of an individual.

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# Chapter 15

## Unpacking the Experiences of a Teacher as a Professional Through the Framework of Capability Approach



Isha Verma

### Introduction

The chapter presents the portrayal of a teacher's life in order to understand the reality of the contexts in which he or she lives and functions. Sen's (1999) Capability approach is used as a framework to understand and produce conceptualizations of professional capabilities of teachers. Case studies of two temporary teachers of the University of Delhi are presented to understand the vulnerabilities that restrict the professional capabilities. The chapter shows that the growing casualization of teachers may restrict the professional capabilities of teachers so far as the future of higher education in India is concerned.

The Capability Approach (CA), developed by Amartya Sen, came as an intellectual response to the traditional utilitarian approaches that were made to measure well-being, as it critiqued the 'information bases' on which they depended. The most significant of these is the criticism of utility as a measure of well-being. Sen points out that functioning is a more rational measure of well-being than utility – which is the value of desired objects (Sen 1999). The core concepts that constitute Amartya Sen's Capability Approach are functionings and capabilities. Functionings can be understood as a state of 'being and doing'. For example, being well educated or being healthy can be understood as functionings. But this should be differentiated from the commodities that are employed to attain these functionings, for example – a student belonging to a Tribal community, utilizing the provision of reservation in education institutions and moving ahead in life is different from mere consciousness that one has reservations. On the other hand, capabilities can be understood as the culmination or a set of various valuable functionings that the individual has access to. This access also reflects the freedom that the individual has to choose from different functionings. This simply implies that an individual has the freedom to

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choose the kind of life he or she wants to live from all the given options that are presented and made available. The capability approach fundamentally looks at 'the freedom people have to live the type of life they wish through the freedom to pursue the things (the beings and doings that Sen calls functionings) that they have reason to value' (Buckler 2014). A person's capability can be evaluated in four distinctive 'concepts of advantage': (i) well-being freedom (the opportunity to achieve well-being); (ii) well-being achievement (the realization of well-being); (iii) agency freedom (the opportunity to pursue the goals one values) and (iv) agency achievement (the realization of these goals) (Sen 2009). Buckler in her study on lives of teachers looks at the extent to which women teachers in rural schools in Sub-Saharan Africa are able to pursue and achieve valued aspects of teaching (Buckler 2014).

It has been indicated that there are certain factors that enhance or obstruct capabilities, mainly the personal factors that include intelligence, physical ability and skill sets; environmental factors such as infrastructure, geographical location and logistics, and more importantly, the social factors that include social norms, gender relations, roles and identities (Robeyns 2005 in Tao 2015). The capability approach offers a new way to look at well-being of teachers' by understanding their well-being as a product of enhanced or constrained opportunities. The literature suggests that teachers rarely get the opportunity to actively participate in policy changes; there is no sense of ownership associated as well (Harley et al. 2000; Barrett 2005; UNESCO 2014 in Buckler 2014). In the developing countries, teacher policies are highly centralized with no reference to the real challenges the teachers encounter in classroom (Lewin 2002; Bonnet and Pontefract 2008; Buckler 2011 in Buckler 2014). Giroux asserts that we must look at teachers as transformative intellectuals who need to develop a discourse that unites the language of critique with the language of possibility so that social change follows (Giroux 1988). The teacher education programmes pose systematic constraints and therefore disempower teachers as a community further leading to deterioration of the education system. Batra points out how the National Curriculum Framework 2005 in India envisions classrooms as inclusive spaces but does not provide the teachers the agency that they should rightfully have in order to fulfil the aims of the National Curriculum framework. The proactive engagement required on the part of the teacher with processes of curriculum redesign will only translate into practice when he/she has the voice and agency to accomplish the same (Batra 2005).

There are studies that point towards the criticality in understanding the role and identity of a teacher as a professional (Kale 1970; Sriprakash 2012). A teacher comes with his/her experience and immersion of his/her content domain, a certain cultural and educational background, personal viewpoint about teaching and learning, and at the same time an experience of dealing with students who come with different needs and socio-cultural backgrounds. All these are quite important in shaping the classroom environment and his/her pedagogic decisions. As a researcher, interested in concerns of teachers, the aim is to understand and be able to articulate what constitutes the teacher as a professional and what influences shape his/her identity. Even from this abridged sample of data (interview conducted), it is possible to see how physical, environmental and social factors limit professional capability



for a teacher. The semi-structured interview helped get insights into the cultural context of life of the individual through an engaged, exploration of beliefs, values and forces underpinning socially patterned behaviour (Forsey 2008 in Buckler 2014).

## Methodology

The chapter adopts a narrative inquiry approach to understand the factors that influence an individual's educational journey and experience working as a teacher in a university. The narrative inquiry research design enabled an exploratory research, as it has not been studied widely in the Indian context. The research paradigm used is 'Interpretivist' within which the research strategy would be of phenomenology – 'concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved as they interpret their own reality' (Kruger and Welman 2000). The method used is semi-structured interviews with the teachers as they narrate their experiences working as a professional. The participants in the research were selected purposively. I chose to interview only ad hoc teachers or guest teachers. An ad hoc teacher is hired to engage a class or classes on a temporary basis like a substitute teacher. However, the ad hoc teacher's contract will end as soon as a permanent vacancy gets filled. The context of this ad hoc recruitment in the University of Delhi has grabbed attention in the past years as in most colleges, the ad hoc faculty are running the show (Sharma and Dhingra 2018).

All the individuals contacted did not agree to participate in the study as they felt their position in a temporary job is already vulnerable. They did not feel comfortable to share their experiences and this is itself an indication of the political scenario that the university is engulfed in. Naina and Hema agreed to participate in the study as they recognized the need to bring out this narrative so that the exploitation of individuals at the hands of the university is highlighted. The transcripts of the interviews were used for drawing out themes from the data. The analysis identified patterns in the two narratives, which were further interpreted in the context of capabilities of teachers. The two participants, both female around the same age, were working in the same college in different departments at the University of Delhi.

## Details of the Interview with the Teachers

1. Teacher's Name: Naina, Age: 25 years

Highest Level of Education: MPhil in Sociology, Delhi School of Economics.

Position: Guest Faculty, Department of Elementary Education, University of Delhi.

Naina graduated as Bachelor of Elementary Education (B.El.Ed) in 2014. Four years later after pursuing her Masters and MPhil in Sociology at Delhi School of Economics, she is back as a guest faculty teaching the B.El.Ed course at her own

college. Guest faculty is a part-time faculty, organized or called by the institution to teach a particular subject for a particular semester and are paid for every session they teach a fixed amount. In the University of Delhi, the amount has been fixed as Rs. 1000 for one class. Prior to this, Naina worked as a guest faculty at another college at the University of Delhi where she taught the B.A. programme students at the Department of Sociology for one semester. As a guest faculty, she describes that the expectation is to teach 25 classes per month. For Rs. 1000 per class, a guest teacher is expected to earn Rs. 25,000 per month at the most. If they take more than 25 sessions, they are not paid for the same. She spends 6 h on an average as a faculty, most days the lectures get extended and she ends up spending 8 h. When probed further, she explained that sometimes she is given substitute classes in case permanent faculty is on leave, sometimes engaging with students during tutorials, the assigned course work does not necessarily get finished in 25 sessions so one ends up taking more sessions to ensure that students do not face any issue. She also accounts for the fact that it takes almost 3 h for her to travel to and fro from college to her place.

She described the course she taught, Sociological Research, as 'obscure'. It was out of context for the learners, the readings were fairly complex and the students were highly disinterested in the course. The challenges were many starting with the stigma attached to the B.A. programme, its relative position in the college among other courses like B.Com (Hons.) or Economics (Hons.), which were considered as job-getter courses. The B.A. programme did not have a faculty of their own; there were faculty from different disciplines who are invited to teach in the programme. As a faculty, she felt that the infrastructural support was missing from the department and the college to facilitate teaching-learning. The major challenges faced were due to students' attitudes, Naina looked for all the possible solutions in her capacity which included seeking support from senior faculty, attempts at building rapport with the students by going out of her way to find points for shared interest. She however felt all her efforts were in vain as the students did not take her seriously. They could look through the power dynamics between the guest faculty and permanent faculty members. Since the nature of employment of the guest faculty is temporary, the hierarchy between the guest and the permanent faculty is visible to the students. Students took liberty of complaining against the guest or ad hoc faculty, as they are considered 'easy targets' or vulnerable as opposed to the permanent faculty who they fear complaining against. Naina found that the department had no comradeship within. Permanent faculty did see all the struggles and challenges that the guest or ad hoc faculty member faces but they never showed any sign of empathy. The strict hierarchy between teachers reflects strongly in everyday activities and therefore negatively affects the teaching-learning experiences. Naina in her own words describes her state of mind as filled with frustration, anxiety over uncertain future of the job. The fact that she makes only rupees 25,000 as she chose to teach and therefore could not access her Junior Research Fellowship that would have amounted more is also a concern for her. She chose to teach over going directly for her doctoral studies as she always aspired to talk and learn from young students. Therefore, the opportunity cost of teaching is higher, as she could have earned more

by pursuing doctorate as she had the research fellowship award. The job, however, has bought in more insecurity over the past months for her.

I invest so much time preparing lectures but never really become a part of college or lives of students. Being an Ad-hoc is exploitative in nature.

Naina explains how her experiences have been drastically different working in two different colleges and different departments. She felt that as she graduated from the same course and college 4 years ago, there is a sense of belonging and the colleagues are more cooperative in her present job. The colleagues in fact were her teachers once and therefore a rapport has been built. She teaches a course on caste, class, family and kinship in India that she finds exciting. The fact that the department gave space to organize movie screenings, documentaries and events to facilitate the classroom discussions enabled her as a teacher. The major challenges she has faced in terms of classroom were reaching out to one of the Korean students and since the B.El.Ed course is bilingual, it becomes all the more challenging. Naina narrated the conflict she faces between the ideology of institute about discipline and her personal ideology over attendance. For instance, she feels that no student be forced to come to the classroom, no strict attendance should be followed. But the institute's ideology is different and therefore she is bound to follow the mandate.

As a guest faculty, she is at a high risk of job insecurity. She does not know her immediate future once the course finishes. Also, even if she takes more number of sessions than 25 in a month, she will still be paid the consolidated amount of 25 thousand rupees. There is also a dilemma that guest teachers face: whether they are part of the Delhi University Teachers Association (DUTA) or not. She feels at a loss by not being a member of DUTA. About the timings of her class given, she feels that in the timing of 3:30 pm to 5:30 pm, the students are exhausted and sleepy and therefore it is a challenge for her to devise new pedagogic means (like storytelling, debates) to ensure students' interest and participation in the classroom. This flexibility to design the curriculum and pedagogy is enabling and the department's ideology is supportive of the same.

### *About the Process of Recruitment as a Guest or Ad Hoc Faculty*

The interview process for selection for the job of a guest or an ad hoc is described as a disturbing experience. The fact that people who once taught you are your competition and that bothers Naina. Individuals who were once her teachers compete for the same job and that for her is an intimidating experience.

Being a Guest Faculty is ephemeral and therefore tends to be a demotivating experience

Also, people who have power abuse it when they are the interviewees. Legitimate questions are not asked. For instance, I was asked, "How can you teach college students as B.El.Ed is for school education?" Even after finishing my MPhil studies, I am asked this (Naina on the interview process)

2. Teacher's Name: Hema Sharma, Age: 27 years

Highest Level of Education: Pursuing MPhil in English, University of Delhi.

Position: Ad hoc Faculty, Department of English, University of Delhi.

Hema was hired as a guest faculty initially and later recruited as an ad hoc. She describes the process of recruitment as taxing, uncertain and systemically problematic. The ad hoc faculty is underpaid and overworked. The system of hiring ad hoc staff in DU, which has been going on for over 10 years, has now become a problem for the teachers as no permanent hiring had happened in the university until recently. There are some faculty members who have been working on an ad hoc basis for the last 15 years. The primary problem with being an ad hoc faculty member is that there is no job guarantee as the official term for an ad hoc employee is only four months. The permanent faculty gets the privilege of study leave, but the ad hoc faculty do not get such support. Hema is pursuing her MPhil along side and does not get the space and time to engage in her research work. Every semester, she gets different course to teach and therefore that takes a lot of time in preparation. She understood that her choice to pursue studies along side teaching would be a difficult one, but she did not anticipate structural challenges that came her way. For instance, the senior faculty expects ad hoc faculty to participate in the DUTA (Delhi University Teachers Association) strikes. But the administration of the college they teach in, instruct them otherwise; thus, the ad hoc faculty gets caught in between. There is no sense of job security. There is pressure (manipulation and bullying) to accomplish things as per the higher authorities. Administration poses challenges (represents college principals directions). The contract signed by the ad hoc faculty states, 'you can be terminated at any point, a proper reason may not be given'. The position therefore remains vulnerable at all times. Nevertheless, Hema described her teaching experience as an enjoyable one. The curriculum is provided to the faculty, but there is freedom to devise one's own pedagogy. She has been able to develop a rapport with some of her students and that gives her an immense sense of satisfaction despite several challenges that come her way everyday.

## **Analysing the Teacher as a Professional through the Lens of Capability Approach**

The functioning of a guest faculty, ad hoc and permanent faculty are similar; however, the capabilities vary as we will discuss in this section. Both the participants blame the government's failure to get a secure job as the vacancies are not filled and so many well-qualified teachers are without a job. It suits educational administration. They are able to command teachers. 'The ad hoc teachers work on a paltry salary without any job guarantee. Worse still, they do not enjoy the perks that permanent staff are entitled to, maternity leave, medical leave, earned leave and provident fund. They only get one sanctioned leave per month. It is a continuous practice in the University of Delhi where the administration replaces one ad hoc teacher with

another, which is against University Grants Commission's rules. Also, a lot of favouritism works. If you are a favourite of the head of department who is on the selection panel, you will get another extension, if you are not you might have to look for a job in some other college' (Sharma and Dhingra 2018). Both the participants call the ad hoc arrangement unfair and exploitative. The services of ad hoc teachers can be terminated without notice and both the teachers I spoke to did not want to be identified as they feared they would be removed from their job.

'As an ad hoc, I am supposed to work twice as hard as permanent teachers, carry forward the course from where they have left, make sure I am on good terms with the college principal and the teacher in charge. I have to be at every invigilation and answer sheet checking duty I am assigned so that I am not debarred from my job. To appease my principal and colleagues, I have to teach longer hours, do clerical work assigned to teachers and make the semester timetable. Even then, I can be removed from my position after four months if the college deems fit',

The participants while introducing themselves focused on the colleges they graduated from, their present job as an ad hoc or a guest faculty at the University of Delhi. They began on a positive note about their studies and how they have aspired for this profession. As they talk about their previous studies pursuing Bachelors, Masters and MPhil, they term those experiences as memorable ones, learning in a flexible and open environment. The fact that teachers are expected to know the 'craft of teaching', classroom management, 'a bag of tricks to keep students' attention focused on teacher', to impart knowledge and maintain discipline was something that the participants in the present study did not resonate with (Kumar 2005). In fact, their own experiences pursuing studies in the disciplines of Sociology from Delhi School of Economics and English Literature from Faculty of English, University of Delhi, were different. Their ideology on discipline and pedagogy were different than the conventional ideas a teacher is associated with. Naina, for instance, revealed that she disagrees with the notion that she should see herself as a moral example, responsible for 'affective, social and spiritual development' for students (Carr 2003). She believed in facilitating learning in manner that evokes critical thinking, probes students to decide for themselves rather than following their teachers by putting them on a pedestal of a 'guru'.

Apart from the routine work, there are other things that ad hoc faculty is supposed to do like assist in the administrative work, maintain records of students, check answer sheets, design timetables, some of which is synonymous to the role of a teacher during British rule (Kumar 2005). Low salary and low status in society makes teaching a weak profession in comparison to its counterparts like medicine and law which can be seen in the similar domain of key public services. Teachers receive little support in terms of developing professionally as the participants mentioned they do not get space and time to engage in research (Carr 2003). Here, the access to professional support is hindered and therefore the capability is restricted for the teachers. Another problem that teachers face is lack of autonomy and power to decide on the content, curriculum, pedagogy, syllabus and textbooks. Naina does not face this issue, as she believes that the department is flexible and provides the space to the teachers to choose the content for the courses and pedagogy. However,

Hema shares that the nature of discipline is such for English literature that the readings have been fixed as a tradition, the flexibility is in implementation. There is scope for the faculty to go beyond the conventional ways of teaching and innovate their pedagogy within the overarching curriculum guidelines. Ginsburg et al. (1988) assert that the rigid standardization by the state makes the teacher a bureaucratic employee who cannot exercise any rights. The bureaucracy in turn is destructive for education, as over time, the teachers lose the enthusiasm to even bring about any change. If they never get the agency to deviate, they would ultimately get 'burnt out' in the system (Kale 1970). There is no space for grievance redress as well if there arises a situation of conflict between the administration and the teacher.

Both the participants construct a conundrum for themselves. On the one hand, they wish to provide their students the space to question, challenge the authority and develop critical thinking. On the other hand, however, when the students go ahead and complain freely about the ad hoc teachers and that puts their career at risk, they feel highly vulnerable. They elaborate that since the students see through the hierarchy existing between permanent faculty and ad hoc faculty, they know that they can provide informal or formal feedback about the ad hoc faculty. They in fact know their feedback can determine whether the faculty will continue over the next semester or not. Also, the manner in which the permanent faculty treats the ad hoc teachers in front of the students, the students end up not fearing and not respecting the ad hoc faculty in most cases. The fact that students question and challenge the ad hoc faculty more is something that seems unfair (Kale 1970). Further, both the participants refer to teaching both as a livelihood and passion for them is worth exploration. Teaching has been seen 'as a livelihood, a means for social mobility' since the colonial rule in India (Sriprakash 2012). Also, in the study done by Ginsburg et al. (1988) on teachers, they found many respondents saying, that teaching is a livelihood for people and thus qualifies to be a profession. Of course, it does not end there and has a moral basis to it, it becomes a noble profession as it has inherent 'life enhancing benefits' attached to it and therefore the duties of a teacher extend beyond the obvious obligations he/she has (Carr 2003).

It is crucial to look at the vulnerabilities both the participants as temporary faculty face within the university. They can be described as 'meek dictator', without the job security a fear of an uncertain future haunts them from time to time, trying to meet the expectations and in turn trying to be a figure of authority for students (Kumar 2005). Their future hopes to get a permanent job in the university as that is considered a coveted position as it offers security, higher salary is only fair (Sriprakash 2012). The narratives of the participants blame the systematic flawed recruitment procedures that the university follows. This throws light upon how bureaucratization of education system has made teaching as a profession suffer (Carr 2003). As individuals who have excelled as students at their institutions and cleared the National Eligibility Test to become Assistant Professor, they hope to deserve more than what they are subjected to presently. They do not feel respected amongst their colleagues and students and that leads to a strong sense of negativity. The lack of support to work in an enabling environment leads to further restrictions in one's agency and achievement of functionings.

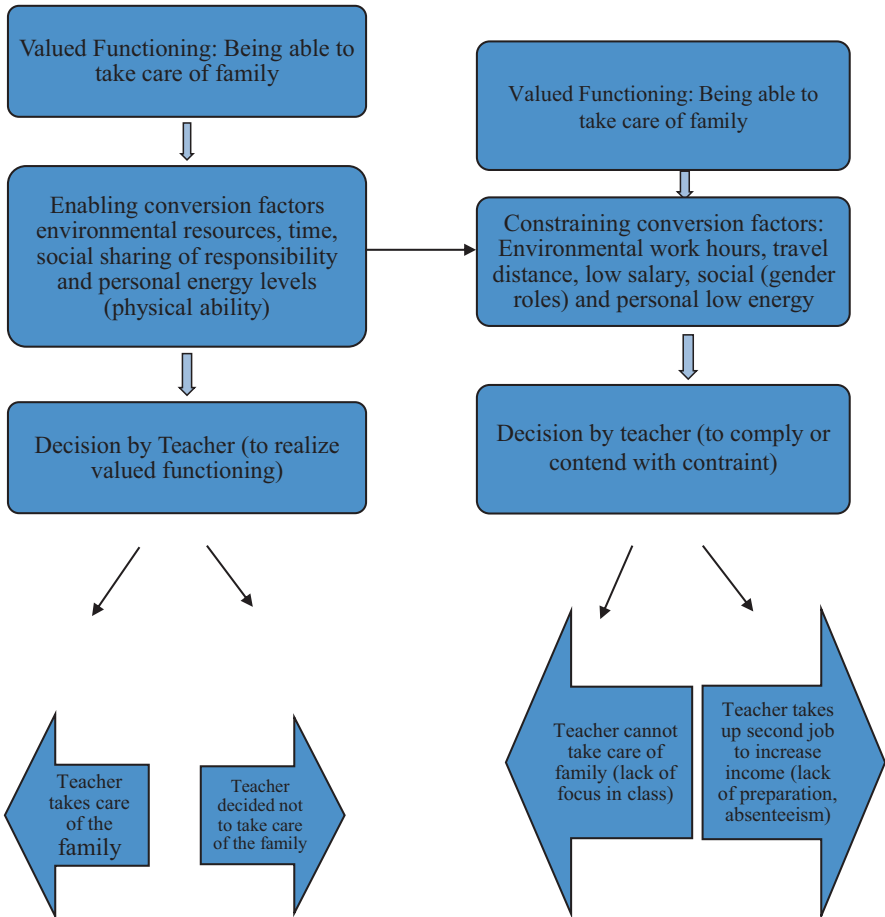
A study by Tao points towards how teachers assert that ‘the functioning “being able to take care of family” entails the physical act of caring, such as preparing food, as well as the symbolic act of providing, such as paying for private school and clothing. When asked about constraints on their ability to care and provide for family, teachers remarked that a low salary and high number of working hours was the greatest impediment to both’ (Tao 2015). This is similar to the perspective held by the teachers in the present chapter. They feel they are not able to contribute to the family income, as their salary simply meets their own daily expenses. They are overworked and are not able to ‘take care of their family’ in terms of household chores. Naina does mention how this arrangement is fine until she gets married. After marriage, her responsibilities towards home might increase and being an ad hoc will not help her. She comments on how the society is patriarchal and even though her parents are supportive and she can engage in her other pursuits presently, this might change after marriage for her. Reflecting on the experiences of both the participants, one can argue for the pursuit of well-being being important and how a teacher who achieves personal well-being is more likely to be able to enhance the well-being of his/her pupils. In the flow chart given below from a study by Tao (2015), it has been described through a flowchart how a valued functioning may encounter enabling and constraining factors and how does that lead to impact the behaviour of the teachers (Fig. 15.1).

## Discussion

Higher education is intended to serve as a means of socialization as well as social mobility. In the development discourse, education is seen as serving the societal needs of cohesion, intellectual engagement, and social progress. It helps weave together members of a society with similar values and community norms. It is needless to say that teachers have an indispensable role to play in determining the quality of higher education we provide our students with. Buckler (2014), through her study looked at the lives of teachers; to what extent are women teachers in rural schools able to pursue and achieve valued aspects of teaching. The narratives of teachers in the present chapter highlight the pursuit of their professional capabilities that they themselves have reason to value.

Naina and Hema in the present study certainly provide a glimpse into the more nuanced and reflective province they have envisioned for their students through their own valued professional capabilities. For instance, they reflect on how their experiences as temporary faculty affect the teaching-learning process and their relationship with their students. The fact that Naina and Hema feel they are overworked and underpaid poses obstructions to their functionings. As individuals who have pursued MPhil studies and are driven towards doctoral research in the near future, they value engaging in research and participating in conferences and seminars. However, they both feel that their job poses everyday constraints that devoid them of such opportunities. The university has positions of Assistant Professor, Associate





**Fig. 15.1** A flow chart depicting linkages between a valued functioning and behaviour of a teacher (Tao 2015)

Professor and Professor within each department to indicate seniority in terms of experience. However, when they create temporary teaching positions like ad hoc and guest faculty, the university creates systematic scope for exploitation. Based on the experiences of both the participants, we figure that the guest teacher is placed in a further difficult position than the ad hoc teacher as they are paid lesser salaries. They are not paid for work like checking answer sheets or other administrative work that might come their way. Lack of access to professional support, inability to establish contact with permanent faculty members; have led to capability deprivation for the teachers. It is interesting that Naina has worked in two different colleges within the same university and feels that her experiences have been starkly different in terms of the approach of the college principal, administration and the department's ideology. In the former college, the lack of say in deciding the curriculum, content



and textbooks restricted the agency and achievement of functionings. However, working as a guest faculty at the latter college, she received opportunity to design, innovate and organize workshops, seminars, and movie screenings; and most importantly decide on readings for the course and pedagogy. The ability to design curriculum, pedagogy and make decisions about the everyday teaching-learning process are things that she values being a teacher.

The major challenges that an ad hoc or guest teacher faces include the issue of job security; they can be terminated without giving any reasons on a day's notice. It has also been reported that an ad hoc is given, at least, one day's break in their teaching term every 4 months, so that they cannot claim seniority as the years pass (called as a break in service) (Joshi 2016). This is not just the loss of valuable teaching experience but also more immediately the loss of about 7000 rupees which adds to the financial burden for the teachers. Another crucial insight that has been shared is the fact that the ad hoc teachers are never a part of workload distribution meetings even if they are being retained in the next semester. They are generally given the leftover courses (not chosen by the permanent faculty) to teach irrespective of whether they will have the expertise or inclination to teach that particular course. It is established based on the experiences of ad hoc teachers that they can be replaced on the basis of formal and informal student feedback. Naina and Hema shared how there seems to be always a threat that based on informal student feedback they can lose their job. However, no amount of negative feedback for the permanent faculty can affect them. Thus, this threat leads to capability deprivation as a sense of security with regards to the job is lacking despite having the credentials required to succeed at the job. The fact that a teacher is deprived of opportunities through the universal, top-down regulations whether it relates to his/her own career progression or access to professional support. It was revealed through the interviews that the teachers feel constrained by demonstrating accountability standards that are set with no agency of their own.

The studies of teachers across the world, especially in the context of developing countries, indicate that teachers rarely feel actively involved in policy changes, nor do they feel a sense of ownership of them (Harley et al. 2000; Barrett 2005; UNESCO 2014 in Buckler 2014). Teacher policies reportedly continue to be designed by elites in urban, centralized contexts, draw predominantly on statistical analyses and often have little resonance with what is going on in classrooms (Lewin 2002; Bonnet and Pontefract 2008; Buckler 2011 in Buckler 2014). Teachers as an organized group should be able to stand up for the capabilities that they value and enable a robust public debate about them in their own right, rather than within the parameters defined by the policy-makers. It is said, 'professional teachers must be capable of profound reflection on practice, competent to enter into a dialogue of the practice they know and the theory or literature they read' (Socketkett in Khora 2011). The values that the teachers hold and their pursuit of these values needs to be researched upon widely so as to gain insights about the role of teachers in improving the quality of teachers (Buckler 2014). Higher Education must aim towards designing professional development and support for teachers that is guided by teaching values and reducing constraints. The values and constraints are likely to vary over

context and time, however, it is crucial to account for them when envisaging a future of higher education with an enabling framework for teachers to be able to be and do what they value as a community.

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# Chapter 16

## Understanding Accessibility, Inclusion and Performance of Students with Disabilities in Higher Education: A Case Study of University of Delhi



Shalini Saksena, Rashmi Sharma, and Bipin Kumar Tiwary

### Introduction

Education, in particular higher education, plays an important role in developing students' capacity to think and use the knowledge acquired in gainful employment. Higher education opens up opportunities for career development in meaningful occupations, thereby improving an individual's quality of life and social status. This role is even more important for persons with disabilities, whose freedom of opportunities in education and employment is limited because of their impairment. Despite extensive government policies, programmes and legislative initiatives for inclusive education of children with disabilities in India, both the rates of educational participation and outcomes of education remain poor for children and young adults with disabilities. Dropout and illiteracy rates for this group remain much higher than the general population and school attendance continues to lag behind that of non-disabled peers. While 5% seats are mandated to be reserved for students with disabilities as per the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act of 2016, low enrolment rates result in several seats remaining vacant in institutes of higher education. Low rates of enrolment coupled with high dropout rates can be attributed to the several barriers posed by inaccessible structures, curricula, lack of appropriate support services and the adverse social attitudes towards students with disabilities often resulting in their social isolation.

Creating an accessible and inclusive university education system is imperative to draw students with disabilities into full participation with the concomitant increase in social capital and social cohesion. An *accessible* educational system ensures that

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persons with disabilities can access their environment without impediment and face the same set of duties and responsibilities as their non-disabled peers. *Inclusive* education is the practice of educating *all* children irrespective of their ability level in an appropriate environment most suited to their needs. It involves adoption of inclusive practices which call for change in mindsets, attitudes, approaches and strategies to ensure that no learners are excluded from the education on offer. In pursuance of the goal of inclusive education for students with disabilities (SWDs), it becomes imperative to identify academic, social, cultural and attitudinal barriers they face in the field of higher education and undertake timely intervention in eliminating these barriers to help these students realize their full potential.

Apart from struggling with architectural, institutional and academic barriers, SWDs routinely encounter the more deleterious attitudinal barriers posed by insensitive behaviour of peers and teachers, which are an outcome of their negative perceptions and stereotypes about persons with disabilities. The significance of attitudinal barriers in determining the success or failure of SWDs, and hence their inclusion in higher education is widely recognized in disability literature (Rao 2004; Johnson 2006). However, ‘attitude towards disabilities’ is the least researched variable when it comes to studies concerned with disability issues in higher education. This paper attempts to examine the impact of both physical (architectural) and attitudinal barriers on academic achievements of SWDs in higher education through a case study of University of Delhi.

The paper is organized as follows: section “[The process of marginalization and freedom of opportunities](#)” presents a discussion on the process of marginalization of persons with disabilities and the notion of inclusive education based on the normative framework of Amartya Sen’s capability approach of development (Sen 1992). Section “[Barriers to academic engagement in higher education](#)” explores the different kinds of barriers faced by SWDs enrolled in institutions of higher education which impact the level of their academic engagement. Section “[Current educational status of children with disabilities in India](#)” presents data on educational status of SWDs in India. Section “[Accessibility and inclusiveness: Determinants of academic performance of SWDs in University of Delhi](#)” presents the case study of SWDs enrolled in undergraduate colleges of University of Delhi. The econometric study based on primary data was conducted to assess (i) the extent of accessibility and inclusion in to mainstream education as perceived by the SWDs, and (ii) the factors which impact academic performance of such students in higher education. Section “[Conclusion: Implications for practice and policy](#)” is the concluding section which briefly spells out implications for practice and policy.

## **The Process of Marginalization and Freedom of Opportunities**

Marginalization in education is a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in underlying social inequalities. It represents a stark example of “clearly remediable injustice”. (UNESCO, Education for All, Global Monitoring Report 2010)

National Education Plans across countries endorse the principle of *equality of opportunity* in education. They seek to address equity issues through policy interventions that accord special attention and resources to social groups that experience marginalization in education. These groups include children belonging to ethnic groups, tribes or specific castes, children with special needs, girls and the disadvantaged groups of urban and rural population including the neo-literates, semi-literates, children of slum dwellers, war victims, migrant workers, etc. The objective is to ensure that children can achieve what they want to, irrespective of their gender, ethnicity, language, income and other disparities in their social circumstances. However, the one group that remains widely excluded from quality education is that of children with special needs. 'Disability' has been recognized as one of the most potent albeit the least visible factor resulting in educational marginalization (UNESCO 2010).

Even if *equality of opportunity* in education is assured for all, for most children with disabilities, it does not translate into *freedom of opportunity* in education (i.e. the ability to exploit the practical opportunities afforded by reality). This can be explained in terms of Sen's capability approach of development which provides a broad normative framework for evaluating and assessing issues concerning social arrangements and equity. Capability approach claims that the freedom to achieve well-being is determined by an individual's '*capabilities* and *functionings*'. The set of real/practical opportunities to achieve valuable states of being and doing constitute an individual's '*capabilities*' set. '*Functionings*' of an individual are the actual outcomes or achievements through being or doing what is valuable, such as being educated, being gainfully employed and spending leisure time with family. In this context, 'disability' can be understood as an individual's physical or mental impairment which results in deprivation of *capabilities* or *functionings* (Mitra 2006). Impairment inevitably shrinks an individual's *capability* set by diminishing the range of the practical opportunities available. When this further restricts an individual's *functionings* (where an individual is unable to do or be what he/she values doing or being), the impairment manifests into a disability.

The extent of deprivation of individual *capabilities* and *functionings* depends on the following factors and the possible interplay between them:

- (i) The nature of impairment and an individual's other personal characteristics such as age, gender and caste. In certain cases, the nature and severity of impairment results in deprivation, irrespective of the amount of resources available and an individual's environment, such that freedom of opportunity in certain areas do not exist for some. For instance, a child with muscular dystrophy in contrast to another child without such an impairment but with a similar basket of goods and same environment, may not have access to similar practical opportunities (e.g. attend college, engage in work or sports). Such disability can be attributed to the intrinsic nature of the impairment itself.
- (ii) The resources at an individual's disposal (assets, income, etc.): In cases where impairment induces relatively higher costs of achieving a given level of

well-being, lack of adequate resources result in deprivation of *capabilities* and *functionings*.

- (iii) An individual's environment (physical, cultural, social, economic and political): Individuals with impairments are confronted with obstacles and hindrances posed by lack of accessible environments, inadequate legislations, policies and services and various other economic and social barriers such as negative attitudes and social stigma that result in deprivation. For instance, an acid attack victim with a disfigurement often finds her opportunity set reduced, not by the condition or impairment itself, but by the stigmatization in the society or by discrimination faced in interpersonal relations.

Critics question the very use of terminologies or labels such as the 'disadvantaged' or 'marginalized' for persons with disabilities, as they have a negative connotation, implying that the group is a victim of its own characteristics. Such a practice does not attempt to recognize that being 'marginalized' is not just an outcome of certain characteristic; rather it is an outcome of a 'process' of pushing a particular group of people to the edge of society by denying it an active role, identity or place in it. Sen's capabilities approach allows one to understand marginalization of persons with disabilities as a *process*, where impairments along with other factors, such as individual's resources and the various kinds of barriers posed by an individual's environment, result in deprivation of an individual's *capabilities* and *functionings*. Hence, freedom of opportunities remains elusive for most persons with disabilities. The following section explores how SWDs face educational marginalization in institutes of higher education, as barriers manifest at various levels, limiting their *capabilities* and *functionings*, hence impacting their academic achievements.

## Barriers to Academic Engagement in Higher Education

In order to provide equality of opportunities in education, it is imperative to create an *accessible* and *inclusive* education system. *Accessibility* goes beyond physical accessibility, to include accessible curricula, and delivery and evaluation methodology, as well as the provision of the necessary supports and accommodations to ensure that SWDs have equal opportunity in their education. Without appropriate support, SWDs face the risk of academic failure and associated loss of self-confidence and self-esteem. An *inclusive* educational system provides education for *all* in appropriate environments, keeping in mind students' diversity and needs. It aims at strengthening the capacity to reach out to all learners, minimizing exclusion of students within and from education (UNESCO 2005) and ensure their attendance, participation and achievements. From the perspective of the capabilities approach, inclusive education enhances and expands the *capabilities* of students in achieving their valued *functionings*.

Persons with disabilities routinely encounter various kinds of barriers within families, communities and institutions which results in their exclusion from

participation in social, civil and political processes. Lack of access to inclusive education results in low levels of skill formation and hence high unemployment rates. The level of academic participation and performance in higher education is determined by the various obstacles faced by SWDs. Some of these obstacles/barriers stem from personal and family-level socio-economic characteristics, such as the nature of disability, family size and income and parents' education status and occupation. Family resources and income are important in determining the ability to meet upfront and hidden costs of attaining higher education (Checchi 2000; Eamon 2005; Yinusa and Basil 2008). Studies have also highlighted the significance of education of parents and other family members in determining the likelihood of a student with disability pursuing higher studies. The findings have shown that students whose parents did not attend a university are less likely to pursue higher education (Sweet et al. 2012). Family's socio-economic status (SES) measured in terms of family size and income, parents' occupation and/or parents' occupation, is also a significant determinant of academic performance (Krashen 2005). It is generally observed that high and middle SES families are in a better position to provide a learning environment at home and extra learning facilities if needed. Students from low SES families, however, have limited access to such facilities which limits their opportunity to make it to the top of the educational ladder and excel. Apart from the restrictions posed by limited economic resources, SWDs often face the more formidable obstacles posed by social deprivation (Smith et al. 2005).

SWDs face barriers in institutions of higher education which can take a variety of forms. They can be physical, financial, technological, systemic or attitudinal. The more widely recognized and acknowledged disability-related barriers are the *physical* or architectural barriers to educational services which include lack of ramps, accessible paths and elevators in multi-storeyed buildings, inaccessible washrooms and inaccessible transportation to and from college. Many SWDs join an institute of higher education which is not located in their home town and are thus dependent on student housing facilities provided by the college or the ones available in the vicinity of the college. Lack of accessible students housing often results in dropping out of some SWDs or calls for costly, long and exhausting commutes. This is further aggravated by the lack of reliable and accessible public transportation. Lack of accessibility goes beyond those posed by physical barriers to also include those posed by lack of funding, inaccessible university admission procedures and curricula, inappropriate delivery and evaluation methods and ineffective dispute resolution mechanisms. All these jeopardize students' access to higher education.

The physical presence of SWDs in colleges does not automatically ensure their participation. A student's academic engagement in terms of academic performance and extent of a student's participation in college's corporate life depends on the general academic environment in a college which sets the parameters of a student's learning experience. The academic environment in a college is closely related to the interpersonal relations between students, teachers and other staff members. Within the college, lack of awareness, understanding and the presence of negative perceptions based on myths and stereotypes about SWDs result in insensitive behaviour towards them. Such perceptions of 'dis'-ability are the real barriers to true inclusion.



Challenges and barriers centring on negative attitudes result in social discrimination within classrooms and college campuses, and have a knock-on effect on accessibility in mainstream education.

## Current Educational Status of Children with Disabilities in India

According to Census 2011, there are 26.8 million persons with disabilities, constituting 2.01% of total Indian population. Only 55% of them are literate and 8.5% of them are graduates. Despite extensive government policies, programmes and legislative initiatives for inclusive education of children with disabilities in India, both the rates of educational participation and outcomes of education remain poor for children and young adults with disabilities.

At a time when India has nearly achieved universal primary school enrolment (with only 2.95 children out of school), 28% of children with special needs are out of school (2014 study), representing the most marginalized group in education (Table 16.1). Across the disability spectrum, the percentage of out-of-school children varies significantly. About 44% of children with multiple disabilities and 36% of children with mental disabilities are out of school while this percentage is nearly half in the case of children with hearing and visual impairment.

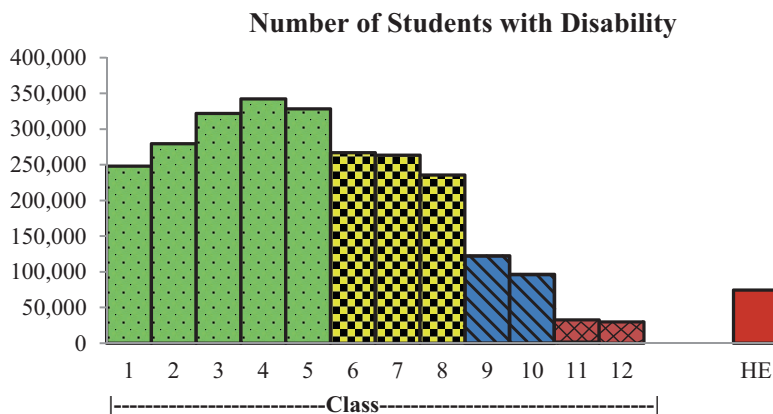
Most children with disability who attend school do not complete a full cycle of quality basic education, leading ultimately to lower employment chances and long-term income poverty. The distribution of persons with disabilities enrolled in school and institutes of higher education is as follows (see Fig. 16.1): 58% in primary (classes 1–5), 29% in upper-primary (classes 6–8), 8% in secondary (classes 9–10), 2% in

**Table 16.1** Category-wise percentage of out-of-school children (age 6–13 years)

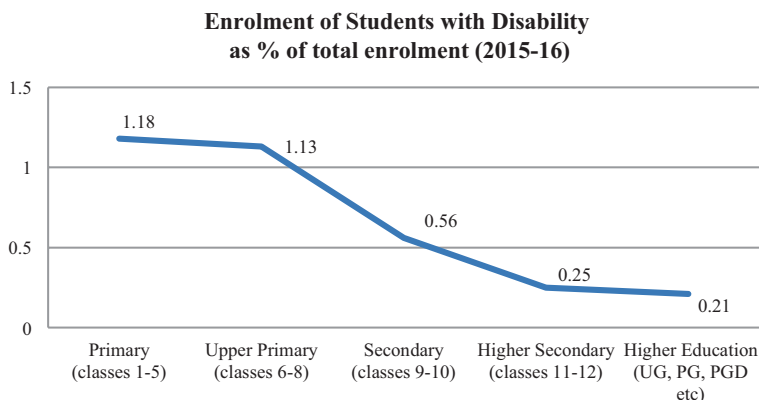
Categories	Percent of children
All	2.97
Scheduled caste	3.24
Scheduled tribe	4.2
Other backward class	3.07
<b>All disabled</b>	<b>28.07</b>
Multiple disabilities	44.13
Mental disability	35.97
Speech	34.82
Orthopaedic/locomotor	23.72
Hearing	19.31
Visual	17.64

Source: SRI-IMRB (2014) study on out-of-school children in India, MHRD, GOI





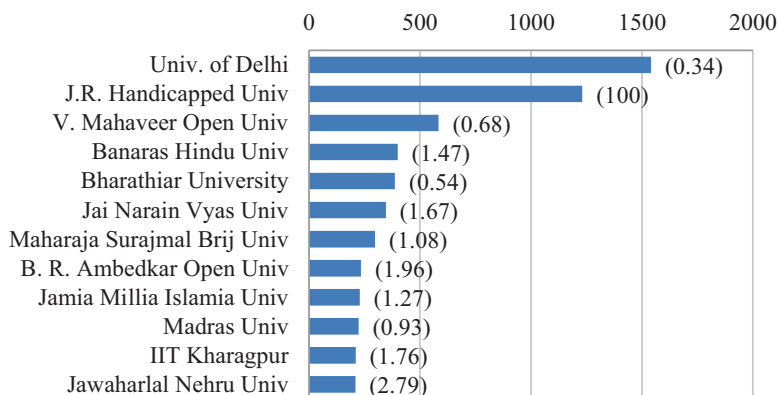
**Fig. 16.1** Total enrolment of students with disabilities at various levels of education (2015-16)  
 Source: Based on data from U-DISE (2015-16) to AISHE (2015-16)



**Fig. 16.2** Percentage enrolment of students with disability (2015-16)  
 Source: Based on data from U-DISE (2015-16) to AISHE (2015-16)

higher secondary (classes 11-12) and 3% in institute of higher education (undergraduate, postgraduate, PG diploma, diploma, M.Phil., Ph.D., certificate and integrated/dual degree). Data suggest a significant drop in enrolment after upper-primary and secondary level of education, dropping at each level by nearly 50% (see Fig. 16.2).

Official figures on dropouts reveal that more dropouts occur during the transition from schooling to higher education, both for abled and disabled students, with the percentage being much higher for the disabled students. After schooling, a large number of SWDs prefer not to enrol in colleges, with the enrolment rate being particularly low for female SWDs. This trend can be attributed to several factors including lack of infrastructural facilities within colleges, lack of transport facilities and other support services, insensitive attitudes of teachers and peers in colleges, etc.



**Fig. 16.3** Number of SWDs enrolled in top 12 Indian universities (ranked in terms of number of SWDs enrolled)

Note: The figures in brackets represent the percentage enrolment of SWDs to total enrolment

Source: Based on data from AISHE 2017–18

Reports of All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) present institution-wise and category-wise enrolment figures. AISHE 2017–18 presents such data for over 44,000 institutions of higher education spread across the country. About 828 of them are universities which enrol a total of 12,605 SWDs. Nearly 55% of the universities have zero enrolment of SWDs. SWDs enrolled in universities across the country represent 0.19% of total intake of students. This is despite the fact that 3–5% seats are kept reserved for SWDs in all institutions of higher education. Only five universities enrol SWDs who account for more than 3% of total enrolment.

University of Delhi, also called Delhi University (DU), has the maximum number of SWDs enrolled across all universities in India (AISHE 2017–18). It enrolls 1541 SWDs (1037 are male and 504 are female). SWDs, however, account for only 0.34% of total enrolment in University of Delhi. The next highest enrolment is of 1231 SWDs in a university which is specifically for SWDs.<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 16.3 which depicts the number of SWDs enrolled and their percentage enrolment in 12 Indian universities which enrol more than 200 SWDs, ranked in terms of actual enrolment of SWDs.

Empirical studies examining the performance of SWDs in higher education and assessing the impact of physical and attitudinal barriers on the level of their academic engagement are sparse. The following section presents the results of an econometric exercise carried out using primary data collected from SWDs in University of Delhi, in order to assess the factors that impact their academic participation and performance.

<sup>1</sup> *Jagadguru Rambhadracharya Handicapped University* in Uttar Pradesh is only for students with the following impairments: visual, hearing, mobility and mental (defined as per the Disability Act of 1995).

## Accessibility and Inclusiveness: Determinants of Academic Performance of SWDs in University of Delhi

This section presents the results of a case study based on a survey of SWDs enrolled in undergraduate colleges of University of Delhi (DU). The survey was supported by the DU, under Innovation Projects for Colleges 2013–2015, Project code DCAC 201. Findings from preliminary analysis of survey data are reported in Saksena and Sharma (2015). Results of further data analysis are presented in this section.

DU enrolls the largest number of SWDs across all Universities in India (AISHE 2017–18). Survey data reveal the fact that the dropout rate of SWDs enrolled in University of Delhi is negligible. However, the enrolment of SWDs expressed as a percentage of total enrolment in the university is lower than that of many other Universities in the country. This percentage has remained below 0.5% for many years, which is well below the percentage of seats reserved for SWDs in the university. Empirical studies to determine the various barriers faced and their impact on the academic performance of SWDs, particularly for those in institutions of higher education are few, and nearly missing in the Indian context. The case study presented in this section is an attempt to find answers to the following questions: (i) How accessible and inclusive are colleges in DU from the viewpoint of SWDs? (ii) What are the main determinants of the level of academic engagement of these SWDs?

Both family-level and college-level characteristics, which either aide or pose as barriers to access and inclusivity in higher education, and hence impact the academic performance of SWDs, were assessed. Data were obtained from the *Equal Opportunity Cell* (EOC) of the university which is located in the main campus, called the North Campus of DU. It is mandatory for each college to have an *Enabling unit* (EU). EOC at the university level and EUs at college level act as the nodal offices, established to promote inclusion and diversity at the institutional level. A total of 168 undergraduate students across 35 colleges randomly selected from the list of enrolled students for the academic years 2012–13 and 2013–14 were surveyed using a semi-structured questionnaire. Nine questionnaires were discarded during data cleaning and coding stage (primarily due to several missing observations).

### *Sample Characteristics*

**Personal Characteristics of SWDs** 65% of the surveyed students were male students (in line with the actual male to female ratio of two-thirds to one-thirds for SWDs enrolled in University of Delhi). Students with an orthopaedic handicap and those with a visual handicap dominated the sample, accounting for 56% and 38% of the sample respectively. For more than half of them (57%), Delhi – National Capital

Region was their home town. About 73% of them resided in the city with their family or relatives.

**Household-Level Characteristics** Annual family income of SWDs ranged between a minimum of Rs. 21,000 to a maximum of Rs. 19.20 lakhs, with mean annual income of Rs. 3.2 lakhs. Half the students interviewed had annual family income which was less than or equal to Rs. 1.8 lakhs, which was below the per capita income of Delhi in the year 2012–13. Father's occupation of students surveyed was diverse ranging from Income tax commissioner and Professors to auto drivers and contractual labourers. More than 60% of the respondents had at least one family member who had studied till the post-graduation or graduation level. However, 2% of the respondents had family members who never had any formal education.

**University- and College-Level Characteristics** University of Delhi (DU) has 77 affiliated colleges spread across the city. It has two main campuses: the North campus (also called the main campus) situated in North Delhi and the South campus which has colleges spread across the city (called the off-campus colleges). DU has more than 1 lakh regular undergraduate students. For the survey, 50 students from North campus colleges (also called the Campus colleges) and 110 students from off-campus colleges were interviewed. For 95% of them, DU was their first choice of university after finishing school. There is an evident bias against Science subjects, a trend that continues from school level itself. 65% of the students were enrolled for Bachelors in Arts and 23% of them were enrolled for Bachelors in Commerce.

The survey data reveal that only 67% of students interviewed were aware of the EOC, out of which only 40% had availed of EOC's services and facilities. Most of the SWDs knew of the EOC because they had approached EOC for assistance during admission and/or they had attended the common orientation programme organized by EOC for all of them. The off-campus students who were aware of the central EOC did not avail of any of the support services provided by the EOC because of the long and difficult commute to EOC. While all of them are eligible for a fee waiver by the university, there are also additional scholarships for them, which most of them were unaware of. Only 12 out of 159 SWDs availed of scholarships that are available for them at higher education level. Creating greater awareness among SWDs through information available to them in readily available formats will ensure efficient utilization of facilities and provisions earmarked for them.

Most colleges do not provide hostel facilities. Less than 7% of students surveyed resided in college hostels. For most of the others who resided far away from their colleges with their families, other hostels or rented accommodations, commuting to college posed a formidable challenge. On an average, students spent 49 min on their commute to college, with the maximum commute time of 200 min. Only 5 students used the bus/van service provided by the university/EOC. Descriptive statistics related to quantitative data collected from the respondents are given in Table 16.2.

**Table 16.2** Descriptive statistics

	Time spent on commute to college (minutes)	Distance from residence to college (kms)	Class size (number)	Average time spent in college (hours)	Average marks in college examination (%)	Average marks in last school exam (%)
Mean	48.94	11.29	56.94	4.91	61.97	70.56
Median	45.00	10.00	50.00	4.75	62.00	70.00
Maximum	200.00	60.00	300.00	8.00	83.00	96.00
Minimum	2.00	0.000	10.00	1.00	35.00	48.00
Std. Dev.	34.63	9.37	30.52	1.23	9.41	11.94
Skewness	1.29	1.98	4.15	0.31	0.02	0.30
Observations	158	89	158	156	138	140

Source: Based on primary survey data

**Table 16.3** Rating physical accessibility in college campus (% distribution of responses)

	Classrooms	Labs	Library	Washrooms	Canteen	Admin. office
Excellent	14.6	13.9	22.9	12.3	9.7	10.9
Good	60.1	64.4	51.6	50.9	50.0	61.9
Average	24.1	20.8	21.0	30.9	32.5	26.5
Below average	1.3	0.9	4.5	5.8	7.8	0.6

Source: Based on primary survey data

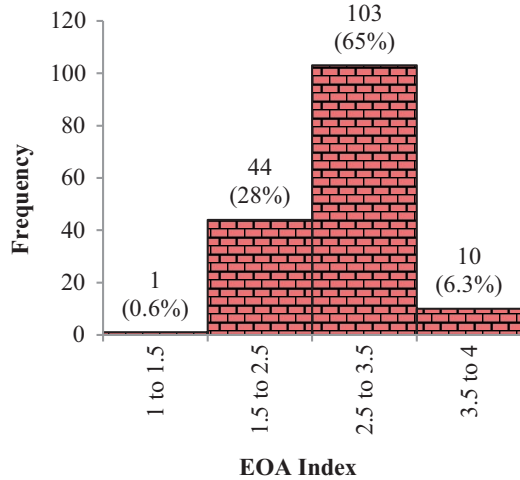
While 90% of colleges in DU have an enabling unit (EU) in their campus, 42% of the surveyed students were not aware of the existence of an EU in their college. 18% of the students stated that their college did not have an EU. There may be an overlap in these numbers as (i) when a student was not aware of an EU in the college, it may be the case that the college actually had an EU, or maybe the college just did not have an EU; (ii) it may be the case that a college had an EU, but the student reported that the college did not have one. In this study, however, students' responses are taken at face value.

### ***Assessing Accessibility***

Ease of physical access within various sections of a college building and college campus such as classrooms, library and washrooms was assessed based on respondents' rating of accessibility on a four-point Likert scale: excellent, good, average or below average. The responses are compiled in Table 16.3.

On an average, more than 70% SWDs rated accessibility to classrooms, libraries, laboratories and administrative offices as good or excellent. However, more than one-third of the students rated accessibility to washrooms as 'average' or 'below

**Fig. 16.4** Frequency distribution of ease of access index  
 Source: Authors' own calculations based on primary survey data



average'. Ease of access to washrooms is a basic necessity for all students. The responses thus highlight the need to focus on improving access to washrooms in colleges.

In order to capture the overall ease of accessibility within the college campus, an ease of access (EOA) index was estimated as a weighted average composite index, by assigning scores to each response category as follows: 4 points for an 'excellent' rating, 3 points for a 'good' rating, 2 points for an 'average' rating, and 1 point for a 'below average' rating. The points given to classrooms, laboratories, library and washroom were assigned a weightage of 2, while points given to canteen and administrative office (which a student need not necessarily visit every day) were assigned a weight of 1. The range of the computed EOA index was [1, 4] and for the surveyed sample, this index value ranged from 1.38 to 4.

The EOA index was further divided into the following sub-ranges: EOA index value lying between 1 and 1.5 (including the upper limit) implies that overall physical accessibility in college as assessed by SWDs is *below average*. Likewise,  $1.5 < \text{EOA index} \leq 2.5$  implies *average* accessibility;  $2.5 < \text{EOA index} \leq 3.5$  implies *good* accessibility;  $3.5 < \text{EOA index} \leq 4$  implies *excellent* physical accessibility. The frequency distribution of EOA index based on these sub-divisions presented in Fig. 16.4 depicts that nearly 29% students assess ease of physical accessibility within college premises to be just average or below average. Majority of them however assess ease of physical accessibility to be good (65%). This broad conclusion did not change even if the cut-offs used in defining the sub-divisions of the EOA index were tweaked around. 6% of SWDs rated physical accessibility in their college to be excellent. A closer examination revealed that ease of accessibility had been rated differently by different students enrolled in the same college. This is a consequence of the fact that a college which may be well equipped to provide ease of access to students with visual impairment, may not have specific facilities needed for free access by students on wheelchairs.

## ***Assessing Inclusiveness***

While promoting accessible barrier-free environment is an essential step towards creating an enabling environment for SWDs, ensuring a congenial and supportive atmosphere free from negative attitudes and stereotypes regarding SWDs, where peers, teachers and other non-teaching staff members of the college are sensitive and supportive of the needs of SWDs, is equally, if not more, important in determining the extent of social inclusion of SWDs into the mainstream. In order to assess the extent of inclusion of SWDs, this study attempted to construct an index of sensitivity based on the respondents' rating of attitudes and behaviour the students, teachers and non-teaching staff members in their college on 3-point Likert scale:

- (i) Sensitive: includes cases of very helpful and sensitive behaviour.
- (ii) Moderately Sensitive: includes cases of usual normal considerate behaviour towards all, where help is offered when asked, without any specific special concern for a student with disability (SWD), and.
- (iii) Insensitive: includes cases where no specific help is offered and sometimes even harmful behaviour is meted out to SWDs such as bullying and harassment.

The responses are compiled in Table 16.4. Most SWDs find behaviour of the students in colleges towards them to be sensitive (47%) or moderately sensitive (44%). Only 10% of them stated that behaviour of their peers was insensitive towards them. Two respondents reported instances of bullying and harassment in college. As far as behaviour and attitudes of teachers and non-teaching staff members is concerned, majority of the respondents were of the opinion that they were only moderately sensitive where they were considerate towards all but did not specifically help out the SWDs. The overall perception of these students was that most peers and teachers generally had positive attitudes towards disability in general, but did not specifically want to be friend or support any one of the SWD.

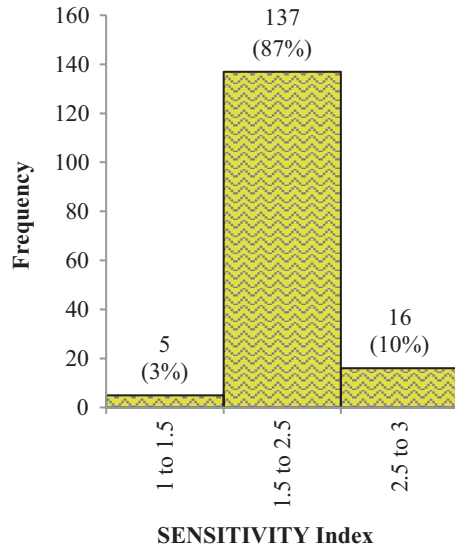
A *sensitivity Index* was computed to denote overall sensitivity of members of a particular college as perceived by a SWD, thus providing a measure of the extent of inclusivity in colleges. Points were assigned to each rating are as follows: 3 points for a 'sensitive' rating, 2 points for a 'moderately sensitive' rating and 1 point for an 'insensitive' rating. The points given to student's and teacher's sensitivity were assigned a weight of 2, while points given to non-teaching staff's sensitivity were

**Table 16.4** Rating behaviour of students, teachers and non-teaching staff members in college (% distribution of responses)

	Students	Teachers	Non-teaching staff
Sensitive	46.8	17.2	4.9
Moderately sensitive	43.7	80.9	80.2
Insensitive	9.5	1.9	14.9

Source: Based on primary survey data

**Fig. 16.5** Frequency distribution of sensitivity index  
 Source: Authors' own calculations based on primary survey data



given a weight of 1 (since interaction with non-teaching staff is usually limited). The range of computed index was [1, 3].

The sensitivity index was further divided into the following sub-ranges: sensitivity index value lying between 1 and 1.5 (including the upper limit) implies that overall behaviour of members in a college as assessed by SWDs is *insensitive*. Likewise,  $1.5 < \text{Sensitivity index} \leq 2.5$  implies *moderate sensitivity*;  $2.5 < \text{Sensitivity index} \leq 3$  implies *sensitive* behaviour. The frequency distribution of sensitivity index based on these sub-divisions presented in Fig. 16.5 depicts that majority of the respondents assessed the overall attitude and behaviour of college members to be only moderately sensitive (87%). Nearly 3% respondents rated the behaviour to be insensitive.

This broad conclusion did not change even if the cut-offs used in defining the sub-divisions of the sensitivity index were tweaked around. This is a direct fallout of the fact that teachers as well as non-teaching staff members are not trained and equipped to cater to specific needs of SWDs. Some cases of downright insensitive behaviour of non-teaching staff members were also reported. Raising awareness about disability issues among students and staff member, and training staff members on delivery of specialized assistance to SWDs will go a long way in eliminating attitudinal barriers and creating a more inclusive environment for SWDs in college campus.

### ***Preliminary Data Analysis: Testing for Difference in Means***

Further, analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted to detect if the observed differences in (i) average college performance of SWDs, (ii) average ease of access (EOA) index and (iii) average sensitivity index were statistically significant across different categories such as location of the college (main vs. off-campus colleges),



type of disability, presence or absence of an enabling unit in college and women's-only versus co-educational college. Figure 16.6 presents the box plots of the variable of interest against the various categorization variables listed above. The variables with significantly different mean values have been indicated in the box plots.

One-way ANOVA tests reveal the following: academic performance measured in terms of average percentage of marks received by the student in university exams varies significantly (i) between main North campus and off-campus colleges, with the average marks of SWDs in main campus colleges being much higher (significant at 1% level) and (ii) between colleges with and without an enabling unit, with the average marks of SWDs in colleges with an enabling unit being relatively higher (significant at 10% level).

The average ease of access (EOA) index is found to vary significantly (i) between main campus and off-campus colleges, with EOA index being much higher for main campus colleges (statistically significant at 5% level); (ii) between colleges with and without an enabling unit, with a much higher average EOA index in colleges that have an enabling unit (significant at 1% level) and (iii) between women's-only colleges and co-educational colleges with women's colleges having a higher EOA index (significant at 5% level).

The average sensitivity index was found to be higher for (i) North campus colleges (ii) for colleges with an enabling unit and (iii) for women's-only colleges. However, the difference in sensitivity index was not significant across any of the categories.

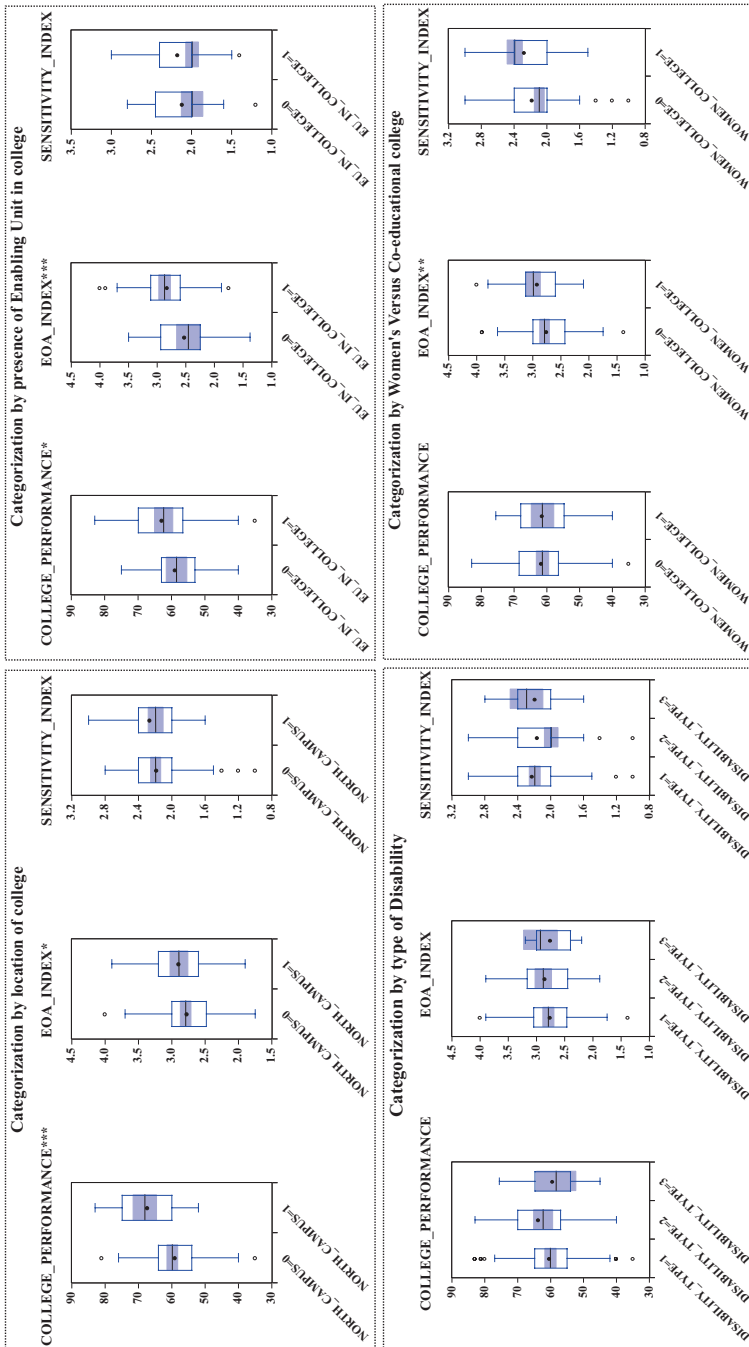
### ***Econometric Model of Academic Performance and Its Determinants***

The purpose of this empirical exercise is to investigate the effects of family background and college resources on the academic performance of SWDs. Positive family support and a congenial, supportive and accommodating college environment encourage greater academic participation of SWD. The underlying theoretical framework posits education of SWDs as a production process where students' personal characteristics and innate abilities, family background, school and college resources and peer attitudes are educational inputs while their academic performance, measured in terms of average marks in exams, represents educational output.

The educational production function estimated is as follows:

$$\text{COLLEGE\_PERFORMANCE} = f(\phi_p, \phi_f, \phi_s, \phi_c)$$

where, the output of educational production function is the level of academic performance of a SWD, measured in terms of the average percentage of marks obtained by the SWD in the university exam (COLLEGE\_PERFORMANCE). Educational inputs include four set of variables:



**Fig. 16.6** Box plots of academic performance of SWDs, ease of access index and sensitivity index across different categories

Notes:

(i) The variables in the box plots above are defined as follows: NORTH\_CAMPUS is 0 for off-campus colleges and 1 for colleges in the main campus; EU\_IN\_COLLEGE is 0 if a college does not have an EU and 1 if college has an EU; DISABILITY\_TYPE is 1 for orthopaedic, 2 for visual and 3 for all other forms of disability; WOMEN\_COLLEGE is 0 for a co-educational college and 1 for only women's college

(ii) \*\*\* implies significant ANOVA test at 1% level; \*\* implies significant at 5% level; \* implies significant at 10% level  
Source: Authors' calculations based on Survey data

- (i)  $\phi_P$  is the vector of variables defining the personal profile of a SWD, such as age, gender and nature of disability.
- (ii)  $\phi_F$  is the vector of variables that define family background of a SWD, such as income, educational qualification of parents and siblings and family size.
- (iii)  $\phi_S$  is a vector of variables pertaining to the last school attended by the SWD, such as marks obtained in the last examination in school and school specifically for children with special needs and,
- (iv)  $\phi_C$  is a vector of variables that capture college-level characteristics, such as location of college, presence of EU and class size.

Different variants of the regression model were estimated using the method of ordinary least squares (OLS) after carrying out the entire range of diagnostic checks for the breakdown of classical assumptions. Since the data were cross-sectional, the estimates were corrected for heteroscedasticity using White's correction. The following sub-section presents the final results of estimation.

### *Findings of Econometric Analysis*

Several variables defining personal, family-level, school-level and college-level characteristics were included in the regression model. The final two variants which best fit the data are presented in Table 16.5. Both models fit the data well and are significant at 0.01 level. Preliminary regressions showed significant impact of family-level variables such as family income (family\_income) and the highest educational qualification of any member in the family (family\_educ). Thus, an index of socio-economic status (SES) was constructed as a weighted average of family\_income and family\_educ and included as an independent variable.

SES was found to be a highly significant determinant of student's academic performance. Thus, for the study sample, it was observed that families with higher socio-economic status, which could provide more and better facilities for academic engagement of SWD, had their child performing well in academics in college.

School-level variables such as SCHOOL\_PERFORMANCE (marks obtained in the last school examination) and SPECIAL\_SCHOOL (a dummy variable = 1 if the child attended special school, 0 otherwise) both had significant coefficients. A child who attended a special school was found to score, on an average, 3.55% more marks in college exams. Thus, for the sample of students studied, it can be said that SWDs who performed well in school and those who attended a special school performed better in academics at college level as well.

College-level characteristics such as CLASS\_SIZE (student-strength in class) or TRAVEL\_TIME (commute time) was found to have the expected sign, but statistically insignificant coefficients. The variable NORTH\_CAMPUS (a dummy variable = 1 for colleges located in the North campus, 0 for others) had the expected positive and a significant coefficient. Colleges in the main campus have access to more and better facilities provided both by the concerned college and by the university through the EOC. On an average, a student enrolled in the main North campus

**Table 16.5** Estimation of the educational production function of SWDs

Dependent variable: COLLEGE_PERFORMANCE (% marks)		
Estimation method: Least squares (white heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors and covariance)		
	Model A	Model B
Independent variables	Coefficient (standard error)	Coefficient (standard error)
GENDER	0.50 (2.16)	1.42 (1.91)
SOCIO_ECO_STATUS	0.64*** (0.24)	0.62*** (0.23)
SCHOOL_PERFORMANCE	0.21** (0.08)	0.20** (0.09)
SPECIAL_SCHOOL	3.55* (1.94)	3.70* (2.00)
NORTH_CAMPUS	3.86* (1.96)	4.20** (2.01)
SENSITIVITY_INDEX	3.67* (2.13)	4.55** (2.28)
EOA_INDEX	1.86 (1.93)	1.68 (1.93)
CLASS_SIZE	0.02 (0.02)	
TRAVEL_TIME	-0.04 (0.03)	
Number of observations	97	97
R <sup>2</sup>	0.41365	0.400
Std. Dev. Dependent var	9.792	9.792
Akaike info criterion	7.063	7.045
Schwarz criterion	7.329	7.257
Log likelihood	-332.559	-333.668
F-statistic	6.819	8.479
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000	0.000

Source: Authors' calculations based on Survey data

Notes: \*\*\* implies significance at 1% level; \*\* implies significance at 5% level; \* implies significance at 10% level

scored 3.86% points more in college examination than a student enrolled in an off-campus college.

The variables capturing accessibility and degree of inclusion are of special interest given the objective of this study: SENSITIVITY\_INDEX and EOA\_INDEX. Their coefficients capture the essence of the impact of attitudinal/behavioural barriers and physical barriers on the academic performance of a SWD. SENSITIVITY\_INDEX is found to have a significant coefficient. Higher sensitivity index (as ranked by the students) positively impacts a student's academic performance. An increase in the value of the sensitivity index by one unit increased the marks in college examination by 3.67% points.

However, the variable capturing physical accessibility, EOA\_INDEX, had a coefficient with the correct sign, but it was an insignificant determinant of academic performance. Ease of access may not be an important determinant of academic performance due to the fact that (i) colleges in DU, as compared to other colleges and particularly as compared to the schools attended by these students, have already undertaken several measures to ensure physical accessibility within colleges, a fact endorsed by the views of the surveyed students (as captured by the overall EOA index) and (ii) these are also the students who managed to overcome the obstacles

faced at school level and chose to continue with higher education, while some others succumbed to the hurdles and dropped out at secondary or senior-secondary levels in school. For such students, physical barriers may not be significant. There may also be the possible interdependence between SENSITIVITY\_INDEX and EOA\_INDEX while impacting college-level performance. Ease of physical access alone is likely to be of little importance if SWDs continue to face negative attitudes and stereotypes in the education system. Lack of knowledge about and sensitivity to disability issues on the part of some educators, staff and students can make it difficult for SWDs to avail of educational services, even when physical accessibility issues have been resolved. However, this interdependence could not be established using the survey data.

## Conclusion: Implications for Practice and Policy

The results of the case study of DU broadly highlight the following the requirements:

- (i) Expand, improve and inform: Apart from expanding and improving the availability of resources and facilities for SWDs, it is equally important to generate greater awareness among SWDs and their families of the already existing resources, facilities and support services for them, such as fee-waivers, scholarships and funding schemes, transport and hostel facilities, library facilities, etc.
- (ii) Train and sensitize: There is an urgent need to raise awareness about disability issues and promote inclusive values among students, teachers and non-teaching staff in colleges.

At the national level, there is a need to reframe inclusive education in ways that would enhance the *capabilities* of SWDs towards achieving their valued and reasonable *functionings* through adoption of different practices aimed at providing a barrier-free environment for students. There seems to be misplaced emphasis of most policy initiatives which are aimed at resolving problems of inclusivity, on efforts at ‘mainstreaming’ SWDs by getting them to study the same curriculum in the same mainstream classroom as their non-disabled peers; the focus is more on the location (Dalkilic and Vadeboncoeur 2016). Higher educational institutions need far more comprehensive changes to become inclusive spaces.

While ensuring architectural accessibility is imperative and must be looked upon as an investment to improve the overall functioning of the higher education community, it is time that decision-makers take cognizance of second generation concerns regarding creation of barrier-free learning environment, which focus on teacher-training, curriculum, pedagogy, etc. Initiatives must be undertaken to *increase awareness* among SWDs and their parents, of the various provisions for SWDs so that they can claim the benefits afforded to them under various university schemes. Advances in *information and communication technology* must be utilized to make a broad range of educational services available to SWDs. This will include

adoption of cost-effective multimodal methods of teaching and learning, easy availability of affordable reading material in accessible formats and effective use of assistive technologies and other access-related devices and applications. *Accessible academic material and curricula* must be developed along the lines of the universal design for accessibility and inclusion. *Teachers and staff members* are key stakeholders who need to be *sensitized and trained* to cater to the needs of SWDs. An inclusive culture must be promoted on campus by creating awareness among all students through sensitization programmes. A truly inclusive education calls for a cultural shift that supports and nurtures differences. It generates academic as well as social benefits for all, and not just for students with disabilities.

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# Chapter 17

## Freedom from Autonomy: A Critique on the New Managerialism in Higher Education



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Discussions and debates over the future of higher education are a quotidian practice among educational researchers, policy makers and administrators. Researchers and policy analysts are strong in dissecting the past and present of higher education. But they will become speculative when they talk about future of higher education. The present higher education system and its dynamic presciently warn that a high precision on the future of higher education is beyond prediction. However, policy practices in higher education palpably reflect the directions to its future. Often, such policy practices are the offshoot of the changes that happen at the social, political and economic domain of the society. Either they independently or all these domains together or at times some unknown domains can cause policy changes at higher education of a nation. In India, the most concrete change that happened in this direction is the economic reforms that started during the 1990s.

The new economic policy in India, during the 1990s, heralded a volley of changes in its higher education system. It ushered a new managerialism of public sector management and drastic changes in the policy decisions of government. The emergence of this new managerialism has to be viewed in the backdrop of neoliberal policies, the key philosophy that determines the 'nature of education' of our time. The policies framed during this time viewed higher education as a commodity within a larger market. Commodification of higher education and its relationship with globalization and knowledge economies have been theorized and explored by many researchers (Shumar 1997; Clark 1998; Slaughter and Leslie 1999; Bok 2003; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Naidoo and Jamieson 2005). The commodification and privatization of higher education sector demand certain radical changes in the structure and operations of higher education institutions. The social and economic transformation demanded under the sign of free market was implemented through institutional arrangements in a very planned and systematic manner (Connell 2010; Harvey 2005).

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To facilitate the transformation, a new managerialism was implemented in every institution including higher education institutions. The new managerialism did not receive much resistance as they were introduced with the support of a social pedagogy which well convinced the rationale of such changes to the stakeholders involved in it. The social pedagogy designed in the altars of neoliberalism used the technique of governmentality<sup>1</sup> (Foucault 1991) that operates at multiple levels. As pointed out, governmentality operates on individual, classrooms, academic programme and the institution through promoting a sense of self-management through responsabilization (Peters 2005). Responsibilization is ensured through the regulation of the population (Simons 2006) where all actions of the institutions are made accountable (Lolich 2011). Responsibilization is a form of self-management which shifts the choice making and responsibility from the shoulders of government to individual institutions and citizens.

There is an omnipresence of the new managerialism in Indian higher education system, which gradually started looming in the 1980s and became palpable in continuation to the new economic policy during the early 1990s. This new managerialism impressed all the stakeholders of education through its focus on input–output relationship, which was a least concern for Indian higher education system at that time. With the bulwark of optimum utilization of results, in line with business style practices, a volley of new practices were introduced in the higher education system. All these strategies deepen the control over higher education by the neoliberal forces.<sup>2</sup> This paper mainly discusses three major strategies of new managerialism practised in Indian higher education system. The first one is the adoption of market strategies to increase the performance and productivity of the market. This is done through a series of commissions and committees which have brought out important policy advices to the government. All these committees have advocated policy changes in higher education to convert the functioning of higher education institutions in line with business organizations. The second one is the augmented role of regulatory agencies paired with autonomy. Though autonomy and regulation are contradictory, the new managerialism practised in Indian higher education system provides ample scope for its acquiesced operation. A feeling of absolute autonomy at one hand and dictation of quality parameters through regulations have become the part of common sense of Indian higher education system. The third strategy of the new managerialism discussed in this paper is the drive for a common standardized educational product. The new managerial attempt for the standardization of educational products in India is done not using coercive measures. Rather, the soft power is used to unify the educational output. All these new managerial strategies practised in higher education system are the corollary of a New Public Management (NPM) system practised in the public governance.

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<sup>1</sup>Refers to the way in which the state exercises control over, or governs, the body of its populace.

<sup>2</sup>Neoliberal forces include market and its various supportive systems including government and its various regulatory systems and international agencies that have the capacity to influence higher education system either through power or through soft means like reputation earned through intellectual capital.



## **New Public Management and New Vistas of Governance**

Higher education institutions are working in an atmosphere where there is an increased pressure working upon them to improve the demand for their product. A general impression among the stakeholders is that such pressures would help to improve the quality of education. This has led to commodification of education where the educational consumers have become the key factor that determines the demand for the product. This has led to the higher education institutions to specialize programmes of specific skills and competences which can find its own market. The way institutions responded to such demands has made them self-governors of their own performance. As the decision of the educational consumers has to be made through informed choices, every institution in a neoliberal market has to showcase the performance indicators to attract students. Self-regulation of the institutions has been normalized and made part of common sense through creating impressions that market is the best educational adviser. This impression was coupled with quantified measurement of performance, self-management and highlighting efficiency as a novel principle of new institutional management. This trend is of course an extension of the New Public Management (NPM) practised in the neoliberal economies.

NPM has been a key characteristic of every neoliberal economies. The NPM proposes economic policies, in line with cameralist perspectives in the seventeenth century, which will strengthen the political power of those who govern the institutions. According to Besley and Peters (2006), features of NPM include ‘a “top-down” orientation; a shared view that thrift is the queen of virtues in public management; a predilection for particular forms of organization; an ascendancy built less on the production of conclusions drawn from “hard data” than on maxims followed by reasons and persuasive examples’. An important feature of NPM in educational management in India was the extra leeway of institutional autonomy. Autonomy included freedom for starting new programmes, courses, deciding the fee structure (leading to wide differences in the fees structure of public-funded universities), offering more freedom for teachers in the form of Choice Based Credit System (CBCS), offering more choices for the students, etc.

For example, the choices available for a student increased over a period of time in India. As part of semesterization, the number of courses offered to the students almost doubled. For example, when I was a student in the year 2000, there were six courses for Master of Education Programme in non-semester annual scheme. The number was the same across disciplines in various Masters Programmes. Out of the six courses available for master of education programme, two were electives. When I became a teacher in a teacher education programme, the semester scheme was introduced with 12 courses in 2 semesters. When choice-based credit system was introduced, that has further accelerated the growth in a number of courses in the form of electives and soft courses. Such growth often provides opportunities for teachers to develop new courses of their competence. Also, it gives an illusion about the institutional autonomy to follow the course curriculum different from the

‘invisible central bank of knowledge’ (Shor 1992)<sup>3</sup> in developing curriculum for new courses. This autonomy was very much restricted in the annual non-semesterized programmes practised during the 1990s. These changes are the best examples of the autonomy provided in higher education system, even in conventional institutions, as a result of the new managerial practices in higher education institutions.

The autonomy offered was coupled with responsibility of the institutional decisions and its results. The institutions and teachers who develop new course syllabi and offer it for the student have sole responsibility for its success and failure. The system of shared responsibility by teachers and institution, institutions and the higher bodies give way to fixation of responsibility to those who are involved in curricular decisions. ‘Responsibilization’ without security, in a period of self-management, is a burden on creativity of the institutions and academics in their curricular decisions. Two important repercussions are unavoidable for higher education institutions in this context. First one is that the institutions may come under the influence of the potential job givers to ensure their survival in the competing market. Autonomy is used as a tool by the institutions to do justice to one’s own responsibility. Often, the endeavours to do justice will be constricted to the efforts for economically efficient production function of the institution. Second, the academics in the institutions as a result of such extensive autonomy for the institution, where they are working, may become circumspect in their academic decisions – for starting new courses, floating new programmes, decisions on evaluations, funded research, etc. – to ensure individual existence. Autonomy and responsibilization on the one hand and question of individual existence and accountability on the other hand work as a decaying substance of academic creativity. Thus, academic creativity stands up in long queue to get certified at the counter of market economy. In a traditional base, superstructure metaphor (Marx 1981) education is the base where the nature of economy and its production function is built up. Under the NPM, the base superstructure model, where in education as base and economy a corollary and built on it, is capized with Economy becoming the base and education a structure built on it.

Public-funded institutions are frequently warned to generate financial resources from students and industries. The future of NPM gives signs of performance management techniques to improve the efficiency of the institutional process. NPM uses incentive as an important strategy to promote the efficiency of the production function. Application of incentive system in educational management will result in the pay fixation of teachers on the basis of the market demand for the courses they handle. The Kakodkar committee report (2011) is an example of this trend. According to the report on ‘Taking IITs to greater excellence and relevance’ (2011), ‘The IITs presently have uniform pay-scales and increments, in the sense that once hired at a certain level (on a fixed pay-scale), all faculty members get the same increments and remuneration year after year. Further, the remuneration is equal for all disciplines. The Board would now be empowered to have different remunerations for different faculty members (based on appraisals) and could give different incre-

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<sup>3</sup> See Empowering Education by Ira Shor for more about the concept ‘Central Bank of Knowledge’.

ments each year'. The report adds that the pay fixation of teachers should 'depend on the performance of the institute and the importance and the market value of the discipline to which the faculty belongs'. Market value of the subject being the index of pay would lead to a new category of teachers who can be called as 'teaching executives'. This group would always be in touch with the market and industrial demands. They will be able to tailor courses of shortest duration fitting to the demands of labour market. Teaching executives may require new set of skills to thrive in the profession. The skills of teaching, research and extension, which are considered to be the most important role of a higher educator, would undergo market change. Most importantly, the skill of teaching would have to be substituted with the 'skill of convincing'. The skill of research would be substituted with the 'skill for fund attraction and consultancy'. The extension role of the teacher would be substituted with the 'auditable social responsibility'.

Kakkodkar committee (2011) has heralded a cusp in the higher education system of India which kindled the thoughts of our policy makers to explore the potential of incentives for extracting more work from the teachers working in IITs. Following the lines of this committee report, there has been a spate of reports and policy decisions from MHRD which promote performance-based incentive system for teachers. Such novel ideas, visibly good but tacitly dangerous, to promote teacher productivity were initially tried out in IITs having a very clear agenda behind it. Being the best institutes in India, it is always easy to adopt the best practices in IITs and IIMs to central universities and state universities. Incentives being a performance management technique will alienate teachers from the process of teaching. Engaging in teaching where the students and teachers look forward to the mutual financial benefit will make attempts to exploit each other. Incentives for promoting the performance of teachers will be just a tip of the iceberg of NPM. It includes a wide array of strategies including contract appointments, performance-based salary, promotions based on performance-based appraisal and quantification of quality into numerals to facilitate the 'objective' assessment of the performance.

Another important trend visible in NPM to improve production at minimum cost is the promotion of contractualism in higher education institutions. All the public-funded higher education institutions are extensively promoting contractualism in higher education. Central universities are best example in this regard. The table below shows the faculty positions of central universities in India by 265th report of the parliamentary standing committee on human resource development (2015–2016) (Table 17.1).

The gap in sanctioned posts and vacant positions is often managed with contract faculties and other temporary appointments. At national level, exact data about the

**Table 17.1** Status of faculty positions in Central Universities in India: sanctioned and vacant positions

Designation	Sanctioned posts	Vacant positions	% of vacancies
Professor	2363	1273	53.87%
Associate professor	4660	2193	47.06%
Assistant professor	9316	2641	28.35%
<b>Total</b>	<b>16,339</b>	<b>6107</b>	<b>37.38%</b>

actual number of vacancies and contract appointments in higher education institutions are not available. This is evident from the recommendation of the report of the parliamentary standing committee on human resource development (2015–16). The committee says that ‘the Committee would appreciate if an assessment of vacancies of teachers in all categories is made across the country on a priority basis’. If reliable national data on vacancy positions and contract appointments are available, that would bring out the quantum of vacancies available and contract appointments made to bridge the gap.

According to All India Survey of Higher Education (2015–2016), there are 112,006 temporary teachers working in colleges and universities in India. Managing higher education through contractualism of teachers is primarily due to economic reasons rather than administrative. In fact, it is the economic reasons that cause delay in administrative decisions about filling the teaching vacancies in higher education institutions. Such economic reasons are often the results of new managerial policies which pay high attention to efficiency of the system in line with business organization. A slight insecurity is always an instrument for better control and more efficient extraction of work from the labourers. The same theory has been applied to higher education system to make teachers insecure and thereby control them and to drive them to the direction desired by those who control. In that way, contractualism is an effective tool of governmentality in higher education system in India.

Contracts are legitimate documents which are made to protect the interest of the powerful engaged in the deed. In education always interest of the institution dominates such contracts. In a nation like India, where unemployment rate at all levels are very high, the job seekers are never in a position to dissent or to offer their views in the contracts made by the institutional authorities. This disadvantage from the part of the employees often makes such contracts highly undemocratic and unipolar by its content and makes it a document to be signed by default. The contracts make very clear definition of the nature of works from those who are employed in it. Also, it helps the institutions to clearly specify the obligations of the employed. Thus, teachers employed in higher education institutions are given a very clear target, objective and measurable, on how to progress in their profession during the contract period. Freedom of a teacher to design and implement new courses in CBCS is a strategy that supports contractualism. When the contract of a bunch of teachers is over, the institution can induct a new bunch of teachers with new courses. Freedom of a teacher to make a new course of interest is a profit-oriented idea wrapped with the value of ‘academic autonomy’. Such impermanence of courses has been labelled under autonomy of teachers and continuous updating of syllabus. All such initiatives which directly or indirectly nurture contractualism in higher education are prepared in the kitchen of NPM.

## **Distribution of Power and Knowledge in New Governance**

Exerting hard power to establish control and disciplinary power is not an agenda of NPM. It has many sophisticated strategies at its disposal for gaining control over academic institutions. One such effective way is making competition as an accepted

value. Competition among faculties, departments and institutions is a form of neoliberal governmentality functioning on universities in India, like elsewhere in the world. Nationwide competition and publication of its results in the public sphere make institutions to compete each other. Such competitions are further encouraged by providing more financial support to highly competitive institutions. The simple logic that it is the poor-performing institutions that need financial support than the high-performing institutions is often forgotten in NPM. The National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) and National Institutional Ranking Framework (NIRF) are indispensable neoliberal tools for normalizing competitive values in Indian higher education institutions.

Competition as a value further normalizes the value of accountability in higher education institutions. Accountability coupled with more autonomy to the institutions, redefined organizational objectives and separated policy advising from policy implementation ushered the higher education institutions closely comparable to business organizations. The efficiency principle used by the new managerialism begets more emphasis on quantifiable input–output measures. Accountability has brought in palpable changes in the role of an academic in higher education institutions. Accountability is an elephant in the room for all those who work in the field of higher education. Accountability measures in higher education institutions have grown exponentially over the last few years across the world. The growth of these policies, rules and regulations seems to be crowding out almost all else, as they come to constitute a new industry, bureaucracy and language (Lissovoy and McLaren 2003).

When accountability is a commonly accepted policy in many nations, it is relatively new for many developing nations. Depending upon the political affinity towards NPM, there exist varied perception and attitude about accountability as policy in higher education system. Neoliberal economies consider accountability as a great idea to ensure efficiency of education system. Nations at the threshold of neoliberalism view accountability as a new idea which needs immediate attention. There are dissents and criticisms as well. For example, in neoliberal economies like the USA, UK and many other nations, accountability is a contested issue among the academics working in higher education institutions.

The very notion of accountability has been conceptualized with wide variance all over. It is important to look into how it is perceived in the contemporary educational literature. According to Romzek (2000), accountability is ‘answerability for performance’. Not much different is the view that accountability is ‘the obligation to report to others, to explain, to justify, to answer questions about how resources have been used, and to what effect’ (Trow 1996, p. 310). Both definitions indicate the importance of a higher authority in the accountability process. It is obvious that such higher authority binds the accountable through pre-set goals to be attained by the accountable. This can be put in the form of a question: Accountability of what and to whom?

In higher education system, this is an important question. The question of what very clearly indicates the academic activity undertaken by the academics in particular and the institution in general. If what to do is very specifically defined in measurable terms, it shall make accountability a very sharp tool to evaluate the performance

of teachers. This raises a supplementary question: who decides what to be done by the academics? This question brings the management, governmental agencies and its policy documents like national curriculum frameworks and other documents which appear as 'suggestive' documents but often conceived as 'order' in the psyche of academic society. The natural mutation of a suggestive document to an order happens due to the fear factor of being digressed from the main stream and the intangible national norms. Such 'suggestive orders' are often designed by a small group of 'experts' whose expertise emanates from various kinds of forces. Influence of their academic work, the authority tacit in the form of institutional representation, cronyism and power of locality and of course political power are some among them. The leeway for the design of a curriculum left with a teacher in a higher education institution is very thin.

Thus, autonomy given to institutions are not autonomy at all, but more stringent regulations paved in a soft form. 'Suggestive orders' are the best examples of soft tools that help disguise the regulation into autonomy. Autonomy can be of two types similar to what Karl Polanyi's (1954) notion of good freedom and bad freedom. When good autonomy is a leverage to promote creativity, democracy and progressiveness, bad autonomy stringently makes institutions accountable to pre-set and undemocratically determined 'academic targets' and ensures mechanical functioning of the system using the soft tools of accountability and auditing. Every such attempt to make higher education accountable is the form of 'governmentality' (Foucault 1991).

The governmentality extends a lot of pressure to the higher education institutions to improve its products. In India, multiple agencies exert pressure on higher education institutions that affect significantly the nature and functions of the institution. All such pressures push the institutions to select the path of market-driven policies to improve its own functioning under the impression that public choice and institutional selection shall drive improvements in learning. To promote public choice and institutional selection, the institutions concede to the demands of consumers which often originate from the epicentre of market. Thus, ultimately, all the institutions become active agents of producing workforce for the market. The national agencies working across institutions have proffered well-documented performance indicators for bolstering the institutions. Following the lines of markets in functioning, objective measurement of performance, monitoring and management systems and emphasis on efficiency become normalizing processes for self-regulation of institutional behaviour (Ferlie et al. 2008).

The origin of an audit culture in line with the neoliberal interests has become prevalent in higher education system in India as a result of neoliberal governmentality. Audit culture demands evidences to prove that the institution is performing things in an efficient and correct way (Apple 2005). The proliferation of audit culture is fast and it spread to almost all spheres of life. According to Leys (2003), 'There is a proliferation of auditing, i.e., the use of business derived concepts of independent supervision to measure and evaluate performance by public agencies and public employees, from civil servants and school teachers to university [faculty] and doctors: environmental audit, value for money audit, management audit, forensic audit,

data audit, intellectual property audit, medical audit, teaching audit and technology audit emerged and, to varying degrees of institutional stability and acceptance, very few people have been left untouched by these developments'. The growth of the audit culture has given birth to a number of inspecting mechanisms. Overlapping inspection mechanisms prevailing in the higher education system is an example. Audit starts from internal cells to external cells at various levels including local to international. Teachers are being audited for their performance in regular intervals by multiple agencies. Never-ending assessments and inspections make institutions as subjects to be assessed at any time. Preparation for being assessed has become the key feature of every higher education institutions.

The ultimate effect of audit culture is making education more business-friendly and importing business models to the core academic activities. The language of privatization and marketization and continuous evaluation have become 'modern' strategies that ensure more productivity. Through diverse forms, such feelings have become common sense – and the critical intuitions that something may be wrong with all of this may slowly wither (Apple 2005).

## **Implications of New Managerialism on Future Higher Education**

The modification of the nature of the total system of higher education implemented in line with the principal agency theory, regulates the role of various elements involved in the higher education system. The principal agency problem occurs when the 'agent' (agencies that represent government) makes decisions on academic matters that have direct impact on the 'principal' (institutions, academics, etc.). Examples are definition of 'quality higher education' by NAAC, UGC and regulatory agencies like NCTE, AICTE, MCI, etc. In all these cases, the 'agencies' take decisions for the institutions and for the people involved in it in a cogent manner which is tacitly bolstered by institutional authority<sup>4</sup> (Collier 1992). Such kinds of changes are often hatched with increased decentralization of powers to the institutions. Increased power through decentralization of power heralds the era of doctrine of self-management (Besley and Peters 2006) in which institutions become accountable for its own activities. Responsibilization of institutions for its own actions proffers more autonomy; at the same time, fixing the culpability of one's own actions has resulted in a 'culture of performance'. Higher education institutions are trying to bring out their best performance which is measured through the market value of the programme run by them. Teachers also are forced to 'perform' to make them relevant to the system. Following the line of 'performance culture', the sixth pay commission implemented (2006) in India for college and university teachers has introduced performance-based appraisal for teachers using academic perfor-

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<sup>4</sup>Legal and statutory power exerted by the agencies to influence other institutions.



mance indicators. Converting the functioning of institutions and academics into 'performance' and representing them with scores provides ample scope for performance management. Performance management works very well in a higher education system where certified knowledge and skills can be used for making profit.

The rare combination of increased autonomy on the one hand at the same time stringent centralization and control on the other has given rise to a new managerialism. In spite of the resistance from several corners in several parts of the world, the new managerialism continues to be a significant influence on our higher education institutions. In many nations, there have been serious attempts to restructure the public-funded institutions (Jessop 2002). Such restructurings were directed towards ensuring the interests of the business and to have state's internal operations model to be in line with business functioning (Apple 2005). Interestingly, the increased autonomy given to the institutions has reduced the academic freedom of the institutions. Accountability and self-management principles have become instrumental for labelling performing institutions and non-performing institutions. The classification of performing and non-performing institutions through the auditing and accountability measures helped the market to commoditize the higher education.

It is very important to figure out from where these philosophical underpinnings come from. It is too easy to say that these are the result of increased privatization, globalization, neoliberalization and from micropolitics (Foucault 1991) of strong and powerful state. There is some truth in all these, but this is not the only apparent reason for zeal for the new managerialism in higher education institutions in India. As Bernstein (1996) and Apple (2001) argue, a particular fraction of the professional and managerial new middle class has been instrumental in bolstering this new managerialism. This professional middle class has high technical expertise and mobility within the nation. This fraction of the professional and managerial middle class has high regard for the efficiency and managerial techniques. Their professional support for accountability and auditing and performance techniques are significant in making them a part of social common sense. It is exactly these support neoliberal forces make use in controlling the education.

The evidence-based accountability and performance management of higher education institutions through the odd combination of autonomy and regulation have foisted the institutions to break the boundaries of welfare concept of education. The percolation of market to the non-market spheres of society is pushed so that profit making and commodification can be more comfortably introduced. As great supporters of efficiency, accountability, audit and performance culture these professional middle class help the new managerial technique sponsored by neoliberal policies to set right the higher education system. The professional middle class are the beneficiary of the compliance to new managerialism who has got enormous opportunity to manage others using the techniques of accountability, auditing and efficiency of performance. Their professional growth and mobility have been the result of the compliance with these managerial policies. The support of such professional groups to these neutral instrumentalities (Apple 2005) for ensuring efficiency and productivity has been highly promoted by this professional middle class. These



groups have been instrumental in making the neoliberal new managerialism a part of social common sense and thereby making its implementation smooth in education.

There is a strong counterpart for the professional groups in education. They are professional managers of educational institutions. These professional managers in education support wielding technology and new managerial techniques as panacea for serious educational problems. These groups strongly believe that such accountability, audit and control are essential for the success of a performing institute. New managerialism and its governmentality are percolated to all spheres of educational practices through these professional groups. Many practices – like teacher assessments, quality maintenance, plethora of testing, evidence-based performance assessments, etc. – followed in higher education provide opportunity for them to be more dynamic and powerful in their roles as managers. Many serious educational problems which need deep cultural, social, economic and political understanding are now taken for granted through the mechanism of new managerialism.

Under neoliberalism, the new managerialism in education is a means to increase profit, accountability and control over the content and also on those who are engaged in the teaching–learning process. Though apparently more autonomy is provided to the institutions, in essence, more control and regulations are imposed through the new managerial instruments. These new managerial instruments restructure the power relations in education. The academic autonomy offered is absolutely pseudo, as it really did not mean giving absolute academic freedom for the institutions. Autonomy for framing new programmes and courses are subject to the approval of market demand; freedom of teacher to use new strategies in the class room is to use technology in class room; modernizing institutions means constructing new buildings and equipping smart class rooms; quality education means ability to decide the number of examinations and assessment patterns; efficiency is to follow a culture of evidence-based system to prove oneself. New managerialism propped up by the neoliberal policies has shackled the meaning of ‘autonomy’ and embedded a new meaning into the word. Autonomy as a means of equipping institutions of global standards has been highly dependent on neoliberal market. Neoliberal governmentality presents the market as a form of conduct or means of regulation (Jankowski and Provezis 2014) in the higher education institutions. What we understood through the neoliberal new management in higher education is that autonomy was a regulatory measure imposed upon higher education institutions!

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# Chapter 18

## Higher Education in India: Refocusing Faculty Development



Neeru Snehi

### Introduction

During the last few decades, thrust for improving quality of higher education across the globe has increased significantly. The increasing demand for skilled and competent personnel in the technology-dominated globalized era has led to enormous expansion of higher education systems in terms of number of institutions, enrolment of students and recruitment of faculty. In addition, introduction of new programmes, increase in student diversity and mobility, awareness and use of technologies have raised challenges for the higher education stakeholders. The needs and characteristics of twenty-first-century students and faculty members are forcing institutions to relook their policies and programmes for improving their status and quality of education across the globe.

One of the significant changes observed is the recognition that faculty development is critical for achieving the intended goals of skills and development among students. The focus on faculty development has increased a lot in the twenty-first century resulting in introduction of faculty development programmes at national and university level in almost all the countries. Countries such as Canada, England, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Japan and the Netherlands have fully developed faculty development programmes while the USA, Germany and Thailand have substantial number of institutions with faculty development activity. In many countries, including India, faculty development initiatives are linked with career progression. However, the trend of growth of these programmes shows variation from one university to another and among countries.

The higher education system in India too has not remained untouched by the changing social scenario. The faculty and its development has always been a stated

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goal in reports of various commissions and committees even from the colonial days. Yet, it has emerged as a serious concern. Emphasis on faculty development is escalating due to a number of factors influencing the higher education system. The ongoing drive for massification of higher education to achieve GER of 30 by the year 2020 is resulting in need for more institutions and, thereby, more faculty to teach the growing number of students. In addition, the present scenario reveals huge shortage of teachers in the system. This raises the issue of efficiency of the system and need for enhancement of teacher productivity through faculty development. Further to become an effective teacher, faculty at higher education level also need to familiarize with the teaching pedagogy in addition to the content knowledge. The changes in pedagogies due to rapid developments in ICTs/digital technology are throwing open the opportunities to learn from various/multiple education modes too. Consequently, the need to prepare skilled and competent faculty required is of utmost importance. This will not only improve teaching-learning but also contribute in managing the shortage of teachers. In addition, colleges and universities are having diverse populations/students with large awareness and expectations in the classroom and need to be responsive to different student needs and learning styles. In order to manage such classrooms, faculty do need support structures for managing learning environment and improving the academic experience of the students. In fact, the whole institution culture calls for realigning it to the emerging scenario for efficient management and functioning. In the context of ever-increasing need for improving the quality of higher education, it is worthwhile to understand the experiences of faculty development initiatives.

The chapter is organized as follows: The chapter begins with a brief introduction followed by an overview of faculty development in the second section. The third section presents the faculty development in India. Based on the discussion in previous section, fourth section discusses the concerns in conceptualization of faculty development. The chapter concludes with closing remarks.

## **Faculty Development: An Overview**

In the academic sector, faculty development is recognized as an endeavour ‘... designed to improve faculty performance in all aspects of their professional lives – as scholars, advisors, academic, leaders and contributors to institutional decisions’ (Nelson 1983 cited in Camblin and Steger 2000). The faculty development movement started in the 1950s to help faculty members provide tips, techniques and skills for teaching (McKeachie 1991). However, Allen (1988) observed that there is little agreement on the meaning of the term ‘faculty development’. Therefore, it is criticized for not having a theoretical backing during the faculty development boom period, i.e. during 1973–1978 (Allen 1988).

The literature reveals the different connotations accorded to the term ‘faculty development’. As early as in the 1970s, faculty development was defined as set of activities designed for renewing or assisting faculty for effectively taking up

multiple roles, to improve an individual's performance and competence, knowledge and skills in the areas of teaching, research and administration (Centra 1976; Nelson 1983; Bland et al. 1990; Sheets and Schwenk 1990). Riegle (1987) observed that the faculty development programmes during this period aimed for instructional development, professional development, organizational development, career development and personal development of faculty. The faculty development programme as a planned change was pointed out by Francis (2016), and he explained it as an institutional process of change that attempts to modify the attitudes, skills and behaviours of faculty to achieve the intended objectives. However, based on these different meanings associated with faculty development during the period, it is visible that faculty development is majorly directed towards instructional improvement, but at the same time, the programmes focus on whole, i.e. personal and professional development. Therefore, the term 'faculty development' is found to be interchangeably used with other descriptors which describe its different aspects, namely, 'instructional development', 'professional development', 'organizational development', 'career development' and 'personal development' (Riegle 1987 cited in Camblin and Steger 2000).

The need for faculty development programmes has grown significantly during the last five decades. The period 1973–1978 is considered as boom period, as a large number of institutions and universities had introduced organized programme or activities for faculty development and improvement (Centra 1976). Despite this, a number of factors contributed in fizzling out of this movement. The reasons cited were that the programmes focused on individual needs rather than institutional needs which made them expendable during fiscal constraints (Toomb 1983); some argued that programmes/practices were based on past practices which are inadequate for improving quality, lack of financial support and lack of prominence in institutional budgets and plans (Preus and Williams 1979; Eble 1985). By the 1990s, the faculty development goals and practices started including theoretical knowledge about teaching and learning, responsive to varying student needs such as student-centred learning experiences through the use of educational technologies. The result was more and more university campuses got involved in organization initiatives for faculty development in the last decade (Sorcinelli et al. 2006).

Even though the drive for faculty development movement lost steam, the demand for a new kind of faculty development programme was raised due to entry of new students in new settings and with new technologies in alternative modes of teaching and learning. The need for faculty development programmes was also argued as traditionally the recruitment of faculty has always been based on the academic skills or disciplinary knowledge rather than pedagogic skills in almost all the countries and there is no prior preparation for teaching profession. Faculty requires self or professional growth. Further, faculty development is needed as academics are expected to do a number of duties along with teaching (Allen 1988).

The focus of faculty development programmes was initially on building capacity of faculty as a scholar which underwent a change by the 1990s. The orientation of faculty development shifted towards preparing teachers to improve the teaching-learning experience of students, i.e. 'to teach faculty members the skills relevant to

their institutional and faculty position and to sustain their vitality, both now and in the future' (Steinert 2000). The different mechanisms designated for faculty development include trainings/courses, academic resource centres, reading rooms, financial outlays for attending sabbaticals, workshops, seminars and conferences, etc. (Sorcinelli et al. 2006). The characteristics of individual faculty members such as way of acquiring knowledge, access to resources, training opportunities and support for professional development and research also affect their professional development (Cherry and Wiles 2010). Further, it is also emphasized that the structures and processes of faculty development should be developed based on the needs of faculty at different stages of their career (Austin and Sorcinelli 2013).

Eble (1985) categorized the faculty development models in vogue during the 1970s into single focus or cafeteria (comprehensive) in their approach. The two basic single-focus approaches included the problem-oriented approach and the collaborative model. The problem-oriented approach involves developing strategies based on a systematic search for problems and issues, while in collaborative approach, the individual faculty works to improve in collaboration with an instructional developer, colleague or professional peer. During the period, many faculty development models were developed focusing on collaborative approach (between a faculty member and an instructional resource professional) and organizational development through planned change. One of the models developed by Odiorne (1984) forwarded the idea of human resources portfolio, i.e. in an organization workforce (faculty) can be grouped according to their productivity and growth potential (stars, workhorses, problem employees and deadwood) so that each group's needs can be taken care of differently. This model implies that the onus of faculty development is on institutional administration.

Austin and Sorcinelli (2013) was of the view that the future of faculty development should focus more on the field of organizational development and the subsequent need for customized programmes at different stages of faculty careers. Yet, no single model has emerged to fully design a strategy for faculty development. Allen (1988) also observed that to develop one comprehensive model for faculty development, it should take into account the nature of human development as faculty members grow, change and have dynamic personality characteristics. Therefore, implying that the faculty development programmes must consider adult development process for achieving the improvement goals.

Traditionally, faculty development activities included sabbatical and paid leaves (for enhancing subject expertise). Availing of these leaves increased during the 1970s and included various activities such as attending advanced courses in a field of study, preparing for conferences and seminars, retooling in another field such as computers and pursuing special research projects. Over the years, faculty development activities have made use of a number of techniques to improve the faculty performance. Currently, a number of faculty development programmes are continuing in higher education institutions across the world. Some of the examples include Teaching Certificate Programs for Junior Faculty at some institutions in the USA

(Fink 2003), Faculty Learning Communities (FLCs) concept developed at Miami University and teaching-learning centres in higher education established in various universities/countries such as the UK, USA and Australia. The Centre for the Enhancement of Teaching and Learning (CETL) at University of Hong Kong (HKU) is a centralized organization serving all faculty members within HKU (Jacob et al. 2015). Other initiatives include subject/discipline-based networks of the UK, ERASMUS Academic Networks in Australia, and Learning networks in the USA. The funding for these networks comes through government higher education bodies, member/partner institutions and contributions from professional/discipline-based societies and associations. Peer-to-peer faculty mentoring and evaluation programmes are also used for professional development purposes in Australia, USA, etc. This brief review reflects that the faculty development and enhancement practices are receiving greater attention and support from national-level education policies and have become important dimension of university functioning.

## **Faculty Development in Indian Universities and Colleges**

Role of faculty in providing quality education remains undisputed even in present digital era. Teacher is at the core of every institution whether it is school, college, university or any other institution of learning. Quality teaching is a sine qua non of a quality learning culture (High Level Group on Modernisation, p. 13). Faculty is facing a rapidly changing education environment and there is a need for faculty to become more creative and effective in their teaching activities. The pressures derived from expanding access, changing paradigms of teaching-learning, pedagogical techniques and technological innovations are raising the demand for equipping faculty to face the emerging scenario. Therefore, the need for faculty development is recognized and its scope is broad, ranging from pedagogical techniques and technological innovations to developing research and writing skills, etc., i.e. to meet their individual needs. In case of higher education sector, all of these challenges have come at time when the complex economic and political climate around the world including India has resulted in reduced funding for higher education. These challenges have further heightened the apprehensions about the quality of higher education being provided to the students as well as preparedness of teachers to do so. This has raised the question how universities and colleges are contributing for professional development of faculty which is confronted by these rapid changes. In fact, the higher education institutions must focus on this aspect so that they do not become obsolete or lag behind. In this context, the approach towards faculty development of university and college teachers in India is discussed in the following paragraphs.



## *The Experience*

The role of teacher and its professional development has always been a major agenda in the reports of various committees and commissions set up in the post-independence period. The view emerged from these commissions reflect a teacher as the one who will influence to develop student's intellect and critical abilities. Radhakrishnan Commission Report (1948–1949) provided a holistic approach for the role and professional training of faculty in Indian higher education institutions. Its recommendations for in-service training paved way for university and college teachers training. The Deshmukh Committee (1959) appointed by UGC also endorsed training of teachers for developing sound domain knowledge and communication abilities which led to organization of summer institutes for the university and college teachers of various disciplines in early the 1960s (Sharma 2003). Unfortunately, this piece-meal approach did not produce the intended results.

In the post-independence period, The Kothari Commission Report (1964–1966) reinforced the need for in-service teachers training but directed the responsibility of preparation of professional teachers on universities themselves. This initiated the universities to introduce programmes for professional development in the 1970s. Further, the Report was the first to suggest for formal and institutionalized arrangement for newly inducted teachers in university and colleges. Despite reinforcing of suggestion by subsequent education commissions and committees, very few universities acted on the recommendation. This led to organization of more short-term or summer institutes. However, attempts in initiating 1-year master courses and diploma in higher education by different universities, professional orientation programme by Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, etc. focused the attention and debate on the nature and quality of these programmes (Panda 2018).

The professional development issue gained attention and led National Commission on Teachers in Higher Education II (GOI 1983–1985) to recommend orientation courses and refresher courses. In view of the Kothari Commission recommendations, NPE 1986 advocated for establishing of Academic Staff Colleges (ASCs). Based on NPE 1986 recommendations, UGC established 48 Academic Staff Colleges for conduction of Orientation and Refresher course for teachers in 1987–1988, under Seventh Five Year Plan. The scheme was extended and at present 66 ASCs are based in different universities across India and function under the changed name Human Resources Development Centres. The Sen Committee (1974) advocated strongly for teachers in higher education regarding the issues related to their problems, facilities, qualifications, remuneration and professional development (Sharma 2003). As a result, UGC launched a major programme of faculty improvement by instituting teacher fellowships to provide opportunities to college teachers to undertake postgraduate and research studies.



## *Emergence of Academic Staff Colleges*

Academic Staff Colleges (ASC) were designed to offer opportunities for professional and career development, initiative for innovation and creative work and proper orientation in concept, techniques and value system to enable the teachers to fulfil their role and responsibilities, thereby enhancing their motivation through systematic orientation in teaching methodologies, pedagogy, etc., for all the new entrants as lecturers. Provision was also made for subject-specific refresher courses for in-service teachers, to cover every teacher at least once in 5 years. Thus, these ASCs started conducting specially designed Orientation Programmes of 4 weeks' duration for newly appointed lecturers and Refresher Courses of 3 weeks' duration for in-service teachers. The UGC initiated the refresher course programmes in 1988–1989, and to supplement the efforts of the ASCs, it identified 154 university departments/institutions on regional or national basis for conducting subject-oriented refresher courses.

Based on the recommendations from various committees, participation in orientation and refresher programmes became mandatory for career advancement and professional development. Panda (2018) reported that a number of studies conducted on the staff development programmes for university and college teachers appreciated the contribution of orientation programme and refresher course in improving skills of participating teachers. Unfortunately, over the years, these programmes are attended by teachers just for certification and career advancement. Moreover, the major concern is that the data on nature and content of professional development programmes conducted, number of teachers participated, etc. by all ASCs is not available in public domain. The reason for non-availability is lack of sharing/dissemination of the data. The evaluation of orientation and refresher programmes, short-term courses, workshops, etc. organized by HRDCs is limited. Therefore, what kind of programmes are organized, how is their content determined, what is the impact of training programme attended, what improvements are needed in the programme, etc. are big concerns.

In general, the participating teachers are of the view that the impact of attending orientation programmes and refresher courses on the faculty, i.e. the contribution of ASCs in faculty development, is the enhanced awareness and development of skills and competencies in teaching and learning. A recent study available on the evaluation of the impact and effectiveness of ASCs by National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) reveals that a major number of ASCs for induction training and refresher programmes have not delivered on their promise of improving faculty quality in any significant manner. ASCs suffer from institutional weaknesses and their programme delivery is rarely effective. All these have been recently reviewed by NAAC (2012). Out of 66 ASCs, only 13 were given the score of performer, while the remaining are categorized as under-performer or non-performer

(<http://www.naac.gov.in/docs/ASC%20-%20Consolidated%20List.pdf>). Based on the review findings, institutional weaknesses in the Academic Staff Colleges need to be removed and a qualitative change in their content and methodology of faculty development must be brought about. ASCs needs to be strengthened in institutional manner based on review findings from NAAC.

The introduction of compulsory UGC National Eligibility Test and State Eligibility Test in 1986 for appointment of assistant professors in universities and colleges was with a view to recruit competent faculty. However, the contestations regarding role of ASCs in such a situation were discussed, and it was argued that the NET/SLET certificate cannot be a substitute for the in-service or pre-service/induction programme meant to provide teaching proficiency to the faulty member. Therefore, it is pertinent to develop programmes for faculty to discharge their responsibilities effectively.

### ***Linking Faculty Development to Career Advancement***

Faculty development had its watershed when NCT recommended making career advancement and professional development 'contingent upon each other and intertwined in a sequential system' (NCT 1985, p. 47). The NCT also cautioned against using seniority as a proxy for merit and suggested that the teacher should be assessed in terms of their functions – teaching, research, extension and administration.

The Mehrotra Committee set up in 1983 by UGC for Scheme of Revision of Pay Scales of Teachers in Universities and Colleges (Report 1986), The Fourth Pay Commission, for the first time proposed a comprehensive scheme of career advancement along with the creation of facilities for the professional development of the teachers. The Committee prescribed participation in orientation programmes for new teachers and refresher courses for teachers in general. For professional development and to encourage continuous self-learning process amongst teachers, the committee recommended participation of teachers in seminars, symposia and conferences and provision of adequate facilities to teachers such as study leave to pursue M.Phil/Ph.D. programmes. The Committee also stated various modes of performance evaluation, namely, evaluation by the students, self-appraisal by the teachers themselves and evaluation by the seniors in the institution and peers in the discipline. Thus, this emerged as the detailed recommendations for career and professional development of teachers. The merit promotion scheme introduced by the UGC in 1983 came in for critical comments by the Committee.

Report of the Committee to Review the Pay Scales of University and College Teachers in 1997 (The Rastogi Committee) recommended for introduction of pre-induction training programmes for the teachers through ASCs. Career advancement of a teacher was to be on the basis of assessment of performance and level of academic excellence achieved. They also advocated for dispensing of the merit promotion scheme, having dual emoluments or any other rewards, that were earlier recommended for career advancement to reward the meritorious teachers.

Further, the focus on faculty development is also visible through the UGC's notifications from time to time regarding 'Minimum Qualifications for Appointment of Teachers and Other Academic Staff in Universities and Colleges and Measures for the Maintenance of Standards in Higher Education', the latest being Regulations, 2016. Currently, faculty appointment and promotion is utilizing Performance-Based Appraisal System (PBAS). This annual assessment too incorporates major information on professional development activities undertaken by faculty. This further endorses the importance associated to faculty development. Keeping in view the large number of faculty, i.e. more than 1.36 million in university and colleges (AISHE 2016–2017), provision of professional development to all is a mammoth task. Moreover, largely, the faculty development initiatives have remained limited to orientation and refresher programmes, again of disputable quality and relevance. The issue needs urgent relook to design a relevant strategy for achieving this elusive goal.

### *Current Initiatives*

The initiatives for enhancing the quality of teaching-learning have been an integral part of academic reforms taking place in Indian higher education system. In this context, during the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–2017), the scheme The Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya National Mission on Teachers and Teaching (PMMNMTT) was approved and implemented. Varghese et al. (2017) noted that 'PMMNMTT is a scheme designed to reinforce teacher competencies and teaching-learning practices to improve quality of higher education in India. It comprehensively addresses all issues related to teachers, teaching, teacher preparation, professional development, curriculum design, developing student assessment and evaluation methodology, research in pedagogy and developing effective pedagogy'. The scheme planned to focus on the following seven components: (i) 30 Schools of Education (in Central Universities); (ii) 50 Centres of Excellence for Curriculum and Pedagogy (these include Centres of Excellence in Science and Mathematics Education (CESME), Teaching Learning Centres (TLCs) and Faculty Development Centres (FDCs); (iii) 2 Inter-University Centres for Teachers Education; (iv) 1 National Resource Centre for Education; (v) 5 Centres for Academic Leadership and Education Management; (vi) Innovations, Awards, Teaching Resource Grant, including Workshop and Seminar; and (vii) Subject Networks for Curricular Renewal and Reforms. These components can be classified into four groups, namely, institution-based, individual-based, network-based and oriented towards academic leadership.

The evaluation of the implementation of scheme revealed that the scheme is successful in mobilizing a large number of top-ranking and high-quality institutions and best minds. It was emphasized that being a major reform initiative, it should be implemented uninterruptedly and uncertainty in continuity should be looked into. Recruitment of staff on project mode is affecting the implementation of pro-

grammes. Other concerns raised by the participating institutions was also address so that implementation of scheme can be strengthened (Varghese et al. 2017).

Further, in response to Rajya Sabha Question, Dr. Satya Pal noted that implementation of scheme has resulted in gainful outcomes such as '(i) pre-service training of teachers in central universities, (ii) specialised research in teacher education undergoing in central universities, (iii) professional development, in-service teacher/faculty training and capacity building done which were propelled by different training programs conducted by the Centres of Excellence in curriculum & pedagogy, (iv) teaching resources being developed which can be categorized into ICT enabled, low cost infrastructure, e-content, course modules, etc., (v) inclusive education and special focus areas in disability studies focus on women's university, teacher education in tribal areas, NER and educationally backward regions, (vi) subject-based networks setup, (vii) academic leadership development training programme for vice-chancellors, principals, HoDs, registrars etc. and (viii) induction training programmes for faculty and academic staff in central and state universities, Centrally Funded Technical Institutions and degree and PG degree colleges to familiarize them in their roles as freshly inducted university teachers' (GOI 2018). However, the important concern is to ascertain the quality of these programmes in terms of their conceptualization and design, their implementation as well as assessing the impact on the trainees for achieving the intended goals.

Thus, the present situation reveals that the in addition to HRDCs, the newly established agencies under PMMMNMTT are also having the mandate to provide professional development opportunities. Majorly, the onus of faculty development lies on the 66 HRDCs established by UGC. Their approach for mandatory faculty development includes attending of orientation programme and refresher course in the respective domains or the interdisciplinary programmes. The objectives of the recently established agencies under PMMMNMTT scheme such as School of Education, teaching-learning centres, subject-based networks, Faculty Development Centres, and Centres for Academic Leadership and Educational Management are also professional development and training. Determination of the equivalence of training programmes attended by the participants under the scheme and those of programmes attended at HRDCs for UGC career advancement scheme/API are under process.

## **Conceptualizing Faculty Development Programme: Key Concerns**

The status of continuing faculty development programme in the country has remained largely unchanged over the years. As mentioned earlier, the current emphasis created by launching of PMMMNMTT and establishment of various agencies under its aegis are providing a platform for its revival. However, it has been observed by participant faculty that the perspective of the programmes being imple-

mented is largely traditional and narrow. It is felt that these programmes are no longer adequately fulfilling the needs of the teachers so as to provide quality education to the diverse new generation of students/learners. In fact, the present scenario requires teachers to meet learner's societal as well as professional demands, and to be able to respond to this new role, appropriate teacher professionalization is needed. The policies and processes of higher education institutions have recognized that faculty development is crucial, but this does not imply that the mechanisms are in place to reassess and revise these programmes to meet the demands for the twenty-first century. The traditional forms of faculty development such as attending of workshops, seminars, sabbaticals, conferences, etc. by providing grants and leave are continuing. In such a scenario, the question that arises is that whether these practices continue to support faculty development or there is a need to revisit them.

### ***Changing Teaching-Learning Scenario***

As discussed earlier, higher education landscape in the country is continuously changing and expects that faculty will evolve and innovate itself to meet these changing needs. Consequently, the focus on faculty and faculty development is on incline. A critical aspect in meeting the demand of effective faculty development is that whether the teaching and learning taking place in the classroom brings forth the intended learning outcomes. This essentially implies that whether a teacher is able to teach in the way the student learns i.e. manage and fulfil the learner's need. The serious concern raised is: are our teachers aware of the changing needs of the learners in the classroom in present era of digital revolution?

Reviewing the literature related to teaching-learning in higher education reflects that implicit theories of learning and teaching range from transmissive/authoritarian to constructivist/democratic approach. Burgoyne and Stuart (1977) explained further that seven theories lie on this spectrum and included one more pragmatic approach which denies the utility of theory. Theories based on transmission approach are teacher-centric, while constructivism on the other hand is based on the learner's ability to receive and build on the knowledge obtained from the classrooms as well as surroundings to use it in their future situations. This implies that both the physical and the social environment are important for learning.

Therefore, the implications for the role of teacher is a shift from teaching paradigm towards a student-centric learning paradigm i.e. 'how students learn' as the core concept and expects a teacher to understand how learners learn. Further, the learners do not learn 'in situ' and being a part of society or socio-cultural environment in which they live constructs their knowledge based on various social interactions. In fact, the extension of the constructivist approach of learning to socio-cultural constructivism stresses the social context, culture and collaborative side of learning as propounded by Vygotsky (1978). Social constructivist approach emphasizes that meaningful learning occurs when there are real-world-related authentic tasks and by means of interaction and collaboration between experts and peers. Authentic tasks

are described as ‘Anything students are expected to do, beyond getting input through reading or listening, in order to learn, practice, apply, evaluate, or in any other way respond to curricular content’ (Brophy and Alleman 1991). Therefore, the learners learn to solve the problems that are similar to real-world problems and are responsible for their own learning. They not only monitor and manage their own learning and performances but also learn and improve when they work collaboratively. Further, the social constructivist approach emphasizes that through this approach, learners possess top-level knowledge and skills such as problem solving, analysis, synthesis, critical thinking and deep understanding in contrast to teacher-centred approaches (Bay et al. 2012). Therefore, in a social constructivist learning environment, teachers’ role changes and is to helping learners to acquire and improve top-level skills like research, problem solving, etc.

On the other hand, a look into the present classroom reveals a conflicting situation. Even today, the teaching-learning process in the classroom is largely traditional, i.e. teacher-centric lecture method and in dire need of paradigm shift. However, in classrooms, not only student composition is diverse; the students/learners today are different, i.e. are more aware and connected, have access to ‘overload’ of information, are adept at using virtual and face-to-face networks in comparison to the ones who attended lectures to take notes, who studied from notes, printed textbooks, frequented library and wrote letters. Their home and learning environment is dominated by use of digital technologies, especially in the urban sector, while rural sector students are also catching up too. Therefore, the skills required by learners to operate and live in the society are much different and faculty is expected to fulfil these changed demands. Further, fulfilling these demands with the existing shortage of teachers and ad hoc teachers as a major component of teachers in the colleges and universities is a huge challenge.

The discussion reflects that the skills and capabilities to be developed by learners today are in tune to the social constructivist approach, whereas we are stuck with traditional approach of teaching in the classrooms, faculty emerges as the vehicle to bring this change, and the mechanism for initiating it is faculty development.

### ***Refocusing Faculty Learning: Incorporating Adult Learning Theory***

Presently, the changing nature of higher education is influencing not only the faculty by placing increasing demands for quality teaching but also the organizational structure of the institutions too. The existing faculty is getting old, being in permanent position brings complacency too, and increasing ad hoc/contractual appointment and no new appointments in permanent positions are the norm of the day. Lack of new faculty appointments are limiting the infusion of new ideas, leadership potential or new innovative techniques in the system. The enhanced need for both the faculty and institution is to seek out the means for refreshing faculty energies

and preventing burnout and promote lifelong learning activities. It is emphasized again and again that for developing and maintaining a robust/relevant higher education environment, faculty development programmes must evolve continuously. As mentioned earlier, that faculty development is gaining attention to meet the challenges of higher education institutions in the twenty-first century, there is need to re-examine the existing programmes and develop strategies for their implementation. The success of faculty development programmes depends on extent of learning and practicing of strategies in the class by the faculty.

The faculty development programmes include different courses/modules for developing faculty knowledge about the dynamic and interactive nature of technology, pedagogy and content. In this context, it is observed that the needs of faculty can be considered as needs of adult learners; and principles of adult learning theory may provide the conceptual means by which to engage faculty in development activities (Knowles 1980). Lawler and King (2000) also pointed out that faculty development activities do not take into account the concepts from the adult education theory and practice, although the participating faculty are adult learners. Smylie (1995) noted that when thinking about professional development of teachers, the practices are 'virtually uninformed by theories of adult learning and change' (p. 93); and Cranton (1996) observed that people who are responsible for instructional and professional development rarely view themselves as educators of adults. Lawler and King (2000) proposed The Adult Learning Model of Faculty Development which provides an organized and strategic framework to focus faculty developers in the field from an adult learning perspective. The Model has four stages: Preplanning, Planning, Delivery and Follow-up. The principles of respect, collaboration, experience, action and participation are integrated in each stage. Since learning does not cease at the close of a seminar or workshop, interest in the faculty's continued learning promotes a positive climate and promotes ownership and interest in future initiatives.

Thus, it can be emphasized that while conceptualizing the programmes for faculty development, both short and long term, they need to be aligned with the changing faculty and learners need.

## Concluding Remarks

Improving the quality of teaching and research in higher education institutions, universities and colleges is a continuing challenge. The role of faculty in higher education institutions is of significance. The national governments, policy-makers and planners, higher education administrators, faculty members, students and the community at large are collectively involved in search for new directions and vision for faculty development. Reviewing the concept of faculty development and existing professional development policies and practices of various universities in different countries revealed different ideas and interventions related to professional development of faculty.

It is evident that overcoming obstacles for excellence in teaching-learning at universities and colleges requires collective efforts, i.e. more than what teachers and



students can accomplish individually. Yet, the faculty members are facing increasing pressures derived from changes in the contemporary educational environment including competition and resource crunch. Consequently, demand for reviewing and strengthening the faculty development initiatives is gaining momentum from every sector. The need for continuous professional development is endorsed at many forums. It is imperative to undertake research and review global faculty development programmes and practices that would be of immense help for policy formulation and its implementation.

In Indian higher education sector, faculty development initiatives started in the 1970s to address the core need of education institutions. However, every institution/university has developed some faculty development mechanisms, even though largely the faculty development initiatives have remained limited to orientation and refresher programmes of ASCs. Unfortunately, due to nearly non-existent dissemination of information about the type of initiatives undertaken by many institutions, the status of such activities remains unexplored. The key issues in designing and implementation of faculty development programmes are how students learn and how faculty learns. In fact, the social constructivist approach and adult learning theory may guide the future development of faculty development programmes. Still, the issue needs urgent relook to design a relevant strategy for achieving this elusive goal. Lifelong learning approach for faculty development may also contribute in achieving the desired outcome.

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# Chapter 19

## Pathways to Internationalization in Indian Higher Education: Reflections on Policy Options



Rashim Wadhwa

### Introduction

Internationalization has become a buzz word all across the globe at policy level including governments and higher education institutions. The meanings and interpretations concerning internationalization have largely been associated with competition and markets in the current literature as the apparatus of internationalization of higher education has altered over the years ranging from individual exchange to collaborative research ventures (Varghese 2008; Haigh 2008; Toyoshima 2007). The systematic pattern of the process of internationalization of higher education has been restored according to the forces of globalization, still recognizing the premise of the nation-state as rightly pointed out by Knight (2008, pp.1) that '*internationalization is changing the world of higher education and globalization is changing the world of internationalization*'. Therefore, the diagonal apparatuses of the process of internationalization are at the cutting edge of intercultural exchange and global market cultural exchange. However, these rather teleological views of internationalization, which incline to see it in terms of its instrumental value alone, have not yet succeeded in capturing its complexity holistically. Indeed, the conceptualization, characteristics, rationales, strategies, and activities across institutions are so varied as to make 'internationalization' an empty signifier. As a result, many countries and higher education institutions are searching for ways to internationalize themselves by integrating intercultural and multicultural dimensions into teaching, research and student services, and India is not an exception (Wadhwa and Jha 2014).

India's drive for internationalization in higher education is quite evident as it has been recognized as a priority area in the Twelfth and Eleventh five-year plan. Some of the initiatives taken by Indian government to promote internationalization include the General Cultural Scholarship Scheme (GCSC) implemented through ICCR

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which encourages student mobility by providing scholarships to countries from Latin America, Africa, and Asia; the Global Initiative for Academic Networks (GIAN) approved by the Government of India which encourages the frequent interaction among teachers and students at the global level; and the Connect to India Programme by MHRD which promotes mobility of students through short-term student programmes (Pawar 2016). Irrespective of that, leading Indian institutions have tie-ups in the form of student exchange programmes and academic collaborations with a number of foreign countries such as the UK-India Education and Research Initiative (UKIERI); the Generation UK India Initiative; the Indo-US twenty-first Century Knowledge Initiative; and the US Fulbright-Nehru fellowships which encourages the relationships between the United States and India through ‘Study in India Programme’, fellowships and institutional collaborations and thus promote internationalization (Pawar 2016). Even, in the new education policy, a special emphasis has been given to the internationalization of higher education. These initiatives and concerns reveal that in the current scenario, the development of the internationalization of Indian higher education has found a central place in the higher education policy. But still, policies in the context of internationalization of Indian higher education have not been accomplished yet. It is high time that Indian policymakers and providers now determine the ways for internationalization at various levels as India failed to attain the reward of internationalization of higher education as compared to its counterparts.

In this context, the present paper attempts to identify the pathways of internationalization in Indian higher education. The paper also attempts to provide insights and to develop a framework of the mentioned initiatives and pathways to enable internationalization. Now, it is high time to materialize internationalization into national and institutional strategies within higher education contexts and how it is to be used as a tool to exalt Indian higher education institutions onto a higher rank and to figure out India’s presence through international activities in a highly competitive global world (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016). The paper is organized as follows: the next section visits the processes and drivers of internationalization of higher education and, in part that follows, discusses the prevalent pathways of internationalization with a detailed analysis of student mobility by putting the case of India. The next section depicts the scenario of emerging pathways of internationalization of higher education in India. Further, the paper identifies and comprehends the prime concern of imbalanced student mobility and the position of India on trade in education services. In the last section, some of the strategies have been proposed to counter these challenges.

## **Internationalization of Higher Education and Its Drivers**

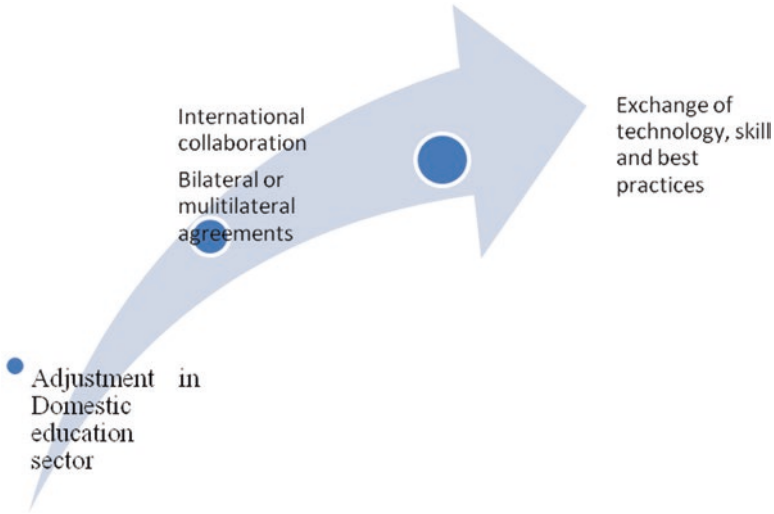
*The ‘conceptual approach to the internationalization of higher education is rooted in the knowledge interchange between and among nations. The process of internationalization has vitalized the economic survival of the countries and has led to*

*increased opportunities for students to enhance their potential at the international standards'* (Wadhwa and Jha 2014). However, the purview of internationalization of higher education has broadened significantly in the current regime by taking into account the mobility of programmes and providers along with the mobility of students, scholars and teachers. Most of the developing countries are revisiting their internationalization strategies with a more holistic approach. In the current arena of internationalization of higher education, many related concepts like transnational education, borderless education, offshore education and cross-border education are emerging. As one of the best-recognized definitions suggests, internationalization is '*the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education*' (Knight 2004).

In contrast to the past, the current form of internationalization of higher education involves not only its legacy of exchange of educational and cultural aspects but also its scope for increasing revenues and skilled workers for host countries and institutions of higher education. In the new phase of internationalization of higher education, the organic composition has changed pertinently from aid to trade, and a shift from co-operative model to competitive model in academic international relations has been noted (Wadhwa and Jha 2014; Wadhwa 2012; De Wit 2010). The existing evidence reveals that the shifting focus of the government and institutional policies on international education has produced a global higher education market, and the major beneficiaries are the developed countries (Wadhwa 2016a, b; Choudaha et al. 2012; Bhandari and Blumenthal 2011; Knight, 2006, 2014; Van der Wende 2002). From the developing countries' perspective, the new ways and means of internationalization of higher education lead towards the massification of higher education. For example, six branch campuses are operating in Malaysia from India, Australia and the United Kingdom (Wadhwa and Jha 2014).

The process of internationalization of higher education takes place with the adjustment made in the domestic education sector according to the effect of global forces, particularly accorded to globalization. Adjustment in the domestic education sector is made to acquire technology, skill and best practices through bilateral and multilateral agreements. In the present context, the basis for bilateral or multilateral agreement is designed to norms and standards set by international organizations like UNESCO. Therefore, the framework provided by GATS allows nations in general and education providers in particular access to the market. The dual force (international organizations and market) acts as reinforcers, which further leads to an adjustment in the domestic market (Fig. 19.1).

Higher education in the current regime is the hegemony of both state and market in contrast to the past where it was controlled by the state. The dominance of the market is infused by charging differential fees to international students (Sanyal and Martin 2008). The reduced funding by the state and expansion of the for-profit sector is reinforcing the commercialization of higher education apparently in contrast to the mutual understanding and capacity-building approach (OECD 2013; Zeleza 2009).

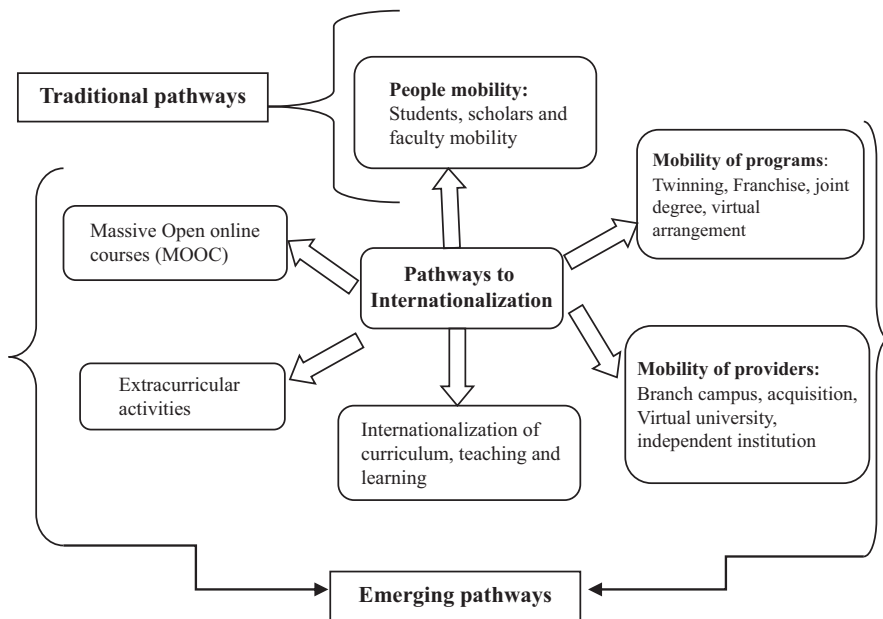


**Fig. 19.1** Process of internationalization of higher education. (Source: Wadhwa and Jha 2014)

This shift is also fuelled with the inception of GATS (General Agreement on Trades and Services) which treats education as commodity or service to be traded commercially across borders. As a result, the majority of the countries are in quest of building their higher education sector to compensate for the skilled labour and generation of additional revenues. In the new phase of internationalization of higher education, along with the mobility of people, mobility of programmes and mobility of providers along with the new means of deliveries and collaborations are rising.

## Pathways to Internationalization

The two major pathways of internationalization identified in the literature are (i) internationalization at home and (ii) internationalization abroad. Internationalization at home implies the activities within the institution's jurisdiction and does not involve the mobility of people and programmes across the nations. Students attain international understanding through the global curriculum transacted in domestic higher education institutions (Knight 2006). In contrast to internationalization at home, internationalization abroad involves the mobility of people along with the programmes and providers across the nations. Academic exchange programmes, collaborative projects and commercial initiatives are some of the channels through which transnational education is taking place (Knight 2006). So, the different facets of internationalization include international mobility of students and faculty, collaboration with foreign providers, the establishment of overseas campuses, adding international curriculum and promotion of cultural activities among others. Each facet provides a potential pathway towards internationalization. Figure 19.2 depicts



**Fig. 19.2** Pathways of internationalization in higher education (Source: Prepared by author)

some of the prevalent pathways of internationalization.

Of all the pathways to the internationalization of higher education, mobility of the people, i.e. students, teachers and scholars, had long been recognized and considered as the traditional pathway of internationalization of higher education. The number of international students has increased more than fivefold, i.e. from 0.8 million to 5.1 million, between 1975 and 2016 (Wadhwa 2018a, b). Furthermore, the number of mobile students will rise to eight million by 2025 (Böhm et al. 2002). So these staggering statistics reveal that international student mobility will continue to rise, which led towards the new pathways of internationalization of higher education. Nowadays, along with the student mobility, mobility of programmes and providers are also taking place, and thus new pathways of internationalization of higher education are emerging out along with the traditional pathways.

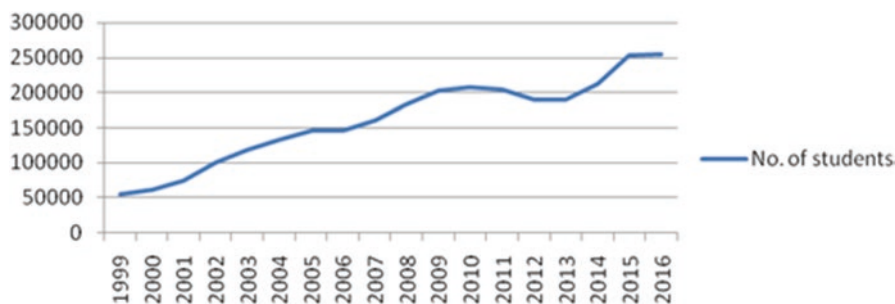
In the current era, new transnationalism is emerging as the strongest pathway of internationalization in which academic institutions operate across the borders through collaborative programmes and distance education. Transnational education is growing and is recognized as an increasingly important part of internationalization portfolios by the government and higher education institutions. For example, China is opening to greater TNE collaboration, with 64 government-approved transnational institutions and more than 1000 TNE programmes reported in June 2015 (He 2016). Initiatives in the area of internationalization of curriculum reveal that 72% of the Canadian universities are engaged in this task (AUCC 2014).

### *Putting the Case of India with Reference to Student Mobility: Traditional Pathway*

Internationalization of higher education in India is not a new phenomenon as the mobility of Indian students and scholars had long been recognized to gain or deliver knowledge. From the time of independence, several Indian scholars have gone abroad for pursuing higher education, and great scholars from all over the world have been attracted by ancient Indian universities like Takshsila, Vikramshila, Vallabhi and Nalanda. In recent times, India shares a high proportion of outbound mobile students (Pawar and Deshmukh 2013; Agarwal 2011). The outbound student mobility in India has increased from 55,444 to 255,030 between 1999 and 2016 as highlighted in Fig. 19.1. There was a gradual increase in the number of outbound international students between 1999 and 2010 from 55,444 to 200,000 but then declined to a little less than 200,000 up to 2013 (Fig. 19.3). From 2013 onwards again, there was a rise in outbound student mobility. The increase was around 25% in the outbound student mobility between 2006 and 2012 (Powar 2014). The decline between 2011 and 2013 period is ascribed to the strong depreciation of the Indian currency against the US dollar and economic recession (ibid).

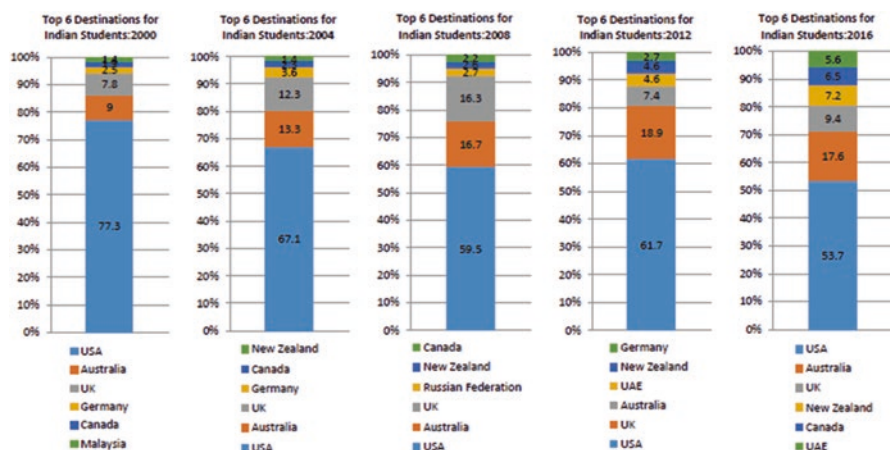
The rising numbers of outbound student mobility have made India as the second most important sending country after China and established itself in the global higher education market (Wadhwa 2016a; Snehi 2013; OECD 2013). By 2024, one in every three outbound higher education students across the globe will be from India and China. It is forecasted that 3.76 lakh of Indian students will travel to enrol in foreign universities by 2024 (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016).

The United States continues to be the most popular destination attracting 112,714 Indian students in 2016, and Indian students make up approximately 13.1% of the total foreign student population in the United States (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016). (UNESCO 2016), although other top destinations have fluctuated in preference for Indian students over the last decade as is evident from Fig. 19.3. The United Kingdom, for instance, although was the second most popular destination for Indian students, had seen its numbers fall from 18,535 in 2010–2011 to 10,235 in 2012–



**Fig. 19.3** Trends in outbound student mobility in India (1999–2016) (Source: UNESCO database on international students at tertiary level (ISCED 5 and 6))





**Fig. 19.4** Top six destination countries for Indian students (Source: UNESCO database on international students at tertiary level (ISCED 5 and 6))

2013 (Sellgren 2014). Australia, Canada and New Zealand have become popular choices for Indian students nowadays because of the bright prospect of migration that they put forward (Powar 2015). Germany is the preferred destination choice among the students because of the low overall cost. The preferred choice of destinations of Indian students across the years is apparent in Fig. 19.4. But in contrast to the past, now Indians study in a more diverse set of countries (Wadhwa 2016a; b; Snehi 2013). Figure 19.4 reveals that although the major destination countries have remained the same for several years, their dominance is steadily declining, with complex changes as other players come onto the field.

In comparison to the steady rise in outbound student mobility, the increase in inbound student mobility in India is disappointing (CII and AIU 2014; British Council 2014). Inbound student mobility has increased from 7000 to 30,423, between 2000–2001 and 2013–2014 (Qamar and Bhalla 2017). A trend analysis of inbound international students highlights that since 1986, the numbers have seen ups and downs. Between the periods of 1986 and 1993, the number of international students increased from 10,877 to 13,707. The decline has taken place between the periods of 1993 and 1998 and touched all-time lowest, i.e. 5323, in 1998. After that, there is a consistent increase in the inbound student mobility, and the number has reached to 30,423 in 2014, as highlighted in Fig. 19.5 (ibid).

Data concerning the distribution of inbound mobile tertiary students are much less evenly distributed than for outbound students. Around 60% of the South Asian countries students is catered by India with Nepal being at the number one position (6009). Afghanistan secured the second position (3855), and Bhutan is at the third position (1201) as highlighted in Fig. 19.6 (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016).

Developing countries are the leading source countries, whereas the representation from the developed countries is minuscule. Among all the Indian higher education institutions hosting international students, Manipal University had the highest

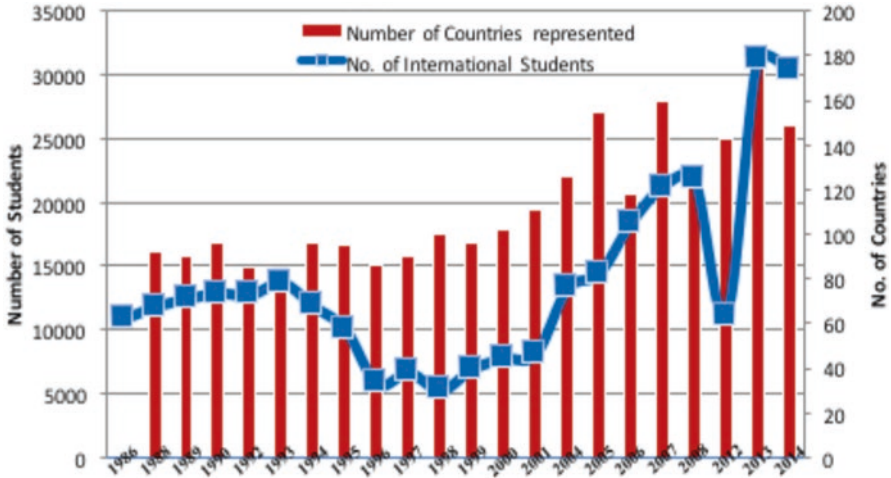


Fig. 19.5 Trends in inbound student mobility (1986–2014) (Source: AIU 2017)

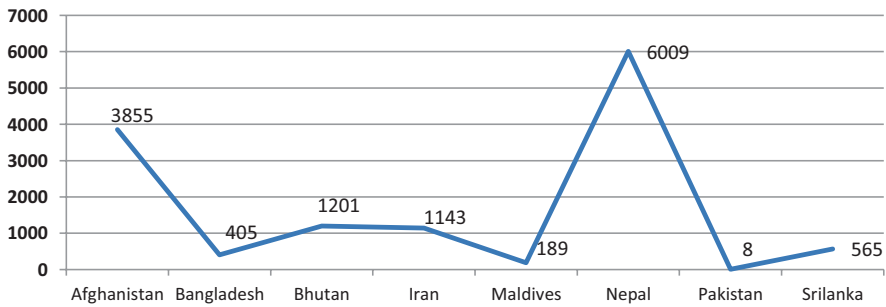


Fig. 19.6 Distribution of inbound international students from South Asian countries. (Source: Qamar and Bhalla 2017)

number, i.e. 2742, with Pune being the most popular destination for international students. Distribution of inbound international students highlights that out of the 27 states/union territories hosting international students, Karnataka secured the first position with 25.86% of all the international students in the country. Maharashtra occupied the second position by sharing 15.18%, and Delhi constituted the third position by sharing 14.95% of the international students (Qamar and Bhalla 2017).

### Net Balance of Inbound and Outbound Mobility

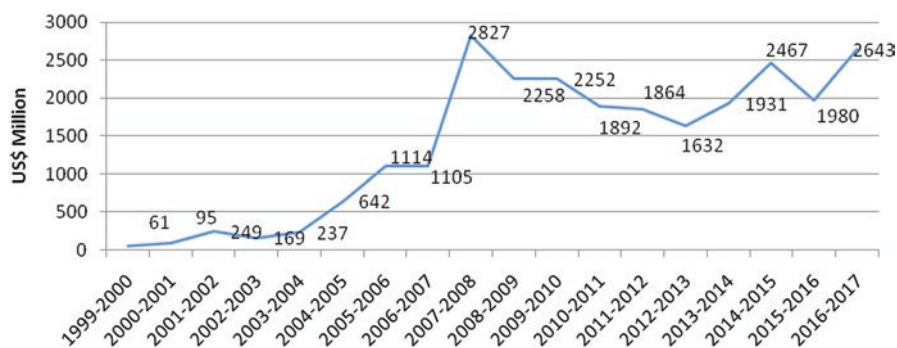
A net balance between the inbound and outbound students reveals that in India, outbound mobile students exceed inbound mobile students. The ratio of inbound to outbound mobility is 1:10 (Powar 2015). Moreover, international students

constitute only 0.6% of the total number of students in Indian higher education. In contrast, the figure is 1.0% for China, 3.7% for the United States, 19.0% for the United Kingdom and 21.4 for Australia (AIU 2017). Within the above context, the major challenge in front of India is the existing imbalance of inbound and outbound student mobility. Due to this imbalanced mobility, a significant amount of revenue is flowing out of the country along with the human capital (Powar 2015; Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016; Wadhwa 2015, 2016a, b).

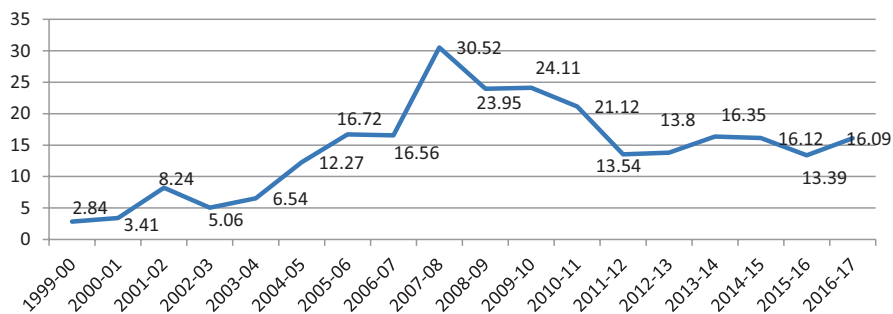
### Shreds of Evidence Concerning Revenue and Human Capital Flow out of the Country

The role of India in exporting services for trade appears to be poor even though higher education in India is no less developed than many other countries in the world. In Fig. 19.7, the trend of India's import for educational services between 1999–2000 and 2016–2017 has been highlighted.

Between 1999/2000 and 2016/2017, the trade in education services under the sector of total import (payments) has increased from US\$61 million to US\$2.6 billion. The existing facts and figures as highlighted in Fig. 19.7 reveal that during the period of 1999/2000 to 2007/2008, import payments were on consistent rise. The trend is fluctuating between the period of 1999/2000 and 2007/2008, and in 2016/2017, the trend is on the rising side. Most probably this trend would be on the rising side in the coming years as the number of students going abroad is increasing. In the Indian context, several push factors play a very pertinent role in the students' decision-making process of going abroad. Literature highlights that the most significant push factor among all is the serious concerns regarding the quality of higher education and the size of the domestic higher education (Mazzarol and Geoffrey 2002; Shen 2005; Wolfeil 2009; Wadhwa 2010; Bhandari and Blumenthal 2011). The existing evidence implies that a majority of Indian students prefer to pursue their higher education from second- and third-tier institutions abroad when they



**Fig. 19.7** India's import (payments) for educational services. (Source: RBI Bulletin of various years)



**Fig. 19.8** Spending on education-related travel. (Source: RBI Bulletin (various years))

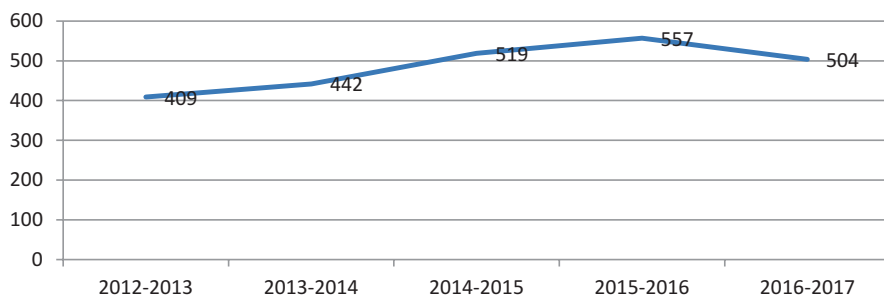
failed to get admission in the quality institutions in India due to domestic constraints (Khadria 2009). Though, in the recent past, there has been a considerable rise in the educational institutions at the higher education level but mainly by private providers. India has also allowed a 100% foreign direct investments at higher education level through automatic route (Dukkipati 2010).

In India, there is evidence which suggests that tough competition in domestic education, especially for prestigious institutions like IIT, IIMS, IISc, AIMS, etc., is an important push factor (Mishra 2012; Khadria 2009; Mazzarol and Geoffrey 2002; Shen 2005; Wolfeil 2009). The constrained domestic capacity leads towards the emergence of poor-quality private higher education institutions charging exorbitant fees to the students. Furthermore, the lack of a strong regulatory mechanism also provides ways to poor-quality foreign institutions to collaborate with unrecognized private institutions (Bhushan 2011).

With the increase in the outbound student mobility across the years, expenditure on education-related travel has also increased, as highlighted in Fig. 19.8. This expenditure comprises a major component of invisible payments on services.

It has increased from 2.84% in 1999–2000 to 30.52 in 2007–2008 as the percentage of the total amount spent on travel (that includes health, business, etc.), and after that, it went down to 16.09 in 2016–2017. The figures in percentages are aggregated and highlight that after 2007–2008, volume increase in education-related travel is slow as compared to other sectors. In absolute terms, the increase was from US\$61 million to US\$2.6 billion between 1999/2000 and 2016/2017. The current figures reveal that the import of services constitutes around 3% of the total payments by India. These facts and figures lead to the pertinent implications for the current account deficit of India.

Moreover, the demand from Asia in general and specifically from India for global education is rising (Wadhwa 2016a, b). In the current scenario, international education is not only in the jurisdiction of the privileged class, but middle-class families are also finding it affordable due to the rising affluence in the emerging nations (Powar 2014). A joint study of ASSOCHAM and TISS highlighted that ‘It is not just the elite who spend generously on good education and credentials; middle-class families also spend their lifetime savings on educating their children abroad in India’ (The Economic Times, March 13, 2015).



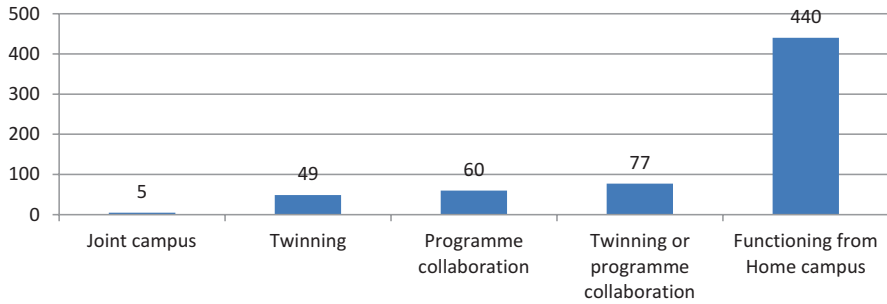
**Fig. 19.9** India's export (payments in million Rs.) for educational services. (Source: RBI Bulletin (various years))

Concerning the revenue coming to India along with international students, not many estimates are available. One rough estimate highlights that international students spend approximately 150 million US dollars (Powar 2015, p.52). Much more authentic data collected by RBI on invisible receipts concerning education-related travel is available from 2012 to 2013 onwards. Figure 19.9 highlights that the total export (payments) has increased from US\$409 million to US\$504 million between 2012/2013 and 2016/2017 under the sector of trade in education services. These facts and figures concerning import and export of educational services highlight the imbalance of revenue flow which is going out and coming in India.

Human capital flow argument reveals that the graduates from India who had completed their degrees from prestigious institutions like IITs and IIMS and had gone abroad for pursuing higher studies reported lower return rate in contrast to the students from other nationalities (Teter and Martin 2014). The existing facts and figures highlight that Indians hold an impressive share of H-1B visa, i.e. 59% of the total, and thus leading across the world (ibid). The retention policies applied by several countries facilitate access to employment and, directly or indirectly, lead to permanent settlement and attract a significant number of Indian students, in particular, to choose these countries as their host destination countries (Wadhwa 2016a). Unfortunately, only some of the Indian graduates are coming back to India to start their careers and writing their success stories.

### *Emerging Pathways of Internationalization*

Recently, the mobility of providers and programmes from one nation to another in the form of branch campuses, franchised degree programmes and distance education is rising at a fast rate and thus paves the pathway for internationalization of higher education. These new emerging pathways of internationalization of higher education are doubly advantageous. On the one side, it will enhance the access for local students by increasing the domestic capacity and, on the other side, assist in augmenting the quality by promoting the notion of competition in the domestic



**Fig. 19.10** International higher education collaboration by type (2010). (Source: British Council 2015)

education sector. The collaborations of Indian institutions across the globe are not very significant as highlighted in Fig. 19.10 (British Council 2015).

As per the data, 49 collaborations with twinning arrangements are prevailing in which an Indian student enrolled through this arrangement completes one part of the studies in overseas higher education institution and the remaining in the local higher education institution in India. Such types of programmes are popular in the Indian context, particularly with the universities of the United Kingdom. Collaborations of the degrees internationally in the form of dual-degree programmes are the foundation of internationalization of higher education in India. Out of the 631 foreign institutions, 440 operated from home campuses, and the remaining 186 managed themselves through twinning or some other provisions with national institutions in 2010 as highlighted in the above figure (Lawton and Kastsomitros 2012). Private institutions like Symbiosis International University, Birla Institute of Technology and Manipal University brag a growing record of collaborative initiatives like twinning, dual-degree and study-abroad programmes. The programmes offered by international higher education collaborators in India are predominantly in the professional areas of management and engineering (Bhushan 2006, 2011).

Setting up overseas campuses is a way of internationalization where the education provider goes to students based in other countries. In the Indian context, a majority of the private institutions have successfully opened their branch campuses in other countries. These branch campuses could be a way to reach a large Indian diaspora population which is located across the globe. Most of the Indian branch campuses are located in the Gulf countries like Mauritius, Fiji, Nepal and Southeast Asia, where Indian-origin people are concentrated (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016). A total of 313 institutions have branch campuses across the world, and a broader picture around the globe reveals that only 50% of the movement has been from North to South and the rest has been South to South or North to North. Data from C-BERT (2017) reveals that seven Indian institutions have campuses overseas, with host countries including the UAE (5), Mauritius and Nepal as highlighted in the Table 19.1. These Indian institutions include BITS, IMT, Manipal University, Amity and Symbiosis International University.

**Table 19.1** Branch campus listing

Institution name	Host country	Home country
Amity University Mauritius	Mauritius	India
Manipal College of Medical Sciences, Nepal	Nepal	India
Amity university Dubai	United Arab Emirates, Dubai	India
Symbiosis international university	United Arab Emirates, Dubai	India
Institute of management technology-Dubai	United Arab Emirates, Dubai	India
Birla institute of technology and science-Dubai campus	United Arab Emirates, Dubai	India
Manipal university Dubai	United Arab Emirates, Dubai	India

Source: C-BERT (2016)

In contrast to branch camping, other collaborative initiatives are much more stable for launching internationalization of higher education in India. Currently, the setup of branch campuses in India is one-way traffic, i.e. India as the ‘home country’. Legislation impediments are not allowing the foreign universities to set up their campuses in India. The existing data highlights that the collaborations of Indian higher education institutions across the globe are low in number, and some of the reasons highlighted in the literature are (1) cumbersome system of approval, (2) information asymmetry and (3) limitations in collaborations across the curriculum, recognition of degrees and funding pattern.

## *Other Pathways to Internationalization*

### **Internationalization of Curriculum**

Nowadays, higher education institutions across the globe are revising and becoming flexible in their syllabi in the context of changing employability demands. Efforts have been done to inculcate the best commercial practices of MNCs, case studies of pertinent countries and socio-economic and cultural environment. For example, 41% of institutions of higher education in Canada reported that internationalization of curriculum was in development, and 8 years later 72% reported being engaged in internationalization of curriculum initiatives (AUCC 2014).

The biggest drawback of the curriculum in the Indian context is its traditional approach and not keeping abreast with the latest approaches of curriculum and methods of teaching-learning processes (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016). Indian universities should look at revising and being flexible in their syllabi in the context of changing employability demands. The programmes offered by the Indian higher education institutions need to be more globalized by embracing a diverse and



dynamic curriculum like case studies and of pertinent countries, focusing on the successful best practices of academic-industry relationships, etc. (Pawar 2016).

### **Internationalization Through Distance Education**

The distance or virtual mode about internationalization is an arrangement where programmes are delivered through online approach in different countries. Ideally, the distance learning programmes should be country-specific and target segment-specific where the education needs of the target student segment are met regarding quality and content. With the expansion of ICT, the delivery of education by distance mode is boosting in the current scenario. Indian universities, such as the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), present some exemplary practices by setting up 300 study centres and offering offshore programmes mostly for the Indian diasporas (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016; Pawar 2016). Apart from that, Indian knowledge corporates such as APTECH, NITT, BITS and TATA Infotech provide profit- and market-oriented programmes to both Indian diasporas and foreign students.

### **Internationalization Through Extracurricular Activities**

The intercultural dimension of internationalization needs to be promoted as it is a way of appreciating the presence of foreign nationalities in Indian campuses (Pawar 2016). Some of the successful initiatives for promoting internationalization through extracurricular activities in India include International Youth Festivals for South Asian countries organized by the AIU (Association of Indian Universities). Another example is the organization of the International Students' Day by the Symbiosis International Universities (Yeravdekar and Tiwari 2016).

### **Big Concerns Confronting India**

The specific concerns which have emerged from the above discussion highlight the challenges which need immediate attention from policy makers if India wants to restore its place in the arena of international higher education. First, the imbalanced mobility leads towards the considerable gap between the export and import of educational services. The monopoly in the export of educational services benefits the developed countries which are leading towards unequal access to the international higher education market among developed and developing countries.

Second, the major aim of India should be to reduce the expenditure related to the import of educational services which is primarily caused by student mobility. Though in the current scenario access has been increased significantly at the higher education level, the quality is still a major concern. IITs and IIMs are very competitive and failed to meet the local demand. Given the limited access to quality educa-



tion in India leads towards the imbalanced flow of inbound and outbound student mobility. Further, there also exists a significant quality gap at the second- and third-tier educational institutions.

Third, there exists a strong linkage between the mobility and migration policies of the host country to compensate for the shortage of skilled labour. The existing evidence in the Indian context highlights that the non-return rate of foreign students for India was 40.33% for the period 1962–1976. Depicting the Indian situation, Khadria (2009) reflected that many of the students from the prestigious institutions like IITs, IIMs, AIIMS, JNU and BHU had gone abroad for pursuing higher studies and then entered the world of labour market and as a result emigrated from India. Brain drain is the biggest challenge for most of the developing countries in general and particularly for India because of the high retention rate of skilled professionals and the increased pressure for trade liberalization. Appropriate strategies should be developed to reduce the brain drain due to growing outbound student mobility.

Fourth, the sustainability of international collaborations is always questionable in India. Most of the existing alliances are for professional courses offered by the private providers with the hidden agenda of earning profit and put quality on the back seat. In the coming scenario, developing countries may be flooded with sub-standard foreign and nonaccredited private providers with the notion of commercialization of higher education and questions on the conventional premise of internationalization of higher education (Bhushan 2011; Dhar and Bhushan, 2008).

### ***Strategies Proposed to Achieve Balanced Mobility***

The emergence of the new global environment has been creating tremendous opportunities for internationalization of higher education in India, but unfortunately, internationalization has so far not been integrated into strategic planning at the majority of Indian higher educational institutions. So far, there is no strategy for internationalization despite the tremendous benefits that could accrue to Indian higher education (Altbach 2008). Till yet, the major focus of the government is to enhance the inbound mobility in India, but unfortunately, the increase in inbound international students in India is depressing. UGC and AIU have already given certain recommendations to promote inbound international mobility in India, but that has not generated a positive outcome. Now it is high time to look for other pathways.

### **Strategies Proposed to Enhance Inbound Mobility**

International students' concentration in the regional pockets leads towards the important implications in the Indian context as the spatial distribution of inbound international students is not uniform. The existing data highlights that international students are confined to some cities and particularly to specific higher education

institutions. For example, cities like Pune (29.30%), Delhi (20.48%) and Manipal (12.78%) constitute the highest number of international students. So the preference of the international students for higher education institutions is not homogenous. The distribution of students in cities is tied to institutions therein. The majority of international students in India study in private universities. To enhance the inbound student mobility, there is a strong need to develop 'special education zone' with a focus on those regions where inbound students are concentrated. States like Punjab, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra have a relatively high enrolment of international students. Perhaps, it would be the more plausible thing to do to groom cities that display the possibility for development into centres of excellence for international education. Cities that are the bastion of international education, such as Pune, have evolved over many decades and have been nourished by a culture that is not only conducive to higher education institutions, industry, research and development but also hospitable to international students. On the same line, different regions should be developed which are concentrated with inbound students or which are having the potential to attract a significant number of international students. The strategy that needs to be adopted is that regional university associations need to be formulated and they should play an active role in the region promoting and supporting student mobility as well as creating programmes on a relatively small scale. Regional education hub should be built up for enhancing access to quality education, and new ways and means of reviving internationalization of higher education need to be explored. To enhance the inbound mobility in India, it is very important to have progressive coordination among the special education zones of the different regions. India is the world leader in science and engineering, business management and traditional areas like yoga, Ayurveda, religion, classical and folk music. Indian educational institutions should provide not only wide-ranging academic offerings but also the safe and comfortable infrastructure for campus life. The Indian government must promote the short-duration certificate programmes especially for the neighbouring countries in the field of computer and linguistics. Programmes like study abroad and study in India must be encouraged. Centralized admission processes would be helpful to international students. For attracting international students, institutions should establish their distinguished position in the educational market. India's recruitment strategies for attracting international students are weak (Agarwal 2010). Moreover, the websites of the Indian higher education institutions failed to provide the pertinent information to the prospective international students which would facilitate their decision regarding the selection of a particular host country and institution. The important information sought by students pertains to visa processing, different programmes provided by institutions, employment opportunities in the host country, work permit, the scope of permanent residence, accommodation, safety and environment. Many of these are sensitive to the problem of information asymmetry (Wadhwa 2016a). Indian higher education institutions should strengthen their operational system to remove the problem of informational asymmetry. An understanding of this by the institutions and the provision of correct information through the website may help to reduce the problem of information asymmetry among students. Moreover, institutions should develop

strategic plans and policies to accommodate the differential needs of the students according to their level of education. Individuals are not buying the international degrees but the full package of services when buying the education product. Institutions should make an effort to make their product different from others. A detailed understanding of the decision-making process of prospective students is very pertinent for institutional leaders, and efforts should be made to put the pertinent information on the institution's website. At the national and institutional level, some strategies need to be adopted like providing better student support services, scholarships for students from developing countries and a quota for foreign students (ibid).

### **Strategies Proposed to Curve Outbound Mobility**

Quality of education is an important weapon to establish competitiveness in the arena of higher education. However, with the change in the typology of international student mobility in the current scenario, apart from the quality of higher education other factors are also acquiring importance. Scope of reducing outbound student mobility remains wide open. The existing facts and figures reveal that academic reputation is the most pertinent reason behind the students' selection of the United States and the United Kingdom as the destination countries for pursuing higher education. In India, there are some institutions like IITs, IIMs, TISS, TIFR and AIIMS that have established their name at the global level, but the combined enrolment in these institutions is less than 1% of the student population. There appears a huge gap within the country. To reduce the outbound student mobility, it is very important to improve the quality of the second- and third-tier institutions along with the increase in the domestic capacity of the higher education institutions.

To enhance quality, several schemes have been introduced by the Indian government from time to time. Recently the introduction of GIAN (Global Initiative for Academic Networks) by the Indian government promotes the frequent interaction among teachers, students and entrepreneurs internationally as the basic purpose of GIAN is to connect centrally recognized institutions notably central universities, IITs, IIMs with the best scholars and institutions in the United States. The UK-India Education and Research Initiative (UKIERI) was launched in 2006 aimed at improving education and research links with India. Interuniversity centres have been established by UGC to provide common advanced centralized facilities/services for universities which are not able to invest heavily in infrastructure and other inputs.

To restore the quality in massive higher education institutions, it is pertinent to look for some sustainable mechanisms which should be dynamic. To build the capacity, replication and scaling of ways and approaches of the pertinent institutions would be done in poorly performing institutions. Leading universities adopt two or three poor-performing institutions and build the capacity of these poor-performing institutions in teaching, research and training. In this process, good practices concerning learning, diversity and creativity would be transferred to these poor-

performing institutions. As we all know, creativity, diversity and learning outcomes are the key buzz words prevailing in the whole policy dialogue of higher education. To ensure quality, we need to ensure these parameters. Moreover, the whole process would lead towards creating new possibilities, for example, linking schools and colleges to higher education institutions and effectively ensuring quality through internal quality assurance cell. In this way, this cycle will continue. When these institutions would be ready, then they will adopt another poor-performing higher education institutions. In this way, the self-producing mechanism of quality will continue.

### **Strategies to Enhance Internationalization at the Institutional Level**

The inclusion of internationalization at the higher education level is very pertinent in the current scenario. It is high time for educational institutions to inculcate contemporary pedagogical practices. Restructuring of the curriculum is the need of the hour by accommodating a choice-based credit system along with the provision of transfer of credits. As the demand for professional education is rising in the present scenario so to capture the current student market, the institutions should provide up-to-date curriculum, and skills should be provided which enables the youth to fit in the highly competitive and professional world. Academic structure, teaching methods and procedures of evaluation need to line up with the international standards. It is important to note that the curriculum of the 'professional education' courses demands a major revision to be at par with the international standards.

For attracting international students, individual institutions should brand the distinct features of their institutions through education fairs and websites of the institutions. There is a strong need for Indian higher education institutions to put special focus on the different promotional strategies. To become a strong player in the international higher education market, India needs to construct a more transparent and quality conscious system of higher education.

Currently, the ways and means of prevailing international collaborations are driven by individual efforts of the private institutions primarily rather than through state policies (Altbach 2008). Currently, internationalization in different states and regions exists in pockets. States should receive more autonomy and adopt new policies and opportunities for international collaboration by taking into account both public and private institutions.

### **Conclusion**

Many countries and academic institutions have elaborated strategies for internationalization, and in contrast to that, India is slow in responding to the process of internationalization despite the tremendous benefits that could accrue to Indian higher education. Some initiatives in the form of establishment of Nalanda University and

the South Asian University are not enough nowadays if India wants to compete at the global level to develop internationally competitive higher education. The evidence provided in this paper reveals that outbound mobility has increased significantly in contrast to inbound mobility. The biggest disadvantage is not only the loss of human capital and revenue, but also Indian institutions are failing in making their institutions more diverse and globally competent. Even the picture is not very hopeful in the areas of teacher exchange and academic and research collaboration. The major rationale for the failure could be ascribed to the lack of clear policy in India to support internationalization.

Now is the time for India to capitalize its strengths. India's strong reputation as a provider of quality higher education in the region is well established in comparison to the comparatively small higher education sector in its neighbouring countries. Moreover, the higher education experience is affordable as compared to other developed nations. The development of 'special education zones' in different regions and introducing a sustainable and dynamic strategy for restoring quality in existing higher education institutions will help India in not only attracting a number of international students but also curve the outflow of Indian students. Currently, the ways and means of prevailing international collaborations are driven by individual efforts of the private institutions primarily rather than through state policies (Altbach 2008). Internationalization exists in different states and regions in pockets. India should undertake measures to add multiple internationalization dimensions to their higher education and thus reap many academic and economic benefits that internationalization offers by adopting new policies and opportunities for international collaboration by taking into account both state and private sectors.

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