A Half-Century of Indian Higher Education: Essays by Philip G. Altbach

Edited by

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PHILIP G. ALTBACH

Philip G. Altbach is J. Donald Monan, S.J. University Professor and Director of the Center for International Higher Education in the Lynch School of Education at Boston College, United States. He was the 2004–06 Distinguished Scholar Leader for the New Century Scholars initiative of the Fulbright program, and in 2010 was an Erudite Scholar of the Government of Kerala in India. He had held professorships at the State University of New York–Buffalo and University of Wisconsin-Madison, and has been a lecturer at Harvard University. He has been a visiting professor at Stanford University, the *Institut de Sciences Politique* in Paris, and at the University of Bombay in India. Altbach has been a Fulbright scholar in India, Malaysia, and Singapore. He has had awards from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and others and a senior scholar of the Taiwan government. He has also been an Onwell Fellow at the University of Hong Kong. He is chairperson of the International Advisory Council of the Graduate School of Education at the Shanghai Jiao Tong University, and is a member of the international advisory committee of the National Research University—Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia, and is a Guest Professor at the Institute of Higher Education at Peking University.

Altbach has been a senior associate of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and served as editor of the *Review of Higher Education, Comparative Education Review*, and as an editor of *Educational*

Policy. His most recent book, coedited with Jamil Salmi, is *The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities.* He is author of *Turmoil and Transition: The International Imperative in Higher Education, Comparative Higher Education, Student Politics in America,* and other books. He coedited the *International Handbook of Higher Education.* Other recent books are *World Class Worldwide: Transforming Research Universities in Asia and Latin America, Leadership for World-Class Universities: Challenges for Developing Countries,* and *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution.*

Professor Altbach did his PhD from the University of Chicago in 1966 on Indian Higher Education, and since then he has been writing on issues on higher education in India.

Foreword

Philip G. Altbach is widely known for his contribution in the field of higher education. Such is his contribution to the field of contemporary global higher education that no researcher on contemporary global higher education in any part of the world can get by without referring to Altbach's works. As an educationalist, Altbach has always been passionate about India, and this passion is reflected through his numerous articles on Indian higher education which always proposed new insights and ideas. In doing so he was able to present a better picture of the various processes of change in Indian higher education during the last five decades and thus able to deepen our understanding from a global perspective.

Altbach is a true legend with one of the most amazing contributions on Indian higher education. As an educationalist studying the developments of post-independent Indian higher education system, Altbach is a master. I know no other scholar who has been continuously contributing to Indian higher education for decades. Among his myriad contributions, the one I cherish the most is his unsurpassed insights into the various contemporary issues related to Indian higher education. His op-ed articles in *The Hindu* are an essential reading for anyone interested in Indian higher education system.

Professor Altbach opened a new path in the study of Indian higher education system. His researches and writings helped the Indian higher education system to make its presence felt on the academic world. From his voluminous contributions on Indian higher education one can notice that he has always been going against stream through his interesting perspectives. His analysis has always been based on an integrated view of educational development, which focused on strengthening the role of the State in the development of the higher education system. This has made him an exemplary researcher on Indian higher education, who can write with a clear analytical mind on various issues like universities and colleges, academic profession, publishing, student politics, and so on, in post-independent India.

Altbach's works on India have set a fine example to India on the importance of promoting policy-relevant research in the field of higher education. Concerns over participation, relevance, quality, and so on, in higher education and research, especially in the context of emerging knowledge society and economy have made research on higher education increasingly important in the Indian context.

During the past five decades, fundamental transition processes have been taking place in the country's higher education sector. In spite of many achievements, actual research on higher education is very limited in the country. A vast majority of the relevant age population are still outside the system. There has always been a lack of institutions which could look into these contexts. Therefore, promoting research on higher education is a key tool for reducing the vulnerable position of the country. Such an initiative would also bring an enriching and up-to-date learning and research environment in the country. Since the landscape of higher education has been changing globally and knowledge production and dissemination involve a vast range of institutions, I strongly feel that research on various issues related to higher education matters more than anything else in defining the future role of Indian higher education system. This would provide an approximation of the strength and weakness of our system. This is also essential to improve and adapt to the emerging demands.

In order to improve higher education policy and practice in the country we need to support research on general policy issues that influence equity issues, institutional organization, and governance in the country. We also need to continuously observe higher educational systems existing in different parts of the world, not only the systems existing in advanced countries but also the excellent examples set out by China and small countries like South Korea, Singapore, and so on, where higher education policy and practice have been strategically interlinked to research and innovation. Besides this, we also have to create an institutional set up to provide up to date and quality data on the system.

The competitiveness of our economy in the future will depend largely on innovations and a large amount of scholarship has shown that the role of higher education is central to this process. How we educate our future generation is therefore very significant. Despite many achievements, the country is going downhill in research and studies on higher education. Therefore, we must have a national research strategy for promoting studies on higher education. Of course, it is a big challenge. But I am optimistic. The 12th five-year plan of the country has already recognized this strategy and underlined the importance of creating major research infrastructure

in higher education policy and practice. However, without appropriate facilities—both physical and human—we cannot move forward. Hence, it is necessary to ensure an environment in our universities to provide a new platform that delivers the best possible outcomes. In today's interconnected world, fast changing technology makes this process easy.

It is in this context that we should really appreciate the contributions of Professor Altbach who not only set an example and new standards for studies in Indian higher education but also taught us how to explore many impenetrable paths in Indian higher education. This volume is in many ways a fitting capstone to a career spent researching and documenting changes in Indian higher education during the last five decades.

Dr Narendra Jadhav
Member, Planning Commission,
Government of India

Preface

Philip G. Altbach's writings on Indian higher education provide an invaluable insight into various issues that India's higher education system has been confronted with over the last five decades. His research papers and articles on Indian higher education, published in books, journals, periodicals, and newspapers, not only established him as a noted expert on Indian higher education, but also inspired numerous studies in related areas.

This volume reproduces and brings together 34 seminal essays written by Altbach over the years beginning from the early 1970s. These cover a wide range of issues from policy to practice, changing landscape of Indian higher education, knowledge production and distribution, academic profession, globalization, academic publishing, campus politics and comparative studies on Indian and Chinese systems. Together these essays provide a comprehensive overview of the development of higher education in post-Independence India in a simple yet gripping style and affirm Altbach's enduring commitment to this area.

The book is organized into seven main sections: (*i*) Higher education and modernization, (*ii*) Academic profession, (*iii*) Regional issues and challenges, (*iv*) Globalization and open-door policies, (*v*) Publishing in India, (*vi*) Campus politics, and (*vii*) India and China: a comparative analysis. Each section begins with a short essay by an eminent educationist with deep understanding of the realities of Indian education today. These essays reflect upon Altbach's views and analysis in the respective section in the context of contemporary realties of Indian higher education. These essays are resplendent additions to this volume.

The first section is on higher education and modernization. Eight essays in this section provide an insight into the state of higher education in the country. Some of the essays place the institutions—both universities and colleges—in a social, political, and historical context and discuss their

relations to society and patterns of growth. Connecting the social goals of education to modernization and nation building, these essays look at the opportunities and challenges that India's higher education faces in the twenty-first century knowledge race. In the last essay in this section, coauthored with Narayana Jayaram, Altbach underscores the importance of taking advantage of India's demographic dividend in the coming years.

The second section on academic profession has two essays. In this section, Altbach examines various issues related to the academic profession in India and its role in a modernizing and rapidly changing society. The principal object of study in this section is the ambivalent role of the teacher as an individual with inadequate income, declining social status, and so on.

The third section on regional issues and challenges has five essays and brings out some of the issues that have regional or local focus, but could have implications for the system at large.

The fourth section on globalization and open-door policies has four essays and covers some of Altbach's most recent work on issues like the entry of foreign universities in India, creation of world-class universities and the implications of global academic revolution for India. These are complemented by an analysis of various issues related to massification, quality assurance, accountability, development of information and communications technology, changing research environment and so forth.

The fifth section that has five essays is on publishing in India and covers some of the most brilliant and pioneering studies on knowledge production and distribution in the country. This section discusses a range of topics related to the role of publishing enterprise in the intellectual and educational life, which includes regional language publishing, foreign involvement in publication and distribution of books, academic publishing, and a few case studies.

The sixth section is on campus politics. It has seven essays that offer a striking analysis of the social and educational context of the student movement in the 1960s. Written in the characteristically lucid style, articles in this section highlight the transformation of the political student movement and youth culture in the country. By examining the regional variations and radical direction of student participation in politics, this section gives an international perspective to the issue and seeks to identify some of the broader generalizations that can be made about this phenomenon in Indian higher education.

The seventh and last section of the book is on India and China: a comparative analysis. Three essays in this section provide a comprehensive and comparative analysis of development of higher education and research

in both the countries. This section also discusses the Indian and Chinese experience of the academic profession and academic culture, research focused programs, access and equity challenges, private provision, and so forth.

The book ends with an essay by Altbach on India's higher education challenges and an interview with him on massification and its unanticipated consequences. These two original contributions by Altbach for this book are very significant. They lucidly capture his views on the recent developments in Indian higher education. Finally, I have contributed a short essay on the future of Indian higher education as I see it. As a die-hard optimist, I reflect upon the recent developments in the Indian higher education and tend to believe that India's higher education despite its myriad challenges is on the right course of change.

Pawan Agarwal

Introduction

Philip G. Altbach

With an interest in Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and non-violence, I took the South Asian Civilization sequence at the University of Chicago, as an undergraduate in 1961. My interest in India was deepened by studying with Professor Edward Shils in Chicago's Committee on Social Thought. Shils had a deep interest in India and wrote an insightful book on Indian intellectuals. Later, in about 1963, when it came time to choose a dissertation topic, and with the help of a fellowship from a program administered by the University of Michigan, it was possible to go to India, and so I chose to go to Bombay in order to study the history of the student political movement. The Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs took its time to grant permission to study this topic, but eventually it was approved. My interest in this topic came from my own involvement in student politics at home, my interest in India, and my belief that higher education was a significant area for research and understanding.

I landed in Bombay in 1964, with precious little knowledge of the details of my topic but with a reasonable grasp of Indian society and politics, due to my academic training. Since there was no information available on the student movement, I was researching an entirely blank slate. I was able to affiliate with the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay, and benefited from excellent mentors there, including Professor A. R. Desai. I started by delving into historical sources, including reading the back issues of the *Bombay Chronicle*, huge bound volumes of which were fetched for me from the Maharashtra State Archives, located behind Elphinstone College, and literally tossed to the ground by staff members, amidst great clouds of dust. Much more importantly, I was able to interview many of the alumni of the student movement which was active during the Independence struggle in Bombay.

My interest moved beyond the role of students in the Independence movement and into student organizations in the 1960s in Bombay, and I decided to include contemporary groups in my dissertation. I actively interviewed student leaders from left to right, visited many of the colleges to examine student activities, and got a sense of higher education in the 1960s. Much to my amazement, doors were always open to a young graduate student from the United States interested in themes seldom studied by scholars. I attended the national conference of the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad in Nagpur and numerous other meetings of groups from all parts of the political spectrum. When I finished my research, and was about to leave India, a group of alumni of the Independence struggle hosted a reception thanking me for telling their story. The dissertation was submitted to the University of Chicago and in 1968 was published as a book, entitled *Student Politics in Bombay,* by Asia Publishing House.

While living in Bombay in 1964, I met Sachin Chaudhuri, the founding editor of the *Economic Weekly,* later the *Economic and Political Weekly,* resulting in a 40-year relationship with that distinguished publication. I wrote news summaries and editorials, summarizing stories from the *Economist* and other international publications that were of interest to an Indian audience. This exercise gave me invaluable training in writing succinctly and on deadline—skills that have proved invaluable over the course of my career. Later, when I returned to India, I worked with Krishna Raj, who succeeded Sachin Chaudhuri as editor of the *Economic and Political Weekly.*

My academic career started in the United States as an assistant professor of education and Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin, where I was able to teach about Indian education. I returned to Bombay in 1968 as a Fulbright Research Professor, again affiliated to the University of Bombay's sociology department. This time, my research focus was on higher education, and I researched the culture of the University of Bombay and its affiliated colleges, spending time on several of the colleges and again benefiting immensely from the cooperation of many academic colleagues. My research resulted in a short book, *The University in Transition: An Indian Case Study*, published in India by Lalvani Publishing House and in the United States by Schenkman, in 1972. In addition, I edited several books relating to student political activism, including *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India* (Lalvani Publishing House, 1968; and Basic Books, New York, 1968).

While in Bombay, due in part to my work at *Economic and Political Weekly* and also writing occasionally for the *Times of India*, as well as due to my contacts with several Indian publishers, I became interested in the Indian publishing industry and how it worked. This research was published in *Publishing in India: An Analysis*, published by Oxford University Press in Delhi in 1975. I also wrote a case study of publishing in the Marathi language.

My work on Indian higher education was immensely strengthened by colleagues in India and particularly by my collaboration with Suma Chitnis and Amrik Singh, both later became distinguished vice-chancellors and re-searchers on higher education. In 1979, with Suma Chitnis, I coedited *The Indian Academic Profession.* Chitnis and I also coedited *Higher Education Reform in India: Experience and Perspectives*, in 1993, based on research funded by the World Bank. I coedited with Amrik Singh *The Higher Learning in India*, one of the first analyses of higher education, published in 1974. I also hosted Amrik Singh as a Fulbright scholar at the University of Wisconsin, and Suma Chitnis as a Fulbrighter at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where I taught from 1975 to 1994.

Between 1964 and the 1970s I visited India almost annually. By the 1980s, my academic interests were less focused on India, and I was able to travel there less frequently, although I kept writing occasionally for the *Economic and Political Weekly* and other publications.

In 2010, at the invitation of the Government of Kerala, I returned to India, specifically to Kerala, for several weeks of intensive lecturing through-out the state.

I suspect that I may be the only American researcher who has kept up a fairly steady interest in Indian higher education for half a century. It is certainly true that few non-Indian scholars have a continuing interest in this topic. During the past several decades, I have contributed numerous articles to journals and magazines in India and the West, concerning Indian higher education. I have been particularly gratified to be able to contribute to the continuing debates about Indian higher education, through many op-ed articles in *The Hindu.*

Over the years I have watched Indian postsecondary education expand tremendously, although I have been dismayed to see that the quality of the system as a whole has not improved—and perhaps has even deterio-rated. I have been impressed by a few parts of the system, including some

distinguished colleges that have managed, against all odds, to keep high standards of quality, and of course the Indian Institutes of Technology and related specialized institutions. The Achilles' heel of India's vast higher education system are most of the traditional universities and the myriad of undergraduate colleges that are affiliated to them. The proliferation of "deemed" universities and similar private postsecondary institutions has, by and large, weakened the system as a whole.

I have tremendously valued my involvement with Indian higher education over almost a half-century and hope that I have contributed to a broader understanding of the problems and possibilities of Indian higher education.

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SECTION I

Higher Education and Modernization

Challenges of Modernization in Higher Education

Fazal Rizvi

Professor Philip Altbach's interest in Indian higher education stretches back to the 1960s. He first wrote about India as a graduate student and has, over the years, continued to track the ways in which public policies in India have sought to shape and expand its system of higher education. He has examined the various attempts India has made to address issues of access and equity, instructional quality and research performance, and funding and governance. Many of his papers have compared India's strategies of institutional reform with those pursued in other countries in an effort to provide an understanding of the distinctive challenges India faces of higher education reform. His many insights have not only helped scholars around the world appreciate the complexities of Indian higher education but have also contributed to policy analysis, planning, and evaluation within India.

Central to Professor Altbach's analysis is the notion of modernization. He has sought to explain how India's universities have sought to become modern and how they have interpreted their responsibility for the modernization of India's economy, politics, and society. In his paper, "Higher Education and Modernization," Altbach (1974) argues that there are many routes to modernization in developing countries, but crucial among them is higher education. This is so because it is through higher learning that citizens develop a sense of national unity, acquire technical training necessary for modern industry, and educate teachers and administrators who can spread modern attitudes and techniques. Without a focus on higher education, Altbach maintains, no amount of economic and social effort is sufficient to achieve the objectives of national development and progress.

Professor Altbach recognizes of course that modernization is a highly contested idea. Yet he is equally convinced that, despite differences on the margin, attempts at modernization demand policies and practices that drive

a society toward industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization. In this way, modernization is tied conceptually to ideological forms first articulated in the West. Nowhere is this more evident, Altbach suggests, than in the basic structure, curriculum, and orientation of universities in most developing countries, including India, where the colonial heritage of the Indian system of higher education remains largely intact, despite its postcolonial nationalist aspirations. Indeed, university education in India continues to place an emphasis on the values of individualism, secularism, rationality, and, to a lesser extent, cosmopolitanism. Ultimately, its vision of progress continues to mimic Western traditions of knowledge creation and dissemination.

This normative understanding of modernization is implicit in most of Professor Altbach's writings on Indian higher education, even if no explicitly stated. Indeed, in recent years, he has written widely on the extent to which Indian universities have failed to live up to their modernist ideals, even as the Indian economic system now has. In an article published in 2006 in the *Wilson Quarterly*, Altbach notes, for example, that while India is now among the front ranks of emerging economies, its universities and colleges remain mired in the past and might even be moving backward. Even as India enjoys one of fastest growing economies in the world, mainly through global trade in knowledge-intensive services, the quality of its universities and colleges is deteriorating. Altbach points to the paradox of India succeeding in the global economy *despite* the poor instructional quality in its universities, together with the absence of an adequate research culture.

While the Indian system of higher education has grown rapidly in recent decades, Professor Altbach argues, the many more Indian students who now have access to higher education are not provided with the kind of intellectual training they need to thrive in the global economy. They are prepared adequately enough for routine jobs, but without the critical and creative skills required to become major producers of new knowledge and applications. In the end, Altbach insists that the Indian system of higher education cannot afford to remain trapped within its outmoded academic traditions, but needs to modernize its institutions, perhaps by following the examples of China, South Korea, and Singapore. If the Indian universities are to develop the capacity to compete successfully with the world's best, then to begin with, the Indian government needs to double its investment in public higher education, which is currently less than 2 percent.

Professor Altbach recognizes of course that an inadequate level of investment, clearly visible in the poor quality of its libraries, information

technology, laboratories, and classrooms, is not the only challenge facing Indian higher education. There is a range of other obstacles to genuine improvement. These include an outmoded system of governance, corruption in the processes of student admission and staff appointment, as well as accreditation and accountability structures across universities and their affiliated colleges that remain ineffective. More broadly, Altbach has also commented on the dilemmas of Indian federalism, which leaves the funding and governance of a vast majority of India's universities and colleges to the vagaries of the highly politicized provincial governments.

Despite these challenges, Professor Altbach believes that India has the residual potential to develop a world class system of higher education, not least because it enjoys a number of significant advantages such as its so-called demographic dividend, with almost half of its working population consisting of youth (15–34 years old), its English-speaking middle class, and its globally influential diasporic networks. To modernize its system of higher education he recommends a combination of specific conditions and resources, including sustained financial support, with an appropriate mix of accountability and autonomy; the development of a clearly differentiated academic system; well-planned and executed managerial reforms; and truly meritocratic appointments and promotions policies, along with honest recruitment, selection, and instruction of students. Furthermore, to realize the abundant potential India clearly has of becoming a world powerhouse in higher education, Altbach insists India needs to create a dozen or more comprehensive research universities that can compete internationally, engaging more creatively with the global processes that are affecting higher education everywhere.

Professor Altbach's observations about the policy reforms that are urgently needed in Indian higher education are highly instructive. However, his analysis is less clear when it comes to the deeply ideological debates surrounding these reforms. Many of these debates are focused on the notion of modernization itself. Avijit Pathak (2006) has written eloquently about the complex trajectory of Indian modernity, suggesting that the response of Indian institutions to modernity has been complex and divergent. He has argued that while Indian universities have always aspired to modernity, they have refused to universalize its core ideals and achievements. During the colonial period, for example, even as Indian universities were required to embrace the view of modernity they had inherited from the British, many Indian scholars confronted and critiqued the oppressive practices associated with colonial modernity. Yet, their progressive nationalist agenda was never consistent across the key claims of modernity.

Indeed, the Indian constitution may itself be viewed as an embodiment of India's collective postcolonial aspirations that sought to reconcile the modern values of republicanism, individual rights, and secularism with a commitment to social welfare and justice, as well as many of India's distinctive traditions. Not surprisingly therefore the significance attached to modernity has never been entirely shared by the Indian community. Ambedkar's vision of modernization was, for example, uncompromising, deeply rooted in the Enlightenment values of equality, liberty, and fraternity. For him, modernity needed to play a historic role in India, to fight caste hierarchy and introduce machinery, technology, and science for liberating the masses. This view was in a stark contrast with Gandhi's critique of modernization. Gandhi's moral and spiritual approach underlined the importance of tradition. And while India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, celebrated science and technology as the language of development, directed toward an emancipatory quest for a new India free from hierarchical structures, he also saw value in the traditions and mysteries of Indian civilization, even if he never managed entirely to reconcile these competing threads in his philosophical outlook.

These debates over the political meaning of modernity persist in contemporary India, defining much of the controversy about the role Indian universities must play in the processes of economic and social development. They are especially salient in the current era of globalization for, as Anthony Giddens (1991) argues, globalization is a logical consequence of modernity itself. Like modernity, globalization is inherently universalizing in nature: It knows no borders and its technologies transcend territorial boundaries. In India, most debates about globalization and, by implication, modernization are couched in terms of the extent to which it represents another form of Westernization, and therefore poses major threats to local cultural traditions. The ultranationalist parties in India, for example, construct their political identity around an anti-foreign attitude, together with a rejection of all things modern, which often include what they view as Western science and technology. They argue that, for India to preserve its postcolonial aspirations, its cultural institutions must resist and reject foreign inputs. This view is evident, for example, in the vehement opposition to the prospects of entry into India of foreign universities.

In contrast, those who favor India's participation in the global economy regard globalization as an opportunity to show the capacity of Indians for creative ingenuity and innovation. They regard the globalization of Indian economy, for example, as a major stride towards modernity. For them, global exchange of ideas represents a vital resource for reforming India's

core institutions, including higher education. Globalization, they argue, has the potential to assist Indian universities in working towards the reforms that have long eluded them. In the context of seismic shifts globally in the processes of knowledge production, dissemination, and utilization, new practices of higher education governance are now emerging. These practices point to the emergence of a global market in higher education. The Indian globalists insist that Indian universities need to understand these trends, fully participate in the global market, and accordingly imagine and enact new formations in Indian higher education, possibly through global collaborations.

These are profoundly complex debates, which have made difficult the task of reaching a political settlement about the priorities of reform in Indian higher education. They have polarized political positions in India both about modernity and about the role of higher education in modernizing Indian society. But this polarity rests on some deeply troublesome misconceptions, including the folly of conflating the ideas of modernization and westernization. In his book, *The Argumentative Indian* (2005), Amartya Sen has shown how modernization predates westernization and how the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century drew substantially on earlier work in mathematics and science done by the Arabs, the Chinese, the Indians, and others. Indeed, the values of independent thinking and scientific rationality and criticism have always been a part of Indian scholarly traditions. Mistaken also is the assumption that globalization is necessarily a threat to Indian traditions, that it must necessarily be view through the prism of neoliberalism and that none of its possibilities have the potential to benefit greatly the Indian system of higher education.

Indeed, it should be possible for India to imagine a distinctively Indian form of modernity, which values the spirit of individual freedom without abandoning its commitment to community, which celebrates both scientific rationality and religion. It should be possible for Indian universities to collaborate with foreign universities without accepting the asymmetrical logic of the global markets. It should be possible for Indian higher education to reject some of the most destructive aspects of neoliberal governance without abandoning a quest for the modernization of its curriculum and pedagogy, working towards administrative reforms that are based on both India's cultural traditions and good ideas whatever their origin. Indeed, perhaps more ambitiously, it should be possible for India to attempt to steer the emerging global architecture of higher education towards patterns of collaboration based on the principles of mutuality, reciprocity, and genuine cooperation.

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The Permanent Crisis of Indian Higher Education

Philip G. Altbach

India is a country of permanent crisis. Observers, both Indian and foreign, point to divisive tendencies such as regionalism, communalism and caste. Yet, things seem to continue more or less as before. No revolutionary upheavals are experienced, and the nation is able somehow to maintain itself. There is no more dramatic example of this combination of crisis and status-quo than the Indian university. Hardly a week goes by without some government official or vice-chancellor demanding drastic changes in the educational system. Yet, the University has remained virtually unchanged for a century. As perhaps in Hinduism itself, much has been added on to the basic structure of the Indian university, but very little has been torn away. The result is, of course, educational chaos, but it is chaos which seems to function, and which, moreover, serves the purposes of those using the system reasonably well.

I

Universities do not exist in a vacuum. They are necessarily closely tied to the societies of which they are a part. Even the medieval European university, seemingly so detached and spiritual, was a key element in the

training of clergymen and bureaucrats. Universities in the modern world have assumed an importance to their societies which was undreamed of in earlier periods, and the American term 'multiversity' connotes an institution at the very centre of national life. The universities in the advanced industrialized nations have become so important in terms of providing the research and training necessary for technological advancement that they are considered among the key institutions of their societies.

Universities have taken on a number of vital social functions in modern societies. They not only provide the increasingly complex and lengthy training necessary for the upper levels of advanced societies, but they also act as a recruiting and socializing agency for the elite of most advanced societies. Even in England, one of the last strongholds of a class-based university system, increasing numbers of middle class students are entering the universities. One of the most important functions of modern universities is in the area of research. Higher educational institutions are expected to advance knowledge in a wide variety of fields, and are particularly important in the area of scientific development. This relatively new function of the university, which dates back to the mid-19th century when the German universities became centres of research and captured world scientific leadership for Germany, has assumed overwhelming importance in most industrialized nations. Finally, universities are expected to train and socialize a governing elite. This is a particularly important function in societies which profess democracy and in which the elite is recruited from a wide variety of social classes.

The development of universities in the advanced nations of the West has a particular importance for India, since the Indian universities have been copied from the West and follow basically Western organizational and intellectual patterns. Furthermore, higher education must necessarily play an important role in India's social, political, and technological development, although it is certainly not the panacea which some educationists and many politicians say that it is. It is curious that of the two readily available British university patterns which might have been applied in India in the 19th century, it was the University of London which provided the model. London, the utilitarian middle class university, made a much more useful model than the aristocratic and intellectual Oxbridge pattern. Higher education was not supposed to train an Indian intellectual class which would eventually drive the British from the subcontinent, but to provide the middle level manpower necessary for the clerical work of the Raj.

It is from this close link between government and university that the modern Indian university has developed. Post-independence Indian

higher education presents a curious combination of close links between the university and government on the one hand, and virtually unplanned and random growth on the other. It is not that higher education has lacked sufficient planning—governmental commissions dealing with higher education have produced numerous reports of varied quality—but there has not been the will or the resources to implement these plans and recommendations.

The quantitive growth of the universities has been impressive. India's university system is now the third largest in the world, after the United States and the Soviet Union, and higher education has been made available to increasingly broad segments of the population. But university growth has at the same time been virtually directionless. Colleges have been founded for the most part by private initiative and without relation to any overall educational plan. Once in existence, it has been difficult for the universities to influence college policies or to close down a college which does not meet university standards. Efforts to upgrade higher education have been of an *ad hoc* nature, and no one has advocated basic structural changes in the universities or a reversal of basic direction, such as the trend toward continual expansion of enrolments and institutions. Even the establishment of the Indian Institutes of Technology was not accompanied by any programme for upgrading science education. As a result, the IITs have been able to maintain their own high standards, but virtually no impact on the university situation as a whole.

It is no doubt very difficult to provide any overall direction to higher education or even to suggest meaningful guidelines. Education is, after all, a state subject, and there are a number of agencies which deal with higher education. College education, despite its diminishing economic rewards, is still very much in demand, particularly from newly vocal and politically potent elements in the population who have previously been denied higher training. Thus, despite the financial outlays required, the path of least resistance has been virtually unplanned expansion of the university system. And this has been the path followed in India since 1947.

II

Implicit in all discussions concerning higher education in India is the crucial ingredient of politics. The main reason for the expansion of the universities has been political. Groups applied pressure for expansion, local politicians wanted to use colleges as a base of operations, and educational

politicians desired to expand their empires. Advocating any limiting of university education is tantamount to political suicide, and professors and vice-chancellors are no more immune to political suicide than are legislators or ministers. To say that Indian higher education is strongly influenced by political considerations is not to attack it, but simply to point to a crucial fact. Universities in all nations are sensitive to political considerations from the broader society—and in some, such as the Soviet Union, political aspects often outweigh the academic. The major university systems of the West which India has sought to emulate, particularly that of Great Britain, have been able to build up some insulation from politics over the years and are able to maintain a substantial degree of academic independence. The Indian universities, however, have been unable to build up this immunity. This inability is in part due to the fact that the universities must have substantial government aid in order to survive and function in an economy of scarcity in any case, and in part to the fact that there have never been strong traditions of academic independence in the universities.

Another factor which has worked against academic independence in many countries, including India, is the increasingly important role which universities play in national life. When the universities in Britain and America were simply finishing schools for the elite and had no major place in the political and economic structures of the nation, it was possible to permit substantial academic autonomy, simply because universities were peripheral institutions. As universities have become more vital in the West, they have found themselves under growing governmental pressure. American students can no longer riot with impunity—whenever there is a student disturbance national attention and pressure is focussed on the university involved. The large amounts of government money which are being poured into the universities in most countries bring some degree of government scrutiny. To paraphrase the French statesman Clemenceau, higher education has become too important to be left to the educators.

India is particularly unfortunate in the area of academic autonomy, since the Indian university was created by government for rather specific purposes, and never went through a period of undisturbed development at the edge of national life. From the beginning, the British had rather specific tasks for higher education in India—to train secondary level manpower for administrative positions.

The post-independence period has been a continued and enhanced relationship between higher education and politics. It is almost an axiom that politics is an important part of most aspects of society in developing

countries, and the universities are certainly not immune to this politicization. Without strong traditions of immunity from politics, and indeed with strong tendencies built up during the Independence struggle in the direction of involvement of university students and others in political life, it has been natural that higher education should continue to be highly political.

The political orientation of universities manifests itself in a number of ways. There is, first and perhaps most importantly, a very close relationship between the university and government. Universities are, in fact, creatures of the state government. The chancellor is normally the governor of the state, and the vice-chancellor, as chief administrative officer, is also an appointee of the state. The overwhelming portion of university funds and an increasing proportion of college finances come from the state governments. It has been natural that government officials should take a substantial interest in university affairs. It is just as natural that the style and substance of politics on the state level should be infused into the universities. The recent dispute concerning the appointment of the vice-chancellor of Osmania University, which pitted the government against a section of the teaching staff of the university, is but the most graphic example of this trend. Because the university is an arm of the state, and it is also the source of large expenditure of funds and of prestige, it has assumed importance as a political institution.

In many countries universities have become a source of local and national prestige and power. In India, colleges and universities have also become sources of political power in local areas. After all, a college is often an important local institution employing many of the best educated persons in a given locality. Control of a college means important patronage, not only in terms of providing jobs, from peon to professor, but in terms of preferential admissions and social mobility for individuals and families. Thus, many colleges have been founded by politicians interested in creating a firm local power base, or by businessmen impelled in part by philanthropic motives and in part by a desire to increase their influence in the community. In neither case are the motives for founding colleges primarily educational, and the educational aspects of the institutions are bound to suffer. It is also true that it has proved difficult, if not impossible, for universities to refuse affiliation to colleges. Local pressures on the university to affiliate a college or to permit the establishment of a new institution are tremendous and usually overwhelming. As a result, colleges have been founded in many areas without adequate financial backing or physical facilities, and with little thought about future educational developments in the region.

III

The politicization of higher education has had some major implications for university development and for educational policy. It would seem, also, that a reversal of current trends toward politicization will be impossible to stop if the public debates over educational issues is any indication. The continued expansion of colleges and universities is a key aspect of political considerations in educational non-policy in India. While almost all commentators, from the University Grants Commission on down, agree that haphazard expansion must be stopped, statistics indicate that the growth of colleges and the increase in student enrolments continue unabated. Colleges enrolling under one hundred students, universally recognized an uneconomical and educationally sub-standard, continue to function without any limitation from the universities, which are supposedly the guardians of educational standards. It seems inconceivable that, given the pressures toward expansion discussed above, an effective halt in unplanned expansion can be achieved. And if the limited financial and human resources available to higher education are spent on an ever increasing number of institutions, it is inevitable that standards will decline.

Another aspect of the direction of educational policy discussion in India is the protracted debate over the question of medium of instruction in the universities. While the language question has stimulated endless discussion in the press and elsewhere, few of the debates have been based on much analytical thinking concerning the issue, and few commentators have maintained an intellectually consistent argument. In the debates which have taken place, even the position of Dr Triguna Sen, the Union education minister, has become blurred. Even in so dispassionate and rational a city as Bombay, which prides itself on its cosmopolitanism, the discussions concerning the medium of instruction in the university have become clouded with regionalism and a general fuzzyness of thought. The University of Bombay has appointed several committees to study the question, beginning as early as 1955, and each of these committees has come up with a different approach to the problem. Curiously, most of the findings of these committees have been in line with government policy at the time, and one of the problems has been that the government itself has changed its policy several times.

Decisions, of course, are taken regardless of the kind of discussion of alternative policies. In much of northern India, Hindi has been adopted as the medium of instruction and examination in colleges up to the B.A. level, and it is now expanding to the M.A. level in arts subjects. A recent Lucknow

University decision to make Hindi the sole medium of examination has received some comment in the press, but has not been given the attention that an extremely important and possibly trend-setting decision might be expected to attract. In other areas, moves toward the use of regional languages in the colleges are taking place, although again usually without full and serious discussion. Universities must act on the language question, and very often the pressures of politics both within and outside the institution take the place of full debate.

Politics plays a role in other, much more mundane, ways in Indian universities. Where politics overwhelms the functioning of the institution, as has happened several times at Allahabad and Osmania universities and quite recently again at Benares Hindu University, the university grinds to a halt. But these are the exceptions to the rule and it is usually possible for universities and colleges to continue to function despite political intrigues and considerations in many aspects of decision-making. It is impossible to document aspects of politics in local college and university situations, in part because political considerations are so widespread and in part because thorough research has been conducted only in a few places. But every college teacher can document these generalizations from his own experiences. Political (and regional and communal) interference in college admissions in many areas, political pressures in appointments to boards of studies, examinerships, and other university posts, are more the rule than the exception. Most of the time, university politics does not concern broader ideological or national issues, but rather local and often parochial questions. In a society of scarcity, as Myron Weiner has pointed out, the allocation of scarce resources becomes a matter of substantial importance, and university personnel are no more immune to this generalization than their supposedly less idealistic compeers outside the educational sphere.

IV

How, one might ask, is the current situation to be improved? Certainly the main ingredient for constructive educational change is the *will* to change, and the ability to take appropriate decisions effectively at all levels of the educational system. One must also know how to change and what aspects of the system require alteration or reform. Even in this area, Indian higher education requires not only the raw data of research but also the detailed analysis of the social scientist. Unfortunately, research concerning various aspects of higher education has been scanty if not entirely lacking. It is

curious that academicians have been so slow to examine their own institutions, particularly when there is widespread agreement that reform is desirable even if difficult to implement.

It is clear that without adequate information concerning higher education effective decision-making is impossible. Some information concerning the universities is available—we know how many students are attending colleges, we know about the alarming rate of 'wastage' in many institutions, and we know about the growth of enrolments and institutions. But the areas of almost total ignorance concerning higher education are much more extensive. The reasons for this rather startling lack of data concerning university education in India are not difficult to discern. Research on universities has really just begun in most Western nations, and academics have been notably reluctant to do research on their own institutions. Even now more is known about the American labour movement, for example, than the universities. In India too there is a reticence on the part of the universities to wash their dirty linen in public. It is better, some think, to avoid all investigation than to run the risk of unpleasant or controversial disclosures. And, indeed, where careful investigations have been made of universities, the results have often proved embarrassing to some. Furthermore, there is still the myth that the university in India remains out of politics, although much of the foregoing discussion has indicated that this is clearly not the case.

Some of the problems confronting university-oriented research face research in general in India. These problems, which have recently been highlighted by the case of Dr. Khorana's Nobel prize, have been discussed at length in the press although it seems that very little has been done to change the situation. Certainly one of the most serious criticisms of the Indian university is its top-down, often stifling bureaucratic structure. This structure is as true of the college department as it is of the research laboratory. In such a situation, the position of the department or laboratory head, or for that matter the college principal, as petty raja in his little kingdom, is unchallenged and very often extremely stifling for younger faculty members. There is, furthermore, little or no emphasis on research or even on creative thought at the college level. It is almost impossible to get time off from teaching for research and post-graduate research fellowships are extremely rare. The situation is better in university departments, but only a small minority of teachers are located there. And, of course, there is the inevitable problem of lack of financial resources for research.

Not the least of the problems facing high quality academic research in India, on the universities or any other subject, is the fact that with very few exceptions, Indian higher education is not research oriented. In many

subjects, even post-graduate education is oriented toward reproducing the contents of books rather than in creative research work. In addition, in a number of social fields, there is precious little methodological training given, with the inevitable result that students are unable to evaluate research or to devise effective research projects. If the American university is characterized by an ethic of "publish or perish," then the Indian university is based on the idea of the survival of everyone at a minimum level almost regardless of performance. While the American model can certainly be taken too far, as it has in some American universities, more emphasis on published research would certainly be welcome in Indian colleges and universities. In addition, post-graduate education should make an effort to provide methodological as well as substantive training to students, and to use the most up-to-date books available. This is as true in the social sciences as in the natural sciences.

V

The amount of information which is not available concerning higher education in India is startling. We know very little, for example, about the social class origins of the student population, or about the changes in the composition of the student population over the years. There has been a substantial impact of students coming from rural and lower middle class backgrounds into the colleges for the first time, but a clear understanding of the nature and implications of this impact is lacking. The Indian student is a key to an understanding of the institution of the university, and is certainly important in his own right, yet he is almost an unknown quantity.

The professoriate is even more anonymous. Just who are the men and women who teach the almost 20 lakh students in the universities? What are their social class and regional origins? College and university teachers constitute one of the most articulate and well educated groups in the population, a group of possible political importance and with a potential for national development. Their attitudes toward their institutions and toward the political and social life of the nation may be of importance for the students, and is significant in and of itself. Yet, there have been few studies of the professoriate.

These are but a few areas which urgently require careful research if basic policy decisions are to be based on rational judgements. It is true that good research is not easy to produce—it takes initiative and intellectual stamina. It also requires methodological sophistication and a desire to do good work.

Research also costs money, but the amounts needed for many kinds of well-planned research are surprisingly small, especially compared to the huge sums which are often wasted on ill-conceived educational projects. One need not be bitten by the American computer bug; serious research can be conducted by using small, carefully selected samples and relatively elementary methods of analysis. Survey research is but one of the tools of the social scientist for research in higher education. To be really effective, however, research on universities must have the encouragement, both official and unofficial, of the policy makers both in the universities and in government.

VI

Research, however insightful, cannot solve problems, it can only point the way toward solutions. Thus, any discussion of the future of higher education in India must necessarily return to politics, and to the relationship between the universities and colleges and the society which seems to be all but smothering them. Is there a will for change, and if such a will exists, is it possible to implement changes in the context of Indian reality?

The picture is certainly not entirely bleak. Some creative thinking is taking place, and a few educational institutions have tried, with surprising success, to introduce innovations and upgrade standards. The Indian Institutes of Technology have been a success in terms of providing high quality technical education for some of India's brightest students. But the research potential of the IITs has so far not been adequately utilized. Recent innovations in the humanities and social sciences at some of the IITs also hold some promise for the future. If nothing else, the Institutes of Technology prove that it is possible to maintain educational institutions of the highest quality if sufficient resources are provided and if enrolments are carefully controlled. A number of colleges have tried experiments of various kinds and have shown that with substantial efforts standards can be maintained. But even these institutions admit that they are often fighting an uphill battle. Some of the recommendations of the Education Commission, particularly in the area of allowing more autonomy to individual colleges, also hold some promise.

But overall there is less cause for optimism. The overwhelming political problems involved in university reform, some of which have been discussed above, remain a substantial obstacle for change. It seems impossible to envisage a halt in college growth in the near future because of continuing demand for college education and the inability of government authorities to resist this demand. Unless adequate research on such issues as the language

question is undertaken immediately, and the entire climate of discussion changes, it is unlikely that this important issue will be rationally discussed, or that educationally sound decisions will be taken.

In the midst of the permanent crisis of the Indian university, the system does continue to function and grow. With minor disruptions, the universities continue to grant degrees which, despite substantial employment problems for graduates, are useful to those who obtain them. Indeed, if one compares the student movements which paralyzed Paris and West Berlin recently to even the most volatile of Indian universities, one will find the Indian situation surprisingly calm despite the fact that conditions are much less favourable in India. Overall, it is likely that there will be no massive educational reform, and that at the same time the system will continue to function normally. The status quo does not provide much cause for optimism, but as stated earlier, the Indian university does serve those elements in the society which hold political and economic power.

2

Problems of University Reform[1]

Philip G. Altbach

While it can be argued that India's universities have successfully provided valuable services to Indian society, for they have been an important route of social mobility and have trained the skilled manpower needed by India's modern economy, most observers agree that Indian universities need major overhaul. The nature of the 'university crisis' in India is clear from even a cursory reading of the newspapers. Disruption of academic life is endemic, there is dissatisfaction with deteriorating standards of instruction, the examination system is in a shambles, overexpansion of facilities has led to substantial unemployment of educated manpower, and the universities have become involved in factional and ideological politics. In addition, official commissions and others have tried to change the universities in the past without much success.

We have defined "reform" as planned change in universities or colleges aimed at improving aspects of the academic environment. In India, these changes have generally been suggested by official commissions or committees, although they have originated at times from other sources. The discussion focuses on the "mainstream" universities—those which follow the original "London model" and which enroll some 90 per cent of India's postsecondary students. The newer institutions, such as the Institutes of

Technology and the various research institutes, have been the most innovative, but they have remained outside the main current of the universities, precisely because the older institutions have been unwilling or unable to change.

This essay does not deal with the problems of educational planning to any major extent, although reform and planning are (or should be) linked. As will be noted, planning in higher education has not been either very comprehensive or successful in India, although it is by no means clear that long-range educational planning can be effective in any society.[2] This essay analyzes the process and problems of university reform in India. To illustrate the situation in a specific institution, the University of Bombay is highlighted as a case study.[3] It is not the purpose of this essay to denigrate the achievements of Indian higher education nor to claim that it has served no useful role in Indian society; it rather focuses on some of the problems which the universities have themselves identified and the solutions which have been proposed.

Indian higher education exhibits a curious combination of organizational stability in the face of rapid growth in recent years and substantial unrest from students and, to some extent, faculty. The structure of Indian higher education is immersed in the colonial past. The four original universities were founded by the British in 1857, and the institutions that have emerged since have retained a similar organizational pattern. This pattern reflects that of the University of London, and until recently has meant that the Indian universities were largely affiliating and examining bodies with little intellectual life of their own.[4] The purpose of early Indian universities as defined by the British was to train personnel to fill middle level positions in the government bureaucracy. The system thus emphasized fluency in English, understanding the functioning of the colonial government machinery, and general loyalty to the colonial regime. The curriculum was largely humanistic with little attention to the sciences or applied subjects. Those who took advantage of colonial education were confined to the very small Indian urban middle class who were attracted to it because it offered social mobility and prestigious jobs in the government. While there have been some changes in the structure of governance and in curriculum, the basic pattern of higher education in India which was set in the mid-nineteenth century remains to the present.

Indian higher education has seen massive numerical growth, despite occasional pleas from planners and official government commissions that uncontrolled expansion would have negative effects on standards of instruction, physical facilities, and employment for graduates.[5] In the period prior

to 1947, growth was modest: enrolment went from 23,000 in 1901 to 225,000 in 1946.[6] However, between 1961 and 1971, the number of students increased from 980,000 to 2,700,000. The universities have opened their doors increasingly to all segments of the urban population (20 per cent of India's total), and recently to rural young people as well. An academic degree has become necessary for most jobs. Thus, while the value of education has changed, the curriculum offered by most colleges has not changed since the colonial period.

In short, Indian higher education has grown by accretion in the past quarter century, and there has been little clear planning based on either the needs of the broader society as defined by government in the various five year plans or the wishes of the academic community. Rather, layers have been added onto the existing university system and occasionally new and innovative institutions created without fundamentally altering higher education as a whole. This is as true in terms of curriculum change as it is of structural change and growth. The core curriculum for the arts and sciences has not changed much, rather new subjects have been added and syllabi updated from time to time. Basic rethinking or change has, with few exceptions, not occurred. The universities have developed in a *laissez faire* manner despite the commitment of the Indian government to planning as the basis of economic and social development.

Higher education has developed in response to "market demands," political pressure, and other external influence since Independence. Government reports and official commissions have had some impact on various segments of the universities, but in the main they have not determined growth or direction. This trend is borne out by Glynn Wood's study of private colleges in Mysore, which shows that individual initiative and public demand were more responsible for educational expansion than government policy.[7] Regional and other pressures have in some instances dictated the placement of new universities. In short, higher education has resisted planning, evidenced by its continued growth despite planners' pleas that expansion proceed at a slower and more orderly pace. Reform has not often been possible within most established institutions of higher education. Powerful groups within the university—faculty, college trustees and managements, university administrators, and sometimes students—have often opposed reforms because they feared that any innovation would threaten both their status and livelihood. Any change that might remotely threaten established academic jobs is resisted strongly, since employment is difficult to obtain and a great premium is placed on job security. Thus, established universities have been extremely difficult to change and most of the innovation, both in terms of structure and curriculum, has occurred in the new institutes.

The Historical Context

Despite a rather unimpressive record, educational reform and planning efforts have a long history in India. The founding of the first three universities in 1857 at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras did, in a sense, reflect the need for reform. Many educators felt that the proliferation of colleges in India in the early nineteenth century with no means of insuring minimum quality was unfortunate. The demand for British-style higher education was growing and private Indian interests were organizing colleges to meet this demand. The universities, therefore, were established to maintain control over collegiate education and insure that minimum standards were met. In the earliest period, the universities fulfilled only examining and inspecting functions. The subsequent history of Indian higher education is the history of efforts to maintain administrative control over and minimum academic standards in the ever increasing number of colleges. Thus, reforms which aimed at diminishing the centralized power of the universities—and many have been focused in this direction—have met with firm resistance.

The first major official inquiry on university education took place in 1882 under the Indian Education Commission. The Commission, however, made few recommendations about the functioning of the universities. Due in part to an expansion of secondary education, the number of students seeking admission to the colleges increased substantially after 1882 as jobs both in government service and in the private sector opened up. The 1902 Indian Universities Commission dealt with the problems faced by the universities and recommended changes in university governance while holding that the University of London continue as the basis for Indian university organization. No fundamental reform was proposed. The 1902 Commission led to the University Act of 1904, which streamlined university governance and strengthened teaching at the university level. Nonetheless, the Commission and the Act failed to influence the direction or ethos of most higher education. In an effort to raise standards, for example, the number of affiliated colleges of the University of Bombay declined from 192 in 1902 to 170 in 1912. However, it rose to 207 by 1922.[8] The Commission stressed that standards of teaching be improved and teaching was actually supposed to have improved, although the rate of failure at the annual examinations remained high. The colonial administration, for the first time, began to provide substantial grants to the universities and expressed a serious interest in higher education after the Act of 1904.

One of the most important documents of Indian higher education was the Calcutta University Commission's report of 1917. This Commission, under the chairmanship of Michael Sadler, had an impact on higher

education beyond the University of Calcutta,[9] although its influence in Calcutta itself was minimal. The University of Bombay, for example, appointed a committee to explore how the Calcutta recommendations could be implemented there. This committee made a number of suggestions and declared secondary education in the province of Bombay deficient and in need of improvement. Although its report was made in 1921, no action was taken until a Committee on University Reform was appointed in 1924. This report called for, among other things, a university campus to give a corporate identity to the University of Bombay and the strengthening of technical education. Some, but not all, of the recommendations were carried out after a long period of time. The main impact of the Calcutta University Commission, though, was to stimulate the expansion of universities rather than to basically change them.

The first major post-independence effort at university reform was the University Education Commission of 1948–49.[10] The Commission made a number of recommendations, one of its most important being that university education should start after intermediate schooling and not after matriculation, and that the university course should be three years long. (This same proposal had been made thirty years previously by the Calcutta University Commission.) In many parts of India, the three-year college course has been adopted as policy (although the University of Bombay retains the four-year programme and has refused to institute intermediate colleges). The Commission also suggested that general education, on the American pattern, be introduced in the colleges, and it stressed graduate education as a means of creating new knowledge relevant to India's development. The Commission recommended the expansion of graduate and professional training facilities with emphasis on the growth of agricultural education. It called for the improvement of faculty salaries and suggested that they be put on a par with similarly qualified government workers. Reform of the examination system (but not a major change in it) was urged as was the adoption of an Indian language (preferably Hindi) as the medium of instruction in the universities. Finally, the Commission proposed a University Grants Commission, based on the British model, be established to channel needed funds to education and provide positive, but non-governmental direction to higher education.

There is little doubt that this Commission was the most comprehensive and most successful of the various official efforts at higher education reform in India—and its successes were limited. Its stress on the importance of higher education and the need for expansion in relevant areas was certainly achieved, although not in the way the Commission had urged. Expansion

took place in every area, with greatest growth in terms of absolute numbers occurring in areas not given priority by the Commission. A University Grants Commission (UGC) was established and has played an important role in higher education ever since. Despite the fact that the UGC has not had the political power to enforce many of its recommendations, it has provided funds for new programmes in universities and has helped maintain standards in limited areas. The three-year degree course was adopted in many parts of the country and rural universities were established. But many of the other recommendations of the Commission were either not implemented or received only cursory attention. Faculty salaries were not appreciably improved until the early sixties, when the Education Commission (1964–66) reiterated the need for action. The language of instruction has changed at a very slow pace in piecemeal fashion. Hindi is the language of instruction only in the Hindi speaking areas and receives relatively little attention elsewhere. A number of India's best universities—including Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, and Osmania—retained English at all levels. General education was adopted only in a few institutions, and never achieved much importance.

The most recent full-scale investigation of India's educational problems was undertaken in 1964 by the Education Commission.[11] A number of its suggestions were markedly similar to those of earlier investigative groups. Improvement of faculty salaries, reform of examinations, streamlining of academic administration, and the like were all treated in both reports. The discussion of the medium of instruction shifted attention from Hindi to the regional languages, thus recognizing the political realities involved, but indicating that the language question was by no means solved. The Education Commission did propose some new reforms. It recommended, for example, that a number of "major universities" be identified and given sufficient resources so they could function at international scholarly levels and provide guidelines for the rest of the academic community. It suggested autonomous colleges so that colleges with high standards could have effective control over their own curriculum and examinations rather than remain subservient to the central examining structure of the universities.

For the first time, an official commission criticized the great expansion of higher education and recognized that academic standards were suffering and that adequate planning of manpower and other needs had not occurred. The Commission made a series of detailed recommendations concerning the limitation of expansion and the improvement of conditions. Colleges were to be established only after careful planning; the smaller colleges were

to be closed, enlarged, or merged; and financial resources were to be used to improve standards.

The Education Commission has had only a limited effect on higher education, and most of its recommendations have been ignored.[12] Its most notable achievement was to raise salary levels for faculty, a task accomplished with the aid of the University Grants Commission and the infusion of funds from the central government. The Commission also stimulated thinking about planning in education at state and local levels and this resulted in several state educational plans. But the main recommendations of the Commission have not been followed. For example, the "major university" concept came under immediate attack from many academic officials who feared that their own institutions would not be selected as one of the major universities. It was also attacked as an elitist idea and proved to be politically controversial and was therefore dropped. The "autonomous college" idea came under similar criticism at the local level. Officials of colleges which felt that they had a good chance of being selected as autonomous supported the concept, while others did not. And, of course, the number of undistinguished colleges were in the majority and autonomous colleges have not been established. The Commission had almost no impact on the expansion of higher education, and its recommendation that enrolments should not increase nationally by more than 10 per cent per year was ignored. There also has not been any notable increase in the effectiveness of planning for new colleges in most parts of the country.

In addition to the major documents cited here, the University Grants Commission has been actively promoting various proposals for improvement and for reform in Indian higher education. The UGC's reports have been aimed both at providing guidelines for the universities in making their own plans and for the Commission's own programmes of financial and technical assistance to higher education. The UGC has also tried to stimulate universities and state governments to undertake their own programmes for reform, and has assisted such programmes with financial resources. The agency has been concerned with the improvement of academic libraries and has devoted substantial funds to upgrading both college and university libraries. One of the most ambitious UGC programmes has been to create various centres of advanced study at a number of universities. Under this programme, the UGC has identified various academic departments which they felt to be distinctive and named them as centres of advanced study. The UGC has sponsored studies of academic governance, aimed at stimulating universities to reform their administrative structures.[13] As a part of the educational and political establishment, it is not surprising that the University

Grants Commission has not pressed for sweeping changes in higher educa-
tion. It has aided universities in many practical ways, but has been both
unwilling and unable to force the implementation of even its own fairly
moderate reform schemes.[14]

The University of Bombay as a Case Study

This section outlines briefly the development of Indian higher education
since 1947. It emphasizes the wide gap between the projections and desires
of the reformers and planners and the reality of academic development.
The University of Bombay illustrates this phenomenon. The University
Act of 1902, for example, changed Bombay's structure but not until ten
years later, in 1912, the university assumed more responsibility for teach-
ing and modestly expanded its graduate departments. The next major step
was the appointment in 1921 of a Committee on University Reform, set
up largely in response to the Calcutta University Commission of 1917.
Among the recommendations made by the Committee were to streamline
and democratize the governance structure of the university, to establish
a central campus, to establish a four-year degree course for the B.A. and
B.Sc. degrees, and to strengthen the technological programmes of the uni-
versity. Many of these recommendations were acted on in the course of the
following decade. The Committee did not bring any major administrative
changes to the University of Bombay, and although the scientific and tech-
nical aspects of the university's offerings were strengthened, there was no
basic curricular change.

The University Act of 1928 substantially altered the structure of the
institution. It strengthened graduate education and changed the institu-
tion's legislative processes by broadening the Senate to include represen-
tatives of various non-university interest groups and by increasing the
number of elected members of the various legislative bodies. The next major
attempts at reform in academic governance did not take place until 1953.
And the 1953 Act remains essentially in force in 1971.

While modest alterations were occurring at the top of the academic
structure in Bombay, substantial growth took place at the bottom. Col-
legiate education expanded at a rapid rate and new types of specialized
institutions were brought under the jurisdiction of the University. College
enrolments in Bombay expanded from 11,056 in 29 affiliated colleges in
1927 to 41,829 in 79 colleges in 1953.[15] Graduate departments were estab-
lished in a number of fields and the University itself assumed increasing

teaching responsibilities (although mainly at the graduate level). The bulk of collegiate expansion resulted from private or local initiative; no planning or coordination was provided by the University itself. The University set standards of affiliation and examined candidates annually, but beyond that it played almost no role in the growth or development of the colleges. The curriculum, orientation, and means of administration of the affiliated colleges changed very little during the period from 1900 to 1947. Few of the official reports were concerned with the colleges, and the University did not consider planning and reform at the college level as a major responsibility.

The period following Independence brought even more rapid change and development than the preceding decades. Bombay's enrolments grew from 34,000 in 1957 to 77,000 in 1968. The University was changed from an institution in charge of colleges located hundreds of miles from the main campus in Bombay to a federative university with colleges located only in the Greater Bombay area. The post-independence period was characterised mainly by expanded enrolments and, despite various efforts at long-range policy making, University authorities had little to say about how higher education developed in Bombay. Much of the expansion at the University of Bombay can be attributed to the growth of an articulate middle class which demanded academic degrees for upward social mobility.

The only area of expansion which was even minimally controlled by the University of Bombay was graduate education. The graduate departments were enlarged during the fifties and sixties and a number of new departments were added. The bulk of expansion took place at the collegiate level, and here the University exercised almost no control. The growth of arts and science colleges in the suburban areas was phenomenal, and a number of specialized colleges were founded, particularly commerce colleges. The founding of these colleges was dictated largely by the demand for access to higher education by upwardly mobile Indians in the localities in which they were established and the availability of funds from various private groups. Once a college reached the planning phase, the University found it almost impossible to withhold affiliation, even if the new institution was substandard in its facilities or teaching staff. Political and other pressures were brought to bear by the groups seeking collegiate affiliation, and the University usually did not wish to press the fight. Between 1957 and 1970, the number of affiliated colleges increased from 31 to 62. No master plan for collegiate education was ever attempted and little concern was publicly expressed by University or government authorities concerning the expansion of colleges in the city or the effect on higher education that this expansion would have.

Several other issues which faced the University of Bombay in recent years also indicate something of the nature of decision making in the institution and the difficulty of effective academic planning. The language issue has been particularly explosive for Indian higher education, and has been of special concern in a cosmopolitan and multilingual city like Bombay. The University of Bombay has considered the language issue since 1950 but has not been able to decide it. In 1955, a Committee on the Medium of Instruction to be Adopted in the Bombay University was appointed and, after much deliberation, it strongly recommended that Hindi be adopted as the sole medium of instruction in the university; the process of changeover was to take place over a ten-year period starting in 1960.[16] The recommendations of this committee were influenced by the Radhakrishnan Report, but the political situation in Bombay changed substantially in the following years and the idea of Hindi was dropped as the medium of instruction. Agitation for a separate Marathi-speaking state eventually resulted in the creation of Maharashtra in 1960. Marathi-speaking elements in the city and state pressed for Marathi as the medium of instruction. However, Bombay's large Gujarati-speaking minority, along with other minority groups, strongly opposed it. Students preparing to enter Bombay's flourishing commercial life wished, by and large, to retain English, since it carried the most prestige in the stiff competition for jobs.

As a result, the University found it impossible to reach a decision and the language question, unresolved, was pushed to the background of academic discussions. English remained the sole medium of instruction. With the emergence of the "three-language formula" (the regional language, Hindi and English) as a popular slogan at the national level, the University of Bombay again reconsidered the language question. Under the leadership of Vice Chancellor Gajendragadkar, the University of Bombay in the past few years has reached a consensus: students have several options as to which language they wish to be examined in; they can choose either English, Hindi, Marathi or Gujarati. The colleges conduct classes in any of these languages. This policy is a compromise between various elements of the Bombay community. The majority of the student population in Bombay is Gujarati, reflecting the wealth and commercial position of the Gujaratis, while the majority of the faculty is Marathi speaking. Large numbers of students wish to continue to use English. The state government, for political reasons, has pressed for the use of Marathi in all aspects of education and government. The University of Bombay, therefore, has tried to satisfy the various elements demanding that it take a position on the language question. As the new formula is scheduled to go into operation in 1971, it is as yet impossible to assess its success.

The University of Bombay's response to the language question indicates the combination of elements involved in the decision-making process. National influences favouring the adoption of Hindi and later accepting regional languages as the basis of the educational system had some role. The main forces, however, were the state government, the political situation in Maharashtra at the time, and the internal politics of the university. The University of Bombay is the only university in Maharashtra which has not shifted to Marathi at the collegiate level. This signifies the substantial power and autonomy that the institution itself possesses. The outcome of the language question in Bombay, though, is clearly a political response and the academic merits of the various solutions did not enter meaningfully into the discussions. The kinds of political processes at work in Bombay concerning language can be seen in other Indian universities on a whole gamut of issues.

A final example of local decision-making further illustrates the forces impinging on academic policy in Bombay as well as in other Indian universities. During World War II, several Bombay colleges started part-time courses for working students in an effort to experiment with part-time higher education and provide educational opportunities for working class young people. These "morning colleges," as they came to be called, proved popular with students and financially advantageous for the colleges running them because it was possible to double enrolments without expanding facilities. The University administration, however, was never enthusiastic about the morning colleges, and in 1960, under the leadership of Rector G. D. Parikh, began to consider abolishing them. A report was issued by the University which argued that the colleges had inadequate standards and should be ended.[17] The battle lines were drawn, and the struggle over the abolition of the morning colleges took place with substantial publicity in Bombay newspapers.

The Rector, with the support of some college principals (mostly of the more prestigious colleges which did not conduct morning classes) and some members of the University senate and syndicate argued that morning classes should either be abolished or substantially changed so that students could spend more time obtaining their degrees. Defenders of the morning colleges argued that they were a primary means of social mobility for working class students, that the curriculum was adequate, and that morning college students did as well as others in the annual University examinations. The morning colleges were defended by college principals and officials of the institutions which conducted them, by some members of the University's legislative bodies, and by a number of political leaders in the city. One of

the key supporters of the colleges, a member of the Senate and a longtime opponent of the Rector, applied pressure on the Minister of Education, and the state government, after some recrimination, took a position in defence of the morning colleges. The battle became, in part, a conflict between the opponents and supporters of the Rector. The final result represented a defeat for the Rector and the University administration: a compromise was reached in which the morning colleges were retained, but were moved to the evening and their programmes were strengthened. The deciding factor was the intervention of the Minister of Education in defence of the morning colleges.

The University of Bombay, like other Indian universities, has responded to political, social, and economic pressures in charting its path during the post-Independence period. Politically articulate elements have pressed for continued expansion and the institution, with government prodding, responded. Language proved to be a knotty problem, and the university refrained from taking a clear position until the matter was settled at higher levels. The process of academic planning in Bombay, both in the colleges and at the University, has been subject to these and other *ad hoc* influences and has not generally been very successful. As this analysis of Bombay indicates, the university is directly and integrally involved with politics. It has been even less insulated than universities in industrialized countries. The wider implications of academic planning are not often considered in making decisions.

The Prospect for Reform

Why have attempts at educational reform and planning been ineffective in India? Higher education in pre-industrial societies is linked closely to broader social problems. The state recognizes this and in India almost all the universities' operating funds not obtained from student fees come from state or central government sources for they look to education as the panacea for problems of manpower training and social, economic, and political development. For example, Indians have looked to their universities to create a nation out of diverse linguistic and religious groupings.

Higher education in a democratic developing country is subjected to even greater pressures than in more authoritarian nations. The political structure is influenced to some degree by public opinion and the demands of articulate segments of the population. Educated Indians have been particularly insistent that higher education be available to large numbers of

young people from the urban middle classes as well as from rural areas. This pressure has been expressed in the founding of new colleges by private sources as well as in political demands on the government to provide more educational facilities. The government finds it hard to resist these demands particularly when it is not too expensive to provide collegiate education. The Indian middle class has not yet realized that the increasing size of the universities and the growing proportions of educated unemployed people are directly linked, and that an oversupply of graduates in the long run probably does not serve their needs. The pressure from the articulate public continues and the government, to varying degrees, responds by aiding or at least permitting the expansion of higher education. When academic officials protest, they are generally not effective in having their positions upheld by the government.

India is a society of scarcity. Resources are insufficient for all of the many projects which compete for funds and skilled manpower. Given this situation, there is neither enough money nor qualified teachers to permit both quantitative growth and qualitative improvement in higher education. Since the decision, if only by default, has been in the direction of quantitative expansion, it is not surprising that standards of instruction, library and other facilities, and salaries should be insufficient. Just as important is the expansion of the teaching profession—from 54,853 in 1961–62 to 104,494 in 1969–70. This has meant that highly qualified and motivated college teachers are simply unavailable and the academic preparation of the teaching profession has dropped to some degree. In addition, the best qualified are not generally attracted to college teaching because of deteriorating conditions and relatively low salaries.[18] Without the most able individuals manning academic positions, the overall quality and direction of the entire university system suffers.

The society of scarcity also has another important effect on the ability of the Indian university to adapt and reform itself. Jobs are universally scarce in India and a secure position is a matter of great importance. This means that the very large majority of college teachers and university faculty hesitate before undertaking or recommending any policy that might threaten their jobs. In addition, the appointment of teachers and other university and college staff often has political overtones, since each appointment is a critical matter to many individuals who cannot easily find other remunerative positions. Academic systems everywhere are notoriously conservative and slow to change, but in India this general trend is enhanced by the unwillingness of most people to risk their jobs. And almost any meaningful innovation or change in policy involves some risk to someone in the academic structure.

The structure and traditions of the Indian university substantially inhibit academic change. The Indian university structure, copied from a colonial model, is so centralized that decisions on many levels have to be filtered through the top levels of the institution. Colleges have very little authority to make decisions for themselves and the universities are still centralized and exceptionally bureaucratic. Decisions must go through many levels of both the universities' administrative and legislative bodies, and the lower levels have little power, a situation which intensifies feeling of frustration. Often those interested in innovation and change become frustrated at the bureaucratic structures and obstacles within the system and retreat into apathy after a few unsuccessful attempts at improvement.

The existence of particularly powerful individuals within the academic structure creates difficult problems. The role of the college principal, for example, is a key one for change at the collegiate level.[19] The principal has almost complete control over the academic life of his college and, if he is uninterested in new ideas or innovation, there is little likelihood that change will occur. The teaching staff has little control over the college and often very little job security. Similarly, at the university level, the positions of vice chancellor, rector (in a few institutions), and registrar are especially powerful. Where top university officials wield their power in an authoritarian manner, as is common, change is difficult if not impossible. The legislative structures of the universities—senates, syndicates, academic councils, and other such bodies—are not only cumbersome and slow moving, but often dominated by senior administrative officers at the college and university level. The failure of prestigious and well-financed commissions and agencies like the University Grants Commission to have a major impact on the operation of the universities indicates the entrenched nature of the university structures.

The question of external influences on Indian higher education is complex. On the one hand, many university spokesmen have strongly argued that there should be increased academic autonomy.[20] On the other hand, few have argued that the government should not influence university policy and have a key role in setting academic goals. One of the problems of government–university relations in India which has an effect on academic reform is the various levels of government which have some authority over higher education and specific universities. Higher education is a "concurrent" subject in the Indian constitution; this means that both the central government (mainly through the University Grants Commission) and the states are directly involved in academic affairs. The bulk of authority over the universities rests with the states since they supply an extremely large

proportion of university funds. The chancellor, who has a largely ceremonial function but who does have some residual powers, is generally the governor of the state in which the university is located, and in many areas vice chancellors are appointed only with the approval of the state Ministry of Education.

State governments deal with universities in different ways—in some states, politicians are actively involved in academic affairs and in the internal workings of the universities. A good example of this is the state of Bihar where many of the universities are highly politicized and demoralized. Bihar's ostensibly non-political university funding agency and the state Public Service Commission, which must make academic appointments, have been directly involved in politics.[21] Other states are content to supply overall guidance but leave actual governance to the institutions themselves. The central government also has some power over the universities and the wishes of such central agencies as the UGC and the state government often create conflicts for university officials who must balance the various elements which impinge on them.

Related to the role of government agencies in higher education is the politicization of academic decisions in recent years. This is obvious from the foregoing discussion, but it is nevertheless important to consider seriously. As has been noted, academic appointments on many levels, from the vice chancellor down to clerks in university and college offices, are open to political scrutiny and involvement in many states. Such involvement lowers standards and morale in the colleges and universities. The number of cases in which political considerations have been infused into decisions on hiring staff is quite large and is well documented. Government involvement is also evident in other decision-making and has an impact on the nature and kind of reform possible in India. The sites for colleges or even new university campuses often are selected only after government consultations. Academic decisions on questions such as the medium of instruction become politically charged issues.

The politicization of Indian higher education is intertwined with internal politics. In a number of cases, internal factionalism has literally torn academic institutions apart and made normal university life, not to mention plans for reform or innovation, completely impossible. Among the more well known cases of this type of local political disruption of the universities are Allahabad and Banaras Hindu universities.[22] Sometimes the basis of internal politics is caste, language, religious, or regional affiliations of factions of the academic staff or students. Other times it is based on the actions of a particular vice-chancellor or dean. In almost all cases, the

problem of holding onto scarce jobs or resources is involved. All this means that almost every decision occurs in an atmosphere of controversy in which academic considerations are frequently ignored. The outcome of any question often is a compromise satisfying to various factions, but lacking in meaningful change.

Related to the failure of planning and reform in Indian universities is the limited success of planning in the society at large. Although India has been committed to the concept of a planned society based on socialist principles for two decades and has drafted and partly implemented a number of five year plans, it is generally agreed that the overall planning effort has not been successful on all levels. Education has certainly been one of the notable failures of the various plans. Expansion has occurred, but it has not always been in the directions advocated by the planners. The existence at present of massive unemployment of university graduates is an admission of this failure. The academic institutions themselves have not taken the goals of the planners very seriously and there have been few rewards (or penalties) for non-compliance with the plans. The overall problems with social and economic planning in India, combined with the notably poor record of education in this area, makes the difficulty of academic changes and reform more understandable.

The final reason which helps to explain why Indian universities have been so resistant to change is related to the general nature of academic systems rather than to the specific Indian situation. Universities are notoriously difficult institutions to change, and problems of academic reform have perplexed university authorities and government officials alike, particularly in the turbulent decade of the 1960's. The fact that academics are notably conservative in their attitudes toward institutional change in many societies has created a massive obstacle to academic reform.[23] Indian academics are no different than their foreign compeers, only in India several elements are added such as the great fear of losing jobs or carefully gathered fiscal or other resources. University structures around the world are constructed to maintain stability and inhibit change. Most universities function on the principle of gerontocracy, with senior faculty holding overwhelming power. India is no different in this regard either and is perhaps even more gerontocratically oriented, since it is reinforced by Hindu tradition. University organizational structures are notably slow to move and are based on the idea that a consensus, at least of the senior faculty and administrators, should be obtained before major changes are made. Again, India is very much in line with international standards and indeed is probably structured in an even more complex fashion than the universities in most other countries.

From commentaries on academic reform in most countries, it is evident that the universities themselves are not usually in the vanguard of change; here also India is no exception. In a number of European countries and in the United States, student pressure has created demands for university reform and has sometimes obtained results. In India, where student "indiscipline" is often sporadic and seldom directed at constructive reforms, this has not generally been the case. In short, Indian universities are afflicted with the internationally observable conservative tendencies of universities, and in some respects are even more conservative than their counterparts in other countries.

What, then, are the prospects for academic reform and planning in India? The questions of educational planning and academic reform must be separated. Effective planning, particularly on a long range basis, is an extremely difficult process and in few countries has it been effective. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that India should be less than completely successful in the post-independence period. A much more practical possibility, therefore, is university reform.

There is general agreement on the need for reforms, and a consensus on some of the specific aspects of the university system which need change. Many of these elements have been discussed in this paper. Yet, meaningful reforms, however moderate, are bound to experience difficulties in the Indian context. All the powerful elements in the academic equation are arrayed against reform and change. Perhaps the main hope is that if those few visionary individuals working within the academic system are permitted leeway and given resources, successful innovations carried out on a fairly small scale may have some impact elsewhere. Thus, the concept of the autonomous colleges and the centres of advanced study are quite useful. Overall, the historical development of higher education in India does not give much cause for optimism, nor does the current political situation, both with regard to government and other external authorities and with regard to the universities themselves.

Notes

1. Reprinted from *Comparative Education Review* (16 June 1972), pp. 251–266, with permission of the author.

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Singh, Secretary of the Inter-University Board of India, for suggesting many of the foci of this paper and to Gail Kelly for her editorial assistance.

2. That educational planning is a difficult and often unsuccessful undertaking in both advanced and developing societies is borne out in the literature. See especially Jan Tinbergen, *Development Planning* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

3. For a more detailed analysis of the University of Bombay, see Philip G. Altbach, *The University in Transition: An Indian Case Study*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972).

4. See Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) for a discussion of the origins of higher education in India.

5. The most recent, and one of the most influential pleas to limit expansion of higher education came from the Kothari Commission. See *Report of the Education Commission: 1964–66: Education and National Development* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1966).

6. For a basic factual account of the development of higher education in India, see Philip G. Altbach, "Higher Education in India," in Barbara Burn, *et at., Higher Education in Nine Countries* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 317–344.

7. Glynn Wood, "Planning University Reform—An Indian Case Study", *Comparative Education Review,* 16(2); June 72, pp. 268–281.

8. S. R. Dongerkery, *A History of the University of Bombay, 1857–1957* (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1957), p. 51. This volume provides the most adequate summary of the University of Bombay's development.

9. Calcutta University Commission, 1917–1919, *Recommendations of the Commission,* Part II (Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing *Press,* 1919).

10. See *Report of the University Education Commission, 1948–1949,* Volume I (Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1950).

11. *Report of the Education Commission, 1964–66: Education and National Development,* New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1966, pp. 274–443.

12. The Education Commission's *Report* has received a good deal of analysis. See especially, Amrik Singh, "The Education Commission and After," *Asian Survey*, 9 (October, 1969): 776–780, and Amrik Singh, "Higher Education in the Seventies," *Quest,* 72 (September-October, 1971): 71–81. Other articles in the October, 1969 issue of *Asian Survey* also deal with aspects of the Commission's *Report.*

13. There are a rather large number of competently done UGC studies on various subjects. For some of the more interesting, see *Report of the Committee on Governance of Universities and Colleges* (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1971); *Report on Examination Reform* (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1962); *Medium of Instruction: A Report* (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1961); and *Report on Standards of University Education* (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1965). In addition, the UGC's reports on various disciplines, such as sociology, history, mathematics, and others provide useful information concerning these subjects and their status in Indian higher education. The UGC also provides the most accurate statistical information concerning Indian universities.

14. There are very few adequate analysis of the University Grants Commission. For one such analysis, see Amrik Singh, "The Reconstituted UGC," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5 (August 15 1970):1377–1381.

15. S. R. Dongerkery, *op. cit.,* p. 97.

16. *Report of the Committee on the Medium of Instruction to be Adopted in the Bombay University* (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1955), pp. 31–32.

17. G. D. Parikh, *Reorganization of Undergraduate Teaching in Arts* (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1961).

18. See Edward Shils, "The Academic Profession in India", *Minerva,* 7 (Spring 1969), pp. 345–372.

19. Philip G. Altbach, "Bombay Colleges," *Minerva,* 8 (October 1970), pp. 526–529.

20. See S. R. Dongerkery, *University Autonomy in India* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1967), for a classic statement of the position for increased autonomy.

21. For a sensitive discussion of the politicization of Indian higher education, focusing on Bihar, sec Amar Kumar Singh, "Academic Politics and Student Unrest," in P. G. Altbach, ed., *Turmoil and Transition* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 204–240.

22. For more information on these two institutions see, Joseph DiBona, *Conflict and Change in the Indian University* (Durham: Duke University Program in Comparative Studies on Southern Asia, 1969) on Allahabad University and *Report of the Banaras Hindu University Review Committee* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1968).

23. For analysis of the American situation, see Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Politics of Academia," in D. C. Nichols, ed., *Perspectives on Campus Tensions* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1970), pp. 85–118.

3

Higher Education and Modernization: The Indian Case

Philip G. Altbach

There are many roads to modernization in developing countries, but a key ingredient in almost all socio-economic planning is higher education. Without regard to economic system or political organization, the university is considered to be crucial in the process of modernization. Higher education is supposed to do many things—it should instil a sense of nationality in countries without basic national unity; it should provide the advanced technical training necessary for modern industry; it should educate teachers and agriculturists who can spread modern attitudes and techniques to the countryside; it should enable the nation to compete in the international marketplace of ideas; and the university should provide national prestige. At the same time, universities and their students are expected to be loyal to the ruling regime, to willingly participate in development plans, and in general follow government orders without regard to traditional norms of academic independence. Some of the demands placed on higher education are impossible, others are contradictory, and all are difficult to achieve.

Despite much of the mythology surrounding the relationship between modernization and higher education, the universities have not ensured immediate modernization in developing countries. Or at least, it has been proved that universities cannot be manipulated to suit the whims of planners or politicians, and that the intellectual enterprise is a fragile plant—difficult to transplant and to nurture in hostile soil. In a technological age, they have become a key element in both the intellectual and economic life of most societies. In many industrially advanced nations, much scientific research is done in university laboratories, and higher educational institutions contribute directly to the economic growth. The role of the university in developing countries is similarly important but more difficult to analyze. It is this role that is under investigation in this essay.

Modernization means many things to many people. Academic analysts have detailed definitions of the process of modernization while government officials tend to be more pragmatic in their approach. Modernization is, first of all, a Western concept which almost always implies the progress of a society toward conditions which makes an industrial system and a bureaucratized social structure possible. Modernization usually implies a measure of urbanization, a national government with some means of communication available, progress toward an educational system based on Western administrative and curricular lines, and other aspects associated with Western social systems. Even those developing nations which consciously reject Western models have tended to resemble the advanced European powers in many of these respects. Thus, modernization is tied conceptually to Western political and social forms, and this factor must be kept in mind. As will be noted, this general connection between modernization and Westernization extends to the organization, curriculum, and orientation of the universities.

We shall examine some of the assumptions concerning the relationship between higher education and modernization in developing countries with special relationship to India. It is clear that some examination of many widely held notions about higher education and modernization in India, as in other developing countries, must be made if universities are to play their most effective role in a key area of modern society. Just as there are many theories concerning modernization and the various paths to it, there are differing notions concerning the role of higher education and its impact. There is, however, little specific data concerning the contribution of the universities to various aspects of public life in India, and relatively little information concerning the growth and current status of higher education. The basic statistical information is, for the most part, available, but there has been

little effort to interpret the data or to provide an adequate framework for analysis. And it is likely that India is better endowed with both basic statistics and serious analysis than many developing countries.

There is, however, a total lack of relevant studies on the subject to build upon. The present essay is, therefore, a tentative first step in the analysis of the role of higher education in modernization, and in Indian society generally. The basic argument of this essay is that while higher education is a crucial factor in the economic, social, and political development of India, its role is limited both by objective factors and by the very nature of the university. While higher education must clearly be a part of the scheme of national development regardless of the political or economic assumptions underlying development plans, the university cannot be too closely linked to specific planning mechanisms. Such close linking, it would seem, is both ineffective and in the long run detrimental to the universities themselves.

Higher education has often been seen as a panacea for quick development. At least in the Indian case, this has not been true. The universities have expanded dramatically since independence, and large sums of money have been spent on education at all levels. Yet, despite impressive gains, higher education has not succeeded in modernizing the country. In fact, in some respects, the higher educational system has made the situation more difficult. The over-production of graduates in almost all fields, the exacerbation of the language problem, and the occasional participation of the universities in state and local politics have not aided the progress of modernization.

II

The historical background of the university helps to determine its role in any society. Indeed, the university in any given country is affected, to some degree at least, by the international history of higher education. Academic norms first developed in Paris in the Middle Ages play a role in almost every university, although many of the traditional patterns of higher education have been breaking down in recent years. The Indian university is, of course, no exception. The roots of higher education in India lie deep in the British colonial policy on the subcontinent, and for almost a century the universities had little to do with modernization or with the conscious creation of a trained cadre which could take over the operation of an independent nation. In fact, the British consciously wondered after the Indian Mutiny of 1857 whether they should curtail higher education to which

they attributed some of the impetus for the revolt. While the universities were not much curtailed in India, the experience of the revolt did have the effect of limiting the expansion of higher education in some British African colonies.

In the earliest period, the British had no policy regarding higher education, and the efforts of a few missionaries and some interested Indians accounted for the slow growth of colleges. After Macaulay's famous Minute on education in 1832, however, a policy of expansion of European style higher education based on instruction in the English medium was pursued by the British. The desire to create a loyal second level of leadership in India combined with the need for trained administrators for the civil service and for commercial concerns induced the British to take active interest in the expansion of higher education. The British had a number of motives in fostering higher education in India, including missionary zeal, subjugation of an elite, altruism, and others, but none of these motives included the creation of a technically trained population capable of self-government.

The desires of the indigenous population did not rank very high on the British list of educational priorities, and in fact when Indians began to demand European style higher education in increasing numbers, they had to supply much of the initiative themselves for establishing new institutions. For the most part, middle-class Indians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were much more concerned with their own social advancement and increasing their job mobility than in the development of technically trained cadre. The biases of educated Indians were similar to those of the British in that there was a strong demand for humanistics education and a general desire to enter the civil service and other governmental bureaucratic positions, rather than to get training for scientific occupations for which few jobs were immediately available.

The organizational structure of the educational institutions which emerged naturally also reflected the biases and educational views of the British and, to a lesser extent, the small Western-educated Indian population. The early colleges which were founded prior to the establishment of universities in 1858 were similar to English public school or small colleges. These small institutions and colleges were aimed at a select element of the Indian population. The curriculum followed the English patterns and strongly emphasized humanistic studies. Instruction was generally through the English medium and little attention was paid to the Indian context of education. Indian students read English classics but completely neglected Indian writings. Even in the rather rudimentary science classes, emphasis was placed on European biology and botany, and tropical subjects were not

generally covered. Thus, the early Indian colleges had as a goal the creation of "gentlemen" in the English pattern, although with few exceptions, standards were somewhat below those found in England at the time.

The establishment of universities in India, which took place in 1858, systematized higher education and greatly stimulated its expansion. The universities, however, did not substantially change the orientation of the educational system. The curriculum remained basically the same, and the organization of the colleges, traditionally the keystone of the system, underwent few changes. The founding of universities established an examination system which provided some unity to the geographically diffuse colleges and placed a "floor" of quality under the higher educational system. But they did not basically unify the system, since the universities were, at first, only examining bodies and had insignificant teaching and research program.

As in the case of the colleges, the universities were patterned after British models, in this case the University of London. It was felt that the London model, which provided an umbrella institution for many diffuse colleges and institutes, would be most suitable for India. Again, as in the case of the colleges, the London model was not copied entirely in that the Indian universities were not planned to have the same level of instruction as in the metropole. The Indian universities had smaller budgets, much larger areas to administer, more limited library and laboratory facilities, and thus worked under substantial handicaps. While Western-style institutions were copied and their organizational patterns imposed in the colonies, in many cases the standards and traditions of the imports were diluted in the process of transfer.[1] As in the case of the colleges, the universities were not specifically intended to contribute to any process of modernization or self-government in India. Implicit in this system was the notion of "trickle down" education in which the benefits of Western style higher education would be given to a very small minority, who would then be counted upon to spread enlightenment to the masses.

It is possible to see such of the British educational efforts in India as a kind of "cultural imperialism" in that the major aims of the educational system were linked directly to the British rule in India and its needs. Even the strong missionary element in the early educational efforts was connected more to external factors—in this case the Christian religion—than to Indian needs despite its undoubted altruism. But, in spite of such a policy and the limitations of the higher educational system prior to independence, the universities helped to create the conditions for independence and for some modernization in the country.

The contribution of the universities and colleges to the independence movement and to the creation of a basis for an independent India was substantial. Perhaps most important, the universities trained Indian nationalist leaders and provided them with a basic ideology and practical political experience. The ideas of early European nationalist thinkers, such as Mazzini and Garibaldi, entered India through the universities as did the later ideas of Fabian socialism and Marxism which were influential among nationalists in India. Even those nationalists, such as Gandhi, who stressed the traditional Indian roots of the nationalist movement were strongly influenced by Western style higher education and by their college experiences in India. The universities, in addition, provided a basic pool of trained manpower which could effectively take over the reins of government from the British. Well-trained civil servants were available to the new Indian government and a small pool of scientifically trained individuals was also ready to serve a growing industrial and scientific establishment. University education, with its emphasis on universal ideas and the somewhat cosmopolitan intellectual community in general, tended to break down caste and regional loyalties. A sense of national unity was developed, at least among the small Western educated community in India.

Thus, while the heritage of colonial education in India was mixed in its impact on an emerging nation, the universities did provide the ideological basis for nationalism, as well as a pool of trained manpower which could take over the running of an independent nation. Higher education permitted the British to rule India for more than a century with only a very small cadre of administrators, but in the last analysis it also helped sow the downfall of British colonialism.

III

Post-independence higher education has expanded at an unprecedented rate, and has been a major issue for government and for the public in India. Indeed, the rate of India's educational expansion at the university level has been one of the highest in the world, and India now has the third largest higher educational system in the world, after the United States and the Soviet Union. There has been expansion not only in the traditional universities and arts and science colleges, but entirely new types of institutions which have contributed to a diversification of higher education. The growth of the various national laboratories, while not strictly speaking academic institutions, has been impressive and has added to the research and

scientific potential in India. The establishment of technological institutions, particularly the Indian Institutes of Technology, has also helped to provide advanced scientific and technological training to qualified Indians.

The basis of Indian higher education remains, however, in the arts and science colleges where a large majority of the students are enrolled. (40 per cent of the total student population is enrolled in arts colleges while 32 per cent are in science colleges.) These colleges have expanded largely as a result of private initiative, and such colleges now exist in semi-rural areas previously cut off from higher education. The colleges, despite their impressive quantitative growth, have not kept up in terms of quality. Their curriculum has not been basically modernized, and textbooks and teaching methods remain outmoded. In many areas, the language of instruction has been changed from English to the regional medium, but this shift has not been accompanied by a similar change to an "Indian" curriculum or by other reforms. Indeed, as the colleges have expanded they have become less "national" in their emphasis and thus less involved with the nation-building process. The localization of language, as also of the composition of the student body has meant that some of the cosmpolitanism which previously was characteristic of the colleges has been lost. As a result, it may well be that the circulation of talent, which has broken down at least part of the regionalism in the cities, will cease.

The impetus for much of the growth of higher education that has taken place has come directly from those elements of the population which have wished to make use of expanded college facilities. Thus, the educational system has responded to demands from the marketplace, and the kind of education which has been provided, is, to a substantial degree, that demanded by the customers. Government efforts to limit expansion effectively or to guide it have not been very successful. Since education at all levels is a state subject, with only minor intervention from the center allowed, control has been even more difficult. The fact that the educational system has responded to public pressure has meant that the direction of the change has been shaped substantially by the nature of that pressure. Indian families see a college degree as a necessity for social advancement and employment in a society characterized by extreme difficulty in obtaining jobs. In addition, education, at least among the higher castes, has a traditional high status and this further increases the demand for advanced training.

As colleges have opened their doors to larger numbers of students from different strata of the population, most institutions have necessarily changed to be able to accommodate larger numbers of students from diverse social classes and economic backgrounds. The result of this

accommodation has been, almost universally, a lowering of educational standards. University examinations have suffered a decline in standards as has the general level of college instruction. College teaching, never a well paying occupation in India, has declined in relative remuneration and has also lost some of its prestige. This has meant that qualified graduates will choose an occupation other than college teaching if they have a choice. The quality of the teaching staff has, as a result, declined, and it is increasingly difficult to convince qualified graduates to enter college teaching as a career. The expansion in numbers of seats available in colleges in India, the shift to regional languages as media of instruction, and a general raising of the level of aspirations for the lower middle class and even some workers and peasants has accounted for the demand for expansion of higher education, and has shaped the nature of expansion.

Just as higher education has been responsive to the demands of the marketplace in its expansion and development, the universities have also responded to the needs of industry and government and have added new subjects and specialities. While the traditional arts and sciences retain their dominant position in terms of size and geographical spread, new subjects have also been given substantial attention, Industrial concerns have funded research institutes—often attached to universities—and assisted them in several ways. Some of these laboratories, such as the Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association's institute, have achieved high standard of scholarship. These institutes often provide training for advanced postgraduate students and also aid the research work which is of direct relevance to the industry. Government initiative has also helped in the establishment of new institutes and specialities within the universities. The University Grants Commission has aided technological and scientific education at various levels, as have other governmental agencies. Foreign governments have also provided some impetus and some funds. Americans were instrumental in establishing institutes of management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta which have become important in introducing scientific management in Indian industry. Quite a few research institutes concerning subjects from cooperative management to mining and metallurgy have come up, and many of these have achieved high academic standards.

But the basic fact remains that the expansion of higher education in India has not been according to any plan and has not been directly related, for the most part, to the needs of a modernizing economic and social system. And because there has been no plan, it is likely that higher education has not contributed as much as it might have; and certainly its contributions have not had any major direction or goal. As has been noted

elsewhere, the impact of the various official reports on universities, from the post-independence Radhakrishnan Report to the recent Education Commission's Report, has been minimal. Funds for major programs have not been forthcoming, and there has not been the will at the Center to enforce major changes or reforms which would probably be necessary for any major shift in higher education. State governments, too, have been reluctant to take unpopular stands concerning the universities which might cost votes or popular support.

Education is, in fact, not very much different from other segments of Indian society with regard to the effectiveness of planning. Just as it has not been possible to introduce an efficient planned economy or to effectively limit population growth, higher education has been allowed, for the most part, to expand at its own rate and according to no set guidelines. In a society in which decision making is often a matter of compromise and negotiation among many competing groups, this lack of effective planning is not surprising. It is certainly true that in the educational sphere the competing interests of many groups—university officials and teachers, students, public organizations and lobbies, and the government, to name only a few—are all very crucial in the policy making equation. To limit the expansion of enrollments would arouse strong opposition among many sections of the public. To enforce high academic standards would, and often does, cause student opposition or even violence; staff members who are less than highly qualified also quietly oppose efforts to upgrade the system. New programs within universities are started only after long negotiations in which it is clear that no department or element in the academic community will suffer unduly.

How is the development of higher education in post-independence India related to modernization and social progress? It is, first of all, clear that the products of the university system—the trained scientists and technicians—have played a major role in the impressive growth of Indian industry and science since 1947. University-trained people man most of the posts in a large and complicated bureaucracy. But it is also clear that the university as an institution has not contributed decisively in a direct way to the process of modernization or to the creation of a sense of nationhood in India. As has been pointed out earlier, there are limitations to the possible roles of higher education in direct social and economic development if the quality and autonomy of the university is to be maintained. Yet, it is likely that the Indian university could have taken a more effective part than has been the case in the past.

The Indian university has not played a notably important role in solving such crucial problems as regionalism and traditionalism in Indian society.

It is at least possible that the university community, with some degree of national consciousness and a reasonably effective network of communications, could provide some kind of sense of national unity in a divided nation. The handling of the language problem, by both university and government officials, has not shown much concern with the question of modernization or nation building. Had the universities shifted to Hindi as the medium of instruction, as Gandhi himself had suggested and as was favored by many scholars within and without the academic community, the linguistic tensions evident at the present time would have been lessened if not eliminated. Even in the current situation, the universities could take a lead in the language question by stressing the need for an all-India medium of communications, or at least by protesting against the division of the Indian intellectual community into a series of regional areas without means of communication.

The universities have also not played a significant role in eliminating caste, religious, and regional preferences which divide Indian society. The universities could take a strong stand on these questions, could consciously introduce courses into college curriculum, and could conduct research which would increase understanding and perhaps lead to ameliorative programs. They have done none of these things, and in fact the universities are as ridden by casteism and regional distinctions as other segments of Indian society despite their public commitment to standards of equity and academic freedom.

The universities have, in some parts of India, remained a key factor in the political equation. Students have been particularly active in electoral politics, and have, occasionally, played a key role in precipitating political crises. Other elements of the universities have also been involved in politics, and academic institutions have often been the scene of political factionalism, or have launched political struggles. The role of the academic community in Madras in the language controversies of 1965 is but one dramatic example of the key role of the university on the political scene. Extreme left politics in India, as represented by the Naxalbari Communists, originated to some degree in the universities, particularly in West Bengal. Educational questions have at times assumed political importance, with academics participating on various sides of the issues. The nationalization of education in Kerala, language questions in various states, and other issues have assumed substantial importance in state, and occasionally in national, politics.

Whether the continuing political importance of the universities in India is a contribution to modernization and nation-building is a debatable issue. Certainly, the historical role of universities and intellectuals in

spreading "modern" ideas, usually of a radical nature, is unquestioned. As has been noted, the Indian nationalist movement, despite Gandhi's efforts to win a mass following, was intellectually rooted in the Western-educated intelligentsia. Student movements were important during much of the nationalist struggle, although professors did not play much of a direct role in the actual campaigns of the period. The impact of the ideas spread by the university-educated community in India was significant. It is doubtful whether the universities in post-independence India play such a role, at least in as direct a manner as before. Power is more diffused in post-independence India, and there is a much larger community of educated people. In addition, the universities themselves are no longer beacons of modern ideas in a sea of traditionalism, but have assumed many traditional aspects themselves as other elements in society have become more modern.

IV

It is clear that the universities have had an important but often limited role in the process of modernization and nation-building in India. It is also clear that this role has been more by chance than by design. Higher education continues to be a key force in society, and the Indian university will continue to be in the forefront of controversy concerning social goals and the function of education in society. Yet, if the past is any indication, educational planning mechanisms in India will continue to be basically ineffective and university growth and the direction of academic life will continue to be based on the various influences which impinge on the universities.

Despite the ineffectiveness of planning, higher education does have some major implications for Indian society. In order to fully understand the various roles which higher education plays in India, it is necessary to discuss its impact on day to day life. The universities have provided the trained manpower which has helped India's technical, industrial, and administrative advances in the post-independence period, At the same time, they have overproduced various categories of trained manpower such as lawyers, engineers, and some kinds of technicians. The production of first degrees (BA and BSc) has far outstripped the demand for such degrees, and as a result, many highly trained individuals are underemployed or unemployed. A significant proportion emigrate and join what has become known as the "brain drain." It is clear that this overproduction of educated manpower is not only detrimental to many of the individuals involved, but is an unnecessary expense for the educational system. The creation of an "unemployed

intelligentsia" also has the potential for political and social unrest, particularly in the urban areas, which can have major implications for India's future. It is clear that the difficulty of employment for graduates is a major cause for student unrest in India, and has further lowered the prestige of university teaching and has created psychological and other problems for the students involved.

The university experience has an impact on the students who undergo it. Studies of the results of higher education in terms of political awareness, attitude change, and other variables in Western countries indicate that higher education does have an effect on the attitudes and values of students. While there is less data concerning these matters available in India, it seems clear that there is a substantial impact on students. The fact that the college is organized on "universalistic" criteria—that an individual's performance is judged on the basis of results of objective tests, irrespective of considerations of caste, region, etc.—is very important. Even though many colleges fall short of unqualified acceptance of universalistic norms, the ideal is there and such an ideal is unique to many Indians. In short, the higher educational system is based on a criteria of judgment which is in many ways antithetical to a traditional society. It would seem that in practice many educated Indians are able to understand the "universalism" of the educational system but at the same time accept the traditionalism implicit in much of Indian life. Nevertheless, at least many of them are exposed to a new way of social organization.

University education has other effects also on individuals, which has a relationship to national policy. In developing countries, higher education has been invariably an urban and an urbanizing phenomenon. The values which are instilled by the university are basically urban values, and many graduates are unwilling to return to rural areas, feeling with some justification that cities can better support the style of life to which their education has accustomed them. Such simple things as the existence of cinemas, bookshops, and readily available newspapers and journals are examples of this type of impact. Expectations concerning jobs and income are influenced by educational factors and by the university subculture as well. Graduates, even in India's labor surplus economy, expect that their incomes and accompanying social status will be increased as a result of their college or university degree. The traditional bifurcation between work with one's hands and with one's head is exacerbated; and thus higher education contributes at least in part to the growing urban crisis in which many developing countries find themselves. The prestige structure of the universities, which has traditionally emphasized the liberal arts and such professions as law and public administration, also has an impact on the numbers and types of

professionals who are produced. The lack of well-qualified secondary school teachers, agricultural technicians, and several other key but hitherto low status occupations is directly related to the direction of higher education.

Higher education is seen as a key means of social mobility in India and in other countries, both advanced and developing. Since independence, higher education has become available to relatively wide segments of the Indian population. It is no longer limited, as it once was, to upper caste urban and fairly Westernized families. Undergraduate education is available to Indians of almost every class in the cities and to wider groups in rural areas as well. Although a substantial percentage of the student population still comes from the upper classes and castes, a growing proportion is from the less privileged groups. Government efforts to provide educational opportunities to young people from scheduled classes and castes, though not as successful as desired, have opened up the possibility of mobility to such individuals. While an undergraduate degree in India is often of limited use in terms of employment opportunities, it at least provides an opportunity which would otherwise not be available; and with luck and perseverance, a young person can hope to succeed in raising his social status as a result, in part, of his educational attainments.

As has been noted, higher education is a Western phenomenon, both in organization and, for the most part, in content. This has not basically changed with the coming of independence. Consequently, many of the values and orientations which students receive in Indian colleges and universities are Western, in origin and in content. It may be that such values are positive in terms of modernization and nation-building, and though by no means clear, they do exist, and are fairly important. The impact of higher education on students is, of course, mitigated by many factors, and there are indications that in India this impact is rather severely limited, with many elements of traditionalism remaining in university graduates. As noted earlier, the orientation to universalistic criteria of judgment is a part of academic life. A scientific attitude toward academic knowledge and other aspects of life is a part of the educational experience as well. Implicit in modern sociology and other subjects is a criticism of the caste system, of some aspects of religion, and other aspects of traditional Indian society. Prior to independence, when the academic subculture was stronger on the student community and small numbers of students were in the universities, it was often claimed that higher education destroyed the "Indianness" of many people. This is certainly not the case today (if it ever was) but the impact of the university experience and the importance of the "Western" nature of this experience is an important topic and calls for further study.

Higher education is often a "nationalizing" element in that the university structures are the same throughout India. Universities are symbols of the national culture in diverse societies, and they often have an effect on students in terms of instilling national loyalties. In many developing countries, the universities provided the spark of national feelings, simply by bringing together individuals from different groups, exposing them to common experiences, and facilitating communications and interaction. The Indian university used English as the medium of instruction from the beginning until quite recently (some areas of Indian higher education, particularly at the postgraduate levels, are still conducted in English), and the provision of a common language in a linguistically divided country was in itself an important contribution to national loyalty, at least among the educated segments of the population. The regionalization of higher education in post-independence India has certainly diminished the importance of higher education as a factor in national unity, but the university curriculum now emphasizes national unity, and efforts are made to instil national loyalty.

Higher education, even in its qualitatively diluted and quantitatively expanded Indian form, still provides important services to the cause of modernization and the creation of national consciousness. It does provide training for high level manpower, and the university remains one of the few, even though partially, national institutions in India. The academic community, itself divided and lacking in any central purpose, is still one of the largest and most easily mobilizable forces for change in India. Even the much maligned student population, now numbering around two million, could, if properly motivated and skilfully led, contribute to various schemes for social, economic, and political development. The motivations of the student supporters of the Naxalbari movement, for all their adventurism and militancy, are linked to the impulse for modernization and rapid social change. Certainly one of the psychological problems of the Indian academic community is its history of failure in pressing forward with modernizing schemes. It will take a substantial effort to rekindle the spirit of dedication and commitment which characterized many intellectuals and students prior to independence.

V

What, then, of the future? This essay has not provided any blueprint concerning the possible role of higher education in modernization. It has posited several rather simple notions, but ones which are not often discussed

by the protagonists of Indian universities. It is generally believed that higher education has, in the past, contributed substantially to building a modern society in India but that it has done so in an almost totally unplanned and haphazard manner. The other idea is that it is difficult to harness the university in India in the service of anything beyond its traditional role of providing instruction to students and research facilities to its faculty. There is also an underlying theoretical consideration—the idea that higher education in any developing country is, despite its importance, of only limited use in the process of modernization. This latter idea is perhaps difficult for government officials to accept, as they are anxious to assist in the difficult process of nation-building and want to obtain some immediate results for the large sums of money spent on higher education. But it would seem to be a basic fact, and one which, if accepted, might create the possibility for more active cooperation between university and government.

Given the present political situation in India, it is unlikely that the government or any other agency will be very successful in harnessing higher education for any particular purpose, or even in substantially effecting its growth-patterns. As noted earlier, public pressure has been felt on the Indian universities, but this pressure has often been detrimental to the universities themselves as also to the broader economic and political structure. The continued expansion of higher education is obviously the most important aspect of this pressure. Language policy in higher education has been another area of substantial government interest and of some public pressure as well. The major language decisions of recent years—a stress on regional media in higher education at all but the highest levels—makes sense no doubt at local and state levels, but may in the long run further weaken the fabric of academic life in the nation. Thus, as a practical question, it is quite unlikely that the universities and colleges will play a more direct or meaningful role in modernization than has been the case during the post-independence period.

The potential role of higher education, however, is quite substantial. Given the inherent limitations noted above, the universities could contribute effectively in a number of areas. Careful studies of the direction and needs of high level research and planning could help to channel manpower into needed areas. A limitation on academic growth and emphasis on the maintenance and improvement of standards in universities could help to uplift the academic system. Universities could close the research gap which exists in most developing countries and provide data and analysis which could aid in planning. The whole area of public opinion polling, for example, is underdeveloped in India, and what little is done is heavily biased

toward the urban sector and done by private research companies. Scientific public opinion polls could give planners and government officials a more accurate picture of the desires and needs of the masses in a nation still characterized by widespread illiteracy and political inarticulateness. Universities and research institutes could do more research on the practical problems facing agriculturists, small scale industry, and other segments of Indian society which are crucial to the problems of development.

Higher education might also play an important integrating role in India. Since the colleges and universities are one of the few institutions in India which are similarly organized throughout the country and which have a common goal, it is at least conceivable that they could be united into a common task of breaking down the barriers of regionalism, communalism, and religion. Such a task, of course, is a particularly difficult one and must be undertaken quietly and without involving the universities too directly in political affairs. Higher educational institutions can be in the vanguard of new ideas for linguistic policies, regional and national integration, and they can provide a crucial network of communications.

For many developing countries, the warning that governments should not destroy the autonomy of higher educational institutions in their effort to modernize quickly would be an important message, but India has been relatively careful to preserve academic autonomy. In some states there have been governmental efforts to control higher education, but these have fortunately been exceptions to the rule. There must be a balance between the needs of the society and of the economic and social planners on the one hand and of the academic leadership on the other. For if the universities are to contribute to modernization, they must at the same time be prodded to undertake their just responsibilities, and should be protected from too great incursions on their freedom. If such a balance can be struck, and if authorities, both political and academic, can begin to implement considered policies aimed at modernization, then higher education can play a role in perhaps the most important struggle that developing countries must undertake.

Note

1. Eric Ashby has a cogent discussion of the process of the transfer of institutions in his volume, *Universities: British, Indian, African* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 47–147.

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4

The Dilemma of Change in Indian Higher Education

Philip G. Altbach

The planning and reform of higher education is a difficult process in any country. The fact that India has been notably unsuccessful in its efforts to control its burgeoning higher education system is, in comparative terms, not especially unusual. This essay focuses on the patterns of growth and change in higher education in India and provides a comparative dimension to Indian developments. India is a particularly important Third World case because it is amongst the earliest to have developed its universities and colleges and because it now has the largest academic system in the Third World. It can provide lessons to other Third World countries and at the same time an international dimension may shed light on India's own experience with growth, change and reform in higher education.

It is worthwhile to place India in a comparative context, not only because India's situation is not unique but because other countries may learn from India's experience. India is, after all, the largest academic system in the Third World—indeed, it is the second largest in the world with four million students enrolled in close to 7,000 colleges and over 150 universities. India is also the Third World's research superpower, spending

about 8 per cent of the Third World's funds for R and D and producing a significantly larger proportion of Third World scientific output in terms of books and journal articles.[1] India has one of the oldest higher education systems in the Third World, with universities dating to 1857 and collegiate institutions older than that. Even though, as Eric Ashby has pointed out, India's higher education institutions are patterned on western models and are not truly indigenous institutions, they have nonetheless become integral to contemporary India.[2]

Indian higher education has grown dramatically in the past four decades but this expansion has been largely unaffected by the many plans and proposals to guide it.[3] India, more than any other Third World country, has attempted to plan its postsecondary development and there are at least a dozen major reform proposals which have failed.[4] At the same time that the macroplanning for higher education has failed, important limited but quite specific reforms have been successfully implemented. These changes have taken place, however, in the broader context of uncontrolled expansion and a broad deterioration of standards in higher education. There are data and there are detailed proposals—the problem is that implementation of the major reform proposals has failed. One theme in the higher education policy literature is that unplanned expansion must be halted. It is significant that overexpansion has been criticized at least since the Calcutta University Commission of 1917–19 and is part of every document dealing with higher education.[5] Yet, expansion has continued and growth in enrollments has averaged close to 9 per cent per annum for a thirty year period.[6]

Indian higher education seems like an enigma enveloped in contradiction. Pockets of excellent teaching and research are surrounded by a sea of substandard colleges. The best graduates compete successfully in the world job market, but unemployment at home is a reality for many. Scholarship is often superseded by politics and, in many institutions, crisis is the norm. A system which was at one time highly selective has opened its doors to large numbers, yet at the same time there is conflict and sometimes violence over access to what remains a scarce commodity. By world standards, India is providing postsecondary education to a relatively small proportion of its young people—about 4.8 per cent of the relevant age group—while the United States educates half and Europe about one-fifth.[7] Resources are at the heart of the higher education dilemma. While student numbers have increased at a rate of more than 9 per cent per year for close to a half-century, government expenditures increased by *2* per cent per annum and expenditures per student have actually declined by 2.9 per cent when

measured against inflation.[8] It is not surprising that standards have declined under these circumstances.

At the same time that expansion has been the hallmark of higher education and systemic reforms have largely failed, there has been much change in Indian higher education. Many analysts have pointed out that much of this change has been negative—deteriorating standards for much of the system, student political activism, the growth of corruption and the like and there is little doubt that these characterizations are correct.[9] There is also evidence that a good deal of positive change has occurred in the system, often at the margins. For example, the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were established more than two decades ago with the aim of providing top quality education in engineering and related fields. The IITs have succeeded in this task and while they have not transformed the universities, they have proved that a high quality of higher education in engineering, computer science and related fields is possible in the Indian context.[10] The IITs, as well as some of the other small-scale innovations have proved that change can be successful. Within the traditional system, several curricular improvement schemes in the sciences and in the social sciences and humanities have been widely praised.[11] In addition, there are many examples of local initiatives that have, often against great odds and without funding, improved higher education.

The Indian academic system has not been significantly altered. Indeed, the system seems to proceed according to an internal logic of its own, affected by but at the same time somewhat insulated from the regulated economy and the heavy hand of the bureaucracy. Indeed, it might well be that higher education suffers from the worst of all possible circumstances—it is subject to many of the bureaucratic regulations of the central and state governments and at the same time is beyond the scope of rational planning and administration. It is my contention that a powerful combination of forces makes systemic reform in higher education virtually impossible. It is probably the case that the higher education system is beyond the control of government in terms of basic change. The system responds to market forces in society and to a variety of stimuli—including government at several levels, politicians representing a wide range of constituencies, and highly organized special interest groups.[12] There is neither the means of controlling the higher education system (because postsecondary education is a joint responsibility of the central government and the states, with close to 30 per cent of university income coming from fees and private sources)[13] nor seemingly the will to do so because the status quo serves the interests of many articulate segments of the population.

India in Comparative Perspective

India is not alone in encountering difficulties in implementing university reform. Many Indians have criticized their academic system for its foreign roots and its inability to become more 'indigenous'.[14] The fact is, however, that no Third World academic system has discarded the western model. In many other parts of the Third World, academic institutions have changed less and are more tied to western models and traditions than is the case in India. Expatriate professors are a common phenomenon and universities frequently remain tied to counterparts in the metropole. India, despite its problems, has built a more indigenous economic and academic infrastructure than most Third World nations. The analogy with the automobile industry may be relevant here—India's decision to rely on domestic production and technology has meant that India's vehicles are not up to the world standard. Yet, they are indigenous. In higher education, the academic system, while based on western models, has a much higher degree of 'indigenous content' in terms of books, research, journals and the like than is the case in most Third World countries. India's academic system continues to be dependent to some extent on the world system because the bulk of world science is produced in the industrialized countries. Higher education in the Third World remains very much a part of an international knowledge system in which power and influence remain, to a significant degree, in the industrialized nations. For this reason, it is not surprising that India has found it difficult to discard the norms, values and institutional arrangements of the West.

The metropolitan languages, mostly English and French, remain entrenched in Third World universities. There are many reasons for this. In all Third World countries, decisions about language are political as well as educational. In multilingual Third World countries, choosing one language means downgrading others and allowing issues of regional preferences to enter into the equation. In countries with a number of languages—India of course is in this category along with many African and some Asian nations—choices become even more difficult. Africa's problems are especially severe because many indigenous languages are spoken by quite small populations and of those, some are not written. There are also technical problems involved in shifting to indigenous languages for higher education. Textbooks and other written materials often do not exist and sometimes vocabularies for advanced scientific and educational purposes are missing. Changing the language status quo is a matter of considerable controversy, complexity and often expense. In those relatively few countries

that have changed the medium of instruction to an indigenous language, difficulties have been encountered and standards have almost without exception declined.[15]

The contrast between Indonesia and India with regard to the choice of language is an interesting one. Language was an integral part of the program of Indonesian nationalism—the movement was committed to a national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Significantly, this language was not the mother tongue of a significant part of the population but was rather a widely known *lingua franca* used for trade. At the time of independence, Bahasa Indonesia was immediately adopted as the medium of instruction in education, including higher education. Serious problems were faced in providing sufficient textbooks and other written materials, but in time materials became available although advanced levels of education continue to face difficulties. In India, despite Gandhi's emphasis on using Hindustani as the national language, no decision was implemented concerning the language of education at the time of independence. Having lost the initiative, later language policies became subject to controversy and sometimes social unrest. After a half-century of independence, there is still no widely accepted language policy and the higher education system improvises workable solutions. Comparative analysis provides a few examples of countries which have made conscious decisions concerning language and which have implemented them, but in a much larger number of cases, language continues to be an issue of considerable controversy. Language problems are by no means limited to Third World countries. Canada and Belgium, for example, have seen considerable debate and unrest related to language issues and the educational system is a frequent linguistic battleground. Thus, India is by no means alone in its linguistic dilemma.

The implementation of specific university reforms has also proved difficult throughout the world. Indeed, it is generally true that successful university reforms have been legislated from above (by governments) and that universities have seldom been willing to reform themselves.[16] Where there are centralized governmental authorities with a clear educational perspective, such as in Sweden, significant reforms in higher education have been legislated and implemented over the strong objections of the academic community.[17] And even in the Swedish case, the academic community has remained rather critical of the reforms and was able to slow down their implementation. In West Germany, the academic community, through legal action and other pressure, limited the impact of the reforms legislated in the aftermath of the student revolts of the 1960s. Japan is another example of a country where traditional academic structures have been widely criticized and reform plans proposed but virtually no success has been achieved in

basic systemic reform.[18] It is perhaps significant that the most recent example of systemic higher education reform is in Britain, where the Thatcher government, disregarding the very strong opposition of the universities and the academic community, abolished tenure, consolidated institutions and introduced economic-based performance measures to determine budgetary allocations and thus got rid of the University Grants Committee as the main vehicle for funding the universities.[19] The Thatcher government also moved towards combining the two major higher education sectors—the universities and the polytechnics—into one. These changes were made through direct government initiative at a time when the Conservatives enjoyed a strong majority in the House of Commons and when there was a clear governmental consensus on education policy.

Despite their differences in wealth and economic development, India and the United States provide an interesting point of comparison in terms of higher education reform. Both academic systems are large and both serve a diverse population. Both have a large number of institutions functioning at many different academic levels. Most relevant, both have divided governmental responsibility for higher education—with the major power in the hands of the state governments but with the central government playing an important role in research and in several other selected areas and with a large and important private sector. Both countries have experienced massive expansion in higher education in the past four decades. However, neither has made any significant changes in the structure, function or orientation of the academic system. The different levels of the academic system operate quite independently and there is relatively little coordination.

In the United States, federal government policies in such fields as student loans and grants and legislation concerning affirmative action (programs for enrolling students from minority groups and women and special efforts for hiring minorities and women in colleges and universities) have had a significant impact on national policy. Further, the federal government plays a key role in providing funds for research. Similarly, the central government in India has an impact on academic policy through the initiatives of the University Grants Commission, which has worked to increase the salaries of the academic profession, to stimulate reform in various areas and to improve the quality of higher education. In both countries, the impact of central initiative has been limited in large part because of the diffusion of responsibility for higher education and the fact that the bulk of funding comes from the states. In India, for example, the central government provides around 23 per cent of funding for higher education, and the states and other sources 77 per cent. It is worth noting that the central share has declined significantly—from 39 per cent to 23 per cent—between 1971 and 1984.[20]

Because of the very significant amounts of money made available by the federal government in areas of national priorities—such as basic research, defense-related research and loan guarantees for students—national policy has had a substantial impact on higher education. Further, American federal law mandates compliance with specific policies when federal funds are accepted by institutions. This means that colleges and universities which have federal funding for research or which use federal student loans, must follow federal regulations concerning affirmative action, guidelines for access to loans, and a myriad of other regulations. Institutions have the option of not participating in federal programs and thus do not have to follow many of these regulations. A few colleges do not accept these funds but the large majority do take federal money and are thus liable to regulation.[21] It should also be noted that in the past few years, national government priorities have again shifted and funding for higher education has been cut and the specific legislation dealing with guaranteed student loans has been changed, limiting access to these funds as well as significantly reducing allocations. In the American system, national higher education policy exists in a relatively limited number of areas, and in these spheres the federal government has had significant impact. But there has been a constant debate concerning where policy is best made and where power over the direction of higher education should reside.[22] The policies of the various states are of primary importance when it comes to higher education—and there are significant variations in policy.

The object of this comparative analysis is to point out that the formulation of national higher education policy and, even more important, the implementation of policy, especially as it relates to reform and innovation, is highly controversial and contested in many countries. Even in Europe, which has highly centralized educational policy arrangements, the implementation of university reform has not been easy. It is, therefore, not surprising that the implementation of significant reform has been difficult in the Indian context. It might be useful for India to study the process of policy implementation both in the industrialized nations and in other Third World countries.

The Politics of Indian Higher Education

Higher education in India is a contested territory. Everyone has a stake in it. The public, and particularly the educated segments of the population, see access to postsecondary education as a high priority. There has

been strong opposition to limiting enrollments and there is much interest in higher education policy. Perhaps nowhere else in the world are academic issues so frequently reported in the newspapers. The political system at all levels is also very concerned with colleges and universities—higher education claims a significant share of governmental expenditures. Education, for example, accounts for about 4.4 per cent of expenditures of the Net Domestic Product of the states—and higher education accounts for about 15.5 per cent of education spending by the states.[23] Further, academic institutions are important political institutions—the source of patronage and prestige for politicians. Those within the academic system are also very vocal and are concerned with academic developments. Student activism is frequently concerned with higher education issues and internal college and university matters, a phenomenon which is quite unusual internationally.[24] Also somewhat unique is the intense political organization of the academic staff, which jealously guards its perquisites and especially jobs in higher education. Everyone is concerned with the college and universities, so much so, that these various powerful interest groups are often able to cancel each other out when it comes to academic policy.

Academic institutions confer degrees and access to at least the possibility of jobs in a highly competitive environment. They are themselves important sources of employment for members of the articulate and politically powerful middle classes. Indeed, in smaller towns and poorer parts of the country, a college may be the largest and most important institution in the area. Colleges are sources of patronage for those in charge of them. Admission to degree programs can be allocated and jobs, ranging from professorships to janitorial staff, can be awarded. Colleges are immensely powerful institutions in their own realm. They confer political power and authority. This reflects India's society of scarcity, where access to resources of all kinds engenders conflict. The fact that academic institutions are so politically charged—that they mean so much to so many people—has meant, in the Indian context, that it has been extraordinarily difficult to get any consensus concerning change or reform.

Higher education is a volatile political issue in any society. In India, political factors are overwhelmingly important in higher education planning and in the everyday life of academe.[25] Political factors have entered higher education at every level and, perhaps to an extent unprecedented internationally, affect academic decisions. Political factors enter into the appointment of academic staff, sometimes the admission of students, decisions on curriculum, selection of textbooks and a variety of other matters. Because academic institutions—from colleges located in rural areas to

metropolitan universities—are key organizations with scarce resources, they are subject to intense political pressures. Added to the 'normal' politics of higher education is the great weight of governmental involvement in academic decisions at all levels. The governments of the states are the most important factors since higher education is the responsibility of the states although the central government is also involved in key academic decisions. State governments have frequently intervened in academic matters, large and small. For example, the government of Rajasthan passed a law that replaced some elected university governing bodies with ones selected by the government. At another level, state government officials are frequently instrumental in appointing professors. In Bihar, one of the most politicized states, there is frequent interference in the appointment of academic staff. In one state, vice-chancellor was fired because he was involved with a book critical of the then Prime Minister.[26] Indian higher education is politicized from the lowest level to the highest and the convergence of different and often opposing political forces—in government, within academe and sometimes the public arena—has a profound impact on higher education reform. In India, 'normal' academic politics is made more volatile by the frequent intrusion of external forces into the decision-making bodies of colleges and universities.[27]

The 'small politics' of internal governance operates everywhere and often inhibits reform because it is difficult to obtain consensus among the key groups involved in the governance process. In India, the structures of internal governance are unusually complex. The internal governance of universities is not only subject to the usual complexities and consensual arrangements found in most countries, but because access to academic jobs and to admission to higher education institutions are prized, academic politics becomes more contested.[28] J.N. Kaul argues, for example, that the lack of a tradition of autonomous internal governance has made the development of effective structures difficult in the post-independence period. He also points out that the key academic structures in Indian universities—the Senate and the Academic Council—are too large, with more than 100 members in many cases, to be effective. The Executive Council, a smaller body which is supposed to have considerable authority, is often factionalized and heterogeneous and frequently at odds with the Vice-Chancellor. The university departments, which are supposed to have considerable autonomy, have never built up their own traditions, have a weak legal basis and have maintained a system of a powerful and often permanent head.[29] The complexity, weakness, and factionalism of the internal governance structures of Indian universities make decisive decision-making difficult and contribute to the politicization of the campus.

Reform is a key governmental concern since it will necessarily involve allocations of resources, changes in institutional and other structures; and it will impact on people within the academic system and often on the wider public as well. In the Indian system, there is relatively little insulation of higher education from governmental bodies—a tradition going back to the colonial period.[30] Unlike the academic systems of many industrialized nations, which claim a significant degree of autonomy, Indian higher education is directly subject to governmental involvement. The traditions, norms and legal protections of autonomy are, in general, lacking in the Indian context.[31]

Structural Sclerosis

The basic structure of the Indian academic system, as has often been pointed out, was put into place by the British, who had specific aims for higher education.[32] The concept of the affiliating university—the London model—which was imposed in India made good sense in the context of British needs, but it was not necessarily the best arrangement for a rapidly growing university system after independence. What made the situation even worse is that this system became, with a few exceptions, the standard organizational structure for Indian higher education. There was virtually no opportunity for variation. The major efforts in recent years to 'open' the organizational structure of Indian higher education have been successful at the margins in that some alternative models have been introduced—such as the agricultural universities, the institutes of technology and, most recently, autonomous colleges—but these have not affected the basic structure of the system. The weight of the historical past is a heavy burden for Indian higher education—one that the mainstream academic system has been unable to break. However, it should also be noted that the will to part with the past or even to open up the system in significant new directions has been lacking.

There are a variety of factors that have induced structural inertia in Indian higher education. Among these are: (*a*) the impact of the colonial model; (*b*) the lack of a readily available alternative; (*c*) the concentration of the academic system on expansion; (*d*) the lack of adequate funds and an orientation toward institutional survival; (*e*) the lack of consensus on directions for systemic change and opposition to change from a variety of constituencies, including students, academic staff and others; (*f*) the dispersion of responsibility for higher education among several levels of government; and (*g*) a highly bureaucratized system that does not stress a high level of innovation.

The Domination of Expansion

The hallmark of Indian higher education since independence has been growth. Student numbers have grown from 174,000 in twenty-eight universities and 695 colleges in 1950 to 3,948,000 students in 144 universities and 6,912 colleges in 1989—a growth rate of almost 10 per cent a year for a forty year period.[33] Expansion has taken place at all levels of the academic system—from an increase in numbers in postgraduate and professional education to the massive expansion of undergraduate arts and sciences colleges throughout the country, even in smaller towns and rural areas.

Expansion has continued despite a variety of policy statements and reports that have indicated that continued growth is not necessary and results in a misallocation of resources.[34] Virtually every official commission has recommended against further expansion, some urging that no public funds be allocated to new institutions. It has also been recognized that many of the newer colleges lack appropriate facilities and enroll an inadequate number of students.[35] Yet, expansion continues with only a modest decline in the rate of growth.

The fact is that expansion serves powerful forces in Indian society. Those who aspire to social and economic mobility in India's very competitive society know that they have a significantly better chance if they hold a postsecondary degree. While research shows that someone with a bachelor's degree in an arts subject has little chance of obtaining a job soon after graduation, jobs are eventually obtained. Further, the kind of employment available to degree holders is more prestigious even if not always more remunerative than what is open to those who have not gone on to post-secondary education. Thus, the availability of places in colleges and universities is a top priority of the aspiring middle class and to growing segments of the upwardly mobile rural and urban poor. Expansion also serves powerful political interests who see academic institutions as a base of political influence and power. These two immensely powerful forces in Indian society are not interested in increased quality of higher education. Indeed, they may well oppose more rigorous standards because this would place limitations on growth and would introduce more accountability into the academic system.

The reality of growth has meant that much of the attention of both the academic system and governmental authorities concerned with higher education has been devoted to dealing with expansion. Governmental resources have been utilized to provide funds to new colleges and universities. The universities, which have the responsibility of awarding degrees

to students in their affiliated colleges, have been reluctant to permit more autonomy, fearing a further decline of standards. It is fair to say that expansion has dominated the thinking and the resources of a very large part of the academic system in India, leaving little time and few resources for more basic reform.

The mainstream academic system has simply been overwhelmed with the tasks of coping with unending growth. There is no reason to expect the basic status quo to change because of the political and other pressures that press for further expansion. While there has been some success in slowing the rate of growth, it seems entirely impossible to stop expansion or even to create conditions under which coping with numbers will not be the primary task of the overwhelming majority of academic institutions in India.

The Academic Profession

The Indian academic profession is a large and diverse group of 250,000, with more than 80 per cent teaching exclusively at the undergraduate level. Academics everywhere are conservative when it comes to institutional change and have generally opposed reform.[36] In almost every country and in almost every historical circumstance, the professoriate has opposed change in higher education. The Indian academic profession is no exception to this rule and as a result has been a significant stumbling block to reform. It also has other characteristics that create additional problems.[37] As Irene Gilbert and Edward Shils have pointed out, Indian academics have few traditions of autonomy, creating a mentality of subordination.[38] As has been noted, the Indian academic profession was created by a colonial administration interested more in loyalty and docility than in creativity and research.

Remuneration for the profession has traditionally been quite low, although recent adjustments have, especially at the senior ranks, improved salaries significantly. The profession has traditionally been very much concerned with economic security even though many academics now earn salaries which place them firmly in the Indian middle class. There is nonetheless a sense of economic insecurity, perhaps fed by weak procedural protections of job security and a tradition of powerful and often autocratic academic administration, especially in the undergraduate colleges. Like for many in the Indian middle class, fear of decline in status and income is never far from the surface and this contributes to conservatism in the academic profession.[39]

The profession is also unionized to a significant degree, and the unions have almost always opposed major reforms, distrusting policy makers and

fearing that changes in working conditions would create problems for their members. The profession, in some institutions, is also politicized. Academics often see their world in political terms because of the intense politicization of the governance structures of academic institutions and political involvement in academic appointments at all levels. Academic unions are often themselves involved in politics, both at the institutional level and in society. Unions are frequently affiliated with political parties and movements and to some extent bring the ideological or sometimes ethnic or caste politics of the society onto the campus. Because the unions often have political allies in society, the unions are able to mobilize extra-university forces on their behalf, often within state legislatures or in the Lok Sabha. Academic unions, in the Indian context, are not well understood, but they are a powerful force in higher education—one which has an impact on reform as well as on other aspects of academic decision making.

The fact that most teachers working in undergraduate colleges have virtually no role in policy making has limited their feeling of participation in the academic enterprise. Significant reform is almost always seen as a threat to the established patterns of work of the academic profession and possibly a threat to job security in a context (at least in the undergraduate colleges) where tenure is often not very safe. Thus, the sociology, psychology and institutional status of the academic profession has generally meant that they have opposed reform efforts.

Resources

Indian higher education is chronically short of money. Even when compared to the resources provided to higher education in many other Third World countries, India seems, when measured on a per capita basis, to be relatively poorly endowed. As has been noted, expansion has taken place without a commensurate increase in funds. Yet, there is widespread agreement that higher education should receive a smaller proportion of the education budget.[40] This makes the overall situation of higher education extraordinarily difficult since it has been impossible to limit growth; at the same time, resources are not available to adequately provide for increased numbers.

The usual means for implementing innovations in higher education has been for the central government, through the University Grants Commission, to provide partial or sometimes complete funds for specific innovations, such as examination reform or curricular reform, for a limited period of time. At the end of that period, the state governments or individual

institutions must take fiscal responsibility. This system has had several impli-cations. One is that innovations end when the period of funding ends—even though commitments have been made to continue them. Another pattern is for the innovations to be inadequately funded at the state or local levels, and after a period of time to fall into disrepair. Agencies at the state and local levels are simply too concerned with the day-to-day survival of the institutions and with the pressure of ever increasing numbers to be able to maintain innovations, especially when those changes are the result of external rather than local ideas.

On several occasions, however, resources have been found to imple-ment significant new initiatives in higher education. The establishment of the institutes of technology more than two decades ago is an example. The IITs have proved highly successful in terms of providing high quality higher education in specific fields. They have, when compared to the traditional colleges and universities, been quite expensive. In general, however, funds have not been available for significant reforms in the mainstream sector of higher education, that is the colleges and universities.

Directly related to the issue of resources for change in higher education is the question of 'who should pay?' for higher education. In India, as Tilak points out, fees account for under ten per cent of the total cost of higher education—down from twenty per cent in 1950.[41] And the fees paid by Indian students, when measured in real terms, are about half of what was paid in 1950. There are few loan programs in Indian higher education. It is clear that there are a variety of complex issues related to resources for higher education in general and for significant reform in particular. While there are some reforms that can be implemented without massive infusions of money, most systemic changes require fairly significant amounts, and it seems unlikely that governmental resources, either at the center or in the states, will be available. Other alternatives may be considered, such as, increased fees to students; more significantly differentiated tuition based on the cost of instruction; loan schemes and other ways of raising the income of higher education institutions. The question of resources for reform is both crucial and daunting.

The Examination System

The system of lockstep examinations that has been common in Indian higher education for more than a century has been identified as a key prob-lem for reform.[42] Examinations shape the curriculum and determine the nature of instruction. They reduce the autonomy of the instructor in the

classroom and severely limit the possibility of innovation. There has been widespread criticism that examinations do not adequately measure what has been learned.[43] The problems of administering the examination system have also been widely discussed—the inefficiency, occasional dishonesty and disruptions of the system have brought considerable disrepute to the academic system as a whole.

At the same time, they are said to maintain a 'floor' of quality in a mass higher education system in which standards are difficult to maintain. While every official commission that has examined higher education for the last forty years has attacked the examination system, and efforts by agencies such as the University Grants Commission and the Association of Indian Universities have attempted to improve or modify the system, virtually nothing has been done. Many in the system are unwilling to take the risk of reform, fearing that anarchy will result. The examination system is one of the few common elements that maintains some uniformity. It is also symptomatic of the broader problems of reform in Indian higher education. There is an unwillingness to take risks that may produce problems in an academic system that is frequently on the brink of breakdown.

Over the past two decades, reforms have seized on the examination system as a key element of what is wrong with Indian higher education and have tried to change it. Some have attempted to tinker with the existing system by proposing 'question banks', better national supervision and other improvements in efficiency. Another popular proposal has been to permit more internal assessment, thereby bringing the instructor into the process of assessment and reducing the reliance on the centralized examination structures. A few have urged scrapping the system altogether, arguing that the examination system lies at the root of all bureaucracy and corruption in Indian higher education and that 'market forces' should be permitted to decide which academic degrees are valued in the marketplace.

What is significant is that none of these proposals has yielded results. The fact that this one element of the traditional system, seemingly relatively easy to change, has proved not only difficult but impossible to significantly improve or reform tells us quite a bit about the problems of broader systemic reform. It is not difficult to understand why the system should be so difficult to alter. It is very much a part of the traditional academic balance in India. Students know what to expect and means have been evolved to help students pass the traditional examinations. The ubiquity of profit-making coaching institutions, the widespread (but mostly formally forbidden) offering of private classes by many teachers as a means of earning additional remuneration, and even institutionalized cheating in some parts of

India have all built up patterns of behavior and expectations regarding the examination system. The system benefits the teachers because they can not only earn money through coaching but also from grading the examinations. The system itself, with its supposed incorruptibility because the tests are designed and graded centrally, also offers some protection against favoritism and corruption. The fact that many fail the exams and as a result do not obtain their degrees does not seem to make much of a difference. It is estimated that between 20 per cent (in many science and technology fields) and 60 per cent (in some arts and social sciences areas) fail the university examinations each year.[44] The examination system, established by the British colonial authorities, is deeply ingrained not only in the educational system but throughout Indian society. Changing it requires not only altering the approach to the award of academic degrees but, in a sense, a shift in the psychological approach to meritocracy. Many do not trust the existing system, assuming that some corruption and favoritism has crept in, but few are willing to trust an entirely new and untried arrangement.[45]

Society and the Universities

Higher education in India plays many roles. As stated earlier, it is of extraordinary importance to many and reforms are often seen as significant threats to specific social arrangements that provide benefits to powerful groups. The checks and balances of societal forces as well as entrenched groups on the campus have inhibited—indeed prevented—significant reforms. The politics of the society are often played out in the universities, escalating campus conflicts and further politicizing higher education. Social unrest is the result and most often the changes are not implemented.

An example of an effort to help solve a significant societal problem through a reform in higher education is the highly volatile issue of the reservation of university places for students from scheduled castes and tribes and, more recently, to students from other disadvantaged sectors in the society who have not been specifically identified in the Indian Constitution as being disadvantaged. The issue of 'reservations' has been a volatile one in many parts of India for many years. The efforts by the government of Gujarat to expand the number of groups for which reservations would apply led to major social unrest, riots and eventually the collapse of the state government over the issue. Other states also began to implement more wide-ranging reservations policies. Andhra Pradesh, for example, identified 44 per cent of the places in colleges and universities (as well as in the

government bureaucracy) which would be subject to reservations—14 per cent of the seats reserved for scheduled castes, 4 per cent for scheduled tribes, and 25 per cent for other listed backward castes.[46] During the past few years, when former Prime Minister V.P. Singh moved to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, which recommended that the central government provide far-reaching reservations, similar to those in Andhra Pradesh, the issue took on national prominence. Not surprisingly, the most dramatic protests against the implementation of the Mandal recommendations came from the campuses.[47] Reservations are unpopular among the academic community as well as among students. Violent demonstrations took place, especially in north India, and a number of students immolated themselves. After considerable unrest, widespread unfavorable commentary and political maneuvering in the Lok Sabha, V.P. Singh's Janata Dal government fell—further indicating the political importance of issues that directly affect higher education. The point of this discussion is that it has not been unusual for governments to seek a solution of broad societal issues by looking towards higher education. Nor has it been unusual for the academic community to react vigorously and sometimes violently.

Language has been a similar issue in which government attempted to solve a difficult social and political problem through policy relating to higher education. As N. Jayaram points out, despite considerable conflict and controversy and quite a few proposals for reform over several decades, there is still no solution to the issue of medium of instruction in Indian higher education.[48] Different states have varying approaches to this problem, reflecting regional political and cultural factors and there are significant variations even among the universities within states. English, after almost a half-century of independence, remains an important language in Indian higher education. It continues to dominate the sciences and technological fields and is considered the 'prestige language' in most fields. While Hindi has made considerable inroads in the 'Hindi heartland' of the north, it has little importance elsewhere.

Controversies concerning the medium of instruction in schools and especially in higher education have, from time to time, erupted into violence. Students have generally been at the forefront of militant protest. The issues are complex and emotional. On some occasions, regional cultures are being protected against what is seen as 'Hindi imperialism'. In other cases, the English-medium status quo is being defended against regional demands. In still others, local rights are considered paramount. The complex language situation in higher education not only reflects another failure to use the universities as an instrument of national social policy but also complicates any

effort to implement major reforms at the national level. It further indicates how deeply felt and often emotional elements resist change.

The point of these examples is that the use of higher education to implement broader social policy inevitably creates controversy and has, in general, not been successful. It also detracts from more purely educational issues and debates. India, of course, is not alone in using education as a lever for social change. Schools and universities are relatively powerless institutions—and they are in any case dependent on public funds. As a result they are logical targets for manipulation. The implications are always serious and sometimes unanticipated.

There is no doubt that systemic reform in higher education engenders a similar controversy. Virtually any meaningful reform has implications for articulate segments of the public and is also of concern to political leaders at various levels. Given the politicization of Indian higher education, it is hard to see how such reforms could be implemented. Unrest from various segments of society and extended debate in the press and in government would, if the past is any indication, either severely compromise the proposed reforms or scuttle them.

Because higher education is such an important social institution in almost all societies, it is subject to considerable scrutiny. It serves as an avenue for social mobility, as a means of providing the skills needed for a modernizing society, as a 'parking lot' for people who would otherwise be unemployed, as a source of political power, and sometimes even as a business enterprise. While it is the case that India did not choose its academic model, it has had ample time since independence to make changes—and changes have in fact been made. The Indian university system has evolved in line with political, demographic and societal pressures. In this sense, the system as it now stands serves some important societal needs and reflects its realities.

What Does It All Mean?

Is meaningful systemic reform possible in Indian higher education under the circumstances discussed here? Probably not. The complexity of the social context in which higher education exists very likely makes systemic reform impossible. To do so, the proposals for reform, the political will for implementation and the economic resources required would have to be extraordinarily powerful. The thoughtful and articulate proposals of the Radhakrishnan Commission and the 1964–66 Education Commission

were not fully implemented. Although some of these proposals, and others in recent years, yielded some results, none of them could be considered systemic. The establishment of the University Grants Commission (UGC), for example, stemmed from proposals in the Radhakrishnan report. It took from 1949 to 1956 for the UGC to be fully established, and it has never fulfilled its mission completely.[49] The point here is that it may be possible to implement relatively small but meaningful reforms in the higher education system even if systemic change is beyond reach.

The development of Indian higher education since independence has, in many respects, been impressive. Despite the criticism of the over expansion of higher education, the provision of postsecondary education to more than three million students and the expansion of postsecondary education from the cities to a much wider geographical area in a developing society is a significant achievement—and one which has had considerable societal support over the years. There are also accomplishments in terms of quality and new higher education initiatives. The establishment of the IITs and the expansion of high quality education in engineering and related fields, the growth of postgraduate teaching and research in the universities through centers of advanced study, the painfully slow progress of the autonomous college movement and a variety of other initiatives show that there has been progress.

The great monolith of the Indian academic system has steadily grown for a half-century and shows no sign of major change. Yet, at the margins there has been significant change and development. Perhaps this is the model for future reform. The central core of the academic system, however inadequate it is perceived to be in terms of quality and its direct relationship to technological development and employment, is seemingly a permanent fixture of Indian society. Change can, however, occur around the edges of this monolith. And it seems possible to make modest improvements in the academic system itself rather than to focus entirely on the non-university sector. Indeed, the seeds of reform planted in the universities may yield results which will have wider implications than establishing entirely new institutions (such as the institutes of technology).

Is this analysis optimistic or pessimistic? Perhaps it can be best characterized as realistic. Postsecondary education in India is an extraordinarily important part of modern Indian society and it is intertwined in the political and social systems of the society. It is in need of change, development and improvement. In order to effectively plan for reform and improvement, it is necessary to have a realistic perception of what is possible and what is not.

Notes

1. C.P.S. Chauhan, *Higher Education in India: Achievements, Failures and Strategies* (New Delhi: Ashish, 1990), p. 47. See also S.P. Gupta, *Indian Science in the Eighties and After* (Delhi: Ajanta, 1990) and Eugene Garfield, 'Science in the Third World', *Science Age* (October–November 1983), pp. 59–65.

2. Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 54–146.

3. This theme has been elaborated in J.N. Kaul, *Higher Education in India, 1951–71—Two Decades of Planned Drift* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1974).

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7. It should be noted that there is disagreement concerning these enrollment ratios for India—they vary between 4.8 per cent and 9 per cent, depending on which sources are being cited. See Moonis Raza, ed., *Higher Education in India: Retrospect and Prospect, op. cit.*, p. 32.

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12. J.N. Kaul, in his book *Governance of Universities: Autonomy of the University Community* (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1988), discusses some of the forces which impact on the academic system.

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15. Malaysia is an example here. The medium of instruction was changed from English to *Bahasa Malaysia* about a decade ago. The shift was in general successful but it is widely agreed that standards have declined and Malaysian scientific production has fallen significantly. Textbooks in many subjects remain in short supply.

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22. See Samuel K. Gove and Thomas Stauffer, eds., *Policy Controversies in Higher Education* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1986).

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27. See 'The Dimensions of Governance', in *Higher Education in India: The Institutional Context,* eds., Amrik Singh and G.D. Sharma (Delhi: Konark, 1989), pp. 235–312.

28. See Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, *Leadership and Ambiguity* (Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press, 1986), for a discussion of the complexities and problems of academic governance and leadership in the United States.

29. J.N. Kaul, *Governance of Universities, op. cit.*, p. 157.

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5

A World-Class Country without World-Class Higher Education: India's 21st Century Dilemma

Philip G. Altbach

India is rushing headlong toward economic success and modernization, counting on high-tech industries such as information technology and biotechnology to propel the nation to prosperity. India's recent announcement that it would no longer produce unlicensed inexpensive generic pharmaceuticals bowed to the realities of the World Trade Organization while at the same time challenging the domestic drug industry to compete with the multinational firms. Unfortunately, India's weak higher education sector constitutes the Achilles' heel of this strategy. India's systematic disinvestment in higher education in recent years has yielded an academic characterized by mediocrity, producing neither world-class research nor very many highly trained scholars, scientists, or managers to sustain high-tech development.

India's main competitors—especially China but also including Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea—are investing in large and differentiated higher education systems. They are providing access to large numbers of students at the bottom of the academic system while at the same time

building some research-based universities are able compete with the world's best institutions. The recent London *Times Higher Education Supplement* ranking of the world's top 200 universities included 3 in China, 3 in Hong Kong, 3 in South Korea, and 1 in Taiwan, and 1 (an Indian Institute of Technology at number 41—the specific campus was not specified) in India.

These countries are positioning themselves for leadership in the knowledge-based economies of the coming era. There was a time when countries could achieve economic success with cheap labor and low-tech manufacturing. Low wages still help, but contemporary large-scale development requires a sophisticated and at least partly knowledge-based economy. India has chosen that path, but will find a major stumbling block in its generally poor university system.

Higher Education Realities

India has significant advantages in the 21st century knowledge race. It has a large higher education sector—the third largest in the world in student numbers, after China and the United States. It uses English as a primary language of higher education and research. It has a long academic tradition. Academic freedom is respected. There are a small number of high quality institutions, departments, and centers that can form the basis of quality sector in higher education. The fact that the states, rather than the central government, exercise major responsibility for higher education creates a rather cumbersome structure, but the system allows for a variety of policies and approaches.

Yet, the weaknesses far outweigh the strengths. India educates approximately 10 percent of its young people in higher education, still a rather low number by international standards—compared to more than half in the major industrialized countries and 15 percent in China. India's academic system has an unusually small high quality sector at the top—most of the academic system is of modest quality at best. Almost all of the world's academic systems resemble a pyramid, with a small top tier and a massive sector at the bottom. India has a tiny top tier. None of its universities occupy a solid position at the top. A few of the best universities have some excellent departments and centers, and there are a small number of outstanding undergraduate colleges. The University Grants Commission's recent major support of five universities to build on their recognized strength is a step toward recognizing a differentiated academic system—and fostering excellence. At present, the world-class institutions are mainly limited to the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), the Indian Institutes of Management

(IIMs) and perhaps a few others such as the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. These institutions, combined, enroll well under 1 percent of the student population.

India's colleges and universities, with just a few exceptions, have become large, underfunded, ungovernable institutions. At many of them, politics has intruded into campus life, influencing academic appointments and decisions at all levels. Underinvestment in libraries, information technology, laboratories, and classrooms makes it very difficult to provide top-quality instruction or engage in cutting-edge research.

The rise in the number of part-time teachers and the freeze on new full-time appointments in many places have contributed to a decline in the commitment and morale of the academic profession. The lack of accountability at any level means that teaching and research performance is seldom measured. The system provides few incentives to perform to the highest standards. Bureaucratic inertia hampers change. Student unrest and occasional faculty agitation sometimes disrupts normal operations, delays examinations, and foments tensions. Nevertheless, with a semblance of normalcy, faculty administrators are able to provide teaching, coordinate examinations, and award degrees.

Even the small top tier of higher education faces serious problems. Political pressures on the IITs to alter admissions and other policies have jeopardized the generally effective meritocracy that has characterized those institutions. Many IIT graduates, well trained in technology, have chosen not to contribute their skills to the burgeoning technology sector in India. Perhaps half leave the country immediately upon graduation to pursue advanced study abroad—and most do not return. A stunning 86 percent of students in science and technology fields from India who obtain degrees in the United States do not return home immediately following their study. Another significant group, some estimate as many as 30 percent, decide to earn MBAs in India because local salaries are higher—and are lost to science and technology. A corps of dedicated and able teachers work at the IITs and IIMs, but the lure of jobs abroad and in the private sector makes it increasingly difficult to lure the best and brightest to the academic profession.

Few in India are thinking creatively about higher education. There is no field of higher education research. Other countries with vibrant academic systems collect data and focus analytic attention on their universities. No independent research or policy centers focusing on higher education exist. Those in government as well as academic leaders seem content to do the "same old thing." Academic institutions and systems have become large

and complex. They need good data, careful analysis, and creative ideas. In China, more than two-dozen higher education research centers, and several government agencies are involved in higher education policy.

Why Does This Matter?

India has survived with an increasingly mediocre higher education system for decades. Now, as India strives to compete in a globalized economy in areas that require highly trained professionals, the quality of higher education becomes increasingly important. So far, India's large educated population base and its reservoir of at least moderately well-trained university graduates have permitted the country to move ahead. But the competition is fierce, with other countries rapidly upgrading their universities and research facilities. China in particular is heavily investing in improving its best universities with the aim of making a small group of them world class in the coming decade, and making a larger number internationally competitive research universities. Other Asian countries are also upgrading higher education with the aim of building world class-universities. Taiwan, which is a major designer and producer of IT hardware, is considering merging several of its top technological universities to create an "Asian MIT."

To compete successfully in the knowledge-based economy of the 21st century, India needs enough universities that not only produce bright graduates for export but can also support sophisticated research in a number of scientific and scholarly fields and produce at least some of the knowledge and technology needed for an expanding economy. India's recent decision to stop producing generic pharmaceuticals to conform with WTO rules underscores the need for the country to have an independent research capacity to develop, manufacture, and market scientific products, including medicines.

Paths to Success

How can India build a higher education system that will permit it to join developed economies? The newly emerging private sector in higher education cannot spearhead academic growth. Several of the well-endowed and effectively managed private institutions maintain reasonably high standards, although it is not clear that these institutions will be able to sustain

themselves in the long run. They can help produce well-qualified graduates in such fields as management, but they cannot form the basis for comprehensive research universities. This sector lacks the resources to build the facilities required for quality instruction and research in the sciences, nor can enough money be earned by providing instruction in the mainstream arts and sciences disciplines. Most of the private institutions do not focus on advanced training in the sciences.

Only public universities have the potential to be truly world-class institutions. Institutions and programs of national prominence have already been identified by the government. But these institutions have not been adequately or consistently supported. The top institutions require sustained funding from public sources. Academic salaries must be high enough to attract excellent scientists and scholars. Fellowships and other grants should be available for bright students. An academic culture that is based on meritocratic norms and competition for advancement and research funds is a necessary component, as is a judicious mix of autonomy to do creative research and accountability to ensure productivity. World-class universities require world-class professors and students—and a culture to sustain and stimulate them.

A clearly differentiated academic system has not been created in India—a system where there are some clearly identified elite institutions that receive significantly greater resources than other universities. One of the main reasons that the University of California at Berkeley is so good is that other California universities receive much less support. India's elite universities require sustained state support—they require the recognition that they are indeed top institutions and deserve commensurate support. But they also require effective management and an ethos of an academic meritocracy. Funding institutions that are incapable of managing resources is a wasteful investment. At present, the structures are not in place to permit building and sustaining top-quality programs even if resources are provided.

A combination of specific conditions and resources are needed to create outstanding universities.

- Sustained financial support, with an appropriate mix of accountability and autonomy.
- The development of a clearly differentiated academic system—including private institutions—in which academic institutions have different missions, resources, and purposes.
- Managerial reforms and the introduction of effective administration.

- Truly meritocratic hiring and promotion policies for the academic profession, and similarly rigorous and honest recruitment, selection, and instruction of students.

India cannot build internationally recognized research-oriented universities overnight, but the country has the key elements in place to begin and sustain the process. India will need to create a dozen or more universities that can compete internationally to fully participate in the new world economy. Without these universities, India is destined to remain a scientific backwater.

6

Tiny at the Top

Philip G. Altbach

India has surprised the world by suddenly jumping into the front ranks of emerging economies, but its colleges and universities remain mired in the past, and may be moving backward.

Mumbai's venerable Elphinstone College sits stolidly in a city transformed by India's economic boom. Though Mumbai's legendary poverty remains painfully apparent, it is home to the thriving Indian stock market, the Bollywood film industry, and a burgeoning tech sector. Even the city's name (formerly Bombay) is different. Yet when I returned to Elphinstone recently after a 40-year absence I found the college barely changed, its extraordinary 19th-century Indo-Islamic-Gothic main buildings lightly renovated, its classrooms and library much as I had left them long ago. The condition of Elphinstone, one of India's most prestigious colleges, is a telling sign of the state of higher education in the world's largest democracy. Underinvestment has led to stagnation.

Stagnation is no longer a word that people reflexively apply to India. Starting in the early 1990s, the nation rocketed to prominence as the world's second-fastest-growing large economy. Moreover, it is growing not mainly by the standard means of low-wage manufacturing, like China, but through the provision of knowledge-intensive services and software, with globally recognized homegrown corporations such as Infosys and Tata Consultancy Services in the lead. In the coming year, however, these two high-tech giants will hire thousands of college graduates from abroad.

The problem is not so much the quantity of Indian university graduates as their quality. India has the world's third-largest system of higher education, with 10.5 million students studying at 17,625 institutions. Last year, these institutions turned out nearly 700,000 graduates in science and engineering disciplines alone. However, in a recent opinion survey, human resources managers at multinational companies in India said they would consider hiring only 10 to 25 percent of Indian graduates.

Virtually all of the world's academic systems are shaped like a pyramid, with a small, elite sector at the top, a large, relatively unselective middle, and a bottom usually composed of vocationally oriented postsecondary institutions. Patterns of funding, government support, and management necessarily vary for each sector, with costs per student in the elite sector much higher. India long ago chose a pyramid with a very broad bottom and a miniscule top, and it shows few signs of changing. Its policy has been to spend little on higher education and spread its money widely, devoting only 0.37 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) to postsecondary education. Only countries such as Japan and South Korea, where the vast majority of students attend largely unsubsidized private universities, approach India's low government spending levels. China spends 0.50 percent of GDP on colleges and universities, while the United States spends 1.41 percent and the United Kingdom 1.07 percent. Even more remarkably, the share of Indian GDP devoted to higher education has hardly budged in years.

As a result of this approach, the entire Indian system strains even to achieve mediocrity. More fatefully, its top tier is stuck in a state of arrested development. The absence of a significant group of world-class universities is perhaps the most serious impediment to India's ambition to build a sophisticated knowledge-based economy.

At the pinnacle of the nation's higher education establishment stand the seven Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), which have won fame around the world for their prowess in engineering, along with five institutes of management, the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, and a handful of schools such as the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, focused on the physical sciences, and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. But all of these institutes are fairly specialized, lacking a university's full panoply of research and teaching programs. And they are small. The seven IITs have a total of 30,000 students, about as many as a single state university campus in the United States.

Despite their justified renown, the IITs do not appear near the top of international rankings of universities. (In *The Times Higher Education Supplement* list shown on page 43, they rank 50th.) Yet their graduates can compete with the best anywhere in the world. Alas, that is precisely what

many choose to do, going abroad to take jobs or pursue advanced degrees and not returning. The United States alone is home to an estimated 40,000 IIT alumni, many of them highly successful. (Large numbers of engineering graduates in every country, including the United States, take more lucrative jobs in business management rather than stay in engineering.)

Apart from the specialized institutes, there are some outstanding master's- and doctoral-level academic departments in India's universities, and a few schools have fairly high standards—such as the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, one of the few institutions sponsored directly by the central government. (Most public universities are funded by the state governments.) A small but significant cadre of undergraduate colleges throughout the country has developed high standards and attracts excellent students. But with few exceptions these places lack state-of-the-art equipment, falling far below international standards.

The swollen middle tier of Indian higher education is full of universities and colleges that provide a mediocre education at best. "Poor facilities, abysmal teaching, no accountability … a caricatural education," is the summary offered by Indian-American academics Devesh Kapur and Sunil Khilnani. Faculty members, though not badly paid, have little power and limited job security, and rarely have a role in determining their own curricula. Pedagogy is based on rote learning and "teaching to the exam." Only about one-third of the nation's 472,000 academics hold Ph.D.'s. It is taken for granted that many professors will not show up for class; some supplement their incomes by insisting that students take their private "coaching classes."

As in many other developing countries, moreover, higher education is extremely politicized. Local politicians use colleges for patronage, awarding student slots as well as staff positions—from janitor to professor—to supporters. Considerations of caste, region, and other factors are common in academic appointments and other hires. The institutions are riddled with petty politics and low-level corruption.

A significant part of the higher education system's woes stem from a byzantine structure that stifles diversification and innovation. Under the Indian constitution, education is mainly the responsibility of India's 31 states, which provide most of the (scant) funding—though the central government exercises significant regulatory power and funds parts of the system directly, including the institutes of technology. Most of India's colleges are legally private institutions, established by religious groups, ethnic or linguistic communities, charitable trusts, and the like. Only 30 percent of them receive government financial support; most of the rest are "unaided" and must rely on tuition and other funding sources. Almost all of the

colleges are affiliated with a university and subject to regulations governing such matters as faculty salaries and entrance requirements, which has the effect of stifling any healthy competition. In recent years, however, a few of the best colleges have achieved independent legal status, and seven completely independent private universities have been launched.

India is not blind to the dire condition of its higher education. For more than 50 years, official commissions have been offering wise reform proposals. The first IIT was born in 1951 in a moment of enlightenment. But very little has changed. The challenges have seemed overwhelming, money has been scarce, and political will appears absent.

A discouraging reminder of the obstacles to improvement came this past spring. Even as the blue-ribbon National Knowledge Commission was at work on new reform proposals, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh unilaterally announced a dramatic change in the country's "reservation" policies: At the IITs and other top institutions, which were already required to set aside 22 percent of the seats in each entering class for the former untouchable caste and other disadvantaged groups, the quota would be increased to 50 percent. In the explosive reaction that followed, two members of the commission resigned, decrying what one called the "insidious poison" of politicization. It was all the more discouraging that Singh himself is a former academic and world-class economist who must have known very well that this step, however laudable the professed goal of reducing social inequality, would destroy international competitiveness at India's top institutions and deal a powerful blow to the fragile meritocratic ethos in Indian higher education. Singh apparently felt compelled to bow to the left-wing members of his coalition government. Critics were quick to point out the cynicism of meddling with a handful of highly visible institutions while doing nothing to remedy decades of inadequate funding of education at every level that have left nearly half the Indian population illiterate.

India is a country of enormous potential, with a huge pool of talented young people who are eager for education and the opportunity to participate in the knowledge economy. Yet to fulfill its potential, India must develop an elite, internationally competitive higher education sector even as it greatly improves the general quality of education, from the universities all the way down through the primary schools. There are few signs that India's leadership is prepared to take the necessary steps, and recent events indicate that lately it has even been moving backward. A visitor to Elphinstone College a decade from now likely will find it, along with the rest of India's colleges and universities, in much the same sad state of gentle dilapidation and neglect it is in today.

7

Vedanta University: A Flawed Pipe Dream

Philip G. Altbach

Given the contemporary realities, one cannot be very optimistic about the chances for success of the proposed university.

The latest grandiose and probably unrealistic idea for establishing a world-class university is Anil Agarwal's Vedanta University, planned to be opened in 2008 in Orissa. Mr. Agarwal, a mining magnate, has pledged an initial $1 billion for the project. International architects have been hired, the State authorities are on board, and a group of academic leaders is being hired from around the world.

The idea is to create a university with 100,000 students, offering degrees in the major fields and stressing an interdisciplinary approach. While the details of the university's organisation have not been revealed, it is intended to look like Harvard and Stanford. While it is always a good deed when one of the world's richest men takes an interest in higher education, it is unlikely that Vedanta University will achieve the desired results, no matter how much money Mr. Agarwal spends on it.

In India, where so much of the emerging private higher education sector is de facto for-profit and narrowly focusses on a few high-demand vocational fields, it is good that a major industrialist is investing in higher education.

The clear public interest motivation for the university is also heartening as is the goal of planning an institution that will offer an array of disciplines and not just business administration or information technology.

Does the proposed university have an overarching educational philosophy and strategy to obtain the goal of building a world-class university? Is there an educational vision behind the money? Building impressive physical facilities are a start but will by no means ensure success. The heart of any university consists of its faculty—the professors who do the actual academic work and who must have the autonomy to shape the institution's programmes. Academic leadership is also a necessity—leadership with an intellectual vision as well as the ability to build and manage a complex organisation.

A Modest Sum in Reality

A billion dollars sounds like a lot of money, but when spread around a university of 100,000 students, it is in fact a more modest sum. One must separate the cost of building the campus from the operating costs of a major research university.

The annual budgets of universities such as Harvard and Stanford are about $1 billion; the major European universities spend less but are in this league. An average American research university typically has an operating budget of close to half a billion dollars.

No research university in the world has 100,000 students or even anything close. The University of Chicago, one of the few top-ranking institutions established in 1890 with the idea of being a world-class research facility, today has 13,700 students, 4,000 of them undergraduates and an annual budget of more than $1 billion. Its major benefactor, John D. Rockefeller, at the time the world's richest man, spent several billion dollars in the currency equivalent of the time.

Even more significantly, Chicago's founding president, William Rainey Harper, had a vision for the university that he was able to implement. The idea came first, the money second. It was also possible to lure many of the world's best scholars to the new university with top salaries and the promise of academic freedom and autonomy. The university was located in one of America's fastest-growing cities—a centre of the emerging technologies of the early 20th century. Stanford University, established in 1891, took longer to mature. It did not become a major research university until after the Second World War, benefiting from innovative leadership and the development of the high-tech industries of the Silicon Valley of northern

California. Stanford's enrolment and budget are similar to the University of Chicago.

The Chicago and Stanford examples have several lessons for the proposed university, as do the realities of Indian higher education. The goal of serving 100,000 students will doom Vedanta University. Indeed, the University of California, Berkeley, one the largest highly ranked research universities in the United States, enrols 33,000 students, and its size has been capped. One of the reasons for the success of the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Birla Institute of Science and Technology (BITS), and a few others has been their small size. These institutions have been able to maintain high standards and create a real academic community in part because of a manageable size.

Location Important

Location is also a significant element. It is hard to imagine a world-class university emerging in rural Orissa. Most of the world's distinguished universities are in or at least near metropolitan centres. India's highly regarded institutes of technology are near major cities for the most part.

There are a few exceptions to this metropolitan rule. Several of America's major public universities were established in the 19th century in rural areas at a time when the U.S. was still an agricultural society. Examples include the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Pennsylvania State University or the Russian academic complex around Novosibirsk. BITS has done well in Pilani. But all of these institutions struggle against their geographical isolation to maintain their excellence.

It is difficult to lure academics and students to out-of-the-way places and to support intellectual and cultural institutions. Even in the age of the Internet, location matters a great deal. Indeed, it can be argued that in the era of globalisation, location is even more important because all top universities must attract the best and brightest talent from around the world. It is unlikely that in rural Orissa, Vedanta University will be a significant lure.

Will the university be a public or private institution? With hardly any exceptions, there are no successful private research universities outside of the U.S. and Japan. All the rest are public, state-supported institutions. The reason for this is the high cost of sustaining research universities over time. It is not enough to pour money into the development of a campus and the initial start-up costs. Distinguished research universities need massive financial resources over time. Some of this support must come from public sources. Other funds can be generated from student tuition and fees

and from research grants from public and private sources obtained by the professors. Many research universities around the world have not achieved their goals because of the lack of sustained financial backing. While $1 billion or $3 billion is a large investment and will go far towards establishing world-class facilities, additional funds will be needed to sustain the university, especially in its early years, once it is up and running.

Will Vedanta become a global university located in Orissa or an Indian university with significant global influences? If it is a global institution, then how will it contribute to India's development? If it is Indian, will it be overwhelmed by the well-known problems of bureaucratic control, minor corruption, and other issues that affect most of Indian higher education?

Given the contemporary realities, one cannot be very optimistic about Vedanta's chances for success. Let us hope that those funding the project will have the foresight to anticipate the problems and maximise the chances for success.

8

Can India Garner the Demographic Dividend?

Philip G. Altbach
N. Jayaram

Much has been said recently about India's demographic dividend: that its working-age (15–59 years) population, as of now, largely consists of youth (15–34 years), and as a result its economy has the potential to grow more quickly than that of many other countries, including China. China, because of its "one-child" policy over the past several decades will soon begin ageing and, as a result, say the demographers, will become less competitive. But can India hope to garner its demographic gift?

Demographic realities

According to the Census of India, while the proportion of population in the under 14 age group declined from 41 per cent in 1961 to 35.3 per cent in 2001 (that is, by 5.7 percentage points), the proportion of population in the age group 15–59 increased from 53.3 per cent to 56.9 per cent (that is, by 3.6 percentage points) during the same period. The proportion of those above 60 years of age also increased from 5.6 per cent to 7.4 per cent (that is, by 1.8 percentage points). In terms of absolute numbers, the increase in the 15–34 age-group population is even more dramatic: from

174.26 million (31.79 per cent) in 1970 to 354.15 million (34.43 per cent) in 2000. The youth segment of the population is projected to peak at 484.86 million in 2030.

This demographic fact has important implications for the labour market. According to official data, India's labour force, which was 472 million in 2006, is expected to be around 526 million in 2011 and 653 million in 2031. It is noteworthy that the growth rate of labour force will continue to be higher than that of the population until 2021. According to the Indian Labour Report, 300 million youth would enter the labour force by 2025, and 25 per cent of the world's workers in the next three years would be Indians.

The United Nations Population Division projections show that, while in absolute numbers the youth segment (15–34 years) of the Indian population tapers off after 2030, as a proportion to the total population it tapers off from 2010 itself. Although this tapering off is marginal (from 35.4 per cent in 2010 to 34.5 per cent in 2020, to 32.4 per cent in 2030) in the next three decades, it will be swift to follow (to 29.7 per cent in 2040, to 26.6 per cent in 2050). Even so, the youth segment of the population will be a massive 441.1 million in 2050.

Since a majority of the youth knock on the doors of the labour market right by the age of 15, the youth segment of the population will also have to be considered in relation to the larger working-age (15–59 years) population. The United Nations Population Division's analysis and projections offer valuable insights on this development. Although the percentage of the 15–34 age group reaches its peak (35.4 per cent) in 2010 and tapers off from then onwards, the percentage of the 15–59 age group reaches its peak (64.6 per cent) only in 2035, and tapers off gradually over the next 15 years to 61.6 per cent in 2050 (still marginally higher than what it was in 2005, that is, 59.5 per cent).

Educational Deficits

Thus the demographic predictions are loud and clear: that the promise of demographic dividend will not last long, in any case beyond 2050. Can India take advantage of this demographic window in the next couple of decades and garner its benefits? One cannot be too optimistic about this trend considering its poor education system from bottom to top. India's literacy rate, after 60 years of independence, is around 63 per cent—China's is 93 per cent. The largest part of India's schools is of poor quality. Teachers are inadequately prepared, weakly motivated, poorly paid, and frequently absent.

The situation in higher education is even more problematic for India's participation in the global knowledge economy. The overall quality of the higher education system is well below global standards and it has shown no significant sign of improving. High-tech employers complain that a large majority of engineering and other graduates are inadequately trained and must be "re-educated," at considerable expense, by their employers or not hired at all. The large high-tech firms—such as IBM, Infosys and Wipro—have set up their own in-house academies to prepare employees for productive work.

The highly regarded Indian Institutes of Technology and a small number of other Indian world-class institutions produce only a small number of graduates each year. Many of these graduates leave the country for employment or further education immediately after graduation.

The government's plans for expanding and upgrading higher education are inadequate both in size and scope. They are also impractical. For example, the IITs are already short of staff and cannot find the quality of professors that they need. The "protective discrimination" policy in vogue that reserves close to half of teaching positions for members of indigenous tribes, disadvantaged castes, and other groups makes it even less likely that top-quality faculty can be found. Some of the new IITs, now in the planning stage, are located far from metropolitan areas, and convincing well-qualified faculty to relocate there will be difficult if not impossible.

On the quantitative side too, there are problems. India now educates only 10 per cent of the age group in higher education. Dropout rates among that 10 per cent are high. A growing number now attends often low-quality colleges and other institutions that are not funded by the government—some of which are little more than teaching shops and degree mills. Current plans to raise the participation rate to 15 per cent by 2015—still well under what other emerging economies are now educating—seem inadequate to achieve 15 per cent participation.

India has a serious "infrastructure problem" in education as it does with roads, ports, public transportation, electricity, and so on. Long-term inadequate spending and poor planning will catch up with India's booming economy at some point. In terms of human resource, it is not enough to have lots of young people—these young people need to be properly educated to fully contribute to the new economy. After all, as the Swiss psychologist and psychiatrist, Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), expresses: "The wine of youth does not always clear with advancing years; sometimes it grows turbid."

SECTION II

Academic Profession

Whither the Academic Profession in India?

N. Jayaram

I n the land of the guru, the profession which has taken over its obligations is held in low esteem both by those who practice it and by others." With this quotation from Edward Shils (1969: 345) as the epigraph, Philip G. Altbach presented in 1977 what was perhaps the first incisive analysis of the ambivalent position of the academic profession in India (see also Altbach 1972, 1979). Since then he has had an abiding interest in the developments in the academic profession in the country. Besides coediting a book on the subject (Chitnis and Altbach 1979), he has persuaded me over the last 35 years to reflect on the trajectory of higher education in India, in general, and the developments in her academic profession, in particular (see Jayaram 2003, 2007, 2012; Jayaram and Sivaramakrishnan 1979). And we have co-reflected on the subject, too (see Altbach and Jayaram 2008; Jayaram and Altbach 2006).

In putting together *The Indian Academic Profession*, Altbach and his coeditor Suma Chitnis had anticipated the coming crisis of the academic profession (Chitnis and Altbach 1979). The subtitle of the volume—*Crisis and Change in the Teaching Community*—highlighted this as much. Significantly, this critical appraisal, the first serious attempt of the sort in India, was undertaken by Chitnis and Altbach during the first phase of the phenomenal expansion of higher education in the country. After a long period of protected expansion with state patronage until the mid-1980s, higher education entered a period of stunted growth and uncertain future. With many a state government imposing an embargo on filling up vacant teaching posts in their universities and colleges, and the best of talents turning to more attractive career options occasioned by globalization, the academic profession experienced perhaps the most precipitous decline ever.

In its first report to the nation in 2006, the National Knowledge Commission recognized the travails of higher education in the country as

"a quiet crisis ... that runs deep" (2007: 1). Since then, several policy measures and programs of action have been announced to address this "quiet crisis." How effectively these policies and programs will be implemented would determine whether India, among the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) counties can reap the benefits of the "demographic window" that is open to her for the next two decades or so (Altbach and Jayaram 2010).

The academic profession is the linchpin of any system of higher education; as such, a major policy reform has been with reference to the recruitment and remuneration of the teachers. With effect from January 2006 the salaries of teachers have been upwardly revised to an extent unthinkable a decade back (see Jayaram 2003, 2012). The professoriate is now comfortably placed and the academic profession, it is hoped, will again become attractive in the employment market. This hope, surely, is not entirely misplaced, as improvements in pay packets and service conditions are *necessary* for rejuvenating the academic profession. They, however, are not *sufficient* to groom and orient the academic profession to realize the promise of higher education in the coming decades.

To start with, the salary reforms have not been uniformly implemented across the country and in different types of institutions. The institutions of national importance (like the Indian Institutes of Technology [IITs]) and central universities have fully implemented the new pay scales and service conditions as approved by the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), Government of India. However, the state governments have not implemented them uniformly; there are variations in the date of the implementation, the payment of arrears, the age of superannuation, and so on. The deadlock between the central and state governments over the age of superannuation had, in fact, deprived about 400,000 teachers in nearly 250 state universities and 25,000 colleges of their arrears of pay and allowances (Telegraph India 2012).

Presuming that public-funded institutions across the country implement the new pay scales and service conditions in letter and spirit, it can at best prevent those who are likely to look for greener pastures elsewhere in the knowledge economy from leaving the academia. There is acute shortage of qualified persons to fill in the vacant teaching positions. The report of the MHRD's task force put the faculty shortage at about 54 percent (Times News Network 2011). According to the Standing Committee on Human Resource Development, the shortage of faculty at the eight newly instituted IITs is as high as 60 percent (Anand 2012). Even so, the institutions of national importance and central universities get the best of the

talent available as compared to the state universities and colleges; they also siphon the best of teaching talents out of the latter, where bulk of instruction in higher education takes place. The problem of faculty shortage is sure to become more acute once foreign university begin their operations in the country.

While recommending the implementation of the new pay scales and service conditions, the government had reiterated the importance of quality and suggested stricter guidelines in the matter of recruitment to the academic profession and advancement within it. However, there has already been a tendency either for the government to relax some of the conditions or for the universities and colleges to ritualize them. For instance, UGC has wavered on the matter of doctorate and National Eligibility Test (NET) being an eligibility criterion for assistant professorship. On the grounds of non-availability of qualified candidates, many an institution opens backdoor entry into the profession by making what are called *ad hoc* appointments. Furthermore, performance appraisal, which one thought would be a rigorous quality control measure, has already been ritualized. This belies hope that increase in salary will bring better talent into the academic profession and improve the quality of higher education. The question of accountability of the faculty, who now draw increased salaries, has regrettably remained unanswered.

Unable to fill in the vacancies for various reasons, higher education institutions, including the public-funded ones, are making good with "temporary" lecturers (with no guarantee of continuation), "part-time" lecturers (who teach for a specified number of teaching hours in a week), and "guest" faculty (who help the college or department "to complete portions of the syllabus"). Such teachers, who now constitute a significant part of higher education, have become its permanent feature in many states. Paucity of funds has been the familiar refrain of the state governments for their inability to tackle the problem of shrinking academia.

The decline of the academic profession has coincided with the broad basing of its social composition. Thanks to the policy of protective discrimination, during the past few decades, a significant section of candidates belonging to the traditionally disadvantaged sections of the population have entered the academic profession. The new entrants into the profession, many of them first generation in their communities to have acquired postgraduate qualifications, are confused about the ethos of a profession in decline.

What is disconcerting, parochialism has become an integral part of higher education. Educational institutions run by minority religious

communities have always shown preference for candidates belonging to their own religion or sect, and similarly, those dominated by particular caste groups have shown bias in favor of their caste fellows. Universities and state governments, too, prefer candidates belonging to their own jurisdictional areas or states. This encourages inbreeding and hinders mobility among academics.

Thus, India seems to have paid a heavy price by not arresting the decline in the academic profession during the last four decades. The reforms have come late and been slow and half-hearted in implementation in changing the face of the academic profession to give us much hope of expansion of higher education with improvement in its quality. Given the state of the academic profession, the dream of our institutions of higher education joining the league of world class institutions will remain just that.

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9

In Search of Saraswati: The Ambivalence of the Indian Academic*

Philip G. Altbach

College teachers in India are the focus of this article. Working conditions, attitudes, and their organizational milieu are surveyed. Data for this article are provided by a case study of the University of Bombay. The ambivalent role of the college teacher as an individual with an inadequate income, declining social status, and yet the pretensions of professionalism is a theme of this article. The Indian teaching community has been called on to function in a rapidly expanding higher education system but with inadequate resources. This situation has led to declining standards of education in general, and in a demoralization of the academic community in particular. A tradition of bureaucratic involvement in academic affairs and only a limited amount of academic freedom have further retarded the growth of a profession and effective teaching community.

> "In the land of the guru, the profession which has taken over its obligations is held in low esteem both by those who practice it and by others." (Shils, 1969, p. 345)

The theme of this article is ambivalence, and its topic is the Indian academic profession. This is a large topic, since there are 156,562 teachers in the university system, with all but 26,569 of them in the undergraduate colleges affiliated to the universities.[1] India's higher education system is the third largest in the world, after the United States and the Soviet Union, and enrolls more than three million students. The teaching community is, thus, a large and important element of India's society. Further, it has a long tradition. Universities date from the mid-Nineteenth century, and some colleges are even older. This discussion concerns, for the most part, college teachers, who constitute the large majority of the teaching community, and not university staff, who are better paid and have significantly better working conditions and a higher professional status. We are concerned, specifically, with teachers in the Arts and Sciences colleges, the large majority of the total. Conditions and orientations of staff in professional colleges, such as law, engineering, and to some extent commerce often differ. These latter institutions generally operate at a somewhat higher level than the arts and sciences colleges. This article is based on a case study of arts and sciences colleges affiliated to the University of Bombay, but it has relevance for the rest of India, since conditions do not differ markedly throughout the country.[2]

The post-secondary teaching community is an important yet often subtle social force in many Third World countries. In nations, such as India, with a large educational system, it is numerically strong and diffuse geographically. In all Third World nations, it is responsible for training the politically and economically articulate segments of the population, and thus even when the teaching community itself is not directly involved in political or social affairs, it has an indirect role. While university teachers are expected to do research and publish, and many of them are among the top ranks of the nation's scientific and literary intellectuals, college teachers seldom contribute through publication to cultural and political affairs. It has not been uncommon, in India and in other Third World countries, for teachers to run for public office, to serve as government advisors or even as ministers (at present, at least three members of Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet are former academics). Until the recent Emergency, which has effectively put an end to political opposition, a number of prominent and articulate political activists were from the academic community.

In India, the political traditions of academics differ considerably from region to region. In Maharashtra, the state of which Bombay is the capital, the teaching community has not traditionally been involved in politics

and was not especially active even during the struggle for Independence. In Bengal and in Uttar Pradesh, however, teacher militancy has a long tradition and academics have been involved both in national and regional politics and in internal university politics, sometimes causing institutional disruption. One of India's best known universities, the Banaras Hindu University, was disrupted periodically for years in part because of academic politics. There are considerable differences between levels in the academic system and among the different parts of the country in terms of the political and intellectual participation of the academic community.

The academic community also plays a key intellectual role in Third World nations (Shils, 1972). Colleges and universities provide a livelihood for many intellectuals in situations where free-lance writing or other intellectually-based occupations are few. Many key journals and other means of expression are based in the academic community. In societies where the "infrastructures" of intellectual life—the mass media, publishing firms, scholarly and other journals—are not well established, the academic community provides a home for a significant portion of creative intellectual work. This is true even in industrialized nations, but seems to be even more crucial in the Third World.

Undergraduate or college teachers have a somewhat ambivalent position in many countries, and India is one of these. They are, for the large majority of students, the embodiment of higher education. In a sense, they set the tone for post-secondary education. But they are not in the forefront of intellectual life. College teachers are seldom "creative individuals" and they seldom produce research or creative writing. They are, however, very much part of the intellectual system in that they transmit knowledge and culture to large numbers of students. College teachers are often not fully professional in that they do not have real autonomy over their working conditions and often do not control key elements of their teaching situations. In most university systems, the main burden of research and scholarship is carried by professors in university settings that offer a full range of graduate studies. These institutions have adequate research facilities and libraries and faculty members are expected, in many countries, to actively participate in the research enterprise. College teachers stand somewhere in the middle, and their situation is one of ambivalence. On the one hand, they are part of the post-secondary educational system and have many of the expectations of their colleagues in universities in terms of social prestige, roles, and income. On the other, they do not often perform the "prestigeful" functions of research and graduate teaching that are the hallmarks of the university teacher.

It is my argument that the college teaching community finds itself in a particularly difficult situation and that, as a result of many factors, it has not developed fully into a profession and has not contributed substantially to the broader intellectual life of the nation. Perhaps more seriously, the standards of teaching are low and the teaching staffs seemingly have neither the power nor the will to make the kinds of changes needed to improve standards. College teachers feel that they are not adequately paid, that they have little control over their conditions of work, that independent scholarly endeavor is not rewarded, and that standards of education are inadequate. While many teachers work to the best of their abilities and some colleges manage to engender a sense of commitment, in general the teaching community has little feeling of autonomy. College teaching, for most teachers, is not a "calling" but rather a job, and a poorly paid job at that.

The college has an important but somewhat subservient place in the Indian higher education system. Colleges are responsible for undergraduate education of virtually all Indian students, and handle approximately 90% of post-secondary education in India. In that sense, they are the key element of the system. However, most colleges are "affiliated" to a parent university. This means that the university, which is usually physically separate from the college and has relatively little intellectual contact with it, has minimal standards for the affiliation of new colleges in terms of collegiate facilities. The university sets all examinations and gives degrees—the colleges have no power to grant degrees. The university approves the syllabus which is designed to dovetail with the examinations, and the colleges have little control over their curriculum except through participation in university committees. Finally, the university sets salaries for college teachers and often legislates the means of hiring—and firing—teachers. The university administration has some participation in virtually all elements of collegiate life, despite the fact that it has little role in the day to day operation of the colleges. The colleges, however, have participation, and sometimes a majority, on many of the committees which directly affect curriculum and other matters. For example, the majority of members on the Boards of Studies in the various disciplines are from the colleges. The overall situation, however, contributes to a situation of limited power, both by the teachers in the undergraduate colleges and by the colleges themselves.

College teachers, in India and the Third World especially, are in a particularly ambivalent situation. Academic traditions are largely Western in origin and orientation, and indigenous roots are sometimes weak. As a result, roles are often not well established. The post-secondary teaching profession has expectations based on Western models, and sometimes on a

past in which the educational system was small and aimed at an elite. Post-independence reality has generally seen rapid expansion of the educational system and sometimes a declining standard of education. The teaching profession has been caught in this rapidly changing situation. Their own expectations relate to Western ideals of professionalism and autonomy, but reality dictates a different function for college teachers—a function more related to secondary education than to the university. The purpose of this paper is to describe the reality of the Indian college teacher and to place this reality in the broader educational and social environment of Indian society.

The Indian Context

The Indian academic profession emerged from a tradition of subservience and remains subordinate to the present time. Colleges and universities were patterned after British institutions, and the British colonial authorities were more interested in creating a reliable and obedient class of middle level bureaucrats than in creating a high quality educational system. Even the prestigious Indian Educational Service, which constituted the pinnacle of the teaching profession until its dissolution was very much under the thumb of the British authorities. Bureaucratic rules predominated, and academic freedom was restricted in many areas (Gilbert, 1972).

The indigenous Indian intellectual and academic tradition also has an element of style which has inhibited the emergence of a strongly innovative intellectual life. The modern university system, established by the British for their own purposes, did not foster intellectual initiative and slavishly followed British models, both in terms of organization and style. The Hindu intellectual tradition also fitted well into this new organizational pattern. Reliance on commentary on established texts and on narrow scholarship was well established in traditional Indian scholarship, and coexisted neatly with the new university system. This "dual subservience" has inhibited Indian scholarship and has given a style to some of Indian academic life which has limited creativity.

Like the Hindu family, the academic system is hierarchical and this hierarchy provides relatively little mobility. Once placed in the academic caste system, it is very difficult to move. The *sudra*[3] college teacher, particularly in a rural college, seldom has the opportunity to reach the *nirvanna* of the Brahmin university professor. And the life style, remuneration, and ethos of the lower levels of the academic system differ from those at the top.[4]

The curious bifurcation of higher education into undergraduate and postgraduate spheres contributes to the low status of college teachers, as does the system of "affiliated" colleges. While some work at the Master's level does go on in some of the better colleges, and an occasional college teacher who obtains the doctorate is able to move to a university department, the gulf between the university departments—and hence research work, upper level teaching and prestige—and the colleges remains very wide. University teachers have a moderate teaching load (between four and nine classroom hours per week plus supervision of research), a higher salary scale, office facilities, and some secretarial assistance in most cases, and often housing or other fringe benefits. Most university teachers hold the doctorate and many have been trained abroad. The standard degree for college teachers is the Master's and often a second class[5] Master's at that.

Even among the colleges in a large university like the University of Bombay there is a considerable hierarchy. While salary scales are legislated by the university and teaching responsibilities do not differ markedly from college to college, there is a clear hierarchy. The prestigious colleges tend to be located in the central part of the city, to be older, to attract students from upper middle class or upper class backgrounds and with experience in English-medium secondary schools. Facilities tend to be better, the libraries larger, and the amenities for teachers more adequate. The teaching staffs from the prestigious colleges tend to have better qualifications and often to be graduates of those colleges. There is more a sense of community among the teachers at the prestigious "downtown" colleges than in the rest of the academic community in Bombay. Of the 43 arts, science and commerce colleges located in Bombay, perhaps five could be considered as having a separate identity and a degree of prestige.

Most studies of the teaching profession indicate that, at least in recent years, college teaching is not an occupation which attracts very many of the incumbents. Observers have pointed out that the academic qualifications of college teachers have declined as very able individuals tend to take jobs in the private sector or in government, where remuneration is better, prestige higher and working conditions more favorable. Many teachers freely admit that the academic profession was not their first choice. Within academe, the sciences tend to have greater attraction than arts subjects, with students with high examination scores going into science subjects more often than into arts subjects. As a result, it is unlikely that better qualified teachers are in the scientific subjects.

The "arts" subjects such as sociology, English, foreign languages, and some other areas have become increasingly female in recent years, as the

prestige hierarchy of subjects has moved to science and commerce fields. It has been estimated that in many Bombay colleges up to 90% of the students in some arts fields are women, many of whom will not be seeking remunerative employment after graduation but who are in college to improve their marriage prospects. This situation provides dramatic evidence that women are increasingly well represented in the educational system (of the 141,714 students enrolled in the University of Bombay and its affiliated colleges, 93,126 are men and 48,588 women), although women seem to be concentrated in fields which are less prestigious and less remunerative. The teaching staff in these fields is gradually becoming predominantly female, and this may have long term implications for these fields and for the role of women in college teaching in India. It might be noted that college teaching has traditionally been a field which has attracted women, provided scope for advancement, and in which women have played an active role.

The teaching profession is less attractive mainly for economic reasons. As early as 1954, more than half of the teachers at the University of Bombay interviewed in a study of the conditions of faculty members complained about the inadequacy of their income (Report of the Inquiry . . . , 1954). Given inflation and the fact that academic salaries have not kept up with the cost of living, a larger proportion of college teachers find it difficult to live adequately on an academic income. It is commonly felt that remuneration is better in other fields and thus the teaching profession cannot attract the best qualified applicants. Many teachers report that they do not advise their best students to enter academic life. Clearly, the economic burden weighs heavily on the teaching profession and is a crucial factor in its decline as a viable professional field.

The Situation in Bombay

The University of Bombay is one of India's oldest institutions (1857) and remains among the more prestigious universities in the country. It is typical of the organizational structure of most Indian universities and is among the larger institutions in the country with 141,000 students enrolled in its departments and affiliated colleges and with a total of 4,768 faculty members, the vast majority of whom are in the colleges. The university has a full range of postgraduate departments, some of which, such as economics and chemistry, have a national reputation. This analysis is largely concerned with the affiliated colleges, of which there are a total of 73 in Bombay, including medical and engineering institutions. The University's affiliated colleges are located throughout the metropolitan area of some 7,000,000 people and

most are situated a considerable distance from the main university centers. Most college teachers seldom go to the university campus or the library and their professional lives are very much centered at their colleges. While the University of Bombay has a considerable influence over their academic situation, they feel that the university is quite distant geographically as well as intellectually, from them. Their hopes—and frustrations—are focused on the colleges. The University has responsibility for setting the syllabus, devising and administering examinations, awarding degrees, deciding conditions of work for teachers in the colleges and devising salary scales. As such, it has direct relevance to the lives of college teachers but most feel that the levers of university power are far from their control. Indeed, many college teachers express considerable frustration at being unable to influence the policies of the university. Some feel themselves hamstrung by a curriculum which is rigid and difficult to change. But most seem to accept the University and its pervasive regulations and try to function effectively within these parameters.

The College Environment

The college determines the working situation of the teacher and, as such, has the primary impact on professional life. While all colleges must function under the umbrella of University regulations, there are considerable differences among them, and some colleges have managed to create distinctive environments. A key element in the collegiate equation is the nature of the "management," or the group of individuals who are responsible in the corporate sense for the college and who make basic decisions concerning the internal management of the institution, including such matters as hiring and firing of staff and administrators, the nature of facilities, and other matters. These questions are decided within the context of university regulations, but the managements of the colleges are left with considerable power. For the most part, managing committees are self-perpetuating bodies of laymen reflecting the interests of the founders of the college. Members often come from business backgrounds and seldom have any expertise concerning education or management. The management is able, if it wishes, to create an atmosphere, an ethos, in its college which can have a profound effect, negative or positive, on the staff (Altbach, 1972). Most colleges are managed by "private" groups, usually reflecting caste, regional, religious, or linguistic interests which seek to serve their communities by providing collegiate education. Colleges have also been founded by political interests or occasionally by profit making groups. Most of Bombay's colleges are run by

private groups. Some of the city's best colleges are administered by Christian missionary societies, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. While missionary colleges remain among the most prestigious in India, they have declined as a proportion of the total. A few, such as St. Xavier's in Bombay, exercise a national influence in terms of maintaining high standards and instituting innovative programs. A few colleges are managed directly by the state government, and these also have a distinctive flavor.

The managing committees of the individual colleges regulate various aspects of the lives of the teachers, such as setting maximum teaching loads (within university guidelines), and making various policies concerning other aspects of college life. One Bombay college, which adheres to an orthodox version of Hinduism, forbids its teachers to smoke on campus and legislates the attire of staff and students. The management also hires staff members—and can fire them. Much of the staff gossip concerns the policies of the management. The chief administrative officer of the college is the principal, who has substantial control over the college in its day-to-day operations. The principal is the direct instrument of the management, and is hired by the management and can be fired by them at any time. Most principals are very cognizant of their responsibility to management, and must carefully balance the interests of management with the sometimes divergent pressures from university policy, staff wishes, and student demands.

The basic structure of the college is autocratic. There is little pretense of collegial decision making or of participation by teachers (not to mention students) in policy making in many colleges. Indeed, the University structure allows for more participation from the teaching community through its Boards of Studies, Senate and Syndicate, all of which have at least some teacher representation. A few colleges have instituted means of allowing staff members a role in decision making, but this is not the norm. In general, policy within colleges is made by the management, usually in consultation with the principal. The exceptions to this autocratic norm are noteworthy because these colleges generally have a higher morale and a greater sense of professionalism. Several of the Christian-managed colleges, such as St. Xavier's and Wilson, have teacher representatives on college governing bodies. The most democratic institutions are Ruia, Podar, and Kirti colleges, which are managed by Maharashtrian groups and in which the faculty has virtually total control over the internal arrangements of the institution.

Job security is a key issue for Indian college teachers, particularly in a situation of considerable unemployment of skilled individuals. The formal legal safeguards for job security are minimal in Bombay, although university or college authorities must engage in a lengthy series of procedural steps to

fire a "confirmed" teacher.[6] These university rules have provided considerable job security for college teachers, and very few have actually been fired in Bombay. Unconfirmed teachers can be fired without cause, and many colleges have increasingly resorted to temporary appointments in order to provide more flexibility—on occasion, government or university authorities have supported a policy of not confirming teachers. The Bombay University Teachers Union has supported stronger legal guarantees of both academic freedom and job security, although some thoughtful academics have argued that such laws would strengthen the hand of government in educational affairs, and that reliance on internal university regulations would be better in the long run. Despite the fact that very few teachers have been dismissed from their jobs in Bombay, there is a general feeling that neither job security nor academic freedom are very well protected.

The college management and its administrative embodiment, the principal, have considerable impact on the college teacher. Day-to-day working conditions are determined to a significant extent by the atmosphere created by the management. Physical facilities and amenities are determined by the management. Teachers generally have no role in policy making and only a limited voice in determining their own teaching schedules. In some colleges, department heads consult with the principal on most key matters relating to the academic affairs of the institution. But there is basically no involvement of the rank and file of the teaching community in any of the key decisions affecting their working conditions or environment in the majority of colleges.

The college environment helps to determine the nature of teaching and to some extent the orientations and attitudes of faculty members. In general, the colleges in Bombay do not provide the kind of physical environment which encourages professional development and quality academic work.[7] Few college teachers have their own offices or even their own desks. In many colleges, department heads cannot claim a space of their own to work. Typically, the teacher has only a seat in the staff common room where it is possible to relax, discuss with colleagues, or engage in academic work such as preparation for class, grading of papers, and the like. And common rooms are often fairly noisy, ill-lit, and in general not conducive to serious work. Teachers seldom have a place where they can meet informally with students, and it is rare that a faculty member will be found in the student canteen socializing with students. Students are not allowed in the staff common rooms.

The general facilities of most Bombay colleges can provide undergraduate students with minimum standards of quality. College libraries, with a

few exceptions, are small, fairly poorly maintained and inadequate for faculty research. Classrooms are antiquated and the opportunities for teacher-student interaction are quite limited. Laboratory facilities, again with some exceptions, are only minimally acceptable for undergraduate science teaching. Most of Bombay's colleges are housed in old buildings which are in need of renovation. Some of the newer colleges, often located in the suburbs, boast new buildings but these facilities were constructed with limited funds and meet only the minimum standards set by university authorities for affiliation.

Working conditions in the colleges also directly affect the morale, orientation, and professional standards of the teaching community. The University of Bombay has legislated a maximum of nineteen 45-minute lectures per week for any teacher. Most teachers work at or near this maximum and thus have very heavy teaching schedules. In some subjects "tutorials" are part of the teaching responsibility, although in many cases tutorials are more like classes since they involve up to fifteen students at a session. Similarly, some science teachers include laboratory sessions as part of their teaching responsibilities. College teachers who are professionally ambitious will often attempt to teach post-graduate classes in their subject. While there is a modest financial remuneration attached to such teaching, the main motivation is to qualify for a higher salary scale as a result of competence in post-graduate teaching. Thus, there is considerable competition for opportunities to teach these classes despite the additional work that is involved. There is generally a small reduction in the number of undergraduate lectures given if postgraduate courses are offered.

Teaching schedules are often not very well coordinated, as many staff members teach in the "morning colleges" (classes beginning as early as 6.40 a.m. and aimed at students who also hold full-time jobs) as well as in the regular college program. Many teachers complain that they have little time for preparation of new lectures because of a heavy teaching load. Classes in most subjects tend to be large—often more than 150 students in a single lecture, and this inhibits much direct interaction between teachers and students. There are few innovations made in teaching methods. This is due in part to the lockstep curriculum which is dictated by the University-sanctioned syllabus and reinforced by the pervasive centralized examination system. The individual instructor does not have the opportunity to examine students, and assessment is provided through university-administered tests.

It is clear that there is little professional autonomy in the teaching community. Class schedules are heavy and leave little opportunity for research or reflection even if there was stimulus for this element of academic life.

Schedules are not usually under the control of the individual staff member, and the teacher does not have control over the curriculum or over the assessment of students. There is no assessment of teaching quality in most colleges, and teachers have little incentive to spend much time improving their teaching. The dominant method of teaching is lecturing and there is neither incentive nor much opportunity to vary this method. Indeed, many teachers "dictate notes" directly to their students. This is done in part because it requires little imaginative effort by the teachers, and in part because many undergraduate students, particularly in the newer colleges which attract students with limited academic ability and backgrounds, demand that the teacher provide information which will be clearly understood and useful in the examinations.

Academic salaries do not permit a professionally rewarding life, even by the standards of the Indian urban middle class. Exact salary scales are now in flux in many parts of India, and it is likely that there will be some improvement, particularly for those at the upper reaches of the system in the universities. However, the income of the college teacher will improve only marginally in most cases and the basic situation will not change much. In Bombay, the basic college lecturer's salary ranges between about Rs 400 and about Rs 1,000, with some additional compensation for Bombay's high cost of living.[8] This salary structure is now in the process of upward revision to meet the increased cost of living. It is considered possible for a college teacher who has some other source of income—often a working spouse—to barely make ends meet and to survive in Bombay's middle class. But few amenities are possible, and a medical bill, family crisis, or other economic disruption can cause havoc.

Few college teachers can afford to live lavishly. Most seem to be able to participate in an urban middle class life style, but only with considerable struggle. Most teachers must commute considerable distances to their jobs, and often under uncomfortable conditions. It is not unusual for a teacher to spend more than one hour each way in commuting since academic salaries do not often permit living in the expensive neighborhoods close to many colleges. Few teachers can afford to purchase books and few use the major libraries available in Bombay. Thus, it would seem that college teachers read relatively little, although interviews indicate that they participate in various kinds of cultural activities, such as films and drama.

In addition to fairly low salaries, college teachers have virtually no "fringe benefits," thus contributing to their economic insecurity. There is no medical insurance available from the university, and only a fairly insignificant provident fund to which teachers may contribute as a kind of

retirement insurance. It is, moreover, not uncommon for salaries to be paid late. As a result of these elements, it is clear that the economic status of the academic profession leaves much to be desired, and certainly contributes to insecurity, fear, and low morale and job commitment.

The majority of teachers in Bombay seem to have some alternative source of income. Some come from wealthy families and have income from family sources. Many teachers have working spouses, and rely on these earnings. Quite a few teachers are forced to take outside jobs of various kinds. Some of these are related in some way to academe, but others are not. Most teachers grade university examinations, and thereby earn a modest additional income. Some teachers do "tuitions," or tutor students privately for a fee. Both of these sources of income are officially sanctioned by University rules. Some faculty members participate in "coaching classes" or private-enterprise tutorial schools which flourish by providing students with "cram" sessions aimed at passing university examinations. Such activity is against university regulations. Faculty members also author "guides" which are widely used by students as quick reference sources for examinations. While both the writing—and the use—of such reference books is not considered academically respectable, this can be a source of considerable income to authors. A few college teachers write textbooks in their fields. Since publishers will favor authors who can hope to get their books adopted as part of the university syllabus, it helps to be a member of the Board of Studies or somehow able to exercise influence. The author of a popular textbook can earn considerably more than his college salary in royalties. In addition to these activities which are related to academic life, some teachers hold jobs which are entirely unrelated, work in family businesses, provide consultation to business firms, or have other sources of income. While exact figures on the proportion of teachers who must earn income in addition to their academic salaries are unavailable, it is likely that, in Bombay at least, a large number have a second job or some alternative sources of funds.

There is relatively little mobility in the Indian academic profession, and this is also the case in Bombay. It is uncommon for a teacher to move voluntarily from college to college, although there is a good deal of circulation at the junior ranks when a teacher fails to achieve confirmation and tries to find a position at another college. This situation makes the average teacher more dependent on the particular college in which he is employed than would be the case in a more "mobile" academic system. Individual teachers must, therefore, be especially careful not to alienate powerful elements in their colleges so as to maintain their positions.

The background, orientation, and training of the college teacher helps to determine his professional role. College teaching is clearly an occupation which has lost a good deal of its social prestige and economic rewards in the post-Independence period. As higher education expanded, salaries remained steady, and the elite role of teaching declined. Relatively few teachers interviewed in several studies indicate that they chose college teaching as their first occupational choice (Sinha, 1969; Chitnis, 1969). It also seems that the social class origins of the teaching community have declined in recent years as well, although in Bombay some individuals from wealthy families enter college teaching more as an avocation than as a profession.[9] An increasingly large number of teachers, especially at the newer and less prestigious colleges, come from families which have not traditionally been educated, and for whom a college teaching career is a matter of importance and considerable upward social mobility. This segment of the teaching community sees itself as highly successful and is generally content with current salary levels. These individuals are not often research-oriented, and are tied to their colleges. It has been mentioned that the proportion of women in the teaching community has risen, particularly in arts subjects. Many of the women entering teaching are married and have family responsibilities. They are unable to take on a full professional role due to lack of time. Many of these women are also from fairly affluent backgrounds and see college teaching as a supplement to family income rather than as a career.

The educational qualifications of many college teachers are not outstanding, and have probably declined somewhat in recent years. Many college teachers hold second class Master's degrees, largely from the University of Bombay. Some teachers hold the doctorate or are working on a research degree, particularly at the older downtown colleges. At present, there is little or no incentive to complete the advanced degree, as added qualifications result in no higher salary or other benefits. There is now some discussion of requiring college teachers to pursue an advanced research degree. It is often the case that an individual, especially in the sciences, who does well on the university examination will be able to obtain a remunerative job in government or industry, and thus the academic profession is left with those individuals who could not qualify for these better positions. The public image, as well as the internal perception, of the expertise of the academic profession has clearly declined in recent years.

All of these elements mitigate against an orientation toward research and scholarly work. The educational background, reward structures, internal socialization process, time and schedule constraints and other factors all work against the college teacher having any concern with making

scholarly contributions. Most teachers seem to try to do their best within the constraints of the situation and their own abilities, but this does not generally include participation in any broad intellectual community or scholarly enterprise.

Bombay's Current Crisis

The final section of this paper deals with the contemporary situation with regard to the teaching community in Bombay. This situation embodies many of the key elements of controversy concerning higher education and the teaching profession. The impact of the Emergency on the political activities of teachers, efforts to improve working conditions for teachers, and issues of unionization of academics are all intertwined in Bombay's crisis. While the situation is at present tranquil, due in large part to the restrictions of the Emergency, the potential for considerable unrest exists. There is no question but that the teaching community is in turmoil, and that many frustrations and contradictions lie under the surface.

The University of Bombay, traditionally one of India's most orderly universities, has in the past year been involved in a struggle concerning staff-related issues. The basic issue has concerned the implementation by the University of higher salary scales mandated by the University Grants Commission. The new scales would have modestly raised the bottom of the salary scale by about Rs 100 per month and would have substantially raised the top of the scale so that college lecturers would have the potential of earning up to Rs 1,100 per month (about $130). In fact, due to technical elements such as adjustments in salaries for "Dearness Allowance" (additional income to offset Bombay's high living costs) and other matters, the new scales would not have meant dramatic increases for most college teachers—they were more impressive for postgraduate University staff. Because of a complicated financial and political situation which would have required the Maharashtra government to provide a part of the salary increases and the fact that the dominant element in the ruling party consists of rural areas uninterested in the financial well-being of urban academics, the implementation of the new salary scales was delayed. This delay, after initial promises from the Government, combined with other grievances to agitate the academic community.

Issues such as uncertainty about the possibility of large scale retrenchments of staff under a reform plan proposed by the Maharashtra Government, the firings of several teachers in local colleges, and other matters

stimulated the growth of the Bombay University Teachers Union, which was founded in 1967 but achieved real strength only in 1972 and 1973.[10] The BUTU leadership, consisting of a small number of college teachers, most of whom had some background in political affairs, was able to mobilize considerable support around the salary scale issue. Other issues, such as fears of college teachers that what little job security they had would be damaged by the possible broad scale retrenchments, a proposed revision of the Bombay University Act, and several moves by local colleges to retrench individual teachers contributed to BUTU's appeal. It is significant that the BUTU mobilized around "trade union" issues and attempted to use "trade union" tactics to achieve its goal.

The BUTU has worked to obtain legal safeguards for job security, and more clearly defined and improved working conditions for teachers. After considerable pressure, the BUTU convinced the University that the requirement that college staff be confirmed after a maximum of two years probation or dismissed be implemented—it had been widely ignored and many teachers remained on probation for long periods. The result of this initiative was that a large number of probationary teachers were fired. This was very much contrary to the result that the BUTU had desired. Similarly, the present dispute concerning the implementation of the UGC salary scales has resulted in a solution which is probably not in the best interests of the teachers, although this and several related matters are under litigation in the courts.

In order to force a recalcitrant Maharashtra Government to implement the new and improved salary scales, the BUTU organized a boycott by the teachers of grading the University's final examinations, thus bringing the operation of the University to a halt and massive pressure on University authorities from parents and others demanding examination results. This pressure was successful in forcing the government to agree to the implementation of the UGC scales. However, shortly after this agitation, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared the Emergency, effectively stopping all political activity and outlawing strikes and other forms of agitation. The Government of Maharashtra, taking advantage of this situation attached to the new salaries a series of additional conditions which were unacceptable to the BUTU and to most teachers ("Code of Conduct . . .," 1975).

These conditions are significant as they indicate some of the issues which are of concern to the government with regard to the teaching profession, and the matter indicates the degree to which the University is dominated by government authorities in terms of major policy decisions. Perhaps most important in the financial sense, the new salary scales were tied to an

elimination of additional payments to teachers for grading examinations. Teachers would be expected to grade examinations without remuneration and as a part of their normal academic duties. In addition, in order for teachers to be permanently given the new scales, they would be required to obtain an additional research degree beyond the Master's—either the PhD or the newly established research-oriented M.Phil degree. Teachers not completing this degree within a specified period of time would revert to the old salary scales. A series of very specific rules of conduct were promulgated, which would effectively remove many elements of the limited academic freedom available to the teaching community and would make it easier for administrators to discipline or dismiss teachers for infractions of these rules. The Maharashtra authorities, with the approval of the University of Bombay administration, chose to implement all of the recommendations of the UGC for upgrading and systematizing the teaching profession without regard to local conditions (Report of the Committee . . ., 1973). The new conditions and scales would result in considerably less autonomy for the teaching community, would increase qualifications for teachers which would be difficult to implement and place a tremendous burden on the University departments which would have to greatly increase the number of postgraduate degrees conferred, would place teachers under increased administrative rules and constraints, would further limit the possibility of political involvement, and would only marginally increase the salaries of most teachers.

The response of the teaching community and the BUTU was wholly negative. But it was impossible for the teachers to mobilize against the new rules, since under the Emergency political and trade union activity is strictly controlled. Police officials would not permit a public meeting to discuss the matter, and two of the BUTU leaders were imprisoned without charges under the Emergency regulations. The BUTU did institute a legal action against the University in order to stop the new rules, and as of this writing the matter remains in the courts. The situation has left the teaching community demoralized and essentially powerless. The outcome cannot be a positive one for the growth of professionalism and commitment in the academic community in Bombay.

This recent crisis points out several significant factors concerning the teaching community. The Bombay University Teachers Union has been able to mobilize support only for issues which are related to economic benefits or job security. This has seemingly fitted into the "trade union" approach of the BUTU leadership. The teaching community has not been very interested in having the BUTU concern itself with educational issues,

even though many teachers agree that the educational system is in need of considerable reform. Despite the BUTU's impressive victory in forcing the Government to implement the UGC scales, the organization does not have very solid support from the teaching community. Indeed, many teachers support it on specific issues, such as salary scales, but do not trust its leadership.

The outcomes of this crisis is as yet unclear. Given the present situation, it is unlikely that the matter will be settled to the satisfaction of the teaching community. Teacher morale has been damaged and it is likely that the small degree of self-esteem and autonomy which the teaching community has had will be further eroded. Teachers will have less academic freedom, and less control over their working situations. The perquisites of administrators will be increased, and while salaries for many teachers will increase to some degree, the added income of grading examinations will be lost and the final result is not likely to be a significant increase. In addition, about 500 teachers were fired as the result of a government-imposed reorganization of the educational system in Maharashtra. Most of those fired were from the ranks of unconfirmed staff, and efforts are being made to find other positions for them.

Bombay's "crisis" indicates a number of elements of the situation of the teaching community. In Bombay, as in most parts of India, there is no strong trade union movement among college teachers, although it is possible to organize the teaching community around specific issues, usually relating to their own working conditions or salaries. Despite a common perception that teaching conditions are in need of improvement and that, in fact, the entire educational system requires basic reforms, there is no consensus concerning these reforms and very little militancy concerning direct improvement of conditions. The leadership of the BUTU has been somewhat "ideological" in the sense that some key figures have been involved in political activism, but the BUTU itself has kept away from political questions and ideological matters. The teaching community is pragmatic, not notably radical in its orientation, and not basically committed to either social or educational change.

Although it is possible that the BUTU gained quiet support as a result of the Emergency, the organization remains controversial. Many teachers oppose its political stance on some issues. Some feel that one result of BUTU agitation has been to bring governmental authorities more directly into the educational equation, and that this in the long run will weaken further conceptions of academic autonomy. BUTU officials have tended to seek government intervention when they could not obtain their aims within

the academic system, and have not hesitated to use "confrontation" tactics when this seemed useful. But given the generally poor conditions of the teaching community, any group which claimed to champion the demands of teachers could count on considerable support, especially when it proved effective on several occasions.

The role of government, particularly at the state level, is crucial in the educational equation. The informal role of government officials in university decisions has grown in recent years, not only because state authorities have ultimate control over expenditures for education and have attempted increasingly to make sure that their policies have been implemented at all levels of the educational system, but also because university authorities and others within the academic system have turned to government for assistance on matters which traditionally would have been settled within the university. While in the constitutional sense, universities are governed by Acts passed by the state legislatures, and direct governmental interference in the affairs of institutions is thereby precluded, informal involvement has increased. The university budget, for example, is provided in a "block grant" from the state government, and can be spent by the institution without direct interference. But when the government asked that universities and colleges not fill staff vacancies, the institutions complied without regard to their staffing needs. This increased government involvement—and Maharashtra has been relatively free of direct meddling in academic affairs— colors the entire academic environment.[11]

Conclusion

The Indian academic community, and especially that large segment which teaches in undergraduate colleges, finds itself in an ambivalent and in general an unenviable position. There are a number of reasons for this ambivalence which have been suggested by the foregoing analysis. This conclusion will summarize some of the structural and other factors which contribute to the present state of affairs in most of Indian academic life.

The historical tradition of subservience, strong within Hindu intellectual life and nurtured by the history of British colonial higher education in India has been an inhibiting factor of major proportions. Hindu intellectualism has stressed a derivative scholarship based on established texts. British colonial policy built academic institutions which were not supposed to develop an active and independent intellectual life, but rather were aimed at training bureaucrats and professionals rather than scholars and thinkers.

Colleges and universities had little autonomy, and academics who strayed too far from established policy found it difficult to function. While some academics were involved in the Independence movement, it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of college and university teachers were inactive throughout the dramatic events leading to Independence in 1947. Students were active and militant, but not teachers.

Indian higher education has, from the beginning, been politicized. Universities and colleges were founded with certain policy orientations in mind, and were kept under close governmental scrutiny during the British period. After Independence, considerable academic freedom was available to the academic community, but the direction of higher education was very much a matter of public policy. Higher education expanded very rapidly in the post-Independence period, resulting in overcrowding, deteriorating conditions, and an increasing rate of unemployment of graduates. While academics have spoken out against these declines and against overly rapid growth, their voices have not been effective. The universities themselves have been unable to shape the direction of higher education in India. Major direction has come from political leaders responding to public pressure. It is not surprising that under these conditions that an autonomous and self-conscious academic community did not emerge.

Colleges and universities have been dominated by "little" politics as well as being directed by external forces. Impelled in part by the severe competition for remunerative jobs in India, and by the need to retain a position once it is obtained, academics have engaged in factional politics within their educational institutions. While Bombay has been relatively free of disruption based on academic politics, it is not unknown in India for colleges and universities to be severely hampered in their operation by factional politics. In many instances, productive scholarship and teaching are limited by extra-academic considerations which are part of the institutional environment. In a society of scarcity and in an institutional framework which does not have clear norms of behavior, it is not surprising that internal politics play an important yet disruptive role.

The emergence of professional norms depends on appropriate institutional and societal conditions. These conditions do not for the most part exist in India. Institutional autonomy is very limited and the teachers, especially in the colleges, have little control over their own conditions of work, teaching, schedules, or other elements of everyday academic life. The fact that the academic profession has not, in many cases, been able to recruit the most qualified individuals has resulted in a teaching profession which is sometimes not especially well trained. A key element is the lack of

autonomy at any level of the college structure. Teachers naturally do not regard themselves as independent intellectuals with self-imposed responsibilities for teaching and academic life but rather as employees of large bureaucratic structures which they often fear. It is not surprising that professionalism has failed to emerge in such an environment.

The economic status of both the colleges and the teachers contributes to the present situation. Colleges receive only limited assistance from university or governmental bodies, and are dependent for their survival on student fees. The more newly established colleges have inadequate facilities and are unable to find funds to create a more adequate teaching and learning environment. The teaching staff has traditionally been underpaid, and inflation has further eroded income levels. In the cities, it is virtually impossible for college teachers to live in a middle class style, although teachers fare better in less urban settings, where the cost of living is lower. Low salaries have forced teachers to take other jobs, reducing their commitment to their college responsibilities and dividing their loyalties.

College teachers are not creative intellectuals in most societies. They are, rather "consuming intellectuals," transmitters of knowledge from those who do write and who participate in creative work to students. Thus, it would be unfair to expect Indian college teachers to publish very much, and indeed their job responsibilities do not for the most part include publication. Yet, it is increasingly rare for college teachers even to keep up with the latest developments in their academic fields and in the broader world of intellectual life. And without this current awareness, it is difficult to impart to students the latest and most exciting knowledge. The picture is, of course, mixed with many teachers taking their roles seriously and participating in intellectual life. But it would seem that these individuals constitute only a minority in the teaching profession.

The role of the college in the Indian social structure dictates to a considerable degree the status and role of the teacher. Colleges have become "mass" institutions, providing access to education to the urban middle and lower middle classes and increasingly to the rural bourgeoisie as well. With a few exceptions, they no longer train an "elite" for positions of power and prestige in the society. Given this societal position, it is not surprising that the colleges themselves and their teachers do not have a prominent position in society. In this sense, the college teacher occupies a place which, in fact, fits logically with the function of the college in the Indian social structure. To expect dramatic change in the light of this situation and given India's 'society of scarcity', is probably unrealistic.

Notes

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1.   For a general discussion of the Indian post-secondary education system, see P. G. Altbach (1971). For general studies of Indian academics, see Shils (1969), Chitnis (1969), Singh (1972), Sinha (1969).

2.   This study is based on "pilot" interviews conducted in Bombay in December, 1975 and on available secondary materials, Chitnis (1969) provided additional information. For comparisons with Bihar, see Sinha (1969), and with Rajasthan, see Singh (1972).

3.   *Sudras* are the lowest caste in the Hindu caste system.

4.   In the British system, "postgraduate" translated into "graduate" work in the American context. "Affiliated" colleges are independent institutions which are affiliated to a university, which examines students, sets the syllabus, legislates certain regulations, and in general maintains a minimum of standards for the colleges which are affiliated to it. The "affiliating" system is the standard form of undergraduate education in India, although there have been recent moves to provide the best colleges a degree of independence, freeing them from the lockstep of the present system.

5.   The Indian academic system, like the British, awards degrees with differing ranks, first, second or third, according to performance on final examinations.

6.   Confirmation, which is akin to permanent tenure, generally is granted after two years of service in a college. It is a decision made by the management.

7.   It should be noted that Bombay colleges are, in general, better endowed physically than similar institutions in most other parts of India. The newer colleges which have been founded in large numbers in smaller towns are particularly deficient in terms of physical facilities.

8.   This amount is about $60 to $200, but exact correlation is difficult because of cost of living differences.

9.   Singh (1972, p. 231) points out that at least at the University of Jaipur in Rajasthan most teachers come from upper caste urban, and professional backgrounds.

10.   Information concerning the BUTU comes from interviews with members and from a published paper by a BUTU activist. See also "Code of Conduct for Teachers" (1975) and "The Sen Committee and After" (1975).

11.   For a discussion of the relationship between politics and higher education in India, see Rudolph (1972).

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10

The Distorted Guru: The College Teacher in Bombay[1]

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Introduction

> In the land of the guru, the profession which has taken over its obligations is held in low esteem both by those who practice it and by others.[2]

The college teaching community in India is large, complex, and undergoing dramatic change. There are 169,615 college and university staff (of whom all but 32,142 are in undergraduate colleges) who teach more than 3,000,000 students in the world's third largest academic system. The college teaching profession was organized under colonialism and reflected many of the values of the British colonial system.[3] Higher education was limited in size and scope during colonialism, and the teaching community enjoyed a high status and a sense of prestige. After Independence, rapid growth took place and while the role of higher education expanded in the society, the teaching community suffered in terms of its relative power, prestige and remuneration. The dramatic expansion of this era has been the key factor in determining the current status and working conditions of the academic profession. The academic profession,

stemming from colonial roots, inheriting the tradition of the guru, and having undergone rapid expansion, now searches for a stable and productive place in Indian society. This chapter will analyze the current situation of the major element of the profession—the college teachers—in the context of historical development and its role in a modernizing and rapidly changing society.

There are several themes which emerge in this chapter. One is ambivalence: the academic community has no clear role either in the society or in the academic system. As the social status and economic utility of a college degree has declined in modern India, the status and self-esteem of the academic profession have declined. Teachers are respected in Indian society, and often play a key role in their communities but they have lost much in recent years. Another theme is that of power in the academic community. The academic community has been attempting to struggle for increased salaries and improved working conditions, and it has tried to reassert its authority in the classroom and as an important element in the governance of colleges and universities. The emergence of teachers' unions and of the increase of political agitation by academics are part of this effort by the 'powerless guru' to reassert power and authority. This analysis is, in a sense, unfinished because the academic community is in the process of change. Numerical expansion has slowed and in many parts of India there has been an improvement in remuneration. New currents, such as the union movement, are very much part of the new equation.

Much of the discussion of the academic profession has so far focused on the minority (19 per cent) of academics who teach in the universities and offer postgraduate courses. These academics are responsible for most of the research and writing, and it is naturally their views which are most vocally presented in scholarly journals and in the mass media. They are also the opinion leaders for the academic profession as a whole. They are the senior staff, they have the highest prestige, and they earn the highest salaries. University faculty are visible, vocal, and influential. They are the *Brahmins* in an academic system where college teachers are *Sudras*.[4]

This chapter does not deal with postgraduate university teachers. It concentrates on the bottom of the academic hierarchy in India—the college. There is a notable lack of information on this key element of the academic system. The colleges are responsible for the education of more than ninety per cent of students in India and about eighty per cent of academic staff are employed by the colleges,[5] yet, the culture, values, and norms of the university are considered the proper academic style. While college teachers do not function under conditions similar to those of postgraduate university staff, they are often compared to the university teachers—and the

comparisons are unfavourable. This chapter will differentiate the working conditions, styles, and orientations of the college teacher from that of the dominant university professor in an effort to understand the realities of the collegiate situation.

It is understandable that the norms and expectations of the college teaching population will be different from university staff. This chapter will delineate some of these norms and will, in a sense, paint a portrait of the college teaching community.[6] Thus, if we find that the orientation towards research among college teachers is weaker than among university staff, it should not be very surprising. A heavy teaching schedule and a reward system which does not stress research contribute to this situation. The college teacher often feels a conflict between the broader ideology of academe, which does stress research and writing, and his or her own reality, which does not. This is an element of the ambivalence which can be seen in the college teaching role in India.

A recurring theme in this chapter is that of ambivalence—confusion about the appropriateness of some roles and attitudes, a feeling that some expectations are not being met, and an understanding that the realities of college teaching are not appropriate to the great academic traditions. Inadequate remuneration, poor working conditions, a lack of autonomy in goal setting and in work-related activity, severe constraints on innovations in teaching, evaluation, all contribute to this feeling of ambivalence. While the college teachers constitute a part of a broader academic profession—a profession which is led by university staff and which has links to academics in other countries—the realities of the college environment and ethos are the most important determinants of teacher attitudes and values. This essay is devoted to a discussion and analysis of these realities. The University of Bombay will be considered as a case study and while this institution is in some ways unique, most of the general issues raised are applicable to India generally—and indeed to some extent, to other Third World nations.

The Context and the Constraints

The Decline of the Guru

The status of the guru, strong in traditional Indian society has been undermined in many ways in modern times. The questioning of established values and of elements of the Hindu tradition, the linking of occupations to the modern economy and removing occupation from ascribed status, and

the relatively poor financial rewards offered to the teaching profession at all levels in India have all contributed to the decline of the guru. The new hierarchy is based not on ascribed status but on 'worth', usually defined as centrality to the modern socio-economic system and by income. In this new hierarchy, the teacher is by no means at the top. A peculiarly Indian aspect of the ambivalence of the college teaching profession is the conflict between the traditional ideal of the guru and the modern realities of the teaching profession. There is, thus, a gulf between the modern college teaching role and the expectations which comparative and historical traditions have built up.

Colonial Past and the Pull of the Metropole

The international linkages and historical traditions of the academic profession help to contribute to the ambivalence felt by many in the profession. Indian higher education is linked to a colonial past which continues to affect many aspects of the academic system. In addition, universities are part of an international academic system, and academics are aware of practices and values in those countries which are at the centre of this international system.

The colonial past, about which much has been written, affects the academic profession in India in many ways. The use of English as a medium of instruction is perhaps the most important aspect of colonialism to remain, but the organizational structure of higher education, the ethos of the system, and ideas about the curriculum are related to patterns imposed by the British.[7] It is, of course, significant that the British imposed the London organizational model rather than that of Oxbridge, and that British educational policy was aimed not at creating first-class universities in India but rather at training needed middle-level civil servants.[8] As Irene Gilbert has pointed out, the Indian academic profession never enjoyed the autonomy and freedom of its British counterpart, and rigid organizational and curricular controls were exercised from the beginning.[9] Almost from the beginning, the colleges were locked into the affiliating system, further diminishing the autonomy of the teachers over the curriculum, examinations and over other elements of academic policy. Basic policy emanated from the universities, and college faculties generally saw decision-making as beyond their grasp. The ethic of subservience to higher authority was, thus, developed early. The early orientation of higher education towards the liberal arts and towards professional training in law was also due substantially

to the heritage of British colonialism, although early Indian initiative was in this direction as well. Thus, while Indians affected the nature and scope of higher education even during the British period, there is no question that the basic orientation of the system was imposed by the colonial power. And the academic profession, both in the colleges and at the university, was shaped to a considerable degree by the orientations developed during the colonial era.

The pull of the metropole remains strong even in the post-colonial period. The world's academic system is dominated by a few powerful centres, which have considerable influence over the peripheries. The impact of the academic systems in the advanced industrialized nations is very strong, and the values and orientations of these systems have great impact elsewhere. Britain and more recently the United States constitute the major central influences on the post-Independence Indian scene.[10] Universities, of course, are Western institutions which stem from the medieval universities of Europe. It is not, therefore, surprising that higher education should remain Western-oriented in the modern period. Most important is the fact that the most powerful universities are located in the metropolitan nations. Nobel prize-winning professors, the major scholarly journals and publishers, and the major scientific laboratories are all located in the industrialized nations. In addition, many Indian academics have studied in the West, and reflect the values of the British or American universities which trained them.

The combination of the historical traditions of colonialism and the contemporary domination of the world's academic culture by the central, industrialized nations places the Indian academic profession in a difficult situation. Its historical roots are Western in nature, and there are few indigenous academic traditions which seem relevant in the modern world. Yet, Western norms are not always useful in the Indian context. The internationally known Western norms tend to be those of the prestigious research-oriented universities and not of undergraduate colleges.

The larger context of Indian higher education is in a peripheral relationship to the more central academic systems of the industrialized nations, and especially to Britain and the United States. The Indian college, further, is itself peripheral to the centres of Indian academic life—the postgraduate universities which emphasize research and advanced scholarship. Thus, the Indian college teacher is at the periphery of a peripheral academic system. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there should be confusion about norms and values.

Spheres of Influence

The teaching community in a country like India has a crucial position in society, although it is a role which is seldom analyzed or understood. Universities and colleges, as institutions, are key institutions in Third World societies. They provide access to remunerative and prestigious jobs in the modern sector of the society. They have stimulated nationalist movements by serving as the incubator for radical thinking and by providing a home for intellectuals and activists. In the post-Independence period, academic institutions have served as centres of political dissent in many Third World nations and in industrialized nations as well. In India, radical political ideologies have widespread following in the universities, and many of the intellectual and political journals which have small circulations but which contribute to political debate emanate from the campuses.

Not only do teachers in colleges and universities teach those who are destined to provide political leadership and who constitute a key political force in India—the urban educated middle class—but the teaching community often participates directly in social and political activism. College teachers are among the best-educated members of their communities, and despite the decline of the prestige of the profession in recent years, academics still carry considerable weight in their communities. Because they are well educated, they are often consulted by neighbours, family members and others on a variety of issues. Their attitudes on issues related to politics, social questions, and the like are often taken seriously. College teachers are, in a sense, shapers of public opinion in a society where access to education and information remains limited.

Political Influence

Much has been written about the role of political infighting in colleges and universities.[11] Campus politics are sometimes related to broader societal political questions, and occasionally have a reflection outside the academic setting. College and university staff often participate directly in political affairs; by running for public office, by working with political parties, and occasionally involving themselves in political activism. Most college teachers do not engage in politics, but the proportion that does has an influence beyond their numbers and an impact both on campus and in the broader community.

It is hard to generalize about the nature of the political attitudes of academics in India, as there are no studies that deal with this issue in detail.

In Bombay, for which some data are available, it is clear that while most academics take no direct role in politics, the minority that is involved is spread across the entire political spectrum. In the United States and in most industrialized nations, academics are usually to the left of centre politically.[12] It is likely that Indian academics are, on average, to the left of centre in their political attitudes as well since they are very much involved in the modern sector of the society, are urban in orientation, and are well educated—all indicators of political liberalism or radicalism. However, since no reliable data are available, it is only possible to speculate. The main point is that regardless of the orientation of the political attitudes of academics, they often constitute an influential group in a modernizing society.

In India, the political traditions of academics differ considerably from region to region. In Maharashtra, the teaching community has not been dramatically involved in politics, although it has taken political stands on some occasions. Academics were involved, for example, in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and a small number were also involved in the Independence struggle. Historically, intellectuals and teachers played a major role in the social reform movements of the late nineteenth century. Academics in such states as West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, however, have been much more actively involved in politics and teacher militancy is often at a high level. College staff have been involved in national and regional politics as well as internal university politics, sometimes causing major institutional disruption. Academics have been involved in state politics in Bihar for many years, and were a key force in the agitations which have affected Indian national politics in recent years. The level of internal university politics in North India is also sporadically quite high. One of India's best-known and oldest institutions, the Banaras Hindu University, has been repeatedly rocked by political unrest and disruption, often led by members of the teaching staff.[13] These academic political agitations were spurred by a combination of local campus issues and the clear division of much of the faculty into camps representing the different political parties and movements in society. There are major analytical differences between the infusion of external and local politics in the operation of the universities and colleges and the political involvement of teachers in broader non-university political movements. Both types of involvement exist in India, and there has been a trend in recent years, perhaps especially since the end of Mrs Gandhi's Emergency, towards the gradual infusion of societal politics on the campus. The colleges and universities in Bombay, the focus of this essay, have been generally free of serious political disruption, although a minority of the academic staff have been actively involved in politics.

The Role of the College Teacher

Like the Hindu family, the academic system is hierarchical and this hierarchy restricts mobility. Once placed in the academic caste system, it is difficult to move. The 'Sudra' college teacher, particularly in a rural or suburban college, seldom has the opportunity to reach the *nirvana* of the 'Brahmin' university professor. The life style, remuneration, and ethos of the lower levels of the system differ significantly from those at the top. The caste analogy can be carried further by noting that most college teachers have little desire or aspiration to move to a different level of the system. Somehow, their role is established and mobility seems not only unattainable but even unthinkable. Thus, the system has the legitimacy of tradition strengthened by the very substantial differences between the top and the bottom of the stratified and diverse academic hierarchy. Like the caste system, the inequalities in the academic system depend in part on the acceptance by those involved in the system of its legitimacy.

Undergraduate or college teachers have a somewhat ambivalent position in many countries, and India is one of these. They are, for the large majority of students, the embodiment of higher education. In a sense, they set the tone for post-secondary education. But they are not in the forefront of intellectual life. College teachers are seldom 'creative individuals' and they seldom produce research or creative writing. They are, however, very much part of the intellectual system in that they transmit knowledge and culture to large numbers of students. College teachers are often not fully professional in that they do not have real autonomy over their working conditions and often do not control key elements of their teaching situations. In most university systems, the main burden of research and scholarship is carried by professors in university settings that offer a full range of graduate studies. These institutions have adequate research facilities and libraries and faculty members are expected, in many countries, to actively participate in the research enterprise. College teachers stand somewhere in the middle, and their situation is one of ambivalence. On the one hand, they are part of the post-secondary educational system and have many of the expectations of their colleagues in universities in terms of social prestige, roles, and income. On the other, they do not often perform the 'prestigeful' functions of research and advanced teaching that are the hallmarks of the university teacher.

It is my argument that the college teaching community finds itself in a particularly difficult situation and that, as a result of many factors, it has not developed fully into a profession and has not contributed substantially to the broader intellectual life of the nation. Perhaps more seriously, the

standards of teaching are low and the teaching staff seemingly have neither the power nor the will to make the kinds of changes needed to improve standards. College teachers feel that they are not adequately paid, that they have little control over their conditions of work, that independent scholarly endeavour is not rewarded, and that standards of education are inadequate. While many teachers work to the best of their abilities and some colleges manage to engender a sense of commitment, in general the teaching community has little feeling of autonomy. College teaching, for most teachers, is not a 'calling' but rather a job.

The College in Higher Education

The college has an important but somewhat subservient place in the Indian higher education system. Colleges are responsible for undergraduate education of virtually all Indian students, and handle approximately ninety per cent of post-secondary education in India. In that sense, they are the key element of the system. However, most colleges are 'affiliated' to a parent university. This means that the university, which is usually physically separate from the college and has relatively little intellectual contact with it, has minimal standards for the affiliation of new colleges in terms of collegiate facilities. The university sets all examinations and gives degrees—the colleges have no power to grant degrees. The university approves the syllabus which is designed to dovetail with the examinations, and the colleges have little control over their curriculum except through participation in university committees. Finally, the university sets salaries for college teachers and often legislates the means of hiring—and firing—teachers. The university administration has some participation in virtually all elements of collegiate life, despite the fact that it has little role to play in the day-to-day operation of the colleges. The colleges, however, have participation, and sometimes a majority, on many of the committees which directly affect curriculum and other matters. For example, the majority of members of Boards of Studies in the various disciplines are from the colleges. But only a handful of college teachers are involved in the process of governance at the university level, and even these individuals are often not selected in a democratic manner. The overall situation contributes to a feeling of limited power, both by the teachers in the undergraduate colleges and by the colleges themselves. In a sense, everything is against the colleges. In Bombay, they are part of a large university which enrolls 156,000 students in 114 affiliated colleges and twenty-three postgraduate departments. The colleges and the teachers in them are also part of a system which has never recognized their autonomy

or independence. Instead of being twice born, the college teacher is twice handicapped; once by a large and often cumbersome bureaucratic system and once by a historical tradition built under colonialism and which retains much of the colonial ethos.

Low Status of Teachers

The bifurcation of higher education into undergraduate and postgraduate spheres contributes to the low status of college teachers, as does the system of 'affiliated' colleges. While some work at the Master's level does go on in some of the better colleges, and an occasional college teacher who obtains the doctorate is able to move to a university department, the gulf between the university departments—and, hence, research work, upper level teaching and prestige—and the colleges remains very wide. University teachers have a moderate teaching load (between four and nine classroom hours per week plus supervision of research), a higher salary scale, office facilities, and some secretarial assistance in most cases, and often housing or other fringe benefits. Most university teachers hold the doctorate and many have been trained abroad. The standard degree for college teachers is the Masters, and often a second-class Masters at that.

The background, orientation, and training of the college teacher helps to determine professional roles. College teaching is clearly an occupation which has lost a good deal of its social prestige and economic rewards in the post-Independence period. As higher education expanded, salaries remained steady, and the elite role of teaching declined. Relatively few teachers interviewed in several studies indicated that they selected college teaching as their first occupational choice.[14] It also seems that the social class origins of the teaching community have declined in recent years as well, although in Bombay some individuals from wealthy families enter college teaching more as an avocation than as a profession. An increasingly large number of teachers, especially at the newer and less prestigious colleges, come from families which have not traditionally been educated, and for whom a college teaching career is a matter of importance and considerable upward social mobility. This segment of the teaching community sees itself as highly successful and is generally content with current salary levels. These individuals are not often research-oriented, and are tied to their colleges. The proportion of women in the teaching community has risen, particularly in arts subjects. Many of the women entering teaching are married and have family responsibilities. They are unable to take on a full professional role due to lack of time.

The educational qualifications of many college teachers in recent years have not been outstanding. Many college teachers hold second-class Master's degrees, mostly from the University of Bombay. Until recently, there has been little incentive to complete advanced academic work, as such degrees were not recognized by the colleges and did not result in enhanced salary or other benefits. Despite this lack of incentives, a small proportion of the teaching community pursued advanced academic work, mainly at the doctoral level, often with the hope of obtaining a post in one of the post-graduate university departments. The recent implementation of new salary scales changes this situation, and encourages, and in many cases demands, that teachers receiving the new scales pursue an advanced degree—either the M. Phil. degree or the doctorate. It is almost certain that many teachers will enroll in postgraduate degree programmes to obtain the new scales, and this change in policy will inevitably result in some disruption for the teaching community. While these new regulations may upgrade the expertise of the teaching profession, it is fair to say that at present the public image, as well as the internal perception, of the expertise of the academic profession is not very high, and that it has declined in recent years.

The teaching profession is less attractive mainly for economic reasons. As early as 1954, more than half of the teachers at the University of Bombay interviewed in a study of the conditions of faculty members complained about the inadequacy of their income although, as indicated earlier, the recent improvement of salary scales has made the profession somewhat more attractive economically.[15] Despite this improvement, given inflation and the fact that academic salaries have not kept up with the cost of living, a large proportion of college teachers claim to find it difficult to live adequately on an academic income. It is commonly felt that remuneration is better in other fields and, thus, the teaching profession cannot attract the best qualified applicants. Many teachers report that they do not advise their best students to enter academic life. Clearly, the economic burden weighs heavily on the teaching profession. The recent increases in salary improve considerably but do not basically alter the economic *status quo.*

The Situation in Bombay

An Old University

The University of Bombay is one of India's oldest institutions (1857) and remains among the more prestigious universities of the country. It is typical of the organizational structure of most Indian universities and is among

the larger institutions in the country with 156,000 students enrolled in its departments and affiliated colleges and with more than 4,800 faculty members, the vast majority of whom are in the colleges. The University has a full range of postgraduate departments, some of which, such as economics and chemistry, have a national reputation. This analysis is largely concerned with the affiliated colleges, of which there are a total of seventy-five in Bombay, including medical and engineering institutions. The University's affiliated colleges are located throughout the metropolitan area of some 7,000,000 people and most are situated at a considerable distance from the main University centres. After Independence, the University was limited to Greater Bombay, but in recent years its jurisdiction has again been expanded to cover large areas of Maharashtra, further reducing its geographical cohesion. Many University officials and faculty opposed this expansion, but state authorities mandated it. Thus, the previous metropolitan status of the University of Bombay has been weakened. Most college teachers, even in Greater Bombay, seldom go to the University campus or to the library and their professional lives are very much centred at their colleges. While the University of Bombay has a considerable influence over their academic situation, they feel that the University is quite distant geographically as well as intellectually from them. Their hopes—and frustrations—are focused on the colleges. The University has a responsibility for setting the syllabus, devising and administering examinations, awarding degrees, deciding conditions of work for teachers in the colleges and devising salary scales. As such, it has direct relevance to the lives of college teachers but most feel that the levers of University power are far from their control. Indeed, many college teachers express considerable frustration at being unable to influence the policies of the University. Some feel themselves hamstrung by a curriculum which is rigid and difficult to change. But most seem to accept the University and its pervasive regulations and try to function effectively within these parameters.

Working and Living Conditions in Bombay

The college determines the working situation of the teacher and, as such has the primary impact on professional life. While all colleges must function under the umbrella of University regulations, there are considerable differences among them, and some colleges have managed to create distinctive environments. A key element in the collegiate equation is the nature of the 'management', or the group of individuals who are responsible in the

corporate sense for the college and who make basic decisions concerning the internal functioning of the institution, including such matters as hiring and firing of staff and administrators, the nature of facilities, and other matters. These questions are decided within the context of University regulations, but the managements of the colleges are left with considerable power. For the most part, managing committees are self-perpetuating bodies of laymen reflecting the interests of the founders of the college. Members often come from business backgrounds and seldom have any expertise concerning education or management. The management is able, if it wishes, to create an atmosphere, an ethos, in its college which can have a profound effect, negative or positive, on the staff. Most colleges are managed by 'private' groups, usually reflecting caste, regional, religious, or linguistic interests which seek to serve their communities by providing collegiate education. Colleges have also been founded by political interests or occasionally by profit-making groups. Most of Bombay's colleges are run by private groups. Some of the city's best colleges are administered by Christian missionary societies, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. While missionary colleges remain among the most prestigious in India, they have declined as a proportion of the total. A few, such as St. Xavier's in Bombay, exercise a national influence in terms of maintaining high standards and instituting innovative programmes. A few colleges are managed directly by the state government, and these also have a distinctive flavour. Few of the teachers working in a given college have any connection to the sponsoring agency—few, for example, teachers in a Sindhi-run college will be Sindhis, etc., and this factor adds to the ambivalence and alienation of the teaching community. Managements are often seen as narrow-minded or biased by members of the teaching staff. This alienation is increased by the fact that teachers are seldom on managing committees or have any direct input to management decisions.

The managing committees of the individual colleges regulate various aspects of the lives of the teachers, such as setting maximum teaching loads (within University guidelines), and making various policies concerning other aspects of college life. One Bombay college, which adheres to an orthodox version of Hinduism, forbids its teachers to smoke on campus and legislates the attire of staff and students. The management also hires staff members—and can fire them. Much of the staff gossip concerns the policies of the management. The chief administrative officer of the college is the principal, who has substantial control over the college in its day-to-day operations.[16] The principal is the direct instrument of the management, and is hired by the management and can be fired by it at any time. Most principals are very cognizant of their responsibility to management, and

carefully balance the interests of management with the sometimes divergent pressures from University policy, staff wishes, and student demands.

The basic structure of the college is autocratic. There is little pretense of the collegial decision-making or of participation by teachers (not to mention students) in policy making in many colleges. Indeed, the University structure allows for more participation from the teaching community through its Boards of Studies, Senate and Syndicate, of all which have teacher representation. A few colleges have instituted means of allowing staff members a role in decision-making, but this is not the norm. In general, policy within colleges is made by the management, usually in consultation with the principal. The exceptions to this autocratic norm are noteworthy because these colleges generally have a higher morale and a greater sense of professionalism. Several of the Christian-managed colleges, such as St. Xavier's and Wilson, have teacher representatives on college-governing bodies. The most democratic institutions are Ruia, Podar, and Kirti colleges, which are managed by Maharashtrian groups and in which the faculty has virtually total control over the internal arrangements of the institution.

The college management and its administrative embodiment, the principal, have considerable impact on the college teacher. Day-to-day working conditions are determined to a significant extent by the atmosphere created by the management. Physical facilities and amenities are determined by the management. Teachers generally have no role in policy making and only a limited voice in determining their own teaching schedules. In some colleges, department heads consult with the principal on most key matters relating to the academic affairs of the institution. But there is basically no involvement of the rank and file of the teaching community in any of the key decisions affecting their working conditions or environment in the majority of colleges.

The college environment helps to determine the nature of teaching and to some extent the orientations and attitudes of faculty members. In general, the colleges in Bombay do not provide the kind of physical environment which encourages professional development and quality academic work. Few college teachers have their own offices or even their own desks. In many colleges, department heads cannot claim a space of their own to work. Typically, the teacher has only a seat in the staff common-room where it is possible to relax, discuss with colleagues, or engage in academic work such as preparation for class, grading of papers, and the like. And common-rooms are often fairly noisy, ill-lit, and in general, not conducive to serious work. Teachers seldom have a place where they can meet informally with students, and it is rare that a faculty member will be found in the

student canteen socializing with students. Students are not allowed in the staff common-rooms.

The general facilities of most Bombay colleges can provide undergraduate students with minimum standards of quality. College libraries, with a few exceptions, are small, fairly poorly maintained and inadequate for faculty research. Classrooms are antiquated and the opportunities for teacher-student interaction are quite limited. Laboratory facilities, again with some exceptions, are only minimally acceptable for undergraduate science teaching. Most of Bombay's colleges are housed in old buildings which are in need of renovation. Some of the newer colleges, often located in the suburbs, boast of new buildings but these facilities were constructed with limited funds and meet only the minimum standards set by University authorities for affiliation.

Working conditions in the colleges also directly affect the morale, orientation, and professional standards of the teaching community. The University of Bombay has legislated a maximum of nineteen forty-five-minute lectures per week for any teacher. Most teachers work at or near this maximum and, thus, have very heavy teaching schedules. In some subjects, 'tutorials' are part of the teaching responsibility, although in many cases, tutorials are more like classes since they involve up to fifteen students at a session. Similarly, some science teachers include laboratory sessions as part of their teaching responsibilities. College teachers who are professionally ambitious will often attempt to teach postgraduate classes in their subject. While there is a modest financial remuneration attached to such teaching, the main motivation is to qualify for a higher salary scale as a result of competence in postgraduate teaching. Thus, there is considerable competition for opportunities to teach these classes despite the additional work that is involved. There is generally a small reduction in the number of undergraduate lectures given if postgraduate courses are offered. The very limited number of opportunities for postgraduate teaching is another limitation to the mobility of the teaching community.

Teaching schedules are often not very well coordinated, as many staff members teach in the 'morning colleges' (classes beginning as early as 6.40 a.m. and aimed at students who also hold full-time jobs) as well as in the regular college programme. Many teachers complain that they have little time for preparation of new lectures because of a heavy teaching load. Classes in most subjects tend to be large—often more than 150 students in a single lecture, and this inhibits much direct interaction between teachers and students. There are few innovations made in teaching methods. This is due in part to the lockstep curriculum which is dictated by the

University-sanctioned syllabus and reinforced by the pervasive centralized examination system. The individual instructor does not have the opportunity to examine students, and assessment is provided through University-administered tests.

It is clear that there is little professional autonomy in the teaching community. Class schedules are heavy and leave little opportunity for research or reflection even if there was stimulus for this element of academic life. Schedules are not usually under the control of the individual staff member, and the teacher does not have control over the curriculum or over the assessment of students. There is no assessment of teaching quality in most colleges, and teachers have little incentive to spend time improving their teaching. The dominant method of teaching is lecturing and there is neither incentive nor much opportunity to vary this method. Indeed, many teachers 'dictate notes' directly to their students. This is done in part because it requires little imaginative effort by the teachers, and in part because many undergraduate students, particularly in the newer colleges which attract students with limited academic ability and backgrounds, demand that the teacher provide information which will be clearly understood and useful in the examinations.

Academic salaries, except for the top professorial levels in postgraduate departments, are barely adequate to provide an adequate life style according to the standards of the Indian urban middle class. Recent substantial increases, implemented in Maharashtra after a long struggle between the academic community and the state government, catch up with much of the inflation of recent years, but still are only marginally adequate in an expensive city like Bombay. These new salary scales were originally recommended by the University Grants Commission in 1973 and have been gradually implemented in many of the states.[17] They systematize remuneration policy in higher education, and they also stipulate that teaching staff will be more accountable for their time by laying down quite specific conditions for employment. The number of classroom hours are stipulated, as are the number of hours a teacher must be on the college premises. Other conditions are also indicated. The modest individual autonomy of the college teacher is seriously weakened by these conditions.

The new salary scales do improve the lot of the college teachers, and are especially advantageous for those in the senior college ranks and in University departments. Junior staff remain underpaid. An academic career still cannot compete in terms of salary with most middle-level professional jobs in the private sector, and, thus, best-qualified individuals will generally not choose to enter academe. It is possible for a college teacher who has some

other source of income—often a working spouse—to survive in Bombay's middle class.

Few college teachers can afford to live lavishly. Most seem to be able to participate in an urban middle-class life style, but only with considerable struggle. Most teachers must commute considerable distances to their jobs, and often under uncomfortable conditions. It is not unusual for a teacher to spend more than one hour each way in commuting since academic salaries do not often permit living in the expensive neighbourhoods close to many colleges. Few teachers can afford to purchase books and few use the major libraries available in Bombay. Thus, it would seem that college teachers read relatively little, although interviews indicate that they participate in various kinds of cultural activities, such as films and drama.

In addition to modest salaries, college teachers have virtually no 'fringe benefits', thus, contributing to their economic insecurity. There is no medical insurance available from the University, and only a fairly insignificant provident fund to which teachers may contribute a kind of retirement insurance. It is, moreover, not uncommon for salaries to be paid late. As a result of these elements, it is clear that the economic status of the academic profession leaves much to be desired, and certainly contributes to insecurity, fear, and low morale and job commitment.

The majority of teachers in Bombay seem to have some alternative source of income. Some come from wealthy families and have income from family sources. Many teachers have working spouses, and rely on these earnings. Quite a few teachers are forced to take outside jobs of various kinds. Some of these are related in some way to academe, but others are not. Most teachers grade University examinations, and thereby earn a modest additional income. Some teachers do 'tuitions', or tutor students privately for a fee. Both of these sources of income are officially sanctioned by University rules. Some faculty members participate in 'coaching classes' or private enterprise tutorial schools which flourish by providing students with 'cram' sessions aimed at passing University examinations. Such activity is against University regulations. Faculty members also author 'guides' which are widely used by students as quick reference sources for examinations. While both the writing—and the use—of such reference books is not considered academically respectable, this can be a source of considerable income to authors.

A few college teachers write textbooks in their fields. Since publishers will favour authors who can hope to get their books adopted as part of the University syllabus, it helps to be a member of the Board of Studies or somehow be able to exercise influence. The author of a popular textbook

can earn considerably more in royalties than his college salary. In addition to these activities which are related to academic life, some teachers hold jobs which are entirely unrelated, work in family businesses, provide consultation to business firms, or have other sources of income. While exact figures on the proportion of teachers who must earn income in addition to their academic salaries are unavailable, it is likely that, in Bombay at least, a large number have a second job or some alternative sources of funds.

There is relatively little mobility in the Indian academic profession, and this is also the case in Bombay. It is uncommon for a teacher to move voluntarily from college to college, although there is a good deal of circulation at the junior ranks when a teacher fails to achieve confirmation and tries to find a position at another college. This situation makes the average teacher more dependent on the particular college in which he is employed than would be the case in a more 'mobile' academic system. Individual teachers must, therefore, be especially careful not to alienate powerful elements in their colleges so as to maintain their positions.

Job security is a basic issue for Indian college teachers, particularly in a society with considerable unemployment of skilled individuals and with jobs in the teaching profession especially scarce. The formal safeguards for job security have traditionally been minimal, although in practice very few 'confirmed' teachers were removed from their jobs. Recent changes in the laws governing the universities in Maharashtra have provided more elaborate procedural guarantees for teachers who are removed from their jobs, but the grievance processes are in the hands of the government. Further, the recent shift from a four- to a three-year degree course has meant considerable disruption for academics, some of whom have been fired from their jobs while a larger number have been shifted to less prestigious junior colleges. The new Maharashtra University Act Amendments also permit the government to establish a code for teachers in higher education, and violations of this code can lead to dismissal. The overall situation for the teaching community remains one of confusion, and despite the fact that relatively few teachers have been dismissed, the fear of dismissal remains a powerful psychological force in the teaching community.

The differences between a 'confirmed' and an 'unconfirmed' teacher in the college system is considerable. Confirmation, which is akin to permanent tenure, is normally given after two years of service in a college. It is given by the management of the college and it is not in any way involved with the University, and the confirmation is limited to the specific college that grants it. Colleges are usually reluctant to dismiss a confirmed teacher because the procedural and political ramifications can be substantial and

the process often drags on. Yet, the actual legally protected job security of even a confirmed teacher in a private college is limited. The substantial minority of teachers who are unconfirmed have much less protection and, in fact, can be fired without cause with no recourse to procedural assistance or appeal. In the rapidly changing situation caused by recent educational reforms, colleges have increasingly been reluctant to confirm younger members of the teaching staff, preferring instead to replace them after two years with other young teachers, thus creating a kind of academic lumpen proletariat, shifting from college to college without real job security. A large number of unconfirmed teachers were fired during the recognization which accompanied the three year degree course.

The question of job security was one of the major reasons for the emergence of the Bombay University Teachers Union (BUTU) as a major force in educational politics in recent years. The BUTU has urged stronger legal guarantees of both academic freedom and job security, and the recent amendments to the University Act were in part a result of this pressure. While the procedural safeguards have been expanded, the cost has been high in terms of increased government involvement in academic affairs and a significant tightening of controls over teachers. It is fair to say that the question of job security remains an issue which concerns many college teachers despite the fact that only a handful of confirmed teachers have been fired in recent years.

Current Issues

Recent tensions and crises affecting Bombay's teaching community illustrate many of the basic issues. This section will not provide a complete discussion of all issues, but rather will focus on several key questions which will illustrate many of the general points made in previous sections of this chapter.

A. The Teachers Union: Issues and Response

Several Indian states have strong unions representing teachers in the colleges and universities. In West Bengal especially, there is a strong tradition of teacher militancy, and in North India there have been effective unions from time to time. Until recently, Bombay has not had an effective teachers organization nor had ideological or factional politics infused the University or most of its colleges. Since 1972, however, there has been an active

union of teachers in the colleges of the University of Bombay. The Bombay University Teachers Union (BUTU) effectively functions as the organized voice of the teaching community and is, thus, one of the more important developments in recent years. The emergence of this Union is related to particular events which have affected teachers, and, thus, a discussion of the Union is necessarily linked with some of these events. The teaching community in Bombay has never been significantly involved in ideological or University-wide factional politics and in this sense remains largely unpoliticized at present. The traditions that exist in West Bengal or in North India do not exist in Bombay. And while some of the activists in the BUTU are affiliated to one or another political party, the organization is not primarily an ideological group. The stimulus for the teachers union movement has come from the conditions which prevail in the academic community rather than from political motivation. It is possible to see increased political involvement by a minority of the teaching community recently, largely as a reaction to difficult conditions in the educational community, and in part, as a result of the increased political consciousness after the Emergency. The teaching community has increasingly requested government intervention to achieve its goals, and has become fairly skilled in lobbying government officials. This tactic has been fairly effective, especially recently, as the Maharashtra government has moved to meet some of the demands of the teachers. As Bombay University's Vice-Chancellor has pointed out, however, this recourse to government assistance has brought public authority increasingly into the affairs of the University, and has damaged the very tenuous thread of academic autonomy. As government has provided solutions to academic problems, it has also felt that it should have a voice in policy formulation and implementation.

The basic concerns of Bombay's college teachers have been economic issues and job security. This is not surprising since the academic profession is not well paid. Job security, in a society in which employment for educated individuals is very competitive, assumes key importance. Because of the overwhelming importance of these issues, the teachers have been willing to employ virtually any tactics to achieve their goals. And the fact that the teachers were willing, albeit reluctantly, to accept restrictions on their academic freedom and autonomy in order to achieve better salary and job security condition is indicative of the key role of these issues.

The impetus for a strong teachers organization related to the challenges facing the profession in the late 1960s. Salaries did not keep up with inflation, proposals for educational reform were at least potentially threatening for college teachers, and working conditions were deteriorating in the

face of continuing expansion of enrolments. The threat of dismissal in the private colleges existed, and the better job security provisions in the government-operated colleges and in the University departments stimulated college teachers to work for improved conditions. The recommendations by the University Grants Commission (UGC) in 1973 for higher salaries for teachers in higher education and for other changes in academic life further stimulated the teaching community.[18] As several states adopted the new UGC-recommended scales, thereby substantially boosting salaries, Bombay teachers became increasingly dissatisfied.

It is worth summarizing some of the problems of the teaching community, since these issues stimulated the organization of the BUTU and the current increasing militancy of the Bombay academic profession. Three government reports were perceived as problems for the teaching community. Following the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1964, most Indian states rearranged the pattern of education to reduce the time spent in undergraduate college from four years to three.[19] Maharashtra was one of the last states to implement this scheme, which was referred to in Bombay as the '10+2+3 pattern'. Under the new pattern, ten years of primary and secondary education is followed by two years of pre-university course, similar in some ways to junior college in the United States, and then a three-year degree course. The new arrangement, regardless of its merits on other grounds, caused a major disruption for the academic profession and stimulated considerable anxiety in college teachers. By losing one year of the degree course, college enrolments declined. The question of where the two year pre-university course was to be housed and the nature of the curriculum were issues of heated debate among educators. Some colleges opted to establish pre-university programmes while others did not. Competition from some secondary schools and other educational institutions, which also opted to establish such programmes, was also felt. Rumours of mass firings were rampant during the five years preceding the beginnings of actual implementation of the 10 + 2 + 3 formula in 1972. Statistics concerning the number of teachers actually fired as a result of the shift are not available, but estimates range from several hundred to upwards of six hundred. The hardest-hit elements of the staff were unconfirmed and young teachers. Regardless of the numbers actually affected, it is clear that the threat of retrenchment, the shifts in administration and organization, and the possible changes in curriculum engendered considerable anxiety among the teachers. The tremors caused by the 10 + 2 + 3 reforms are still being felt in Bombay, with alterations taking place in the curriculum and some change in the organization of undergraduate education being implemented.

Those teachers who have shifted to the pre-collegiate programmes are paid less than their colleagues in the traditional colleges and they often teach more. There is considerable resentment in the teaching community concerning this reform; a resentment perhaps heightened by the lack of teacher participation in the planning of implementation of the changes.

The long process of implementing the higher salaries which the teaching profession now enjoys caused considerable concern in the teaching community and was partly responsible for the enhanced militancy now evident. Indeed, that process is a useful case study in the interplay between government policy at the level of the central authority, the state government, and those concerned by the policy—in this case the teachers. There has been a long-standing concern at the general remuneration of the teaching profession, at perceived declining standards, and a feeling that the most qualified individuals would not enter the profession. These concerns at the national level resulted in a report by a committee appointed by the University Grants Commission which made a series of recommendations in 1973 concerning the status of the post-secondary teaching profession.[20] But because the implementation of educational policy is basically a responsibility of the states, the UGC's recommendations did not have binding force for most universities. Even so, the recommendations were quickly implemented in several states and in those universities directly administered by the central government, but a number of states, including Maharashtra, delayed implementation for a number of reasons. The Maharashtra government was especially concerned about the cost of the salary increases to the state budget, even though the central government was committed to paying the increased costs for the first five years as an incentive to the states.

The UGC's recommendations concerned a number of areas of academic life, although the teaching community was mainly interested in the salary increases, which were substantial. Indeed, when teachers were fully informed of the range of recommendations, there was some disappointment. The UGC Committee was concerned with an overall improvement in the quality of the academic profession, and not simply in enhancing salaries. The UGC felt that increased salaries were an integral part of improvement, since academic salaries were not competitive, and forced college teachers to hold other jobs to supplement their income. But the UGC also recommended other steps. Among these was a raising of the entry level qualifications for college teaching The traditional requirement of a Master's degree was to be increased and a M. Phil. or a Ph. D. required for college positions. Many other steps were also recommended, such as the

establishment of a means for evaluating the performance of teachers, systematizing the promotion of academic staff and providing more openness of salary scales so that teachers would not reach the top of their grades so quickly, more professional means of hiring teachers, a means for protecting the job security of teachers in the private colleges, and several others.

Two particularly controversial parts of the UGC recommendations were a recommendation that a code of conduct for college teachers be established and a clearer statement of the work load provisions for teachers. The UGC's fairly loose work load statement was translated by the Maharashtra government into a clear set of requirements which stipulated the hours per week that teachers had to be on the college premises, which shortened the traditional vacation period and which, in general, removed much of the autonomy from the schedule of the teachers. In the process of implementation of the proposals, a compromise was reached between the government and the BUTU, but the final result was a clear deterioration of teacher autonomy in return for higher salaries.

The Code of Conduct provision was also damaging to the autonomy and academic freedom of the teaching profession, and it was opposed by the BUTU. The UGC recommendations for the Code of Conduct included prohibitions against raising issues of caste, religion, or sex in relationships with colleagues, and prohibitions against inciting students against other students, the administration, or teachers. The UGC also recommended that the refusal to carry out decisions by academic bodies of the University, by administrators, or by officers of the University would be subject to disciplinary proceedings. The Maharashtra government, in its own proposed conduct rules, became even more specific and draconian in their suggestions, which were promulgated, significantly, during the Emergency. The Maharashtra recommendations, for example, forbade teachers from disrupting any University body or from engaging in any 'act prejudicial to college management' or to the University.[21] Teachers were ordered to perform any duty assigned to them by the principal or other authority. Finally, confirmed teachers were liable for penalty for any of the following: misconduct, negligence of duty, physical or mental unfitness, incompetence, participation in coaching classes, or other violations. The grounds for violation were very broad and the penalties ran from reprimand to dismissal. These draconian measures were never implemented, as the BUTU entered into a legal dispute with the University and then succeeded in reaching a compromise which left the establishment of codes of conduct to the individual universities. But the severity of the proposed code naturally aroused a good deal of concern and opposition from the teaching community.

The three government reports and their implications for the teaching community are indicative of the kinds of issues which aroused the concern of the teachers. These external stresses, in addition to the day-to-day pressures of working in the colleges stimulated the emergence and the continuing strength of teacher's organizations in Bombay.

The current teachers' movement has roots dating back at least to 1967, when the Bombay University Teachers Council was organized. The Council engaged in modest activity for several years, but then lapsed into inactivity. In 1972, faced with an inflation rate of 25 per cent and with threats of retrenchment, administrative reforms, and other problems, a new teachers' organization was formed. This new group, called the Bombay University Teachers Union (BUTU), was established by a small number of college teachers, many of whom had experience in political affairs. Because of the difficult situation facing the teachers, the BUTU struck a responsive chord, and quickly enrolled a substantial number of members. The BUTU immediately stressed the revision of the salary scale and a demand that the UGC scales, which were then newly suggested, should be quickly implemented in Bombay. Other issues, such as fears by college teachers that their modest job security would be damaged by rumours of retrenchment, a proposed revision of the University Act, and several moves by local colleges to retrench individual teachers, all contributed to the BUTU's appeal. It is significant that the BUTU mobilized around 'trade union' issues and attempted to use 'trade union' tactics, such as demonstrations and lobbying government officials, to achieve its goals.

One of the first BUTU efforts was to obtain legal safeguards for job security and to implement more clearly defined and improved working conditions for teachers. After considerable pressure, the BUTU convinced the University that the requirement that college staff be confirmed or dismissed after a maximum of two years probation be implemented. Traditionally, many colleges kept teachers employed far beyond the legal two-year probationary limit without confirming them. The result of this initiative was that a large number of probationary teachers were fired. This was very much contrary to the result that the BUTU desired, and led to a kind of floating cadre of low paid, unconfirmed teachers, spending short periods at a number of colleges. Such a system worked to the advantage of the college managements, which did not have to pay the high salaries due to staff with some seniority and which had a small number of staff who were 'expendable'. The BUTU did, however, achieve some gain in that questions of the conditions of employment in the colleges came under more intense scrutiny and were, in general, more carefully enforced.

The BUTU and its state-wide parent body, the Maharashtra Federation of University and College Teachers Organizations (MFUCTO), which represents teachers in the six universities and 628 colleges in the state, played a key role in convincing the state government to implement the UGC's increased salary scales. This struggle lasted approximately three years, and was interrupted by the Emergency, which prevented normal political life and kept the BUTU from pressuring the government through public demonstrations. The BUTU used such tactics as legal suits, which delayed the implementation of a Code of Conduct which the BUTU strongly opposed, lobbying of government officials, mass demonstrations, and letter-writing campaigns. The BUTU has also worked within the governance structures of the University of Bombay in efforts to press its positions and to protect the interests of its members. BUTU activists have been members of key University bodies such as the Senate and various academic committees.

The struggle over the salary scales and the academic regulations which were promulgated along with them are a significant example of the interplay between the University, the state government, and the organized teachers movement. The position of the government of Maharashtra in the immediate period after the UGC recommendations in the early 1970s was that the state could not afford to implement the new scales. The BUTU attracted a large membership in considerable part because teachers wanted a vehicle to fight for enhanced salaries. In order to force recalcitrant Maharashtra authorities to implement the new scales, the BUTU organized a boycott in 1974 by the teachers of grading the University's final examinations, thus bringing one of the key functions of the University to a halt and engendering massive public concern, since students, parents, and prospective employers all depend on examination results. This pressure was successful in forcing the government to agree to the implementation of the UGC scales, seemingly without other conditions being attached. However, shortly after the agitation, the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared the Emergency, effectively stopping all political activities and outlawing strikes and other forms of agitation. The Maharashtra government, taking advantage of this situation, delayed implementation and eventually attached additional conditions to the salary issue which were unacceptable to the BUTU and to most teachers.[22]

The conditions proposed by the Maharashtra government during the Emergency are significant as they indicate some of the issues which are of concern to the government with regard to the teaching profession. Although the 'package' proposed by the government was modified after

the Emergency, the affair indicates the degree to which the University is dominated by government authorities in terms of major policy decisions. Perhaps most important in the equation, in the financial sense, the new salary scales were tied to an elimination of additional payments to teachers for grading examinations. Teachers would be expected to grade examinations without remuneration and as a part of their normal academic duties, breaking with a long tradition of additional payment for such service. In addition, that teachers be given the new scales permanently, they would be required to obtain an additional research degree beyond the Masters— either the Ph. D. or the newly established research-oriented M.Phil. degree. Teachers not fulfilling this requirement within a specified period of time would revert to the old salary levels.

A series of very specific rules of conduct were also to be promulgated which would effectively remove many elements of the limited academic freedom available to the teaching community and would make it easier for administrators to discipline or dismiss teachers for infractions of these rules. The Maharashtra authorities, with the approval of the University of Bombay administration, chose to try to implement all of the recommendations of the UGC for upgrading and systematizing the teaching profession without regard to local conditions. The new conditions and scales would have resulted in considerably less autonomy for the teaching community, would have increased qualifications for teachers which would have been difficult to implement and would have placed a tremendous burden on the University departments, which would have had to greatly expand their postgraduate programmes, and would have placed teachers under greatly increased administrative rules and constraints.

The response of the teaching community and the BUTU was wholly negative. During the Emergency, however, it was impossible for the teachers to mobilize against the new rules since political and trade union activities were strictly controlled and police officials would not permit even a public meeting to discuss the matter. In addition, two key BUTU leaders were arrested and imprisoned under the Emergency rules, further weakening the organization's leadership. While no formal reasons were given by the government for the arrest of the BUTU leaders, it was widely speculated that they were arrested not because of their union activities, but because they had been vocal opponents of University administrators, who requested that they be imprisoned. The BUTU instituted legal action against the University in order to stop the new rules, and the court proceedings delayed the implementation until the Emergency was ended after Mrs. Gandhi's defeat in the elections of 1977.

After the Emergency, the teachers were again able to mobilize and, in fact, political activism was enhanced after a long period of enforced silence. As a result of a combination of legal challenges, a change in the administration of the Bombay University, and considerable pressure by the BUTU and other groups, a compromise was reached with the Maharashtra government, and the new scales were instituted along with a set of revised rules for the teaching profession in late 1977. The new rules are a compromise between the original requirements suggested by the government and the wishes of the BUTU. Instead of all teachers being required to obtain an advanced academic degree, only new incumbents to the teaching profession will have to obtain such degrees. The vacation time for teachers was increased over the period recommended by the government but was set at 12 weeks—a reduction by four weeks from the traditional time. The very specific Code of Conduct which was so abhorrent to the teachers was not included in the new arrangement, but the government retains the right to frame a Code of Conduct at some future time. The teaching load was set at 15 clock hours of classroom instruction per week, with teachers in the junior colleges teaching more. The BUTU felt that the increased pay scales, and especially the fact that there is now a 'continuous scale' which does not cut off lecturers at a fairly low level but permits them to earn higher salaries with their seniority, were a major gain for the teachers. The new guarantees of procedural rights for teachers threatened by dismissal were also seen as a gain as the rules would not permit arbitrary actions by college authorities. The appeal mechanisms are, however, in the hands of a government body. In all, the new rules were seen as a useful compromise by union officials, and are much less onerous than the government's previous proposals.[23] Others have pointed out that the role of the government is greatly increased in academic affairs generally not only because the basic negotiations to obtain the agreement were between the government and the BUTU but especially because the government is included as a key constitutional element in academic affairs in the new arrangement.

The BUTU, as a result of the struggle over salaries, won a major gain for the teaching community and is at present a generally accepted voice for the teachers. It is taken seriously in government offices, and University officials reluctantly see it as an element in the academic equation. Some college managements are less willing to deal with the BUTU in particular and the new militancy of the teachers in general. The BUTU itself, while established as a major political force in the higher education equation in Bombay, is not a very strong organization, and its hold on the loyalty of the teaching community is not strong. Most teachers seem to reluctantly accept it as their

legitimate voice, and more than half of the teachers in the colleges are members of the BUTU—which requires only a small dues payment annually. Few, however, engage in the BUTU's activities. The organization is run by an executive committee of fifteen members, and it has no full-time staff. Its offices are provided by the University of Bombay and the organization does not provide any real service to the teachers. It is fair to say that the organization is in the hands of a handful of activists who have been involved in BUTU affairs for a long time. It has been estimated that fewer than a dozen individuals are very active in the BUTU. Many of these individuals have a political background of activism in one or another political party, mostly on the left. But, so far, the BUTU has carefully avoided identifying itself with a particular political party, and this has enhanced its appeal to the teaching community, which has always avoided partisan political identification in Bombay. Without question, however, the hard work and commitment of a small group of politically experienced individuals has permitted the BUTU to function fairly actively.

BUTU has been most effective when it has stressed the issues of salary, job security, and the protection of the jobs of individual college staff members. These issues attracted the support of large numbers of teachers, and were sometimes effectively pressed with academic and governmental authorities. When the BUTU occasionally raised educational issues or attempted to sponsor meetings concerned with the curriculum or current issues in education, these meetings were not well attended and interest was minimal. The interest of the teaching community seemed mainly to be on topics directly concerned with their working conditions rather than discussions of education or intellectual matters. The fact that the teaching community is distributed over seventy-five colleges and that many suburban teachers must travel up to two hours in crowded commuter trains to reach down town Bombay, where most meetings are held, almost inevitably keep participation by the rank and file at a low level. In addition, there is no tradition in Bombay of active involvement in professional unions and few political traditions among the teachers.

The BUTU has recently been active on several fronts. In September 1977, a strike was called to demand job security for 300 teachers in the junior colleges, and a boycott of grading examinations was also urged in 1975 and in 1977 to support BUTU demands. The organization has supported non-academic university workers in some of their struggles, and the BUTU has worked closely with the MFUCTO on a number of issues. After the implementation of the salary scales, the BUTU has apparently lost some of its support among the rank-and-file teachers in Bombay, in part because

the most dramatic issue was solved, and perhaps also because the teachers were not very enthusiastic about the compromise settlement. An underlying distrust of the BUTU's 'political' leadership is apparent among many teachers, who accept the organization as a pragmatic force but who are not active supporters. Thus, while the BUTU had wide support during and immediately after the Emergency, the organization is now at a crossroad.

The BUTU is not the only professional organization in the teaching community, although it is the most active one at present. Academic staff in the postgraduate University departments are organized into the Bombay University Academic Staff Association. This organization has a membership of about 150 (of a total of 230 teachers in the postgraduate departments) and it has cooperated with the BUTU on a number of issues. The problems facing postgraduate teachers are quite different than those facing college staff. Salary scales are substantially higher than college scales, and the responsibilities are also different. Teaching loads are relatively light—with six to nine class contact hours per week—and the teachers have a responsibility for guiding research projects. Some financing for the University departments comes from the University Grants Commission, and thus dependence on the Maharashtra government is somewhat limited. Postgraduate teachers are expected to produce research and publications, and often can obtain grants for their research, thus producing additional independence from University authorities. Because of their superior working conditions and professional orientation, the postgraduate teachers are not as actively in union activities, and their organization is less important than is the BUTU.

The teachers' movement in Bombay has achieved modest success in recent years, and seems now to be an established part of the academic equation. That the BUTU has not been more effective is related to the nature of the teaching community in Bombay, to the BUTU's own relatively weak leadership, and to the lack of a real tradition of teacher organization and militancy. That the BUTU was able to survive the Emergency and to emerge from it organizationally intact was an impressive achievement, and the role which the organization played in securing the new salary scales was substantial and widely recognized in the teaching community.

B. The Impact of the Emergency

There has been much discussion concerning the impact of the Emergency on Indian political and other institutions. A brief discussion of the Emergency and its impact on the teaching community may be instructive.

In a word, the Emergency did not greatly affect the day-to-day operation of the academic community in Bombay, although it did have some impact—and some continuing implications as well. The Emergency's effects can be divided into several categories:

(1) The impact on intellectual life and the curriculum: This is difficult to measure, but it is clear that teachers in the social sciences felt under considerable constraint. Anti-government statements in class were problematical—and many teachers felt that some of their students were informing on them. Material critical of the government or of specific policy thrusts of the government could not be published and discussing such matters in class was potentially dangerous, although many teachers continued to do so. Publishing firms would not publish manuscripts critical of the government, and in general, there were major restrictions on freedom of expression. Many academics in the social sciences felt that they could not effectively teach their subjects. In a few cases, alterations were made in the curriculum to reflect the goals of the then Prime Minister's 20 point programme. One such case, which later helped to force the ousting of the University of Bombay's Vice-Chancellor, was a new course in the law faculty dealing with the 20 point programme. A textbook devoted to this subject was sponsored by Vice-Chancellor Tope, himself a law professor, and this textbook was the cause of much criticism when the Emergency ended. For most teachers, especially in the colleges, the Emergency did not greatly affect their roles. The sciences and most humanities subjects remained unaffected, and other than the proscription on anti-government discussion and writing, few other restrictions were imposed during the Emergency. It is fair to say that many teachers, especially in the social sciences, were demoralized during the Emergency, and that teaching and writing in these fields was restricted. There were few public protests on curricular and intellectual issues, and no teachers are known to have resigned from their jobs because of these restrictions. For most of the academic community, it was 'business as usual'.

(2) The impact on governance and institutional life: The Emergency gave greatly increased power to academic authorities—especially to college principals and to administrative officers of the University. As in other areas of Indian society, there was little recourse from the actions of administrative authority, and the usual academic processes of the University were, in many ways, circumvented. Elections to University bodies were postponed, and teachers were prevented from voicing grievances and concerns. The academic administration of the University functioned efficiently since many students and staff feared repression if they engaged in activities which might be seen as in opposition to the authorities. It is fair to say that while the administration of the University was at a high level of efficiency during the Emergency, the University lost much of its autonomy and the teaching community was somewhat limited in the scope of its activities.

(3) The Emergency had some impact on individual faculty members. A small number of academics in Bombay were jailed for all or part of the period. As indicated, two of the key leaders of the BUTU were jailed, and a handful of other academics were imprisoned for reasons mostly unrelated to academic life but rather to their political activities off campus. These jailings were sufficient to induce a sense of fear in most college teachers. Many teachers, especially in the social sciences, felt distressed by the Emergency, and even depressed by it. But there was little public expression of this discontent, and most academics were able to lead normal lives during the Emergency. While there are no accurate statistics, it is likely that many academics gave the Emergency limited support feeling, as many middle-class Indians did, that increased discipline was needed in Indian society. Thus, the direct consequences of the Emergency on most academics were very limited, and the number of teachers arrested or otherwise directly affected, in Bombay at least, was very small.

The Emergency may have had one consequence of increasing the political consciousness and perhaps activism of the academic community. The level of activism directly after the Emergency was very high, and the BUTU was especially active during this period. The teachers were especially vociferous in demanding that government authorities meet their demands. In addition, there was an outcry against Vice-Chancellor Tope, which resulted in his removal from office, who was seen as having strongly supported the Emergency. Whether the high level of political consciousness and activism in Bombay—which has few political traditions—will continue remains to be seen, but it is clear that the Emergency engendered enhanced political consciousness among many teachers.

Conclusion

The Indian academic community, and especially that large segment which teaches in undergraduate colleges, finds itself in an ambivalent and, in general, an unenviable position. There are a number of reasons for this ambivalence which have been suggested by the foregoing analysis. This conclusion will summarize some of the structural and other factors which contribute to the present state of affairs in most of Indian academic life.

The historical tradition of subservience, strong within Hindu intellectual life and nurtured by the history of British colonial higher education in India, has been an inhibiting factor of major proportions. Hindu intellectualism has stressed a derivative scholarship based on established texts. British colonial policy built academic institutions which were not supposed to develop an active and independent intellectual life, but rather were aimed at training bureaucrats and professionals rather than scholars and thinkers.

Colleges and universities had little autonomy, and academics who strayed too far from established policy found it difficult to function. While some academics were involved in the Independence movement, it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of college and university teachers were inactive throughout the dramatic events leading to Independence in 1947. Students were active and militant, but not teachers.

Indian higher education has, from the beginning, been politicized. Universities and colleges were founded with certain policy orientations in mind, and were kept under close governmental scrutiny during the British period. After Independence, considerable academic freedom was available to the academic community but the direction of higher education was very much a matter of public policy. Higher education expanded very rapidly in the post-Independence period, resulting in overcrowding, deteriorating conditions, and an increasing rate of unemployment of graduates. While academics have spoken out against these declines and against overly rapid growth, their voices have not been effective. The universities themselves have been unable to shape the direction of higher education in India. Major direction has come from political leaders responding to public pressure. It is not surprising that under these conditions an autonomous and self-conscious academic community did not emerge.

Colleges and universities have been dominated by 'little' politics as well as being directed by external forces. Impelled in part by the severe competition for remunerative jobs in India, and by the need to retain a position once it is obtained, academics have engaged in factional politics within their educational institutions. While Bombay has been relatively free of disruption based on academic politics, it is not unknown in India for colleges and universities to be severely hampered in their operation by factional politics. In many instances, productive scholarship and teaching are limited by extra-academic considerations which are part of the institutional environment. In a society of scarcity and in an institutional framework which does not have clear norms of behaviour, it is not surprising that internal politics plays an an important yet disruptive role.

The emergence of professional norms depends on appropriate institutional and societal conditions. These conditions do not for the most part exist in India. Institutional autonomy is very limited and the teachers, especially in the colleges, have little control over their own conditions of work, teaching, schedules, or other elements of every day academic life. The fact that the academic profession has not, in many cases, been able to recruit the most qualified individuals has resulted in a teaching profession which is sometimes not especially well trained. A key element is the lack of

autonomy at any level of the college structure. Teachers naturally do not regard themselves as independent intellectuals with self-imposed responsibilities for teaching and academic life but rather as employees of large bureaucratic structures which they often fear. It is not surprising that professionalism has failed to emerge in such an environment.

The economic status of both the colleges and the teachers contributes to the present situation. Colleges received only limited assistance from university or governmental bodies, and are dependent for their survival on student fees. The more newly established colleges have inadequate facilities and are unable to find funds to create a more adequate teaching and learning environment. The teaching staff has traditionally been underpaid, and inflation has further eroded income levels. In the cities, it is virtually impossible for college teachers to live in a middle-class style, although teachers fare better in less urban settings, where the cost of living is lower. Low salaries have forced teachers to take other jobs, reducing their commitment to their college responsibilities and dividing their loyalties.

College teachers are not creative intellectuals in most societies. They are, rather 'consuming intellectuals', transmitters of knowledge from those who do write and who participate in creative work to students. Thus, it would be unfair to expect Indian college teachers to publish very much, and indeed their job responsibilities do not for the most part include publication. Yet, it is increasingly rare for college teachers even to keep up with the latest developments in their academic fields and in the broader world of intellectual life. And without this current awareness, it is difficult to impart to students the latest and the most exciting knowledge. The picture is, of course, mixed with many teachers taking their roles seriously and participating in intellectual life. But it would seem that these individuals constitute only a minority in the teaching profession.

The role of the college in the Indian social structure dictates to a considerable degree the status and role of the teacher. Colleges have become 'mass' institutions, providing access to education to the urban middle and lower middle classes and increasingly to the rural bourgeoisie as well. With a few exceptions, they no longer train an 'elite' for positions of power and prestige in the society. Given this societal position, it is not surprising that the colleges themselves and their teachers do not have a prominent position in society. In this sense, the college teacher occupies a place which, in fact, fits logically with the function of the college in the Indian social structure. To expect dramatic change in the light of this situation, and given India's 'society of scarcity', is probably unrealistic.

Notes

1. Segments of this chapter are taken from Philip G. Altbach, 'In Search of Saraswati: The Ambivalence of the Indian Academic', *Higher Education* 6 (May 1977), pp. 245–75. See also Philip G. Altbach, *The University in Transition: An Indian Case Study* (Bombay: Sindhu, 1972). I am indebted to Suma Chitnis, Shiela McVey and A.B. Shah for their comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.
2. Edward Shils, 'The Academic Profession in India', *Minerva* 7 (Spring, 1969), p. 345.
3. Irene Gilbert, 'The Indian Academic Profession: The Origins of a Tradition of Subordination', *Minerva* 10 (July 1972), pp. 384–411.
4. The 'caste system' in education is not confined to India. In the United States, as David Reisman has pointed out, the academic profession can be seen as a snake-like procession, with the head providing overall direction and the rest of the procession following. The prestigious, research-oriented institutions such as Harvard, MIT and California dominate the system. Similarly, in Britain, Oxford and Cambridge dominate the self-image of the academic profession although only a small minority of the profession works at these universities. Much of the public attention and analysis concerns these highly visible institutions.
5. The first full-scale study of the college teacher is Suma Chitnis' 'The Teacher Role in the College System' (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Science, 1973). See also Suma Chitnis, 'Teachers in Higher Education' in A. Singh and Philip G. Altbach, eds., *The Higher Learning in India* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1974), pp. 237–49.
6. For a discussion of the academic profession in a number of nations, see Philip G. Altbach, ed., *Comparative Perspectives on the Academic Profession* (New York: Praeger, 1977).
7. For general discussion about the impact of colonialism on education, see Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, eds., *Education and Colonialism* (New York: Longmans, 1977).
8. See Bruce McCully, *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940); and Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development, 1898–1920* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974).
9. Irene Gilbert, op. cit. See also Edward Shils, op. cit.
10. For a more substantial discussion of the centre-periphery concept as it applies to higher education, see Philip G. Altbach, 'Servitude of the Mind?: Education, Dependency and Neocolonialism', *Teachers College Record* 79 (December 1977), pp. 187–204.
11. See, for example, 'Acapolitics: A Symposium on the Politiking in Academic Life', *Seminar,* No. 148 (December 1971), pp. 10–45.
12. See E. C. Ladd and S. M. Lipset, *The Divided Academy: Professors and Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975) for a discussion of the political attitudes and values of American academics.
13. See Ministry of Education, *Report of the Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1962).
14. See Suma Chitnis, 'The Teacher Role in the College System', op. cit. and B. N. Sinha, 'The Problems and Attitudes of University Teachers in Bihar' (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Ranchi University, 1969). Singh points out that at least at the University of Jaipur in Rajasthan most teachers come from upper caste, urban and professional

backgrounds. See Y. Singh, 'Academic Role Structure and Modernization: A Study of Rajasthan University Teachers' in this volume.

15. *Report of the Inquiry on the Problems of Teachers in the University of Bombay* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1954).

16. Philip G. Altbach, *The University in Transition: An Indian Case Study* (Bombay: Sindhu, 1972).

17. University Grants Commission, *Report of the Committee on Governance of Universities and Colleges: Part II: Teachers* (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1973).

18. Ibid.

19. India, Ministry of Education, *Report of the Education Commission, 1964–66: Education and National Development* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1966).

20. University Grants Commission, op. cit.

21. A. S. Abraham, 'Conduct Code of Varsity Teachers', *The Times of India* (13 November 1975).

22. 'Code of Conduct for Teachers', *Economic and Political Weekly* (15 November 1975), pp. 1754–5.

23. Interview with Professor Manjrekar, Secretary of the Bombay University Teachers Union, 17 October 1977.

SECTION III

Regional Issues and Challenges

The State and Higher Education: An Uneasy Relationship

M. Anandakrishnan

Emerging Compulsions

For over a decade the higher education system around the world, and more so in India, has been undergoing unprecedented transformation responding to a variety of compulsions. These are related to the growing pressures for enrolment, and newer demands from different sections of population that remained marginalized. Concomitantly there have been radical changes in the nature of higher education system in terms of form, content, nomenclature, delivery, recognition, and so on. The emergence of Internet facilities and search engines has further opened up newer options in higher education. Furthermore, higher education space in India which was predominantly occupied by the government—Central and State—has come to be increasingly taken up by private players on whom the regulatory efforts of the government have not been meaningfully effective. In any case the dominant preoccupation continues to establish quality and credibility of the higher education institutions and the programs offered by them. In all this the State in India has to struggle hard to maintain the probity of the system.

Professor Philip G. Altbach, for more than four decades, has captured the evolving scene of the Indian Higher Education system through his writings and commentaries serving as valuable references and guides for policy initiatives and programs of action. Many institutions have benefitted by his analysis and observations to enhance their reputation.

Sustaining Institutional Reputation

Undoubtedly there is a substantial number of higher education institutions in India that have established their stature and reputation for high academic quality as well as probity. This has been largely made possible by the continuous sustained leadership available to such institutions. The accent is on continuity of leadership. These are fortunate to have found persons of high competence and integrity as heads of their institutions and programs, who are also given a high degree of autonomy to implement their vision. Their search and selection process for vice-chancellors and directors have been directed toward identifying visionary attributes of the leader. What is equally important is that this tradition is unbroken. Many prestigious institutions have declined in stature simply by one wrong choice of the academic leader.

Equally important is the need to avoid periods of uncertainties resulting in vacant positions of leadership. The rapid growth in the number of higher educational institutions and the dearth of suitable persons to head them, along with cumbersome procedures in initiating the selection process, have frequently led to leadership vacuum for periods ranging from several months to a few years. This situation creates fertile ground for all sorts of mischief to take place dragging the institution down. Such lapses are common in state as well as centrally funded institutions.

The responsibility for protecting institutions from leadership crisis rests largely with the governing boards with the support of the government. The academic leadership in privately funded institutions, with some rare exceptions, suffers from lack of meaningful autonomy since the investors tend to control every aspect of the institutional management

Evolving Scenario

The principle element of the evolving higher education scene may be summarized in terms of the following propositions:

1. During the past two decades there has been a sharp increase in the number of various kinds of higher educational institutions in the form of colleges, universities, and specialized institutions in central, state, and private sectors. A cursory observation reveals that most of them operate at less than optimal level. Based on an analysis of the reasons for such suboptimal utilization, the goals of expansion can be met to a significant extent if the

capacity of the existing institutions can be substantially enhanced at a cost far below what takes to start a new institution.

2. There are several existing institutions which have the attributes of quality and stature with capacity to launch innovative program in new and emerging areas of science, technology, humanities, and social sciences. They should receive greater priority in higher education development.

3. Though the Central government took major initiatives to establish high caliber new institutions across the country in various states such as IITs, central universities, IISERs, IIITs, and so on, the progress in bringing them to healthy life has been tardy, not for want of funds and personnel, but for the lukewarm support from State governments with a few notable exceptions.

4. It is inevitable to establish many new institutions not merely to meet enrolment demands but more for ushering in the new knowledge society. In so doing it is imperative that they help (*i*) to bridge the severe imbalances in available capacity among different regions; (*ii*) to correct the severe distortions in the growth pattern among different disciplines; (*iii*) to address the special economic, social and technological needs of different regions of the country; (*iv*) to promote effective public–private partnership in higher education; and (*v*) to incentivize state level institutions to create high profile reputations.

5. It is a well-known fact that at present the degree of political and bureaucratic interference in the centrally funded institutions is indeed negligible but it is horrendous in most state funded institutions. It will be necessary to rectify the situation in such states through appropriate measures of persuasion and recognition.

6. Despite the current situation of liberal availability of financial support from the Centre and many States, it cannot be taken for granted that the situation will last forever. A system of financial safety net to protect the higher education system is desperately needed.

7. In spite of a great deal of hypes, the number of high caliber private institutions in India is very insignificant. Perhaps India is one of the few countries in the world indulging in high decibel advertisements of educational institutions often with exaggerated and misleading claims. At least the dishonesty and misrepresentations can be prevented to protect the students and parents.

8. A great deal of hope was raised during the past five years about major initiatives in educational reforms to bring about a rejuvenation and renovation of the higher education system. These reforms were intended to usher in higher standards of quality, prevention of malpractices, restoring the idea of university, encouraging international participation. Gradually the hopes of such reforms are fading away not because of any conceptual weakness but due to peculiar Indian political processes.

Possible Strategy

In the light of this dynamics of the unfolding higher education scenario, there are very few options that are viable and effective. It is necessary to maintain the new strategy for higher education initiated during the past 10 years whereby it was pushed from the periphery of the development thinking toward the core. In the face of slow economic growth, the higher education system should not bear a disproportionate brunt.

The need to support, sustain and project many of our premier higher educational institutions towards world class status will be felt far more acutely in future, whatever may be the criteria adopted for this purpose. The necessity to support and upgrade a large number of state level institutions to premier status is urgent but is likely to be quite difficult due to ideological and operational hurdles. Vigorous efforts will be called for at the political and academic level.

The Indian higher education system has a great future if the Centre, the States and the Private investors resolve to strive towards a common national purpose to sustain its international reputation.

11

Bombay Colleges

Philip G. Altbach

The Indian university is more than a name but in some cases it is not much more. Behind the name is the reality. The reality is the college. In 1967–68 there were 70 universities plus 10 institutions "deemed to be universities" in India with 2,218,972 students enrolled in them; in fact, however, about 1,886,100 students or 85 per cent of the total were enrolled in colleges affiliated to the universities. Of the 102,444 teachers in institutions of higher education in India in 1967–68, 17,456 were on the establishment of the university; 84,998 were college employees.[1]

In Bombay, in 1967, 71,000 out of a total of 77,076[2] students were enrolled in the 59 affiliated colleges in greater Bombay. Out of a total of 3,487 teachers in the university, 3,200 were on the payrolls of the colleges.[3] While possessing independence in certain respects the colleges are subject to university authority. In order to become affiliated to the university, a college must meet certain standards set by the university; it is subject to annual inspection by the university. It prepares its students for degrees to be awarded by the university; examinations are therefore a university prerogative, as is the syllabus. The university administration has substantial power over the colleges in many ways as well. University approval for various grants from the University Grants Commission and other agencies to the colleges must generally be obtained. Only the university can award degrees and only it can decide who should receive these degrees. The university has the right to inspect the colleges, to scrutinise their financial accounts,

academic records, teaching staff, and other aspects of their affairs. The university sets minimum examination standards for entrance to the colleges, sets salary scales for academic staff, sets tuition fees, and provides the initial approval for affiliation. There are minimum university standards for books in the library, for science laboratories, and other aspects of the physical plant of the colleges.

The university has the power to disaffiliate colleges; it can force a college to go out of existence because a college which could not qualify its students to sit for university examinations and to obtain a university degree would find itself without students. The University of Bombay has, on several occasions, taken the extreme step of disaffiliation, and it often demands that the college managers improve its library or other facilities before granting permanent affiliation.[4] A new college must generally function with temporary affiliation for several years before receiving full sanction from the university. To date, the University of Bombay has used its affiliation power only to ensure that its minimum standards for staff and facilities are met. It does not use its power of disaffiliation to improve those colleges which succeed in meeting the minimum standard. A college which was so threatened could probably raise enough political support to dissuade the university from persisting in such an effort.

The case of the "morning colleges" in Bombay is an example of government pressure on the university. The "morning colleges" were those which began their teaching early in the day before business and government offices opened, so that employees of such institutions could pursue higher education. It was generally thought in academic circles that the "morning colleges" did not perform very satisfactorily and there was much criticism of them. When the university administration, under the leadership of the rector, decided to eliminate the "morning colleges" in 1964 and thereby raise academic standards, there was an immediate outcry from the colleges which offered morning courses and from representatives of groups which would be deprived by the change. The university's position, as expressed in a memorandum circulated at the time, was that part-time education in the morning produced intolerably low standards, and that it should be eliminated.[5] Defenders of the programme stated that lower class students would be denied a collegiate education by its omission. The colleges and their students pressed the government, which in turn forced the university to modify its plan. It was a victory for the colleges; there have been very few others.

Postgraduate teaching is one of the main activities of the University of Bombay. In 1968, the university had 16 postgraduate departments in which

2,303 students were enrolled. Its teaching departments are applied psychology, chemical technology, economics, English, law, politics, mathematics, management studies, linguistics, library science, foreign languages, chemistry, basic medical science, sociology, statistics and Sanskrit. Postgraduate teaching at the master's level is done by many colleges; the master's degree is, however, not a research degree. Research degrees and training for them are again the monopoly of the university.

Postgraduate teaching in India, even more than in the United States, enjoys higher prestige than undergraduate teaching, and Bombay is no exception. Teachers with university appointments receive higher salaries, have greater security of tenure and receive more deference than college teachers. Moreover, members of university departments have some voice in university affairs, since they are represented in various university bodies and have a substantial role in setting collegiate examinations.

While some Bombay colleges offer postgraduate instruction—usually in fields in which there is no university department, such as history—the relationship between the postgraduate departments and the colleges is distant. The academic staff of the postgraduate departments in the university tend to feel themselves superior to their collegiate colleagues and there is little contact between them. In a few fields, however, such as sociology, there has been fairly close contact between college staff and academic staff of university postgraduate departments, and as a result some coordination has taken place.

The main university buildings and its library in the Fort (downtown) area of Bombay are distant from most of the colleges. There is not much contact between the university's personnel and the students and teachers of the colleges; the barriers are not only those of physical distance. The colleges, it is true, are widely scattered within a radius of 25 miles from the centre of the university, and some require two and a half hours of travel to reach from the Fort area; the slightness of contact between the university and colleges is manifest in an observation of the former registrar and rector Mr. S. R. Dongerkery. Mr. Dongerkery served under nine vice-chancellors and in his review of their merits, he mentions only one of them, the late Dr. John Mathai, as having visited the colleges and spoken with their students.[6]

Undergraduates must have special permission to use the university library. There is virtually no overlap of university and college staff, and teachers in the university departments have no contact with undergraduate students in the colleges. Students come into direct contact with the university only at examination time, and many of them seem to be unaware

that many of the regulations which govern the colleges are laid down by the university.

Most college administrators and teachers feel that the authority of the university, however necessary it is to maintain standards, has a restrictive effect on efforts to improve their institutions. Nonetheless, this administrative framework does not, as might be expected, impose uniformity on all the colleges. There are tremendous differences in the quality of education, the conditions of work and other important features among the 59 affiliated colleges of the University of Bombay. The University of Bombay has several of the best colleges in India; it also has colleges which are regarded as falling below the minimum acceptable standard for higher education in India. There are, among the colleges, different types of administration and management, varying approaches to education, and quite diverse institutional styles.

The College Management

The organisational structure of the college is a basic factor. Looking at a college from the top down, the most important controlling element is the body which is, by law, owner of the institution. In privately established colleges, this body is usually referred to as the management or managing committee. But it could also be a missionary body or, in some cases, the government (Table I). The management of the college has ultimate legal control over the institution and is responsible for its expenditures and debts, and the appointment, retention and remuneration of staff. There are substantial differences among the colleges in Bombay in the role of the managing bodies. Some take a very active role in the affairs of the institution, while others permit substantial autonomy for the principal and, in fewer instances, the academic staff.

In Bombay, colleges do not generally cover their costs from their fees. (In some parts of India, private groups sometimes start colleges with the intention of making a financial profit.) Thus, the motives for starting a college and for administering it, in Bombay, at least, are generally beyond financial considerations. Most private colleges are run by groups of businessmen concerned largely with social service. Some individuals donate large sums of money to colleges so that an institution of social importance will be named after them. As a result, many governing bodies of Bombay colleges are not well versed in educational matters, and have little academic experience. Control of a college gives potential political power and a good

Table I

(a) Management of Bombay Colleges in 1967[a]

Type of Management of College	No. of Institutions
State government	10
Bombay Municipal Corporation	4
Missionary:	
Roman Catholic	3
Protestant	1
Private:	
Gujarati	15
Maharashtrian	5
Sindhi	4
Harijan	3
South Indian	1
Sikh	1
Muslim	1
Other	1
Unknown	3
Total	52

(b) Size of Bombay Colleges in 1967

No. of Students	No. of Colleges
Under 300	9
301–500	4
501–1,000	9
1,001–1,500	12
1,501–2,000	6
2,001–3,000	12
Total	52

[a] This table includes mainly arts and science colleges in Greater Bombay. 52 colleges were investigated at first hand.

deal of patronage. Preferences can be given in admissions (within the limits of university regulations), or appointments can be made to teaching and other posts. Colleges are generally well-regarded local institutions, and control of a college is often important in local community affairs. Prestige, therefore, accrues to those who found colleges and who serve on their management committees.

The policies of private management committees towards their colleges differ greatly. For example, Somaiya College is a new institution located in a suburban area; it was founded in 1960 by a single individual (a wealthy Gujarati businessman) who desired to make a strong impression on education and to impose his views on the new college. As a result, the management of the college, which consists largely of the founder and members of his family, takes a very active interest in the college and often imposes its educational and other views on the staff and students of the institution. The principal of the college is virtually powerless in policy matters, and several have resigned following disagreements over educational policy. The founder prizes piety, religious values and seemly deportment. As a result, there are compulsory prayers, strict regulations concerning dress for students and staff, and a strict prohibition on smoking in the college. Students or members of the staff who violate various regulations are summarily dismissed from the institution. The results of these policies are a servile staff and an intellectually moribund college. There is nothing to limit the powers of the management as long as university regulations are not violated.

There are also privately controlled colleges in which the principal or the principal and staff have considerable power in college affairs. One of Bombay's better institutions, Ruia College, has a unique organisational structure which gives its principal and his staff almost unequalled autonomy; in consequence, it enjoys high morale among staff and a good academic reputation. The college, which was founded in 1937 by a well-established Maharashtrian educational trust with headquarters in Poona, the *Shikshana Prasaraka Mandali*, is based on what is called the "life-member" system. This concept, dating from the Maharashtrian social service tradition of the nineteenth century, of which the Servants of India Society and the Deccan Educational Society are the chief examples, means that a number of staff members of the college commit themselves to teaching there for a period of 20 years and thereby become "life-members." The college is administered by the society of life-members, who are also responsible for inducting new individuals into the society. The management has traditionally left the administration of the college in all its aspects to the life-members, some of whom also sit on its highest managing board. Life-members have the

advantage of a secure tenure, but also have substantial responsibilities to the institution and often are not as well paid as they might be in other colleges.

It is curious that while the "life-member" system has worked well and has maintained a high quality of instruction at Ruia College, the model does not find many imitations. Many individuals, both within and outside Ruia College, state that the system, which has the overtones of a monastic order, is not attractive in post-independence India. There is not sufficient mobility, and the commitment to work for an educational institution for a long period of time is not attractive to many young teachers, who are reluctant to undertake a demanding moral commitment.

Another college which has been able to maintain substantial autonomy but through different means is Mithibai College, a new college located in suburban Bombay. Mithibai College enjoys a reputation for intellectual quality among the newer and generally less distinguished institutions in the city because of two factors. The most important element is the fact that the management of the college has taken an enlightened view of problems of college administration and has allowed the academic stratum of the institution substantial autonomy. It was founded by an educational trust run by Gujarati businessmen, but in contrast to the management of Somaiya College, this trust has been operating schools and colleges for a number of years and includes among its directors a number of well-educated persons. It also has a strong and imaginative principal who has insisted that the college maintain its independence and has defended the staff from outside pressures. The principal has used his powers to hire well-qualified teachers and, in turn, the teachers who would not otherwise be inclined to teach in a suburban college with an undistinguished student body, have shown strong loyalty to the institution. Members of the Mithibai staff are free to engage in educational or political activities, which is relatively rare for Bombay college teachers. As a result of this policy, a number of Mithibai staff have been active in the organisation of the Bombay University Teachers' Council.

Most Bombay colleges are neither as autocratic as Somaiya nor as enlightened as Ruia or Mithibai. Managing committees generally consist of businessmen who have little educational experience but who are devoted to their institutions and try to run their colleges efficiently. Managements are very alert to avoid financial deficits and much of their time is taken up with budgetary considerations. They are not generally concerned with imposing stringent regulations on the staff or principal, although managing groups sometimes do impose particular restrictions. The management of a Gujarati college would not for example take kindly to criticism of Gandhi by a member of the staff, and in fact, one teacher was dismissed from such

a college for speaking critically of Gandhi in public. Colleges conducted by religious groups have their own preoccupations. As a result of this the Sikh-run Khalsa College has a *gurudara*. The South Indian Educational Society (SIES) College makes special provisions for south Indian students, and the various Christian colleges provide for students from their denominations. But in general, the direct intervention of the management is not of major day-to-day importance to the colleges. Teachers are seldom aware of directives from the management committee.

Despite their remoteness from the routine activities of most colleges, the managements are of great importance to their institutions. They control basic financial decisions; they are largely responsible for fund-raising and budget-balancing. Their views on educational questions, however uninformed, are important; they can stifle innovation even within the narrow limits allowed by the university's control of syllabi and examinations, and they can demand the implementation of policies which have little educational merit. Decisions concerning expansion of the student body of the institution, or the introduction of a course not previously offered by the college, are made by the management. Several principals have remarked that management committees are more likely to approve the construction of a visible new building which can be named after a rich patron than they are to authorise expenditures on books for the library or for improvements in teachers' salaries. Management committees can, and often do, dictate to the principal and senior academic staff on the appointment of new staff members, and occasionally on the admission of unqualified students.

The Principal

The principal works immediately under the management committee. The principal serves at the pleasure of the management, and it is not thought necessary for the teaching staff to have any voice in his appointment. He is the person directly responsible for the functioning of the institution. He is the link between the management and the college and is responsible for implementing the management's policies. He is the key person in the academic hierarchy in the college, and determines much of the atmosphere of the institution.

The principal is a member of all committees which recommend the appointment of new staff members. He is usually the college's representative on university bodies; he represents the college to the university or the government. He is responsible for scheduling classes, deciding on the teaching

loads of staff members and the allocation of financial resources within the limits set by the management; he is also responsible for student discipline.

The older and well-established institutions, such as St. Xaviers, Elphinstone and Wilson Colleges, depend less on the ability of a particular principal, since they can survive periods of stagnation because of the power of traditions which they inherit. The newer institutions, however, are directly dependent on the principal for leadership. Where the principal is strong and imaginative, morale is high and the colleges seem to be producing good results. In cases where the principal is unable to provide leadership, the institution stagnates. Successful principals are able to keep aware of "progressive" developments in other institutions and to suggest new ideas for a college student union, seminar-type arrangements for well-qualified students, and encouragement of and assistance for research by members of the staff. Members of the teaching staff respond positively to such gestures which make them feel that they are doing the "progressive" thing. But not many principals can do this. For one thing, principals are not selected for their scholarliness or initiative, but because it is thought that they can exercise authority and are willing to do the bidding of the management. They are not likely to have been controversial teachers, since such individuals do not attract the political support necessary for an appointment to a principalship. Most college principals are interested primarily in maintaining their own positions and in keeping the college going on a steady keel. This usually involves balancing the various pressure groups in the college—students, academic staff and management. The college principal has become a mediator and a manager rather than an educational leader.

The job of the principal is not an easy one. The position, if taken seriously, is a time-consuming one. Most principals in Bombay teach classes as well as function as administrators; even the increased income does not provide a great deal of financial security. Secretarial staff is often inadequate, and many college offices are inefficient, thus making the work of the principal more difficult. Only in the larger colleges does the principal have a deputy who can share some of the work. Meetings, both in the university and in the colleges, are numerous, leaving little time for other duties. Most principals do not have either the time or the inclination to devote themselves to intellectual and academic endeavours.

In the colleges maintained by the state of Maharashtra, such as Elphinstone and Ismail Yusuf, the principalship is often given to the most senior professor in the state educational service at the time of appointment. But even when the government appoints an individual without intellectual distinction or administrative capacity, the institutions do not suffer much.

The method of selection used in the appointment of the principal of a government college might help to explain why these colleges have changed so little over the years. The high standards of the staff protect the institution from deterioration although they also reinforce the traditional pattern.

But imaginative leadership is not incompatible with high academic standards. Wilson College, which has a Presbyterian missionary connection and is one of Bombay's oldest and most esteemed colleges, has made a number of innovations in recent years under the principalship of J. W. Airan. Seminars for members of the staff were organised on a regular basis, some experiments were conducted in the use of Marathi as a medium of instruction, and a dean of students was appointed for the first time. Principal Airan was not universally popular with his staff, but his reforms have gained general approval and they have been largely successful. The assistant principal at St. Xavier's College, which is a Jesuit institution, has introduced a number of changes, including student evaluations of teachers; strong support was forthcoming from junior staff while most of the senior teachers opposed the changes. The traditions of strong leadership and a high degree of pride in the college have enabled it to weather the changes without injury to morale.

A strong academic tradition enables a college to withstand ineffective principals and very daring ones. A college with no notable academic tradition can, in contrast, be transformed by a vigorous and courageous principal. The case of SIES College is a good illustration of this point. A succession of well-qualified principals have built the college into one which is well respected in the city despite its brief existence and distance from the university campus. The principals were much aided by an enlightened management committee which had a clear educational vision. Its success in establishing its good name is evidenced by the fact that it has been more selective in its standards of admission.

The typical Bombay college, however, does not have an academically well-qualified and intellectually imaginative principal; it is much more likely to have a management committee which attends closely to the affairs of the institution. This can at times be beneficial, as is shown by the experience of Siddharth College, an institution founded by Dr. B. R. Ambedekar, the great Harijan politician and scholar, in 1946. Siddharth College is managed by the People's Education Society, which also founded colleges and other schools in various parts of Maharashtra. It is now one of Bombay's largest colleges and also has associated law and commerce colleges.[7] The management is deeply interested in educational opportunities for students from the backward castes, but it is not narrow-minded; on the contrary, it has been

both efficient and reasonably liberal. Staff members are allowed substantial freedom and some innovation in teaching methods is permitted. But the principal is very much under the thumb of the management committee.

The College Teacher

It is very difficult to describe adequately the average college teacher in Bombay, as a result of the cosmopolitanism of the city and the tremendous diversity of the colleges.[8] The two largest groups among the teachers are Maharashtrians and Gujaratis, but Bombay has one of the most cosmopolitan teaching populations in India, partly because of the diverse communities living in the city and partly because the language of the university is still English and there is a long tradition of welcoming outsiders to the ranks of the university. According to the new salary scales Bombay college teachers are supposed to earn between Rs. 300 and Rs. 1,100 per month ($40 and $150), although those who are qualified and permitted to conduct postgraduate classes earn more. Most teachers receive some additional income from various allowances, *e.g.*, "D.A." or "dearness allowance." As a result of the rising cost of living and Bombay's expensive housing situation, it is generally difficult for teachers to provide adequately for their families on their academic salaries alone.

A large proportion of the staff (specific numbers are unavailable) undertake additional employment to supplement their incomes. The wives of many teachers also hold paid employment, a large proportion of them as secondary school or college teachers. Academic "moonlighting" is common. Among the most common sources of extra income for teachers is private tuition of students in need of extra assistance. Although prohibited by academic regulations, the practice is widespread, and probably growing as increasing numbers of students find that they cannot cope with instruction in English at the colleges. There is also vigorous and sometimes embittered competition for examinerships. By becoming an examiner, a teacher can earn extra income by marking scripts, setting questions, and other tasks connected with examinations. These posts are often the objects of patronage for principals, members of boards of studies and other individuals in influential positions in the university. Teachers also write "bazaar notes," "guides" and other publications designed to help students cram for their examinations, and thereby earn extra income in royalties. A few academics write textbooks which can add to their income. Some academics function as part-time journalists, businessmen or even stenographers to supplement their incomes.

The effects of supplementary employment are probably detrimental to teaching. Staff members often have little time for the preparation of lectures. Teacher–student relations are minimal and this is partly because time is lacking. In addition, inadequate income means that most college teachers cannot afford to purchase books, and generally do not have sufficient room at home to enjoy relaxed study.

The working conditions of college teachers in India are, in general, poor in comparison with academic staff on university appointments. The average teacher lectures for up to 19 hours per week, the maximum allowed under university regulations. There are some differences in teaching loads and the more generous and wealthier colleges do not demand the maximum load. Very few teachers have their own rooms at the college and many do not even have a desk at the college at which to work when they are not in class. They must use the staff common room. These conditions make it very difficult to do concentrated intellectual work. There is no place to meet privately with students or colleagues. The usual method of teaching is the lecture, and even "seminar" groups are generally too large to permit discussion between teacher and student.[9]

In Bombay perhaps 5 or 10 per cent of college teachers hold the doctorate; a large proportion hold master's degrees. Appointment as a college teacher requires only a second-class master's degree, and members of academic staffs are neither well trained for their profession nor do they have strong incentives for improvement. Although a few teachers work on advanced degrees while engaged in teaching, it is a difficult task because of the heavy teaching load required and because of a lack of recognition of research in most colleges. The fact that many college teachers are not well trained and that the academic profession simply does not attract the best qualified individuals since higher salaries can easily be earned elsewhere has lowered the prestige of the academic profession since independence. Students have become increasingly restive and this has contributed to the deterioration of teaching.[10]

Most of the college teachers whom I interviewed in Bombay are dissatisfied with their work, with their general station in life and with the educational system. They referred frequently to the difficulties associated with the medium of instruction, the lack of adequate textbooks and the generally poor facilities in most colleges. Few teachers thought that they were "getting across" to their students. Many felt hamstrung by the examination system, which dictates the curriculum and deprives the individual teacher of the opportunity to develop his own interests. Despite the increased salaries of recent years, there is resentment that the university teachers are better remunerated than those at the college level.

Most teachers, even those who are committed to the academic profession and who have been members of university bodies, are pessimistic about changes for the better. College teachers in Bombay have almost no security of tenure. A college can dismiss a teacher—or even the principal—on three months' notice "for cause." The situation in Bombay is substantially worse in this respect than in many other parts of India. But because of the general demand for higher education, once appointed to a college, teachers are seldom dismissed. Nonetheless, for senior college teachers who have reached a relatively advanced point on the salary scale and who could not easily find another appointment at the same level, the situation produces an undertone of anxiety. In some disciplines, moreover, it is impossible to find an opening in a college in Bombay. There is little mobility of teachers between colleges in Bombay; many changes in the career of a college teacher, particularly at the senior level, are regarded as a defect by management committees.

Some colleges have a practice of not retaining younger teachers for more than a few years. From the financial viewpoint, it is advantageous not to reappoint a teacher after a few years because otherwise he will rise too high on the university-stipulated salary scale and thus become too expensive. As a result, younger teachers are sometimes shunted from college to college at a junior level until they are lucky enough to find a position in which they are allowed to remain.

A College Teachers' Union in Bombay

As a response to the insecure and generally difficult conditions of college teachers in Bombay, there have been sporadic attempts to organise teachers' associations or unions in the city. These efforts have ended in failure and the most recent of these, the Bombay University Teachers Council, after some initial successes is having difficulties. The initiative for teachers' organisations has come from the college teachers and seldom from the university teachers. Efforts to organise teachers in Bombay have been sporadic over the past 10 years at least; no group has been able to persist for more than a short time. The Bombay University Teachers Council (BUTC) was formed in 1967 as a means for college teachers to press for the establishment and implementation of new salary scales in the University of Bombay. There was naturally widespread interest in this issue and the BUTC succeeded in attracting the membership of 1,600 of the 3,000 teachers in the university and its colleges. The leaders of the BUTC were surprised by their success.

The BUTC was successful in obtaining for its membership higher salary levels than might otherwise have been the case. Its success was

attributable to its support among the teachers (particularly in the arts and science colleges, where it represented a majority of the teaching staff), and to the sympathy of the vice-chancellor and the government. Although it did not recognise the BUTC, the university did bargain informally with it about the salary scale. The BUTC's major victory came when it convinced the university to enact a scale of Rs. 300 to Rs. 800 per month for all college teachers, and not to discriminate among faculties or subjects. The difference between teachers on college appointments and those on university appointments remains. There remains also a differential between college teachers who teach only undergraduates and those who teach at the M.A. level. These differentials have left behind a certain amount of resentment.

Teachers' organisations in Bombay University have been preoccupied with issues of salary and working conditions, and teachers have shown little interest in educational questions even when these were directly concerned with improving teaching conditions. When the BUTC sponsored discussions on educational reform questions, attendance was sparse and some members even complained that this was not an activity proper to the organisation. They have also been indifferent towards political issues. The BUTC leadership has found only limited enthusiasm for obtaining increased security of tenure for college teachers. Most teachers seem to shy away from "trade unions", feeling that this will damage their "professional" dignity.

Most of the BUTC leadership—there is an executive committee of 15 members—comes from younger teachers at colleges known for their liberal attitudes towards the participation of teaching staff in outside activities. Some of the prominent leaders are active political workers in Bombay, and the executive committee comprises members of the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Praja Socialist Party, the Jana Sangh and the Congress as well as non-party individuals. The political elements in the BUTC have not tried to impose their party outlook on the organisation or to lead it to support their party's policies. This has been one of the reasons for its success among Bombay's rather apolitical teaching body. Only a few teachers on university appointment have been members of the BUTC, although a professor in the politics department served on the executive committee. Both the most eminent colleges and the least esteemed institutions have been underrepresented in the membership. Many teachers in the eminent colleges think that their professional status would be damaged by active participation in BUTC affairs. Furthermore, their salaries and conditions of work are usually better than those at the other colleges. The abstention of staff of the newer and less respected colleges is attributable to the fear of dismissal;

active membership in the BUTC might, it is feared, involve a substantial risk for the teacher. And whether the risk is real or simply imagined, it nonetheless inhibits active participation.

The future of the BUTC and of other similar groups in Bombay is not bright. The factors referred to and the great dispersion over a city of five million make effective organisation difficult. The lack of strong support from local trade unions, which have little experience in organising white collar workers and almost none in working with professionals, also hinders efforts. The leadership of the BUTC is generally pessimistic about the future success of the council, and also about the possibility of educational reform in Bombay.

Some Case Studies

St. Xavier's, Wilson and Elphinstone Colleges: Of the three institutions recognised as Bombay's most eminent colleges, Elphinstone, founded in 1827, is the oldest. Indeed, it is the oldest college in the city, antedating the foundation of the university itself. Wilson College was founded in 1832, and St. Xavier's in 1869. Elphinstone College is one of the 10 colleges in Maharashtra conducted by the state. St. Xavier's College was established by Jesuits and Wilson College by Scottish Presbyterians.

All three of these colleges are very conscious of their traditions and believe in their academic superiority. They often refer to their traditions and are concerned to maintain them. Admission qualifications at these colleges are higher than in other Bombay colleges, and they have succeeded in attracting the best qualified graduates of secondary schools. It is also true that high scores in the secondary school certificate examination are closely related to the particular secondary school attended and this is in turn associated with the social and economic position of the student's family. A large proportion of the students at the major colleges in Bombay have attended "English-medium" secondary schools; they come from fairly prosperous families and have higher professional aspirations. The mere fact of facility in English makes a major difference in examination results. Increasing numbers of Bombay students enter colleges without an adequate knowledge of English; they find their lectures and textbooks difficult to understand and they cannot write coherently.

In the three superior colleges we are discussing here, there have been increasing proportions of students from families with little background in English or familiarity with books and periodicals. Many of these families are

the newly wealthy Gujarati or Sindhi families whose culture is traditional. According to some observers, the quality of instruction even in the three colleges under discussion has declined somewhat, despite deliberate efforts to prevent a deterioration.

In all three institutions there have been innovations in teaching and student services but all of them have arisen from the initiative of the principal; there has been little initiative by the teachers. Wilson College has engaged in a number of recent experiments, which have included the institution of regular staff seminars on various topics of academic importance, experiments with the use of Marathi as a medium of instruction, and the installation of a dean of students for the college. None of these innovations has meant substantial change to the institution as a whole. The staff seminars were appreciated by the teachers as an excellent means for them to meet each other and to discuss at some length a topic of importance.[11] Wilson College's innovative activities have perhaps been most extensive in Bombay. But one of the costs of these efforts has been a sharp division among the teaching staff, which has been held in check by the strong leadership of the principal.

St. Xavier's College has made a number of small-scale innovations over several decades. A college parliament was set up in the 1950s on the initiative of an energetic principal, Father Balaiguer, and continued for several years. Experiments with small seminars were also attempted. Quite recently, St. Xavier's tried to institute a scheme of teacher evaluation by students and has concerned itself with student desires, on the initiative of the young assistant principal with the support of some of the younger members of the teaching staff.

Elphinstone's reforms have been the most limited and cautious. Basically limited to the introduction of small seminars and tutorials for undergraduates, Elphinstone College remains rather traditional in its approach to education. Its tutorial programmes were instituted by Principal N. L. Ahmad during the 1950s. Most of the college's principals have not been much concerned with instituting new activities; they have been more interested in keeping up their traditionally high level of instruction.

Staff recruitment at the three leading colleges in Bombay has largely been from among their own graduates. This is in sharp contrast to most of the city's colleges, which are more heterogeneous in the educational background of their teaching staff. Seven out of a total of 11 staff members in the English department at Elphinstone College are graduates of Elphinstone, and the situation is similar, although perhaps not as pronounced, in other departments. Both the graduates and the administrations of these colleges have strong ties to the institutions and are anxious to maintain them.

The teachers of these colleges have thus a somewhat better training than their colleagues at other universities and, because of their more affluent family origins, are able to devote more of their time to teaching without worrying greatly about outside employment. More adequate libraries and other facilities also help to provide the conditions necessary for a superior education. Finally, the traditions of the colleges do play a role in maintaining standards and in instilling in the students and staff a devotion to intellectual values. Most observers think that these traditions are weaker than in the past, but they are still strong.

The older colleges in Bombay, as in other parts of India, have not been spared the crisis of Indian higher education. They have been somewhat more insulated from it than their less fortunate sister institutions, but have been affected nevertheless. Strong pressures from managements, the government and the university to expand enrolments have been felt. The generally acknowledged decline in the standard of university examinations over the years has also affected the better colleges, since they are ultimately dependent on the university's examination system. Many of the staff of the three colleges have supported the proposal for "autonomous colleges" which was put forward by the Education Commission.[12] They feel that increased autonomy would permit them to attract better qualified students, to educate them better and thus to maintain their "elite" status.

Mithibai and SIES Colleges: Several of the newly founded colleges have been able to build up sound reputations in a fairly short period of time. The number of these new, academically successful institutions is small—perhaps five or six out of the total of more than 40 colleges founded in Bombay since 1950. I shall discuss two of these here: Mithibai and SIES Colleges.

Mithibai and SIES (South Indian Education Society) Colleges are located in different parts of Bombay and have different managements and traditions. That both have established reputations of reasonable quality is attributable in large part to managements which have a serious interest in academic work and to imaginative and independent-minded principals. Mithibai College is a Gujarati-managed institution in the suburb of Vile Parle. It was founded in 1961 and has a student body of 1,687. Mithibai's first principal succeeded almost at once in attracting some outstanding teachers from other Bombay colleges and has given them a fair amount of freedom. The college's vice-principal is one of India's leading poets. The principal has strongly supported members of the teaching staff in disputes with both students and the management, and has made them feel that they are not alone in standing up for intellectual things. The student body is

similar to those of other suburban middle-class colleges, but its students have done better than average in university examinations.

While the management has been willing to allow the principal substantial control over academic affairs, and has thus given teaching staff a reasonable degree of freedom, it has not provided very ample financial support. It is common in Indian higher education for managements to raise funds for new buildings, but not for libraries. The library at Mithibai College remains small and inadequate. There is little encouragement or assistance given to research by teachers, apart from the fact that the principal tries to give his teaching staff a teaching load somewhat below the university maximum.

SIES College is a similar case; here, too, there has been a series of strong principals and a relatively enlightened management which has permitted the establishment of a college with a reputation for good academic standards. The college was founded in 1961 by South Indians in Bombay in an area of the city inhabited partly by South Indians. Although only a minority of the college's student body is now South Indian, the management is dominated by South Indians. A crucial ingredient in both of these cases is a reasonably secure financial base for the college, in contrast with some of the new colleges which have been established with very little money and have continually to worry about incurring debts. Neither Mithibai nor SIES have ever been faced with impending bankruptcy, which is not infrequent among the poorer colleges. The number of students enrolled in SIES College in 1966 was 2,215, making it one of the larger colleges in Bombay. Many of its students, as is true for most of Bombay's colleges, come from the immediately surrounding locality. They also tend to come from English-speaking, middle-class families.

The two principals of SIES have been energetic men who have indicated substantial interest in broader educational questions. They have insisted on the autonomy of the academic staff of the college, although they themselves run the college in an authoritative manner. One of SIES's principals resigned in a dispute with the management several years ago, and since then the management has encouraged the principals to act on their own and thus traditions have been developed which now provide some protection for the teaching staff from interference by the management. SIES now claims a very high rate of success in the university examinations, and has become somewhat selective in its admissions policies in recent years.

Neither Mithibai nor SIES has sought to experiment with new methods of teaching. Their efforts have been aimed almost completely at creating a sound academic institution of a traditionalist sort.

Maharashtra and Jhunjhunwala Colleges: Founding a college in India is not a very difficult undertaking. Specific university regulations concerning facilities such as classroom space, libraries and laboratories, must be met. Regulations concerning financial resources and staff requirements must be satisfied. But beyond these relatively modest requirements, one need only apply to the university for recognition, and open for business. This, indeed, has been the pattern of expansion in higher education in Bombay since independence. The University of Bombay, despite its often asserted desire to maintain strict standards of quality in its colleges, has exercised little control over the numbers or types of colleges which have been established.

Jhunjhunwala College, which is located in the distant suburb of Ghatkopar, was founded in 1963 on the initiative of a very popular postman who had a strong conviction about the value of education. He was able to collect sufficient funds from a variety of sources to start a college. The college itself is named for a wealthy Marwari businessman who donated a large sum to the institution. The college is, however, in a precarious financial situation. Its student body was 1,524 in 1965–66, and is higher today. Most of the college's students, who come from working-class backgrounds, and many of whom are employed, live in the immediate locality or find the college convenient to their place of work. A large percentage of students, therefore, only attend part-time. Jhunjhunwala's entrance requirements are the very minimum permitted by the university, and it is clear that many of the students who attend the college could not gain admission elsewhere.

Jhunjhunwala College has survived because it serves a clientele which would perhaps not normally have access to higher education; also, it is located in an area which has few educational facilities. The college has no intellectual tradition, and few of its teachers have any illusions about its quality or its ability to attract able students. Yet they do take pride in the fact that they serve persons who would otherwise be excluded from higher education and the opportunity for improvement which it offers. Despite the humble origins of its founder, the college is managed largely by businessmen without much experience in education. They have nonetheless established a balance between management control and the principal's autonomy in academic matters.

Maharashtra College is another instance of a new and struggling institution. It is the first private college founded by Muslims in Bombay, and is one of the few colleges in the densely populated, largely Muslim area near Bombay central railway station. Maharashtra College opened its doors in 1968, and currently has an enrolment of 600 students. The college sought to expand quickly in order to use the revenue which larger enrolments

contribute. It was founded expressly to serve the Muslim community of Bombay and, particularly, sections of that community which had not had access to higher education. It also seeks to attract girls from the more conservative Muslim families who would not permit their daughters to attend a non-Muslim college. Working-class Muslims are also to some extent able to take advantage of the college, which is situated near their homes and places of work.

Maharashtra College is the product of the energy and persistence of one man, a wealthy and well-educated Muslim insurance official, who was able to persuade the Bombay Muslim community to support the project. Financial resources were acquired largely from wealthy Muslims, a site found, and political support obtained from a Muslim minister in the government of Maharashtra. It would have been impossible to obtain the land, construction materials and government permission to erect the college buildings without substantial political intervention. The critical nature of the Muslim vote in Bombay city no doubt assisted the rapid establishment of the college.

The management committee continues to take a very active role in the affairs of the college, although many academic matters are left to the principal and his staff. Support from the Muslim community is necessary in order to build a firm financial base for Maharashtra College, and the management committee has been a link between the college on the one hand and the community, government and even the university authorities on the other. It also plays a considerable part in the day-to-day activities of the college. Fund raising for needed science laboratories and library facilities is a difficult task, and without an active management committee it would be almost impossible.

The principal of the college, a young man with little administrative experience, has been reticent concerning the college's strong Muslim connections. The general insecurity which many Bombay Muslims feel is expressed in the college's rather defensive attitude. Despite this, the college is a Muslim institution and its supporters and students are proud of the fact. The staff, however, is more heterogeneous in its loyalties. It has little voice in the conduct of the college's affairs.

Maharashtra College is at present far from being an academically excellent institution. Its constituency is lower class, and few students would travel from more affluent areas to attend it. Its facilities are sub-standard and its funds are insufficient to obtain necessary supplies. The official discouragement of new colleges means that few grants are available, either from the University of Bombay or the University Grants Commission.

This policy of discouragement was not sufficient for the university to deny the college affiliation and it was no doubt helped by powerful members of the government who spoke in support of the college's application. Against the background of these handicaps the college does not aspire to make a name for itself through originality in educational procedures. Its main task is to continue to exist.

Both of these new colleges must try to build up their enrolments quickly, regardless of whether their facilities are sufficient to provide for large numbers of students. The income from the fees paid by students is necessary for the colleges to purchase equipment and to pay the salaries of their staff. As a result, their meagre facilities are strained. Attracting able students and staff is another crucial problem. Students who are able to attend the better known and more reputable colleges do so, and the newer colleges must be content with those students who are not admitted elsewhere. Very few students from westernised families fluent in English attend these colleges, complicating the already difficult language problem. Few able and experienced teachers will join a new college which has neither reputation nor a guarantee of stability. A few teachers have been lured away from other colleges by promises of immediate promotions to higher salary grades, but most of the staff are younger persons or individuals who for various reasons could not find other appointments.

A Concluding Note

Although the University of Bombay enrols undergraduate students primarily, it has not given very much thought to undergraduate education. Initiatives for improvement have in general come from the colleges themselves, or from bodies of the central government like the University Grants Commission. The university's role has been limited mostly to ensuring that minimum standards are maintained in the colleges. University regulations, which are uniformly criticised by college authorities for their limiting effects and bureaucracy, do maintain minimum standards and prevent serious corruption in the colleges.

The attitude of the university, at least as it is perceived by most college officials and teachers, is that of a general lack of interest in the problems of the colleges and an unwillingness seriously to consider their problems or plans. The University of Bombay devotes few of its resources to the improvement of the colleges and there is no one in the university administration who is responsible for assisting colleges. Several university officials

are in charge of inspecting and otherwise regulating the colleges, but their responsibility is negative. The recent abolition of the rectorship removes the one position in the university structure which has a direct concern for the colleges.

University regulations do maintain a floor below which the colleges cannot sink, but these regulations also tend to stifle innovation, to lead to the bureaucratic complication of rather simple functions, and to concentrate power at the top. The university, furthermore, while well-meaning and honest in its dealings with the colleges, is often inefficient. Its staff is too small and it is not efficiently organised.[13] As a result, there are often long delays in decisions affecting the colleges.

Bombay colleges share many of the problems of Indian society. Regionalism and linguistic conflicts are severe in India and they are far from absent in a cosmopolitan and diversified city like Bombay. The colleges founded by particular regional or religious groups favour both students and staff from these groups. An able South Indian professor in a government college, for example, expressed his pessimism about further promotion because of his background. Appointments and student admissions are also influenced by regional or other considerations. The Roman Catholic colleges in Bombay, St. Xavier's and Sophia, favour Catholic students by having a separate and lower standard of admission for them. Many other colleges have similar practices in their admissions policies, although they are less open about them.

The University of Bombay has been considering changes in its medium of instruction for almost 20 years,[14] but has for various reasons been unable to decide on any change. The sole medium of instruction and examination remains English. It is significant that the University of Bombay is the only university in Maharashtra which has maintained English as the sole medium, and it has done so against the wishes of the government of Maharashtra. The colleges have also been affected by the language problem. Staff members in the better colleges generally favour the retention of English, although there is no official policy. Wilson College has experimented with Marathi, and Elphinstone College, because of its ties to the government, has remained silent. The Gujarati, South Indian, Sindhi, and other minority colleges usually favour English, largely because they fear that otherwise Marathi would emerge as the medium of instruction in response to government pressure.

Most college administrators and teachers are uncertain about the situation. Few believe that English can be retained in the long run, and many teachers point to the falling standard of English among the students.

On the other hand, most recognise that very grave problems would arise from the adoption of any other medium of instruction. Adequate textbooks are not available in Indian languages in most subjects. The "communalism" of Bombay students would be aggravated by the use of Indian languages, and many college teachers are unable to communicate in them. It is claimed that Bombay higher education, which hitherto prided itself on its cosmopolitanism, would become more provincial and that academic standards would drop still further. The only available survey of teachers' attitudes on the language question, conducted in 1954 among 155 academics, found that 129 were against the introduction of Hindi as the medium of instruction and 26 favoured it. Forty-one favoured the continued use of English and a smattering desired the use of regional languages.[15] The situation has probably changed since then, but not fundamentally. The majority of college teachers in Bombay now seem to favour some change. The most popular solution, which is also discussed in high places in the university, is a "four languages formula", which would permit students to write examinations in Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi or English; instruction would also gradually shift into these languages, with colleges having an option in the matter.

The colleges which make up most of the University of Bombay determine the excellence of the university and the morale of the entire system of higher education. The University of Bombay's efforts in the area of collegiate education have this far been largely negative. The University of Bombay will have to assume a more positive and, in many cases, a more permissive attitude toward its constituent colleges if improvement is to take place. Such a policy might help the better colleges; it is difficult, however, to see how it can help the poorer colleges unless the positive attitude recommended here is accompanied by a greatly increased financial open-handedness. But where will the money come from?[16] It is not in sight.

Notes

1. University Grants Commission: *Report for the Year 1967–68* (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 40, 42, 43.
2. *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook 1969* (London: Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1969), p. 1760.
3. These statistics come from the *Handbook of Universities in India, 1969,* p. 163, and from the *Bombay University, Annual Report for the Year 1966–67* (University of Bombay Press, 1968), pp. 109–11.
4. At present approximately one-fifth of Bombay's colleges have some form of temporary affiliation.

5. See Parikh, G. D., *Reorganisation of Undergraduate Teaching in Arts* (University of Bombay Press, 1961).

6. Dongerkery, S. R., *Memories of Two Universities* (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1966), p. 49.

7. See People's Education Society, *Report, 1947–54* (Bombay: People's Education Society, 1955).

8. See Shils, Edward, "The Academic Profession in India", *Minerva,* VII, 3 (Spring, 1969), pp. 345–372, and *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation* (The Hague: Mouton, 1961), pp. 29–32 and 35–36.

9. Most of these impressions are corroborated in *Report of the Inquiry on the Problems of Teachers in the University of Bombay* (University of Bombay, 1954). This study was based on a sample of 155 teachers in the University of Bombay, and although it was conducted in 1954 the basic conclusions are still valid.

10. The problem of student unrest in India has not been considered in great detail in this article, although it is clearly one of the most important aspects of Indian higher education.

11. For a discussion of staff seminars at Wilson College, as well as an example of the intellectual outcome of the seminars, see Wilson College Faculty Seminar, *Problems that Challenge Us* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1963), Wilson College Faculty Seminar, *Thoughts on Indian Education* (Bombay: Wilson College, 1961), and Wilson College Faculty Seminar, *Skills, Knowledge and Insight* (Bombay: Wilson College, 1964).

12. See *Education and National Development. Report of the Education Commission, 1964–66* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1966), Chapter XI. Chapter XI was slightly abridged as "Indian University Reform: Higher Education Objectives and Improvement", *Minerva,* V, 1 (Autumn, 1966); see especially p. 66.

13. See *Report of the Registrar on the Reorganisation of the University* (University of Bombay, 1967).

14. See *Report of the Committee on the Medium of Instruction to be adopted in the Bombay University* (Bombay University Press, 1955).

15. See *Report of the Inquiry on the Problems of Teachers in the University of Bombay,* p. 63.

16. The research for this article was conducted while the author was Fulbright Research Professor in the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay, in 1968. Some assistance during the analysis was provided by the Hazen Foundation through the Comparative Universities Project of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. This article is part of a larger study now in preparation.

12

The University Context

Philip G. Altbach

(a) Introduction

Indian universities are in a state of almost permanent crisis. Disruptions of academic life by student demonstrations, the involvement of the universities in regional politics, and other problems are a matter of government concern and public debate. At the same time, most Indian academics, planners, and policy-makers seem to accept the notion that higher education is a critical ingredient in the process of economic and political development.* There is general agreement on the importance of higher education and on the fact that the university system is in crisis. The exact nature of this crisis is less evident and there is substantial disagreement about the solutions for the current situation. This volume describes the academic environment at one of India's most important universities, the University of Bombay, in the hope that it will provide a framework for serious discussion and analysis of the general crisis of Indian higher education. This analysis places the University of Bombay in its social context and discusses both the internal functioning of the institution and its relations to other aspects of society. The end result of this study is a preliminary sketch of an Indian university that both takes into account the institution's ecology—its total environment and its interaction with that environment—and presents its problems as well as some of its accomplishments.

The University of Bombay, while interesting for its own sake, is related to the broader aspects of Indian higher education. Indeed, it is hoped that this relationship will provide the general reader with a wider understanding of the problems and challenges of other Indian universities. Indian higher education has been characterized by unprecedented growth—universities have developed from a small elitist system with fewer than 270,000 students in 1,000 colleges in 1950 to a mass system educating 2,300,000 in 1967.[†] (In 1969, there were 2,700,000 students in more than 3,000 colleges.)[†] The University of Bombay has shared in this remarkable growth. In 1950, there were 22 colleges with enrollments of 20,032 in the greater Bombay area affiliated to the University of Bombay. Post-graduate student enrollment increased the total by perhaps another 500 students. By 1967, the number of affiliated colleges grew to 59 and the total number of students to 77,000.[1]

The growth of universities has neither been planned nor channeled into areas that might be useful to India's economic development. For instance, students of agriculture remain a small proportion of the total (3 per cent in 1965–66) and those enrolled in teacher training institutions comprise only a small proportion of the total student population (1.9 per cent in 1965–66).[‡] The greatest proportion of students (40.9 per cent) remain in the traditional arts faculties, with science gaining in importance. Geographical expansion also has not been controlled. In Bombay, for instance, colleges have been established where private agencies have found suitable quarters and often without relation to the needs of the city.

The growth of the universities has been costly both to the university itself as an institution and to Indian society as a whole. Within the university the expansion has been marked by a lack of planning and a deterioration of academic standards as financial and staff resources have been spread thin to accommodate growth. Besides not producing graduates in needed areas, there has been a general overproduction of university graduates, even in areas such as engineering. This has led to considerable "educated unemployment" which—in and of itself is economically wasteful and politically disruptive. At the same time, the universities have progressively become linked to and dependent on the government for funds and direction, thus creating a demand for scarce government resources. Such a relationship with the government has meant, in many parts of the country, curtailments on academic freedom and university autonomy.

While higher education is beset by a multitude of problems, it plays a key role in Indian society. Higher education is perceived by many, particularly from the lower middle classes, as a key to social mobility, although to a

substantial degree the universities do not appear as successful as they might be in providing this mobility. While accurate statistics are unavailable, it seems that the very large proportion of the student population at the University of Bombay comes from literate middle or lower middle class families engaged in business or government service. The preponderance of middle or upper middle class Gujarati students supports this impression. Thus, higher education appears to provide only relatively limited social mobility to the large bulk of the students. Students from working class and peasant families do not attend the university in very large numbers. This generalization is probably less true for the newer universities located in rural areas, and certainly should be the topic of further research. Regardless of the facts of the matter, many in India believe higher education is a route to social mobility and a *sine qua non* for white collar employment. Thus, many families make substantial sacrifices in order to assure that their children attend college. The middle class and above also see higher education as a means of assuring employment after graduation. Thus, the children of the Bombay business community attend college although their future livelihood does not necessarily depend on an academic degree and the content of their education has little to do with their jobs.

Higher education, it is commonly assumed, plays an important role in providing the skilled manpower necessary for modernization and helps to instill "modern" attitudes in a society still marked by much traditionalism. These assumptions have been questioned by some of the research on the relation between education and modernization and a number of analysts have pointed out that university graduates in many developing countries prefer white collar employment to possibly more useful technical jobs requiring "working with one's hands."[2] It is also possible that a college education does not totally break down traditional attitudes toward caste, regionalism, and other aspects of Indian life. Despite these doubts, there is no question but that higher education does contribute to modernization and that key technical and administrative professions are manned by people trained in universities. The University of Bombay, for example, has helped to provide the basis for the city's commercial and industrial growth by training lawyers, accountants, and in the recent period, experts in management and applied statistics.

It has often been urged that universities in developing countries become more "relevant" to the needs of their localities by, for example, providing more directly useful technical training and less "pure" or high level research. The University of Bombay, and Indian higher education generally, has not developed in this way to any substantial extent. The University of

Bombay, and particularly its senior faculty, has felt that it is important to keep abreast of current scientific developments in the advanced nations, and if possible to make original contributions in all areas of scholarship. There has been a rejection of the notion that universities in developing countries should become "clients" of the more advanced institutions in the industrialized nations. As a result, Bombay remains an institution attempting to maintain international standards, at least at the post-graduate level, and has made distinctive contributions to the world's scholarship. Graduates from the University of Bombay have found academic posts at universities in India and around the world. The price for this, however, has been considerable. The University of Bombay has not been linked in any major way to specific technological problems of industry or commerce in the city of Bombay or to agricultural problems in the state of Maharashtra. Graduates of the university often do not have the specific skills to enter into technical work in commerce or agriculture. It is a common complaint that college graduates are ill-trained for any specific job. It is impossible to deal at great length with this issue here, although a great debate has raged among academic planners and others concerning the direction of higher education in developing areas. It is clear that the University of Bombay has made its choice—to continue to strive for membership in the international academic world and not to become a more useful but perhaps less "academic" institution in terms of the direct problems of India.

The universities, in many parts of India, are central political issues capable of arousing much passion and sometimes violence. As is discussed in greater detail later, the University of Bombay has been notably free from disruptive politics. At the same time, it has been intimately involved with and affected by the political life of the State of Maharashtra. In short, higher education in India is a major issue with which policymakers as well as professional educators must deal seriously. This is a well-recognized fact in India, attested to by the large number of official commissions devoted to higher education since Independence.[3] While these commissions and numerous other studies have made available a vast array of data concerning numbers of students enrolled in institutions of higher learning, "wastage" rates, and the like, relatively little research has focussed on the actual functioning of colleges and universities, on the quality of education on student attitudes and aspirations, or on the academic profession itself.[4] Further, almost no attention has been given to important relationships between the universities and the government on various levels. As Amar Kumar Singh has pointed out, Indian academic institutions are as much political as they are educational, yet the political aspect has remained virtually unanalyzed.[5]

This general ignorance of the detailed functioning of Indian universities has been responsible in part for the lack of implementation of many of the recommendations of official commissions. Academic reform has been notably unsuccessful despite universal agreement that change is needed.

This book provides data on and analyzes one university[§] the University of Bombay, in the hope that it can serve as a basis for initiating reform. While it is a case study of higher education in a developing society, its applicability to either Indian universities as a whole or to universities in other countries is limited.[**] The geographical and political setting of Bombay provides a unique situation and the University of Bombay has its own traditions. Yet, this does not preclude it from sharing many critical factors with other universities. For instance, the organizational pattern of the University of Bombay is broadly similar to that of other Indian universities. National agencies such as the University Grants Commission are of importance in Bombay as they are throughout India. The impact of the state government and/or private college managements is also shared with most other Indian educational institutions. The demands of a developing society on higher education in Bombay also exist not only elsewhere in India but also in other developing countries.[6] Thus, this study's relevancy extends beyond the University of Bombay, but care should be taken in any interpretations of this local data. No universal "theories" concerning higher education in developing countries are possible based only on this study. It is hoped, however, that the results of this study will be useful in further research on this topic.

This study is intended as a modest beginning in providing the much needed description and analysis of the University of Bombay. It should not be construed as an effort to 'expose' a particular Indian university—the University of Bombay remains one of India's finest academic institutions and has an enviable record of enlightened academic leadership as well as a notable lack of internal disruption and discord. While critical comments are included in the course of this analysis, it is hoped that these will be taken in the scientific spirit in which they are intended.

This study goes beyond mere description, it clarifies the links between some crucial aspects of the university situation—the colleges, the university administration, and the teaching staff—and relates them to each other and to the university's political and social context. Further, it analyzes the 'reality' of the colleges and discusses the often tenuous relationship between the colleges and university as well as the interaction between the various key elements in the college context—the principal, the teaching staff, the students, and the managing bodies. The university structure itself is also analyzed. In short, this study focuses on the interaction between various elements within

as well as outside of the academic community and the complicated educational structure and how it functions given its social context.

(b) The Political Context

The Indian university has never had a strong tradition of autonomy. This is in large measure a product of British control over education in the colonial period and the legal arrangements persisting today which place the universities under direct government control. In modern India, however, the lack of university autonomy also is very much due to its dependence on the government for financing since, beyond the government, there are few sources of funds. Thus, agencies such as the University Grants Commission, the Central Ministry of Education, and the State Ministry of Education exert a great influence on the university in the realms of not only general policy-making and planning, but in day-to-day affairs. This government direction in the internal affairs of the university has led to extensive politicization of the university. First, the government as a whole expects the university not to oppose any of its policies, educational or non-educational. This tends to constrain academic freedom. Second, because university decisions are made by politicians, extra-educational considerations impinge upon educational policy such as caste, regional, language, or religious divisions. Further, partisan politics enters the university community as the university seeks support among political factions and political factions vie with each other for control over the university. This degree of university involvement in politics is illustrated by the cases of Banaras Hindu University and Allahabad University where the universities were turned into warring camps based on factional politics and the government intervened by closing them down for lengthy periods.[7]

Another external force influencing the Indian university (which is common to universities in all developing societies) is the demands made upon the university to provide the leadership for economic, political, and social modernization. Often the university has failed to live up to these expectations, resulting either in general disillusionment with the university and/or an acceleration of demands upon it. One of the major practical demands made upon the Indian university is that it train skilled manpower as well as potential political leadership. However, it is obstructed in this task by raids upon the university for skilled personnel by the government and by private enterprise. The university is clearly at a disadvantage in such competition for personnel, for it can neither offer the prestige nor the salaries

that government and industry can. Thus, most universities are constantly losing their best personnel. The University of Bombay, for instance, has lost several of its best economists to the Reserve Bank and other government agencies in this way.

The University of Bombay, while affected by many of the factors mentioned above, has been fortunate in not being totally disrupted by the institutional crises brought on by them as have some of the northern Indian universities. The University of Bombay, for some reason, has been able to maintain a distance from most of the serious political disputes. For example, the University of Bombay was involved only peripherally in the volatile Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti of the 1950's, while some universities in south India were disrupted for extended periods because of the 1965 language agitation. That the University of Bombay has been able to maintain its normal functions more or less continuously is a sign of its institutional stability. This, however, should not be interpreted as suggesting that the University of Bombay has not been subjected to many of the same pressures as other institutions of higher education in India. It is rather that the University of Bombay has dealt with these pressures without major disruption and with a reasonable degree of protection of its autonomy and standards.

It is important to explain why Bombay has been more fortunate than other Indian universities in avoiding serious disruption and violence. Bombay is a large and cosmopolitan city and the university plays a less important role in its life than do similar institutions in smaller and less prosperous localities. The fact that communal and caste politics are muted in Bombay has also helped to insure institutional tranquillity. The university itself has had a long tradition of strong leadership and has maintained internal stability. These factors have helped it to prevent blatant interference from outside. And, as is noted elsewhere in this volume, the Bombay student community has not been involved in any serious degree in internal university politics, as has happened in some of the north Indian universities. The university faculty, with few traditions of political involvement, is also quite diverse in terms of caste and regional origins and has not generally played disruptive roles in academic affairs. All of these factors have helped to maintain institutional stability.

Despite its lack of violence and disruption, the University of Bombay has become politicized in the sense that it, like other institutions, has had to carefully consider the views of political leaders in Bombay and the State of Maharashtra in planning, policy-making, and the internal workings of the university. Thus, political issues are interjected into the deliberations of the

university and some politicians have tried to use the university as a forum for their views and as a vehicle to extend their power and influence.

The leadership of the University of Bombay and its affiliated colleges has been important in limiting externally induced disruption and internal factionalism. The posts of vice chancellors in the past and rectors in the more recent period have been filled for the most part by strong individuals who have resisted factionalism. The limited geographical scope of the university—the greater Bombay area—has facilitated communications and made it administratively more manageable than institutions such as Agra University which must supervise affiliated colleges spread at great distances from the main campus. The ability of the university to control its own community has given the government less reason to intervene in academic affairs and has engendered a sense of institutional pride.

(c) Historical and Social Context

Higher education in Bombay has had a long tradition.[8] The University of Bombay, like its counterparts in Calcutta and Madras, was established in 1857 and is one of the three original Indian universities. The university's colonial heritage is pronounced. It, as all other Indian universities, was established by the British to serve their needs, rather than Indian needs. It was formed on the "London model"[9] and, from the outset, used English as the medium of instruction, oriented strongly to the humanities while maintaining a bias against the sciences, followed a British curriculum, and even adopted the British pattern of organization, particularly the affiliation system. What was not borrowed from the British university was its "character formation" aspects, although many of the intellectual assumptions underlying it were transferred to India. This has caused many contradictions within modern-day Indian higher education.

Another part of the colonial heritage of the University of Bombay (as well as other Indian universities) is lack of university autonomy. The British, through the Act of 1857 which set up the University of Bombay, involved the government in academic affairs. The Act also removed the teaching function from the university. The Sadler Commission Report of 1919 confirmed this:

> Indian universities, in their first form were no true universities. They were nor corporations of scholars, but corporations of administrators; they had nothing to do directly with the training of men, but only with the examining of candidates. . . . The colleges were the only 'places of learning' and, under

the prevailing conditions, they were reduced to coaching institutions. The university . . . 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 or students.[10]

The university, until the Act of 1904, was unable to even control its colleges—it had no power to inspect them or to demand reports. It could not even enforce standards, especially since it had no punitive powers. The Act of 1904 gave the university some degree of control over the standards of the colleges and placed post-graduate teaching entirely in the university's hands. The reform of 1928, influenced by the Calcutta University Commission's report, provided unified control to the university over all levels of teaching and created some mechanisms for inspection and coordination. While the university gained control over itself, that control was not independent of the state.

The tradition of British control is not the only factor influencing the University of Bombay. The city of Bombay itself has had substantial effect on the university. Bombay is cosmopolitan, and is a relatively rich commercial center and is the capital of the State of Maharashtra. Bombay is ethnically diverse and this diversity is reflected in the city's organization and politics. The two major ethnic groups in the city are the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis. Other ethnic groups in the city are Parsis, Christians, and South Indians. Bombay itself is divided into neighborhoods based on regional or religious affiliations. Even its politics divide along ethnic lines. Philanthropy also is distributed on an ethnic basis and this has affected the colleges since this philanthropy has been directed toward them. Colleges in Bombay have been founded by many groups—Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, Sikhs, Sindhis, Parsis, Harijans, Muslims, and Christians. Today some institutions still reflect strong regional and ethnic identities, although almost all of them are open to individuals from all communities.

The ethnic composition of the city of Bombay is especially reflected in the university in the operation of university bodies such as the Senate and Syndicate (discussed later in detail), the post-graduate departments, the faculty, and the student body. The Maharashtrians and Gujaratis are the major groups within the city and they are quite important in the university. The Maharashtrians are the largest single group in Bombay (45 per cent of the population). They are also the predominant nationality among the faculty. Their power is enhanced by Bombay's role as capital of the State of Maharashtra and they have been quite active in promoting Marathi, the official language of the state, in the university. Maharashtrian culture and

political power has intensified in recent years and the assertion of this power has culminated in the sometimes violent Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti which succeeded in winning linguistic autonomy for a united Maharashtra in 1960.

The Gujaratis, the other major regional-linguistic group in Bombay, are the city's financial and commercial elite (with the Parsis). They have also been active in cultural and educational affairs and constitute the largest single ethnic grouping among the students at the University of Bombay. Despite the ethnic diversity in the city and the university, the conflicts between the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis have not been crucial to the life of either, at least not to the extent that such divisions have been in promoting disruption and violence in some north Indian universities. While there may be some favoritism in the appointment of academic staff or other employees toward Maharashtrians and certainly many colleges give preferential treatment to students of one particular ethnic or religious community, no one group has felt itself sufficiently aggrieved to engage in factional or disruptive activities in Bombay. The various groups, rather, have felt that the university has served their purposes and the open ethnocentrism in the university could be damaging to the academic system and in the long run injurious to the prestige of the University of Bombay (and therefore to their own prestige). While, for instance, the faculty is predominantly Maharashtrian, few Gujaratis object to this since they as a group tend to enter the more prestigious business or professional careers. Thus, the academic profession is more open to Maharashtrians and other groups in the city who often come from less wealthy families and who see college teaching as a prestigious and relatively well-paying occupation. The existence of communally endowed and administered colleges within the university structure also provides a safety valve to ethnic conflict since most groups can claim their own colleges and few are overly discriminated against.

In the long run, it might appear that the Maharashtrians will become dominant in the university since they have the support of the state government and are becoming increasingly more affluent. At present, however, a stalemate exists reflected in the fact that while there have been recent proposals for linguistic change in the University of Bombay, the medium has remained English and there is little chance for precipitous change. In fact, the most popular proposal calls for the use of four languages as recognized media of instruction and examination in the university—Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, and English. This compromise, which is scheduled to be introduced in 1971, will do little in the short run to decrease the emphasis on English, since most students will prefer to study in English because of its commercial

value. In addition, few colleges will be prepared to offer instruction in more than two languages—English and the mother tongue of a majority of the staff and students.

Another element in the linguistic and regional equation in Bombay are appointments to university positions. For example, the appointment of T. M. Advani to the Vice Chancellorship in the 1950's was especially significant because he was a Sindhi, and therefore not involved in the Maharashtrian-Gujarati conflict. The current Registrar of the university, who is in a very powerful position and has served for over a decade, is a South Indian, and the former Rector was a Marwari. Being "outsiders," these individuals cannot be accused of great bias toward one of the two dominant communities.

(d) The Physical Setting of the University

The location of the university's buildings plays an important role in the academic equation. The main campus of the university houses the library (which has 322,400 volumes and is one of India's best collections, and which is also very crowded and not generally available to undergraduate students), administrative offices and records, and most of the post-graduate departments. It is located in the major commercial and business center in Bombay. The campus is cramped, and a new campus has been planned, although construction has been delayed, in Kole Kalyan, near north suburban Santa Cruz, about twelve miles from the present campus. Many of the prestigious and well established colleges are located fairly near the main university campus in the middle and upper class areas of south Bombay. The northern parts of the city and especially the suburbs, which have grown rapidly in recent years, are underrepresented in the student population, despite the establishment of a number of colleges in recent years. What is perhaps more important, a student from the suburban areas finds it difficult to attend one of the downtown colleges because of the distances involved— it takes two hours by crowded suburban trains or bus to reach the university campus from some of the outlying suburbs. On the other hand, students from upper income families find it easier to attend the prestigious downtown colleges, thus helping to perpetuate class divisions. There are some exceptions to this generalization, however, in that there are several colleges downtown, notably Siddharth, which cater to working class students, and a few well regarded institutions in the northern part of the city.

The fact that the physical quarters of the university are fairly cramped and that most of the colleges are at some distance from the academic center

of the university and from the library has meant that very little sense of community has been built up among the faculty of the university and the colleges. The facilities of the colleges reflect the generally crowded conditions of Bombay as well and the vast majority of colleges have inadequate office space for teachers, small and often outdated libraries, and insufficient common rooms for students and teachers. Most college teachers go to the main university campus infrequently and have no direct contact with intellectual life outside their own colleges. Housing conditions are such that teachers often live at great distances from their places of work.*** Few college teachers have automobiles, and transport is both time consuming and difficult for many.

The conditions of the academic profession in Bombay, and for that matter in the rest of India, have a major impact on the quality of teaching, on the level of intellectual discourse in the colleges and the university, and on the nature of the individuals recruited to teaching.[11] It can be stated without exaggeration that the physical conditions of college teaching almost preclude quality instruction. Overcrowded classes; heavy teaching loads for most teachers; lack of privacy for reflection, meetings, and study; and poor salaries all contribute to the malaise of the teaching profession. There are, of course, many criticisms which can be levelled against the academic community in India, but it is clear that even the most highly motivated and excellently qualified individual would have a difficult time functioning in the situation in which most Indian college teachers find themselves.

In general, the academic community is apathetic. Illustrating this is the fact that various faculty organizations and unions have been unable to organize a very large number of teachers in Bombay. For one thing, most Indian academics have never known anything better and accept their working conditions as normal. As a whole, Indians, even well educated and sophisticated individuals, tend to be fatalistic about many aspects of Indian social life. Many conscientious scholars are simply overwhelmed by the challenges facing the university and feel that nothing can be done to improve conditions. Thus, scholarly conditions which would in many countries cause major unrest among academics, are accepted without major complaint.

It is impossible, given the lack of available data, to state exactly how much the living and working conditions of academics in India affect their performance and their attitudes. But there is no doubt that the situation in the colleges, their status and prestige, and the generally poor financial base which they have all, contribute to the malaise in which the teaching profession finds itself. The colleges are an integral part of the structure of the university and will be given more extensive treatment later in this

volume. However, they are also distinctive institutions within the academic structure, and are therefore not described in detail here. The colleges and their staffs are mentioned here because they do constitute a part of the ecology of higher education in Bombay. Their role in the academic structure is crucial and they both shape and are influenced by the environment of the university.

It can be seen that various ecological factors—only a few have been mentioned here—shape the nature of an academic institution. The University of Bombay, because of its traditions of administrative efficiency, lack of factional disruptions, and relatively limited area, is more fortunate than many Indian universities with regard to many of the problems discussed here. It is necessary to keep these factors in mind, however, when analyzing aspects of higher education in India. It is not simply the nature of the university itself, but the social and political context of which it is a part, the diversity of the teaching staff, and geographical and other considerations which help to explain the institution and its functioning.

(e) The University of Bombay as a Complex Organization

The University of Bombay, like other Indian universities, is a highly complex institution. Its colonial legacy bequeathed an institutional framework based on the concept of the university as an examining and inspecting body, but not a teaching institution. Changes in the twentieth century have added on layers of administrative levels to meet the needs of the university without basically changing the original structure. Many academic decisions must be made on at least two levels—in the colleges and at the university—and many questions must be considered by a number of different agencies of the university. The purpose of this section is to describe in rather general terms the key aspects of the University of Bombay's structure so that a more complete understanding of the institution as a whole can be obtained.[12] A simplified organizational chart presented in Figure 1 below, provides an overview of the structure of the university.

The University of Bombay has several legislative and executive bodies that in part determine the policies of the institution (many decisions are made informally). The legislative bodies discussed here are the Senate, the Syndicate, and the Academic Council. All of them are important in setting general educational policy and direction, but they have little voice in day-to-day decision-making.
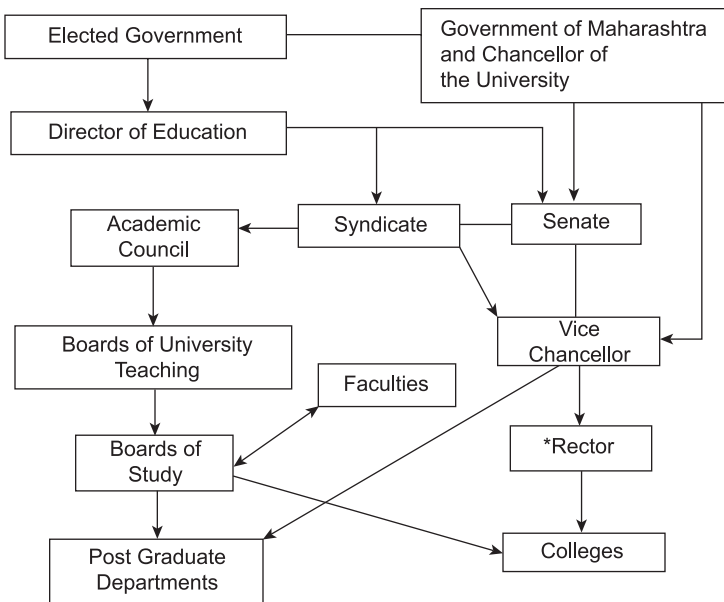
Figure 1. The University of Bombay: An Organization Chart

*The Rector serves at the discretion of the Vice Chancellor. At present, there is no Rector.

The Senate, composed of over 200 members elected from various public constituencies such as labor unions and commercial bodies, as well as from elements within the university and from university alumni, meets only once a year and has little power over the operation or direction of the institution. Policies are discussed there, but in general, the Senate resembles an honorific debating society more than it does a decision-making body. Because it meets so infrequently, it is not usually able to be influential on controversial questions. Further, its powers are limited by the fact that its agenda is set by university administrators, who can usually prevent controversial matters from being considered. Because the composition of the Senate is so diverse, it exhibits little unity of purpose. Rarely are attempts made to influence the meetings of the Senate prior to its sitting, and many senators do not take their posts very seriously. The vice chancellor convenes meetings, controls the appointment of fifteen members, and sets the agenda. More than one hundred members are *ex officio*, and many of these are influenced by the vice chancellor's wishes. The vice chancellor, therefore, has a major role in the Senate as he has in most of the university's life.

The Senate, when it does occasionally discuss controversial matters, attracts public interest.

A more important body of the university is the Syndicate, which meets monthly except during vacations, although it can be called into special session by the vice chancellor. The Syndicate has nineteen members, a majority of whom are academics (eight members must be non-teachers). The non-academics who serve in the Syndicate are the Director of Education of Maharashtra State and eight persons appointed by the Senate. The Syndicate represents individuals who not only have a good deal of expertise and experience in university affairs but who also usually have a substantial commitment to the institution.

The Syndicate, according to the Bombay University Act of 1953, has substantial authority in the university and, as such, is of critical importance. It has final authority to deal with the physical property and funds of the university, it enters into contracts on behalf of the institution, it has ultimate responsibility for the colleges and their inspection, and it has the power to order investigations of any aspect of the life of the university. In short, its power is almost unlimited on paper. The Syndicate must report regularly to the Senate on its actions and it can in theory be overruled on some topics. This, however, seldom occurs.

The academic legislative body of the university is the Academic Council. It has the authority to oversee teaching, research, and examinations. It also has the power to make changes in the curriculum in consultation with the relevant Boards of Studies, to propose the setting up of new departments and research institutes, to regulate the scholarly life of the institution, and to debate and make recommendations concerning general educational policy matters. The Academic Council at present has 138 members, all of whom hold office by virtue of their academic positions. Twenty of the Council's members hold university appointments and the majority of the rest are either college teachers or principals. The Academic Council meets once every three months, often enough to permit debate and action on important educational issues, but not so much as to involve itself in the day-to-day administration of the institution.

Power in the university also resides outside the legislative and executive bodies. The faculties of the university are separately organized and have some powers of their own. There are seven regular faculties (arts, science, technology, law, medicine, dentistry and commerce), and the membership in each ranges from 496 in Arts to 38 in Dentistry. The faculty's major function is to supervise the various Boards of Studies and to see that the relevant regulations are enforced. The faculties meet only once a year

and generally discuss only those matters referred to them by other bodies within the university. Each faculty is headed by a dean, who is elected from among its membership. Largely an honorific post, the dean does have some influence in the appointment of members of Boards of Studies and of examiners.

The Boards of Studies and of University Teaching, which function technically under the various faculties, have a somewhat vague role in the university. They oversee instruction and research in their respective fields and are in charge of curriculum and examination matters. The Boards are composed of academics from the particular subject-matter fields and are thus in close touch with the departments and colleges. One of the main sources of their power is the prescribing of syllabi and setting of examinations. The latter function is the most important one, given that the external examination is the primary means of maintaining standards in the Indian university. Power also resides in the fact that the prescribing of textbooks and a partial role picking examiners may be important to members of the academic community.

It is clear from this very brief survey that the legislative bodies of the University of Bombay are complicated and diffuse. Some of them have overlapping functions. The Senate, which is technically the highest authority in the university, in fact, is usually without much power. It takes little initiative on most issues and usually just approves of proposals submitted by other bodies. The Syndicate is, without doubt, the most important of the university's legislative bodies, since it meets fairly frequently and has a compact membership. Because of its relatively broad initiative for discussion, the Syndicate is able to discuss a wide range of university related issues, and has an impact on policy. However, because the vice chancellor can set its agenda, the power of the Syndicate is in reality limited. The other legislative bodies, such as the Boards of Studies and Teaching, are rather more circumscribed in their functions and powers, although they are crucial in the specific areas.

The decisions made by any of the legislative bodies are, of course, limited in importance by the fact that many university policies have to be approved by and are sometimes initiated by non-university bodies. The Ministry of Education of the State of Maharashtra, for example, must approve, either formally or informally, many of the policy decisions of the university. Yet, the state is reflected only to a limited degree on the various university legislative and other bodies. The University Grants Commission, which supplies funds for most innovative programs, is another body influencing decisions of the university. Various political parties and personalities not officially

involved in academic life, also help determine university policy. All this is neither surprising nor necessarily an un-understandable situation.

The executives of the university and particularly the vice chancellor and the rector, are vital to the legislative bodies of the institution. The vice chancellor directly appoints some members of various university bodies such as the Senate. He also has some control over the *ex officio* member of the Senate and the Syndicate because, for example, the principals of colleges are to some degree dependent on the good wishes of the vice chancellor if they are to obtain his cooperation for local college matters. Their actions in the legislative bodies of the university are, therefore, at least open to persuasion from executive authorities.

Election to various university bodies is considered both prestigious and quite useful in terms of personal advancement. In some cases, lively battles are fought for election to the Senate, often with partisan politics in the background. Individuals find that membership in the Senate may be a useful stepping stone in business or other walks of public life. Academics feel that participation in university legislative bodies can be important for their own careers or for their institutions. A college principal who serves in a university body can be in a better bargaining position for his institution with the university administration. Chairmen of post-graduate departments are more influential in academic affairs if they are members of various committees within the university structures. Thus, as is true in much of Indian political life, the stated functions of the various legislative agencies of the University of Bombay are, in many instances, less important than the relationships between individuals serving on these bodies and the influences of various outside groups, particularly the government, on their deliberations.

The executive arm of the University of Bombay has a more important role in the governance of the institution than do the legislative bodies. The chancellor, as is the case on all Indian universities, is a largely honorific post which is held by the governor of the State of Maharashtra. The chancellor has some constitutional power in academic affairs in that he appoints the vice chancellor with the advice of the government and he presides over meetings of the Senate. But for the most part, he plays little direct role in the University's affairs and does not seem to be a major figure in academic politics.

The vice chancellor is the key person in the affairs of the University, and is officially its executive head. He is appointed by the chancellor on the nomination of the state government through the governor for a term of three years, which can be renewed only once. The vice chancellor is

responsible for carrying out the policies of the legislative bodies of the university for handling the day-to-day affairs of the institution. For example, he is in charge of most budgetary matters, makes key staff decisions, decides on questions which require immediate attention, and is involved in any crises which occur. In fact, the vice chancellor is the most important single individual in the University of Bombay.

The vice chancellor of the University of Bombay has traditionally been a part-time job and the incumbent has often been a respected doctor or lawyer rather than a professional educator. This has meant that the university has not had as active or efficient leadership as a full-time administrator with experience in higher education would offer. This situation may change, as discussions concerning the appointment of a full-time vice chancellor are now taking place, but traditionally the university has suffered from the lack of a strong and articulate spokesman at the top. Most of the vice chancellors have tried to protect the interests of the institution from outside interference and, in part because of their own personal integrity and prestige, they have been successful in doing this. But the lack of continuing executive leadership has hindered the internal growth of the institution. As will be seen in the later discussion of the colleges, the University of Bombay has not provided much educational leadership, it has not generally shaped college policy, and it has seldom instituted changes or innovations. In some respects, it has not even been able to adequately maintain academic standards. While not all of these problems are due to a lack of a professional executive leadership, such a situation has not helped matters.

The non-expert and part-time nature of the vice chancellorship has been partly offset by the post of the rector. The rector is constitutionally a subordinate to the vice chancellor and his duties are delegated to him by the vice chancellor, especially with regard to relations with the colleges. In Bombay, due to the part-time nature of the vice chancellorship, the office of rector has taken on substantial power for a number of years. The establishment of the office is itself an interesting sidelight in the politics of the University of Bombay. The idea of a rector was suggested by the vice chancellor at the time of the 1953 Reorganization Act in order to lighten his administrative load. The rector was to be responsible for relations with the colleges and to act for the vice chancellor during his absence. After delays and much debate, the rector's position was added in 1955, and the first incumbent, S. R. Dongerkery, took office in 1956. It is probable that some elements in the university feared that a strong full-time executive authority would diminish the authority of the colleges and other parts of the university. Their fears on this question proved to be at least partly justified.[13]

The personalities and energy of the first two rectors, S. R. Dongerkery and G. D. Parikh, helped to increase the prestige and power of the office. Indeed, it was during the period from 1956 to 1968, when the post of rector was temporarily abolished, that the University of Bombay made some steps in the direction of a coherent and fairly energetic role in shaping and implementing educational policy. It was, indeed, this "activist" role on the part of the university administration that caused many elements within the university to turn against the rector, and to seek a return to the "normalcy" of previous periods. During his period of greatest power, the rector had strong ties to elements in the Maharashtra government as well as authority within the university, thus making the post the most important in the university.

The rector's post lost some of its authority when P. B. Gajendragadkar assumed the vice chancellorship in 1966. Mr. Gajendragadkar, a distinguished jurist, took more interest in academic affairs than most of his predecessors, and it was not surprising that he ran into some conflicts with the powerful rector. In 1968, he helped to temporarily abolish the post, and has assumed an active role in academic affairs. The actual abolition was accomplished by the Senate at the instance of A. N. Namjoshi, a member of the Senate and Syndicate and long-time foe of rector Parikh.

The rise and subsequent decline of the rectorship at the University of Bombay indicates the importance of the personality of the individual filling key university positions. As the only full-time university administrator with executive power, the position of rector was naturally a powerful one. When occupied by individuals with energy and strong educational views, the post, and subsequently the central administration of the institution, became a forum for action and change.

Another important administrative post in the University of Bombay is the registrar. He is the only person in the university who is fully aware of all the correspondence and other paperwork concerning all aspects of the institution. In addition, the registrar has a good deal of discretion in his relations with the affiliated colleges and, to a lesser extent, to the postgraduate departments. Principals and others often approach the registrar for advice, and all recognize him as occupying a pivotal position. Technically, the registrar is simply the secretary of the University and the keeper of records and documents. In practice the registrar is often an expediter and a focus of communications and information.

As in other positions, the personality of the incumbent is of key importance. The present registrar, T. V. Chidambaran, has served the University of Bombay for 25 years and rose to his position from a clerk's post. He has

taken an active role in university affairs and is credited with substantial influence. The registrar's position has grown in importance since the office of rector was eliminated, since the registrar is now the only full-time high administrative officer in the university. The power to set agendas at meetings, to deal with correspondence and requests from the affiliated colleges and other matters are subtle areas of influence which can be used. The influence of the present registrar is particularly surprising in that he is a South Indian in a distinctly non South Indian environment, although this may reflect the cosmopolitan nature of the University of Bombay.

In addition to the continuing legislative and executive positions in the university, there are many *ad hoc* committees that often wield considerable influence. For example, the appointment of staff at the post-graduate level is usually handled through an *ad hoc* committee consisting of a member of the department in which the appointment is to be made plus several other university officials generally including a college principal. Posts are publicly advertised, but often an individual is slated informally for the position even before the public competition is opened and the formal procedures are followed for the sake of legality. Many factors enter into the appointment process, not all of which are related to the academic merit of the individual under consideration. For example, the relative of a high university official was recently appointed to a university professorship despite his alleged lack of qualifications due to manipulation of the appointment process.[14]

Other *ad hoc* committees also function within the university structure and have a role in a range of decisions. Decisions concerning the new university campus, now under construction at Kole Kalyan, were made in part by a committee. Small committees, often functioning under the aegis of agencies such as Boards of Studies, make recommendations concerning the curriculum, new textbooks, and the like. These bodies sometimes have a substantial degree of power in that they can induce changes in textbooks, in the syllabus, and in other areas. They generally function effectively, although there is often scope for non-academic elements entering into the decision-making process.

This brief discussion indicates that decision-making in the University of Bombay is complex and often unwieldy. The very complexity of the process gives the executive authorities substantial power, since they must coordinate decision-making and are often asked for advice and comment. Few, if any, of the legislative bodies have adequate knowledge of the availability of staff, finances, and facilities to make truly independent decisions. Despite the checks and balances on executive authority, it is clear that the

vice chancellor, rector, and registrar and their staffs have much power over university affairs.

The entire structure of the University of Bombay, as described above, is geared toward institutional stability and the maintenance of acceptable standards. The very cumbersomeness of the legislative functions of the institution, its administrative centralization at the same time that it lacks adequately trained personnel for administration, and the vested interests of the various elements of the system all inhibit reform and change. The power of the university over decision-making at all levels, including the colleges, makes it difficult for local elements to make small changes within the system without bringing all the forces of the system to bear on them. Academic bureaucracies throughout the world are known for their conservatism and inability to change. The Indian university system, as exemplified in this discussion of the University of Bombay, is certainly no exception to this rule, Indeed, it is perhaps one of the most difficult of university structures to change.

The two major teaching and research agencies of the University of Bombay are the affiliated colleges and the post-graduate departments.[§§] The colleges are discussed in detail later in this study, but it is important to consider the post-graduate departments in some detail. As has been noted, the post-graduate departments have some power over under-graduate education in that their faculty are members of Boards of Studies and other bodies which determine curriculum and examination policy. The post-graduate faculty also has substantial prestige, and is sometimes intellectually influential on college teachers, although in general there is less contact between the colleges and the post-graduate departments than might be expected.

Post-graduate study is one of the most important aspects of higher education at the University of Bombay. In 1967, the university had seventeen post-graduate departments, enrolling 2,303 students. In 1966–67, the institution awarded 232 post-graduate degrees. Yet, despite its recent importance, post-graduate study has had a somewhat ambivalent position at the University of Bombay. Historically the university has ignored post-graduate programs, and this has left rather weak academic departments in some areas. Unlike the University of Calcutta, which integrated its advanced programs into the university structure and established a number of post-graduate departments in the early twentieth century, the University of Bombay left advanced study to the colleges until fairly recently and, thus, took no leadership in this area. The University of Bombay has the oldest sociology department in India, established in 1919, and well regarded programs in economics and chemical technology. However, in most other

fields, the university's post-graduate departments are relatively new and have not received the emphasis that such advanced programs have gotten at other universities.

Despite the rather unplanned development of post-graduate studies the University of Bombay, advanced study is now one of the major functions of the university. In 1969, the university had post-graduate departments in which 2,540 students were enrolled. Its teaching departments are applied psychology, chemical technology, economics, English, law, civics and politics, mathematics, management studies, linguistics, library science, foreign languages, history, chemistry, sociology, statistics, and Sanskrit. Post-graduate teaching at the Master's level is done in some of the colleges, particularly in fields in which there is no post-graduate department. The Master's degree is, however, not a research degree. Research degrees and training for them are the monopoly of the university.

In this context, it should be noted that advanced degrees have not been as highly prized in India as, for example, in the United States. Relatively few doctorates are awarded, and few college teachers have the Ph.D. degree. The situation concerning advanced training has changed somewhat in the past few years and the university has established new programs in management and other areas which are relevant to Bombay's economic life. The number of students studying for the doctorate has also increased as college teaching posts are harder to find and additional qualifications are often useful in terms of securing employment either in a post-graduate department or in one of the colleges.

Post-graduate teaching in India has substantially higher prestige than under-graduate instruction—a situation not unlike most other countries. Teachers with university appointments receive higher salaries,‡‡ have a substantially greater security and tenure, and receive more deference than college teachers. Moreover, members of university departments have a substantial voice in university affairs, due to their *ex-officio* seats on various bodies and informal influence. University teachers have substantially better working conditions as well, and generally have their own offices, teach fewer hours per week and the treated with a degree of autonomy by administrative officers. Indeed, post-graduate teachers seldom teach more than 6 hours per week which college teachers very often teach 19 hours per week.

There is a substantial distance between the University departments and the colleges, despite the fact that in a few fields, particularly where there is no established post-graduate department, advanced teaching is handled in several of the better colleges. The academic staff of the post-graduate departments in the University, with a few notable exceptions, tend to feel contact

between them. University structures, generally organized hierarchically, do not foster cooperation and there have been few efforts on either side to bridge this gap. In a few fields, however, such as sociology, there has been fairly close contact between college staff and post-graduate professors and as a result some coordination has taken place.

Post-graduate departments have substantial autonomy in the Indian university and, in comparison to the colleges, seem to be in idyllic situation. The departments have substantial control over their syllabus, degree requirements, and examinations. The organization of the post-graduate departments at the University of Bombay, as in much of Indian higher education, is rather similar to the traditional British academic structure. The head of the department, who is generally the only person of full professorial rank, has considerable authority over the functioning of the department and over both students and staff. Despite the generally open competition for university faculty posts, the professor does have some control over the recruitment process since he generally sits on the *ad hoc* committee formed for recruitment and can influence the other members. He can also set up the requirements for the position in question so as to assure the success of the individual he has in mind. The department head also has substantial control over scholarships, research funds, and the general allocation of budget. In many departments, the head rules with a rather authoritarian attitude and it is possible for such an individual to stifle creativity and generally induce a moribund intellectual atmosphere in the department. His power often means that younger staff members do not have the leeway or support to pursue their own research interests. And this concentration of power means that the personality of the professor and his views on communal or political matters can enter into academic decisions.

As advanced degrees become more important in an increasingly tight employment market and needed in an expanding technological economy, the post-graduate departments will assume an ever increasing role at the University of Bombay and elsewhere in India. In all of the discussion of higher education reform in India, very little attention has thus far been paid to the post-graduate departments despite some of the problems mentioned here. It is perhaps significant that in Britain and Germany, which have provided the key models for the organization of post-graduate education in India, there has been a substantial re-examination of advanced education, and some changes made in the organization of post-graduate teaching. Of importance also is the proliferation of specialized institutes for advanced research and training. Such enterprises as the Tata Institute for Fundamental Research, the Indian Institute of Management, the Indian

Statistical Institute, and others indicate that the structure of post-graduate research and teaching in the universities does not lend itself very well to new trends or innovative notions in either the organization of education or in the subject matter itself. Post-graduate education at the University of Bombay has grown in recent years but it has not achieved the kind of distinction that might be possible if the structures were more open and amenable to change. Those departments which have achieved some distinction have not only able professors but have also exhibited a willingness to provide a more collegial atmosphere.

It is not possible to analyze the organizational structure of an Indian university without dealing with its relationship with the government. At the same time, it is difficult to systematically analyze this relationship due to a lack of data. It is fair to say that the relationship is pervasive and complex, and the brief discussion here only touches the surface of one of the crucial elements of the functioning of the University of Bombay and indeed of all of Indian higher education. The Government of Maharashtra has been fairly enlightened concerning its relationships to higher education in the state especially to the University of Bombay. For its part, the university has handled its relations with a substantial degree of discretion and diplomacy. Thus, Bombay has avoided many of the open political conflicts which characterize many Indian universities, and at the same time has managed to maintain a reasonable degree of independence from direct government control—perhaps more independence than the newer universities in Maharashtra. The government has substantial powers. For example, it can affiliate or refuse affiliation to institutions without the formal approval of the university and without giving reasons. One of the most dramatic examples of the use of this power occurred in 1899, when the government refused to approve the affiliation of the Bombay College of Law, fearing it might teach sedition.[15] More recently, such examples of government interference in academic matters is rare, although it is likely that more subtle pressures may be applied where government interest are at stake. The chancellor of the university, who is the Governor of the State of Maharashtra, appoints the vice chancellor, although in practice the Minister of Education has a major voice in the selection of the university's chief executive officer. The university is also prohibited from instituting certain kinds of examinations without governmental approval.

One of the most important aspects of government influence on higher education in India is its financial role. For example, the Maharashtra government, in 1966–7, provided more than one-third of the University of Bombay's annual budget. Its grant to the university amounted to

Rs. 2,315,000♦ out of a total annual expenditure of Rs. 13,245,000. While the Maharashtra government contributes less than 20 per cent of the university's budget, it can have a major voice in some policy decisions. It is certainly true that without the government's financial aid, it would be difficult to function. In addition to state government funds, which are mostly given as "block grants" which can be used for any purpose the institution deems appropriate, the University Grants Commission contributed Rs. 571,000 in 1966–67. UGC funds are almost always earmarked for specific projects, usually related to the improvement of facilities or the upgrading of standards. Through its participation in funding, the UGC also has a voice in the kinds of programs which the University of Bombay undertakes. The state government has also provided large grants which have made the construction of the new campus at Kole Kalyan possible. Despite the participation of various government and semi-government agencies in university financing, the bulk of the university's budget comes from student fees for examinations, tuition, and other services.[16] Around half of the total budget is raised by the institution itself. It is also important to note that the university budget does not include figures for the affiliated colleges, which are responsible for their own funding, although their financial records are audited by university authorities. While the colleges are responsible for a higher proportion of their own funding than the university itself, some funds from the University Grants Commission and occasionally from the state government are provided for specific projects. Thus, while the University of Bombay raises a majority of its own money, it would be hard pressed to function without government assistance. New programs, especially, would be almost impossible to initiate without outside help.

State governments in India have not hesitated to inform the universities of their wishes, thus bringing substantial pressure to bear on institutions. It is also true that university authorities are particularly sensitive to the views of government officials and generally try to consider them in academic decision-making. This pressure is exerted informally, though private discussions with university officials as well as publicly. The Maharashtra Government's 1968 *White Paper on Education* devoted some attention to higher education and was studied very carefully by university authorities. The report has major implications for university policy, although it is concerned mainly with the lower levels of education in the state. The report's strong emphasis on education in the mother tongue (Marathi) has direct implication for higher education, since the time spent on instruction in English has been shortened in the government-run secondary schools in the state. Thus, students entering the university in the future will have a

less adequate preparation in English than the present study body. In addition, the *White Paper* urges the universities to offer more instruction in Marathi. It should be noted that the University of Bombay is the only university in Maharashtra which has not adopted Marathi as the medium of instruction. It has thus, to some degree, put itself in opposition to the government of Maharashtra. The *White Paper* also urges the continued expansion of higher education and suggests that colleges be made available to every prospective student with a radius of 15 to 20 miles for a population of 200,000 or more. The *Paper* also calls for the modernization of university statutes and supports the proposals of the Education Commission for "autonomous colleges," more adequate guidance programs, and increased emphasis on science in education.[17] The *White Paper on Education* stresses education as a key to social and economic development as well as to social mobility.

While most of the suggestions of the *White Paper* were stated in general terms, they are official government policy and, therefore, were taken seriously by university authorities. It should be noted that although the *White Paper* has been available for over three years, relatively few of its proposals have been implemented at the University of Bombay. Its main impact seems to have been giving the state government a basis for providing project funds to the university to carry out some of the specific proposals in the report. The university, for its part, has selectively asked for these funds and has implemented those parts of the report it deems useful. Thus, official government reports have some impact, but the university has been able to resist those aspects of the *White Paper* (and other similar documents) which it has felt to be against its interests.

Government impact on the university is complex and varying. It can be and often is direct and clear, as in cases of shifts in educational policy which affect the university, or in the use of funding to directly influence academic decisions or programs. Its influence also is indirect and informal, as in the frequent contacts between university administrators and government officials concerned with education. The financial contribution to the university automatically provides the government with a voice in university policy, particularly in the area of new programs and construction of facilities. And while Maharashtra has allowed, and the University of Bombay has demanded substantial autonomy, the state still is greatly interested in university affairs. The direct appointment by the government of the vice chancellor and the probable influence of government officials in the appointments of other high university officials further increases government involvement in academic affairs. The fact that several government

officials sit on university legislative bodies provides the government with yet another channel for participation. As has been pointed out by other analysts of university autonomy in India, the lack of established traditions of independence means that there are fewer restraints on government involvement in university affairs.[18] As mentioned earlier, though, the University of Bombay has, more than any other Indian universities, been relatively free from direct governmental intervention.

Universities in developing countries are naturally subjected to pressures to contribute to "national development" and in general to justify the funds given to them. Bombay University has been no exception, although in Bombay's case, these pressures have generally been rather diffuse and indirect. The recommendations of the various national higher education commissions have had some impact on the University of Bombay. Stress has been placed, for example, on the expansion of scientific facilities at the expense of the traditional liberal arts subjects and on the establishment of military training programs for students. These recommendations have been followed to some extent. Other emphases of various government agencies, however have been effectively resisted by the university. Bombay University is one of the few Indian universities which retains a four-year degree course instead of the approved three-year degree system. Pleas for the expansion of training in agriculture and in education have gone virtually unheeded as well. In India, the educational pressures from the central government have thus far been fairly weak, and the state government in Maharashtra has not been notably effective to date in making the University of Bombay conform to its educational plan.

The brief description of the structure and functioning of the University of Bombay has pointed out its complexity and has indicated some of the forces impinging on academic work in the university. There is no question that this complicated and tradition-bound system of governance is often irrelevant and sometimes even an impediment to the effective functioning of the university. The University of Bombay, however, is not alone in its outmoded structure of academic governance; most Indian universities' structures are similar, and relatively few have thoroughly revised their statutes despite strong recommendations by various commissions that this be done.** In fact, most universities throughout the world are going through a re-examination of their internal management with a view to modernizing the decision-making process while at the same time protecting academic freedom, autonomy, and a scholarly atmosphere. The problem is a difficult one and academic institutions in most countries, as in India, are bound by traditions which hinder reform.

The structure of governance of the University of Bombay represents many of the problems endemic to Indian academic life. These are discussed later in this volume. One result of the unwieldy administrative structure is that academic decisions often take a long time and implementation is delayed because decision must be made at many levels of the university bureaucracy. The appointment of a professor often takes several years to accomplish, and new academic programs are regularly delayed at various levels of the university administration. College principals have often complained that sanction from the university authorities to purchase materials or undertake programs takes a great deal of time.

Political considerations also enter into governance of academic affairs. The complex structure of the university makes it possible for factions to form at various levels and for interested parties, both within and outside of the institution, to make their impact felt. Government, political, and other interests have seats on the Senate and thus have a direct influence in academic affairs. Other levels of the university administration are also amenable at times to persuasion from various forces. College principals, for example, have often spoken of the diplomacy needed to represent the interest of their colleges in the various levels of decision-making and administration in the university.

Notes

*   While beyond the scope of this essay, it should be noted that many commentators have disputed the importance of higher education to the development process, and have suggested the greater investment in other levels of the educational system might be more useful.

†   1967 is used in this volume as the base year for current statistics on higher education, since comparative data was most readily available for that year. Where more recent figures are available, such statistics are also indicated.

‡   The distribution of students in the various disciplines has not significantly altered since 1965–66.

§   The University of Bombay, it should be noted, is not the only institution of higher education in the city of Bombay. S.N.D.T. Women's University, founded in 1916, is India's only university devoted exclusively to women's education. Furthermore, it has conducted classes in Marathi and Gujarati for a number of years with substantial success. S.N.D.T.'s students in Bombay make it one of the city's major educational resources. In addition, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, founded in 1936, has the status of a university and has advanced training and research programs in the social sciences: The Indian Institute of Technology at Powai, in suburban Bombay, is also an independent institution offering high level training in science and engineering. The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, while maintaining some ties to the University of Bombay, is basically an independent agency

which carries out India's most advanced research in nuclear science and some other scientific areas.

** This study has some apparent limitations which should be stated at the outset. It is based for the most part on the author's observations of various aspects of academic life at the University of Bombay and its colleges in 1964–65 and again in 1968. A short visit in 1971 permitted some updating of materials. Interviews were conducted with more than 100 teachers, students, administrators, members of governing boards, and others. In addition, relevant documentation concerning higher education in Bombay was collected and used. Some materials, however, were unavailable. Yet, the observations are those of an outsider and are not based on any truly scientific study of the University of Bombay.

*** It is significant that the 94 of 155 faculty members surveyed at the University of Bombay and its constituent colleges spent more than 45 minutes in travelling to and from their workplace. A significant percentage spent more than 2 hours travelling. This data was taken from *Report of the Inquiry on the Problems of Teachers in the University of Bombay* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1954), p. 65.

§§ In addition to the post-graduate departments and the colleges are 27 recognized institutions rather loosely affiliated to the University of Bombay. These institutions are generally quite independent in terms of curriculum and receive little, of any, financial aid from the university. Their degrees, however, are afforded some recognition by the University of Bombay, and they are brought into the academic system by this affiliation. These affiliated institutions range from the internationally famous Tata Institute for Fundamental Research to the small Bombay Natural History Society. A discussion of these various institutions is beyond the scope of this study.

‡‡ Recent UGC salary scales, which start at Rs. 300 per month for junior lecturers and extend to more than Rs. 1,200 for professors, indicate that staff with university appointments probably earn about double the amount than their colleagues, at similar ranks earn at the college level.

♦ 7.5 rupees equals $1 (US).

♦♦ It should be noted that India is not alone in this situation. Many of the critics of American higher education have noted that the universities are unable to function effectively in a period of crisis and confrontation partly because of their outmoded systems of governance. A number of academic studies have recommended the reform of university structures.

References

1. Complete and accurate statistical information concerning the University of Bombay is difficult to obtain. Most of the statistical information reported in this volume is taken from the various *Annual Reports* of the University of Bombay, from the *Annual Returns* of the University of Bombay, which provide some basic statistics concerning the colleges, and from several publications of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi.

2 Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), Chapters 8 and 9.

3. The various official reports on higher education contain some of the most useful data on the subject. Many of their recommendations have become policy, but

it is significant that the majority of proposals have, for various reasons, remained unimplemented. See especially Indian University Education Commission, *Report* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1950 [The Radhakrishnan Report]; U. S. Shukla, *Kothari Commission Report* (A *Summary*), [Lucknow: Prakashan Kendra, n.d.]; *Report of the Education Commission, 1964–66: Education and National Development* (New Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1966). The various reports of the University Grants Commission are also quite useful in this regard.

4. It is impossible to mention the most relevant studies concerning aspects of Indian higher education here. For a bibliography concerning Indian universities, see Philip G. Altbach, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: A Select Bibliography* (Cambridge: Harvard Center for International Affairs, 1970), pp. 63–73. See also Robert Gaudino, *The Indian University* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1965): L. Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, ed., *Education and Politics in India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); A. B. Shah, ed., *Higher Education in India* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1968); and P. G. Altbach, ed., *Turmoil and Transition: Higher Education and Student Politics in India* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1969). The best single article dealing generally with Indian academics is Edward Shils, "The Academic Profession in India," *Minerva*, 7 (Spring, 1969), pp. 345–72.

5. Amar Kumar Singh, "Academic Politics and Student Unrest: The Case of Ranchi University," in Philip G. Altbach, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 208.

6. Serious analysis of the problems of higher education in developing countries is unfortunately quite scarce. For one of the more adequate collections of articles on this subject, see A. B. Shah, ed., *Education, Scientific Policy, and Developing Countries* (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1967). The journal *Minerva*, edited by Professor Edward Shils and published from London, provides the best continuing analysis of the problems of higher education and scientific policy in developing countries.

7. For a particularly dramatic account of the most recent crisis at Banaras Hindu University, see *Report of the Banaras Hindu University Inquiry Committee* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education and Youth Services, 1969). Similar reports are also available for Aligarh Muslim University, Allahabad University, and for the University crisis in Orissa in 1965.

8. See S. R. Dongerkery, *The History of the University of Bombay* (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1957). Several of Bombay's colleges have also received some historical analysis. S. R. Dongerkery's *Memories of Two Universities* (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1966), pp. 1–142 has some useful material on Bombay with special focus on the functoning of the central administration of the university.

9. Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), especially pp. 3–146. See also Bruce Mc-Cully, *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

10. From a letter from S. R. Dongerkery, November 25, 1970.

11. Edward Shils, *op. cit.*

12. The discussion of the structure of the University of Bombay is taken from *Handbook of the University of Bombay,* Part II, Volume 1 (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1968).

13. Much of the data concerning the rectorship has been supplied by S. R. Dongerkery in a personal communication, April 1, 1970, Shri Dongerkery's book, *op. cit.*, also provides some useful historical perspectives the rector' office.

14. H. S. Biligiri, "View", *Opinion,* 10 (February 11, 1969), pp. 5–8.

15. S. R. Dongerkery, *History of the University of Bombay, op. cit.*, p. 133.

16. Detailed information concerning the University of Bombay's budget can be found in *Budget Estimates for 1970–71* (Bombay: University of Bombay Press, 1970).

17. Government of Maharashtra, *White Paper on Education* (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1968).

18. S. R. Dongerkery, *University Autonomy in India* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1967). See also Amrik Singh, "Universities and the Government," *Quest,* Special Number (March, 1967), pp. 40–49.

13

Progressive State

Philip G. Altbach
Eldho Mathews

Kerala is one of India's smaller states, lying on the southernmost western side of the subcontinent. Its 579 km of Malabar coastline, network of rivers, lakes and canals, and verdant tropical fauna and flora make it a popular tourist destination and worthy of its self-proclaimed title of "God's own country."

Historically an important spice centre trading with Greeks, Romans and Arabs, Kerala's charms are not restricted to its natural delights. It boasts India's highest life expectancy and lowest infant mortality rate and has the country's highest Human Development Index score, with literacy rates well above 90 per cent.

The state's distinctive social and political circumstances also offer some interesting lessons concerning higher education and its role in development.

With a population of 31 million, Kerala has an unusual religious mix by Indian standards—a fifth Christian, a quarter Muslim and more than half Hindu. And although not wealthy—it ranked ninth in gross domestic product among India's 28 states in 2008–09—it is, by many measures, the most advanced state in India in terms of education.

Ninety-eight per cent of its population have a primary school within 2 km of their home, and primary and secondary education is free. Eighteen per cent of school-leavers go on to further education, double India's average and almost on a par with rapidly developing China, and women constitute

more than 60 per cent of the higher education enrolment—the highest in India.

Politically, Kerala is also distinctive. It was one of the first states in the world to elect communists to power, and its current government is a coalition dominated by the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The communists, who have been in power off and on since the state was formed in 1956, have played a key role in shaping its society. Early on, they were able to push through meaningful land reform and their policies have emphasised social services, education and income redistribution.

An active media with dozens of newspapers keep debate lively and help to promote transparency and a high degree (by Indian standards) of probity in government. Union membership is widespread—including among university and college teachers, students and campus workers. One vice-chancellor said that a large part of her job was to keep track of and consult with unions.

The vast chasm between rich and poor, so evident in India and much of the developing world, seems less obvious in Kerala, where corruption is less endemic and society is more stable.

While the state missed out on India's "industrial revolution," with entrepreneurs perhaps wary of well-entrenched unions, this has meant that Kerala has been spared the pollution that normally follows in the wake of industry, all to the benefit of tourism.

There is not much of an economic base—predominantly agriculture and fishing—to balance the large service sector, and the state is reliant on remittances sent home by workers in the Gulf states, particularly the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. These remittances account for nearly a quarter of the state's gross domestic product.

To redress the economic imbalance, policymakers are looking to higher education to increase Kerala's attractiveness to India's burgeoning information-technology sector.

The state was quick off the ground in 1990 when India's first technology park was established in its capital, Thiruvananthapuram, but since then Bangalore has leaped ahead to become the country's Silicon Valley, and Kerala has been struggling to catch up.

Kerala's approach to higher education is distinctive in the Indian context. Most of its higher education institutions were at one time supervised and funded by the state government, but resource and budget constraints during the past decade have sparked significant changes.

The University of Kerala is the state's leading institution, but, in keeping with its egalitarian philosophy, the state government has spread support fairly equally through its universities. As a result, relatively few have risen to national or international prominence.

One exception is the Cochin University of Science and Technology. At one point, the central Ministry of Human Resource Development recognised the university's excellence and supported upgrading it to become one of the Indian Institutes of Technology—a group of 16 engineering and technology institutes declared to be Institutes of National Importance by India's Parliament. However, the plan eventually was shelved because of opposition from within the state.

Other prominent institutions include the Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology, established recently by the central government in the Kerala capital. The Sree Chitra Tirunal Institute for Medical Sciences and Technology, offering postdoctoral and postgraduate medical courses, and the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, both in Thiruvananthapuram, are also nationally renowned institutions.

Kerala would be well served if these high-quality institutions were closely linked or merged to produce a world-class scientific institution in the state.

India's central government, meanwhile, has made a commitment to sponsor at least one central university in each of its states. It is proposing to build an institution in a rather isolated location in northern Kerala, a move that has baffled higher education experts in the state because it seems unlikely that an institution so far from academic or urban centres will succeed.

India has a well-established "affiliating" system that ties undergraduate colleges to central universities, which impose and monitor a variety of regulations and are responsible for examinations.

The University of Kerala, established in 1937, has 198 affiliated colleges with a total enrolment of about 100,000 students.

The colleges are widely dispersed and the majority are private, managed by a variety of religious, social and other non-profit organisations. Some are partially funded by state government, and these tend to have better facilities.

But recent years have seen the appearance of a number of private colleges eschewing government funding and offering more vocationally oriented courses.

This trend has left university authorities with the headache of having to provide affiliation for colleges that may be of questionable quality.

Nearly half the affiliated colleges in Kerala are controlled by private management, mainly sponsored by Christian or Muslim minority communities. Facilities in most of these are well below international standards, often with outdated laboratories, rudimentary IT facilities and inadequate libraries.

While several arts and science undergraduate colleges—such as University College in the state capital or Maharaja's College in Kochi—are able to attract bright students, facilities are far from world class.

Most high-flying students opt for professional courses in engineering, medicine and business. Currently there are 96 engineering colleges in Kerala. Almost 90 per cent of them started operating in the past decade, and only 11 are government sponsored.

To raise the quality of higher education being offered in the state, Kerala has recently initiated some of the reforms recommended by national authorities. Significant changes aimed at improving learning involved introducing a semester system, reorganising curricula and revamping course teaching and assessment. Undergraduate examinations were overhauled to provide better assessment through more frequent testing and evaluations tied more closely to course content.

In parallel with these changes, Kerala set up a Higher Education Council to advise the state government, conduct research into higher education issues and serve as a forum for discussion. It does not have the power to implement reforms but can make recommendations to government and universities.

The rapid and largely unregulated expansion of new private colleges and specialist post-secondary institutions has been a mixed blessing for Kerala. Although they satisfy demand for greater access, many are of dubious quality, operate on the edges of quality control and are largely run with profit in mind. They serve high-demand areas such as management, IT and related technical fields. A few are medical colleges. Despite a good deal of grumbling, little action has been taken to control these institutions.

In common with all regions of India, the many colleges affiliated to universities need to be appropriately supervised but at the same time permitted leeway to start innovative programmes and achieve a degree of autonomy.

Perhaps an effective accrediting system, supervised by the Higher Education Council or some other governmental body, could enforce a basic standard of quality, removing some of the burden from the universities.

At the same time, a creeping inequality has arisen in the system because of the variable quality of primary and secondary schooling.

Admission to the medical and engineering colleges in Kerala is based largely on an entrance examination.

Students from schools affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education or the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations—which are predominantly those in the unaided, for-profit sector—have a better chance of achieving high scores in this examination.

These schools account for only 20 per cent of pupils. Of those who excel in the entrance examination for professional courses, most come from the middle and upper strata of society, children of parents with the means to send them to entrance-coaching centres.

At the same time, choice has become an important feature of Kerala's higher education system. Students and parents are acutely conscious of the seemingly inseparable link between academic choice and career. The emergence of this aspirational middle class has resulted in a growing number of students from the state going abroad to study.

Kerala has quietly provided acceptable-quality higher education, by Indian standards, to a remarkably large proportion of its population. While it has implemented several meaningful reforms in recent years, higher education remains an issue of concern for the state government and the public. A few policy initiatives may be useful to further improve the system.

The state's higher education institutions are largely similar in quality, focus and funding. With the few exceptions noted here, none stands out either within the state or nationally.

A mass higher education system needs to be differentiated: it requires a variety of funding patterns supporting institutions with different strengths focused on different missions.

Kerala needs at least one world-class university—an institution that can attract the best students in the state, be recognised as one of the top universities in India, and build an international profile.

Achieving this will not be easy, given Kerala's strong tradition of egalitarianism, but it is necessary. The University of Kerala, perhaps merged with high-profile scientific institutions based in the capital, would be the natural choice, along with the Cochin University of Science and Technology, to become the state's key focus.

This does not mean that the other universities would be neglected. Some would focus on teaching and serving their specific regions, while a few, perhaps those specialising in science and technology, would retain some research mission.

Kerala's universities have the potential to jump-start the state's move into the knowledge era. They can provide the training needed for a new generation of professionals ready to work in IT and other knowledge industries.

However, Kerala is making a late start. Bangalore, for example, is far ahead, but Kerala has the advantages of a well-educated workforce with a tradition of hard work and an ability to collaborate. Improving the quality of engineering education would be an important step.

IT companies estimate that only a fifth of engineering graduates in India can be put to work immediately; the rest need additional training. If Kerala can educate engineers who do not need expensive further education, it will improve its ability to lure high-technology firms to the state. These graduates will also be competitive on the international job market.

Expansion of Kerala's higher education system will continue, although the pressures may be somewhat less than in other parts of India because of Kerala's impressive access rates.

Careful attention needs to be given to the organisation of the system. Additional funds are required to transform at least one university into a research-intensive institution, while at the same time supporting a better-defined, differentiated higher education system.

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Temples and World-Class Universities

The Hindu
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p. 11

Philip G. Altbach

I t is not a routine event that a Hindu temple—or anywhere else—would discover $22 billion (approximately Rs. 98,000 crore) buried in the basement. Now that the Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple in Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of the Indian State of Kerala, has this windfall, everyone is suggesting ways of using the funds. Here is one idea that would make a real contribution to India and to the State of Kerala and is much in keeping with the mission of developing culture, science, and civilisation: build India's first truly world-class university.

Surprisingly, India, despite its rapidly growing economy and its long tradition of intellectual excellence, does not possess a world-class university—no existing university scores highly in the rankings and none of the institutions are considered top level globally. Only the Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT) and the Indian Institutes of Management (IIM) are well known, but they are not universities. Establishing a world-class university would not take all of the available funds, and of course all items of religious or historical value would need to be preserved—in a museum related to the university. Perhaps $200 million (approximately Rs. 900 crore) can be used to build a top-level campus in Thiruvananthapuram, seat of the former Travancore kingdom—and another $8 billion (approximately Rs. 35,000 crore) set aside for an endowment that would conservatively

yield (at a seven per cent payout) about $560,000,000 (Rs. 2,500 crore) annually for operating the university. That would leave more than half the current estimate of the temple's worth to keep or spend for other purposes.

Catering for Many Purposes

Sree Padmanabhaswamy University would serve several important purposes at once. A world-class institution would provide a model for higher education in India and the developing world. The university would contribute to Kerala's economy and indeed jump-start key fields, such as information technology and biotech.

Kerala is the ideal place for a world-class university. It calls itself "God's own Country" for good reasons. A pleasant and green environment is combined with decent infrastructure, and the society lacks many of the tensions found elsewhere in India. The State has good links with the rest of the world through the Gulf. Kerala has universal literacy, and 18 per cent of young people access higher education—double the Indian average.

What Would Kerala's World-Class University Look Like?

Just as important as financing a top university are the ideas behind it. Sree Padmanabhaswamy University will be, in virtually all respects, un-Indian. It will be neither public nor private but rather independent and controlled by a public trust linked to the temple and to civil society in Kerala. Its controlling trustees would be chosen from among these groups and would include the most senior member of the Travancore royal family, with some additional distinguished international educators. Similar to the great private universities in the United States, Sree Padmanabhaswamy University would have an independent board of trustees. Its funding will be assured by its endowment, although tuition would be charged to students who could afford it, and income might be earned through research contracts. Additional philanthropy will be encouraged. The university would be free of the politics and bureaucracy that are so stifling to India's public universities. And it will be free of the for-profit motives or the capriciousness of business moguls who control some of the new private universities.

The university would be international in vision and scope. Professors and students would come from around the country and the world. The university's endowment would finance both salaries and scholarships

that, while they might not match the richest universities in America or Europe, would be attractive.

The curriculum and focus would be consciously international. At the same time, the university would stress issues of importance to Kerala, South India, and the subcontinent. Sree Padmanabhaswamy University would not, like many recent efforts globally to establish world-class institutions, focus only on the sciences. It would be a comprehensive university, choosing carefully those fields in which it could excel. Some subjects of clear importance to the economy of the State and region—including information technology, some fields of agriculture, and perhaps some areas of biotech. Because of the university's link to the temple, it would aim to be the top university in the world in the study of Hinduism and Indian religions; and because it is in Kerala, which has large populations of Hindus, Muslims, and Christians, it could cultivate an interreligious dialogue. The university would also focus on the history, art, and society of Kerala and South India. Foci will be chosen carefully, and faculty strength built deliberately to create strategic strength and distinction.

Governance and Management for the World-Class University

Governance is central to any university. Sree Padmanabhaswamy University's academic staff should be central to making key academic decisions. At the same time, world-class universities must be effectively managed, and top university leaders should have significant control over strategic decisions. The university's vice chancellor, deans, and other key leaders will be chosen for their talent and leadership capacity—and not because of personal connections.

Meritocratic

The university must be a fully meritocratic institution. Both faculty and students would be chosen for their academic quality. Academic staff, once hired, will be carefully evaluated for their teaching and research over a period of years, prior to being given permanent appointments. Students will be chosen on merit and without the strict constraints of the reservation system—although able students from disadvantaged groups could be given some special consideration—and provided with scholarship and bursary assistance and academic support.

India has a unique opportunity to establish a world-class university with some of the unparalleled resources of Kerala's Sree Padmanabhaswamy Temple—using the best international practices and focusing on the needs of Kerala and South India in an international context. The chance to build a world-class university free of the constraints of a bureaucratised system is unique. Higher education is very much in Kerala's traditions, and the State is a logical place for a well-funded university, far from the distractions and politics of New Delhi.

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Right Concept, Wrong Place

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Philip G. Altbach

The Indian and Bihar governments, with the support of the East Asian Summit, are resurrecting the Sixth century Nalanda University, near its original site in rural northern Bihar. Significant funds have been earmarked for the project, and planning is now under way. Impressive international linkages have already been made. The concept, of course, is wonderful—to recreate in modern garb a true cultural and intellectual treasure of ancient India. The plan for the university focuses on the humanities, social sciences, ecology, and business studies—not the usual engineering and technology emphasis. But some serious practical and conceptual questions need to be asked.

Location, Location

The site of academic institutions is of key importance. For Nalanda International University, which wants to attract the best and brightest from India and the world, location is of special relevance. Are top students and faculty going to be attracted to rural Bihar? Perhaps, unfortunately, this option is not likely. The best minds want to be in the centre of intellectual, cultural, and political life. They want to be able to easily mingle with peers and value easy travel connections. The Internet assists scholarly communication, but it does not at all replace human interaction. They value amenities, not only good libraries and laboratories, but also art museums and even an array of attractive restaurants and coffeehouses.

The experience in India and elsewhere, in recent decades, is that it is difficult to build top institutions far from centres. Several of the original Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT) were located near but not in major urban centre. Thus, there was room to build a campus, while at the same time permitting relatively easy access to a wider intellectual community and to urban centre. Some of the new central universities, as well as the new IITs, located away from cities and communities are finding it difficult to attract the best faculty and students.

There are some examples of recently established "green field" academic institutions. Without doubt the most expensive is the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST), located near Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Located near a large city, benefiting from a multibillion-dollar endowment and an unlimited construction budget and connections with top universities overseas, its success is not assured. Luring the best academics to Saudi Arabia is not an easy task. It is significant that King Abdullah, who established the university, kept it separate from the Saudi government, with its own budget and endowment. He did not want the new institution to get bogged down in governmental bureaucracy. This example may have some relevance for India.

POSTECH, the Pohang University of Science and Technology, on the other hand, seems to constitute a significant success, although located in a provincial city in South Korea. Just 20 years old, it is well ranked globally. A private institution, it has benefited from the deep pockets of the Pohang Steel Company. The Japanese government located a technological university on the island of Okinawa, far from the Japanese mainland, several decades ago and made a huge investment. Many claim that it is a success, but the jury seems to be out.

As "Development Projects"

Some of the great American public universities may also offer some insights. Most of the best of them were established in the 19th century in or close to urban centres—the University of California-Berkeley, for example, is near San Francisco and the University of Michigan is near Detroit, while the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is in the middle of corn fields. While the latter is a fine university, it is not as distinguished as Berkeley or Michigan—and it suffers when competing for top faculty.

Governments in many countries decide on the location of new universities for many reasons. Students in an area may not have access to a

convenient place to study. A particular region may be in need of investment or development. Or local politicians may have a loud voice. There are often very good arguments for placing higher education institutions in locales where they can contribute to economic growth, student access, or other laudable social goals. India has often been quite successful with this tactic.

But it is always a mistake to try to locate a top-level research university to meet development goals. The initial investment is large, and the chances of success are limited. The fact is that the needs of a research university are quite specialised and not comparable to those of an academic institution focused mainly on teaching.

Can It Work?

The new Nalanda's location is dictated by the site of the original Nalanda and not by specific development goals. However, most likely, part of the motivation is to bring resources and modernisation to Bihar—there is even talk of moving the site of an airport. The challenges facing the new Nalanda, in its effort to become a world-class university, are daunting. As noted, location is a highly negative factor, perhaps even a determining one. Money may also be an issue—building a top-class university is extraordinarily expensive, especially in a rural and undeveloped location—even with assistance of foreign donors and the central government. Funding for the first stages of development is significant, and levels of financial support must be maintained over time to ensure success. Nalanda International University, as an institution that plans, quite rightly, to stress ecology, development, peace studies, and similar "soft subjects," will find it difficult to obtain recognition in the global rankings, which largely measure the hard sciences. The best tactic here is to forget about the rankings, but this is not an easy thing to do. The involvement of many agencies, of both State and Central government, may create bottlenecks and bureaucracy—which often seems to be the case in India as well as elsewhere.

Perhaps the best course of action would be to keep the name and the spirit of Nalanda but move the university to a more practical location.

SECTION IV

Globalization and Open-Door Policies

Globalization and Open-Door Policies

K. B. Powar

The advent of globalization in the early 1990s, and the signing of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1995 provided, at least theoretically, a pathway for the entry of both foreign providers and foreign investments, into India. The social and political environment of that time was, however, not conducive for such entry. There were public protests against the inclusion of education services under GATS. A number of student organizations jointly voiced their concern through the Delhi Declaration of 2003 which, while condemning the possible commercialization of education by foreign providers, supported the internationalization of higher education through academic initiatives (ABVP-VB-SB-BSM-AVRSM 2003). Over the years the protests may have died down but the opposition still persists. Efforts by Minister for Human Resource Development (MHRD), Mr Kapil Sibal, to push through parliament a legislation that would allow entry to foreign providers, albeit with numerous restrictions, have not succeeded as yet.

The slow pace of education policy reforms in India is a matter of concern. The Foreign Educational Institutions Bill is a case in point. It was first introduced in 2007, a revised Bill was introduced in 2010 and possibly a third version will be introduced, discussed and hopefully approved in 2012. Altbach (2008) feels the delay in the passing of the Foreign Educational Institutions Bill is probably a good thing. It has allowed Indian stakeholders to observe and introspect, and the foreign education providers to weigh the pros and cons of entering the Indian higher education system. After all, not starting an institution is better than having a failed institution; a lesson learnt by many institutions (including Indian) that ventured into the Gulf Region, East Africa and elsewhere.

Developing countries, including India, need quality institutions, quality faculty and quality inputs of different kinds. The institutions of the

developed world feel that they can fill the vacuum. Yet, in the developing world there is distrust about their intent and most developing countries have found it necessary to regulate entry and operation through (often stringent) regulations. The "AICTE Regulations for Entry and Operation of Foreign Universities in India, 2005" is an example.

Western observers generally feel that Indian regulations are too restrictive. For example, Verbik and Jokivirta (2005), in their sixfold classification of regulatory models, place India in their fourth category—"moving from liberal to more restrictive" regime. A change in this situation appears difficult in the immediate future. Deregulating entry to the extent of throwing the academic doors open would be a serious mistake. Altbach (2009) accepts the fact that India cannot forever keep its academic doors closed, but stresses the point that the country needs to first develop a clear and transparent policy, and an effective regulatory framework. India needs to devise a regulatory model that encourages cross-border provision of quality education yet prevents exploitation.

The Foreign Educational Institution (Regulation of Entry and Operation) Bill 2010, though purportedly for the regulation of entry of foreign educational institutions into India, in effect opens up (at least to a limited extent) the higher education sector of the country to foreign providers and to foreign investment. Altbach (2010a) points out that the Bill comes with a variety of conditions and limitations, some of which may not be easily acceptable to the foreign institutions, and, therefore, India's "Open Door" may better be called the "Half-open Door."

The thinking behind the "regulated open door" or "half-open door" policy is that entry of established foreign institutions would improve the quality of education by infusing new ideas and practices; provide assistance and models for setting up "world class" or "innovative" universities; and possibly bring in much needed finance. Mr Sibal, the Minister for Human Resource Development expects the foreign institutions to provide much needed capacity and new ideas about higher education management, curriculum, teaching methods and research (Altbach 2010a). The expectations of the Minister are unrealistic. According to Altbach (2009, 2010b) global experiences indicate that foreign universities do not significantly increase access, their branch campuses are in specialized disciplines (like management) and do not promote academic innovation as they invariably use time-test curriculum and teaching methods, and they do not spend substantial amounts of money overseas.

India has the third largest education system in the world but there is an almost complete absence of world class universities. It has specialized institutions like the IITs and the IIMs that offer world-class education but these

are not research universities (Altbach and Jayaram 2008; Altbach 2010c). Under these circumstances the aspiration to establish world-class or innovative universities through foreign partnership is understandable. But foreign universities cannot generate the required academic ethos and research culture; or provide full-time, highly competent and dedicated faculty; or contribute in a substantial way to the huge financial investment that is required for a research-intensive institution. These all have to be indigenous. More importantly, establishment of a research-intensive university demands careful planning and a sense of purpose which is apparently missing. India recently set up thirteen, potentially "world-class," central universities at far-flung locations that do not have an academic environment, or an industrial hinterland, or "soft" infrastructure. These universities, for obvious reasons, have not been able to recruit faculty or even good students. Evidently, while taking decisions political, and not academic, considerations prevailed. The general impression is that these universities will contribute only to numbers, not to quality. Unless there is a change in outlook, and commitment to quality the sole consideration, there can be no redemption.

India may open its doors to foreign institutions but who will come? And for what purpose? Altbach (2008, 2010a) has bluntly pointed out that the global experience is that the majority of institutions entering into foreign markets are low-end institutions whose main intent is extraction of profit through low cost programs in fields (like management) that are in high demand. They are unlikely to offer programs that require high-cost academic infrastructure. Top universities will come to enlarge their reach and enhance their reputation. They will prefer to enter into collaborative arrangements and set up research centers, but are unlikely to build full-fledged branch campuses.

Incidentally, Choudaha (2010) has grouped universities wanting to come to India in three categories. These are: (*i*) Prestige-enhancing universities (top research universities) that do not look at India as a source of revenue but are primarily interested in enlarging their global presence and prestige. (*ii*) Prestige-seeking universities (next-tier research universities) that seek entry in order to internationalize their brand, but also for revenue-enhancement. (*iii*) Revenue maximizing universities (generally ranking low in the quality hierarchy) that seek entry into India primarily to generate income. One may say that, the universities of the first category need to be welcomed, of the second category selectively encouraged and of the third category closely monitored and regulated.

The Indian open doors policy should concentrate, not on persuading prestigious foreign universities to establish campuses in India but focus on other means of internationalization like encouraging international student

mobility and developing academic partnerships. The inflow of foreign students can be promoted through short-term "Study India" and language programs tailored to meet the needs of foreign students venturing out under "Study Abroad" programs of their universities. Academic partnerships could relate to curriculum design and development, staff development, faculty exchange, joint research projects and joint- or dual-degrees. Hopefully, the open-door policy will evolve on its own.

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Beware of the Trojan Horse

Philip G. Altbach

Allowing foreign institutions to set up shop in India is not the only road to the internationalisation of Indian higher education.

India's Parliament is often accused of inaction or long delays. The case of the Foreign Education Bill, bottled up for two years because of disagreements in the ruling coalition government, may be a case where delay is a good thing. India's higher education policies are of crucial importance for the country and also of great relevance for the many foreign universities wishing to set up shop. The Indian press reports that 40 international universities have sought land from the government of Maharashtra in the Mumbai-Pune-Nashik area to establish campuses. These trends provide just one indication of the tremendous foreign interest in the large and lucrative higher education market in India. Some foreign universities are already working in India, mostly in collaboration with Indian partners.

India might be the world's largest single market for foreign universities. The country has a significant unmet demand for higher education access—currently only 10 per cent of the age group attends university—half the proportion in China and well below the rate in most rapidly developing and middle-income countries. Further, India has a huge unmet demand for high-quality higher education. The number of places available in India's very small top sector—the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutes of Management, and similar institutions—is tiny when compared to the demand. Thus, foreign institutions see a tremendous opportunity for lucrative growth in the Indian market.

Reasons for Caution

Some stakeholders who see higher education simply as a tradable commodity that can be bought and sold internationally favour opening borders without restriction for educational products of all kinds. The for-profit higher education companies, many private universities, the international testing companies, and increasingly some universities and government agencies in the exporting countries—such as the United Kingdom and the United States—have this perspective. People who are convinced that higher education is more than a commodity have much to worry about in the rush toward importing and exporting universities and academic programmes because the idea of academic work as preparation for citizenship, preparation for critical thinking, and similar "public good" goals often get swept away by the importers and exporters. The traders are interested in selling products in immediate demand, such as management studies, and not in sustaining research universities, enhancing access and equity for underserved communities, and the like.

Why do foreign universities and education companies such as Laureate Education Inc. wish to enter the Indian market? The motivations are complex but very important to understand. One goal is clear—everyone who enters the Indian market wants to extract profits—mostly by offering academic programmes in fields that are in high demand. With very few exceptions, foreign providers are not interested in investing in high-cost academic infrastructures such as science laboratories and research facilities. They wish to minimise the investment and maximise the profit, like any corporation. Some countries, including the United Kingdom and Australia, have a national policy to earn profits from higher education exports. Thus the British Council and similar organisations assist British educational institutions to maximise their export potentials. The British Council is no longer mainly in the information business but rather is focused on export promotion.

The United States differs in some respects but essentially follows the British and Australian pattern. The United States has no national higher education policy. Higher education policy is mainly a responsibility of the 50 states, and no state has declared higher education an export priority. Unlike the United Kingdom or Australia, the United States has a strong private higher education sector, and the private universities and colleges have been most aggressive about overseas exports. It is likely that the largest number seeking to enter the Indian market will include low-end private schools seeking to earn a profit.

The for-profit sector is also much stronger in the United States than is the case elsewhere. The two largest players are Laureate Education Inc. and the Apollo Group (owners of the University of Phoenix and other institutions). Laureate's strategy is either to purchase existing universities outside the United States (they own 29 universities and postsecondary institutions on three continents) or to establish new schools. Laureate started a university in Andhra Pradesh, a state friendly to foreign providers, but pulled out when the regulatory environment seemed too complex.

The top American private and public universities—20 percent or so of the total of more than 3,000 colleges and universities—have complex motives for entering the Indian market. For the most part, they are genuinely interested in internationalization, and see India as an important player, economically and educationally, in the 21st century. They are concerned with their "brand image" and wish to expand it in one of the world's major higher education markets. They may use their Indian outposts to recruit bright Indian students, and academic staff, to come to the United States for studying. Their Indian branch campuses will provide a place where their own students and faculty can study and do research. And, of course, in most cases the universities will seek to earn money from the programs offered in India.

The problem for India is the myriad of institutions at the bottom of the American academic hierarchy, both for-profit and non-profit. These players are likely to concentrate on entering the Indian market, with one essential reason for being in India—to earn money. While many of these institutions will offer respectable academic programmes, some will try to cut corners. Vetting and regulating these institutions will not be easy. There will be no help from the highly regarded American accrediting system. So long as an institution is accredited (and U.S. accreditation measures not high quality but rather the minimum standard), there are no official guidelines concerning institutional quality. These schools will offer the programmes in India that they feel will attract students and may well have little commitment to either a long-term presence in India or to maintaining good quality.

Branch Campuses

As India carefully considers its policies concerning allowing foreign institutions in the country, a number of central issues must be addressed. What is the motivation of the foreign institution? Is everything about the foreign branch transparent and open? What is the status of the foreign institution

in its own country? Is the foreign institution capable of offering the same quality in India as it does at home, and is that quality deemed of an acceptably high standard in the home country? Is the foreign institution able to deliver its programmes in India using its own faculty, and does it have appropriate infrastructures such as libraries, e-learning facilities, and laboratories to deliver the programmes it proposed? Is the foreign institution able to sustain its academic offerings over time in India?

Allowing foreign institutions to set up shop in India is not the only road to the internationalisation of Indian higher education. Twinning programs, joint degrees, exchanges of students and professors, sharing of curriculum, and other relationships are possible and more likely to ensure that essential Indian control over Indian higher education is maintained.

So far, India's main contribution to world higher education is the export of students, many of whom do not return. India needs to engage more with the rest of the world, but not at the expense of giving up academic sovereignty. Higher education is not, in the end, purely a commodity to be bought and sold on the international market. Higher education represents an essential part of a nation's patrimony and a key to future prosperity.

17

Towards Creation of World-Class Universities

The Hindu
October 23, 2008

Philip G. Altbach
N. Jayaram

The challenges facing the creation of world-class universities are daunting. The first step is to examine the problems and create realistic solutions.

The government will create 12 Central universities, adding to the existing 18. This is a mammoth undertaking, for which Rs. 3,280 crore (about $73 million) has been allocated from the budget. Earlier in the year, India announced that it would create 30 "world-class" universities, eight new Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), and seven Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) in the coming five years. On the recommendation of the National Knowledge Commission, the Centre is planning massive investment to upgrade and expand higher education. Other plans include enhancing the salaries of college and university academics—by as much as 70 per cent.

This prospect is welcome news since India lacks world-class universities according to international rankings, and Indian academics, compared internationally, are rather poorly paid. Students also suffer an immense shortage of places in top academic institutions and throughout the higher education system. India today educates only half as many young people from the university age group as China and ranks well behind most Latin American and other middle-income countries.

India exhibits a special problem at the top of its higher education hierarchy. With the notable exceptions of the IITs and the IIMs, and a small number of outstanding non-university research and training institutions—such as the All India Institute of Medical Sciences—top-notch schools are rare. Indeed, none of India's 348 universities is ranked among the top 100 in the world. Generally, when India wanted to innovate in the higher education sector, it has sidestepped the universities and started entirely new institutions such as the IITs.

However, if India invests large amounts of money and human capital in academic improvement and expansion without undertaking strategies to ensure that the investment yields results, resources will be wasted and failure assured. Despite a discussion on organising some of the new universities based on the American model, so far neither the funding nor the ideas seem adequate.

A newspaper reported an official as saying: "The view was that there should be no hierarchy or disparity in standards amongst universities, and the reforms and changes suggested for world-class universities should be applied to all universities." This attitude shows a complete misunderstanding that the American system institutes a significant hierarchy among the public universities.

Just pumping money and resources into a fundamentally broken university system is a mistake. Establishing new universities, especially those intended to be innovative, requires careful planning and an understanding of the weaknesses of the current system. Let us outline some of the problems that need fixing before resources are given.

Bureaucracy without accountability: India is famous for sclerotic bureaucracy, and higher education fits into that mould. Few decisions can be made without taking permission from an authority above, and the wheels of decision-making grind slowly. Fear of corruption or loss of control entrenches bureaucracy. Teachers and academic leaders at colleges and universities have little incentive to innovate higher education—indeed quite the opposite. It is completely impossible to build world-class universities in this bureaucratic context. If the new institutions must tolerate responsibilities to both the Central government and the States in which they are located, the bureaucratic burden will be completely overwhelming.

Location: Great universities need to be located on friendly soil. In general, the best universities worldwide are in or near major urban centres or in places with intellectual traditions and strength. While it is entirely appropriate to have a good university in each State, the idea of a truly world-class university (an institution that can compete with the best in the world)

in cities like Guwahati or Bhubaneswar is simply unrealistic. It would be extraordinarily difficult to attract top professors or even the best students, and the "soft" infrastructure, such as most cultural amenities, is missing. High-tech industry is also absent in these locations and would be difficult to lure. No amount of money will guarantee the establishment of a world-class university in such places.

The academic profession: Indian academics deserve higher salaries, and the move to dramatically improve remuneration is a positive step. It would be a serious mistake to simply give more money to the professoriate without, at the same time, demanding significant reforms in the structure and practices of the profession. Indian academics are rewarded for longevity rather than productivity, and for conformity rather than innovation. The most productive academics cannot be rewarded for their work, and it is almost impossible to pay "market rates" to keep the best and the brightest in the universities. World-class universities require a salary structure that rewards productivity.

Academic culture and governance: Indian universities are enmeshed in a culture of mediocrity, with little competition either among institutions or academics. Universities are subject to the whims of politicians and are unable to plan for their own future. Academics are seldom involved in their leadership and management. Bureaucracy governs everything and holds down innovation. Without essential and deep structural changes in the way universities are governed and in the culture of the institutions, there is little possibility for improvement. An additional challenge is that some of the world-class universities are to be created by improving existing State universities. This will be extraordinarily difficult since these institutions, with very few exceptions, are mired in mediocrity and bureaucracy, and are hardly amenable to change and improvement even with the carrot of additional resources.

Corruption at Many Levels

An element of corruption exists at many levels of the higher education system, from favouritism in admissions, appointment to faculty positions, cheating in examinations, questionable coaching arrangements, and many others. Damaging at all levels, corruption destroys research culture and makes a world-class university impossible.

Meritocracy at all levels: World-class universities are deeply meritocratic institutions. They hire the best professors, admit the most intelligent

students, reward the brightest academics, and make all decisions on the basis of quality. They reject—and punish—plagiarism, favouritism in appointments, or corruption of any kind. Much of the Indian academe, unfortunately, does not reflect these values. Some of the problem is structural. The practice of admitting students and hiring professors on the basis of rigid quotas set for particular population groups—up to 49 per cent—however well-intentioned or justified, virtually precludes meritocracy. Deeply ingrained in Indian society and politics, the reservation system may well be justified—but to have successful world-class universities, meritocracy must be the primary motivating principle.

Role of research: World-class universities are research intensive. All highly-ranked universities in the world exhibit this characteristic. India faces several problems in developing a research culture. It is fair to say that today no Indian university, as an institution, is research-intensive. India's universities can claim a small number of departments that have a high level of research—and many highly accomplished professors work in the system. And some institutions, such as the IITs and some non-university agencies like the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and AIIMS, produce impressive research and are respected internationally. The creation of a research-intensive university is mandatory to achieve world-class status.

Resources: Rs. 3,280 crore for the 12 new Central universities, plus the other impressive amounts announced for related projects, sounds like a lot of money. In fact, it is very inadequate. A world-class research university that can play in the best international leagues is an expensive undertaking—to establish and then to sustain. As an example, one large research-intensive new Chinese university cost around $700 million to build and has a total annual budget of close to $400 million.

Conclusion: The challenges facing the creation of world-class universities are daunting. Indeed, if India is to succeed as a great technological power with a knowledge-based economy, world-class universities are required. The first step, however, is to examine the problems and create realistic solutions. Spending large sums scattershot will not work. Nor will copying the American academic model succeed.

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Is Open Door in Higher Education Desirable?

Philip G. Altbach

Simply to throw the academic doors open would be a serious mistake. India, like other developing countries, needs a clear and transparent policy and regulatory framework.

If Union Minister for Human Resource Development Kapil Sibal believes he can get top quality foreign universities to set up shop in India quickly, he is mistaken.

The new Minister of Human Resource Development, Kapil Sibal, has promised to open India's doors to foreign universities and to promote private investment in higher education. Past policy has been sceptical of foreign involvement in Indian education. As India is about to embark on a new higher education direction, it is worth examining the likely consequences of the open door, based on the experience of other countries.

If Mr. Sibal assumes that foreign involvement will assist India to rapidly improve its lagging higher education system, he is quite wrong. With few exceptions, foreign higher education providers worldwide are engaged in making a quick profit by establishing programmes that attract high student demand and are inexpensive to start and operate. Worldwide, many of the foreign transplants are in information technology, business studies, and related fields. Most foreign providers are not top universities but are rather institutions at the middle or bottom of the hierarchy in their home

countries. Some have financial or enrolment problems at home and want to solve them with offshore ventures. And some are "bottom-feeders" who will provide a substandard educational product in India. A truly open door permits pests as well as welcome guests to enter. International experience shows that the "market" is slow to detect low quality—and there seems to be a clientele for poor quality in any case.

A few top universities will be interested in India for a combination of reasons—to earn money and also to introduce long-term relations, in the country, with the best Indian institutions—and to provide a base for recruiting outstanding Indian students and faculty.

Improvement through Foreign Involvement?

Some have argued that India's admittedly moribund higher education system will receive a needed dose of reform and upgrade from foreign transplants. This is a quite unlikely diagnosis. Thoughtful Indians know what is wrong with the system, and numerous high-level inquiries, including recently from the Knowledge Commission, have provided road maps for reform. Further, many Indians have experience in the best overseas universities and know how they work. Improvement will inevitably come from the inside and not from a few foreign institutions operating in India. Further, the foreign programmes will not be focussed on reforming Indian higher education but rather on successfully competing with local colleges and universities. Nor will the foreigners bring the full panoply of a complex and highly expensive university to India. Rather, they will bring specific programmes and facilities that will be profitable in India. Only when the host country pays the full cost, such as in the Gulf countries, do foreign universities establish full facilities and expensive programmes such as the Cornell University Medical School in Qatar.

Problems of Sustainability

If Mr. Sibal believes that he will easily get well-functioning, top quality foreign universities to set up shop in India quickly, he is mistaken. It is likely that some of the for-profit providers, such as Laureate and Apollo, will be most interested. These institutions, which have operated successfully in many countries, are not seen as prestigious institutions. University transplants frequently have experienced significant logistical problems. A challenge involves convincing professors and staff from the home campus

to teach abroad. Indeed, this ordeal often acts as the Achilles' heel of foreign providers, for in almost every case, they end up hiring local staff to teach. It may be sufficient for Indians to study in an ostensibly foreign institution in India taught by local professors; the students may end up with a foreign degree but not with much of an international experience. Just as important, if the foreign institution cannot earn a quick profit, it might well pull up stakes and leave or, alternatively, reduce costs by lowering the quality.

International Examples

India might study other countries' experience with foreign branch campuses and international collaborations. A few that have opened their doors wide with little regulation found that most foreign institutions entering the market were substandard. This represents Israel's experience. Lack of opportunity for access at home led the government to open the country to foreign providers. Most of the foreign institutions performed poorly and were marginal in their home countries. The door was soon closed again. The losers, of course, were the students who paid high prices for bad quality.

Most countries with a relatively positive experience involving foreign providers created a clear regulatory framework to control who could enter the market and the terms and conditions of operation. China, for example, requires foreign institutions to connect with a Chinese institutional partner and to receive government approval. Yet, some of the Chinese provincial and local authorities who approve foreign collaborations have made mistakes.

While Minister Sibal claims that other countries do not maintain strong regulators such as the University Grants Commission or the All India Council of Technical Education, this point of view seems not to be the case. Many countries have been run by strong regulatory regimes that have worked well. Singapore, with a largely successful history of foreign collaboration, stringently regulates foreign providers and has been willing to end the programmes, such as one with the Johns Hopkins University in the United States, which the Singaporeans felt was not living up to its promises. Ministries of education or their equivalents in South Korea, Japan, and some other Asian countries carefully regulate who can enter the local market and monitor performance.

Quality assurance has been a central concern, and few countries have solved that problem. Few countries can effectively monitor standards of their own universities, and foreign institutions do create additional challenges. American branch campuses are monitored by the U.S. accreditors,

which have found it difficult to fulfil this task. India's quality-assurance agencies do not function particularly effectively. Monitoring and evaluating numerous foreign transplants may be beyond the capability of the system.

What Can Be Done?

Minister Sibal is right that India cannot forever keep its academic doors closed. India, after all, constitutes an increasingly central part of a globalised world. However, simply to throw the doors open would be a serious mistake. India, like other developing countries, needs a clear and transparent policy and regulatory framework. What comprises the rationale for participating in global higher education? What institutions—and investments—from abroad are appropriate for India? What are the criteria for selecting, monitoring, and evaluating foreign institutions? Without answers to these questions—and the policy framework to go along with the answers—opening the doors will create long-term problems for India's academic system.

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The Global Academic Revolution: Implications for India

Philip G. Altbach*

Massification of higher education worldwide, the development of a global knowledge economy, the dramatic rise of private higher education, and the movement to establishing world class research universities in many countries are key global trends. Understanding how this "academic revolution" works, and how it affects different countries is a necessity. India, despite its large size and status as the world's third largest academic system, lags behind many countries in coping with the central forces of 21st century academe.

An academic revolution has taken place in higher education during the past half century, marked by transformations unprecedented in scope and diversity. Comprehending this ongoing and dynamic process while being in the midst of it does not form an easy task. Arguably, the developments of the recent past are at least as dramatic as those in the 19th century when the research university evolved, first in Germany and then elsewhere, and fundamentally redesigned the nature of the university worldwide. The academic changes of the late 20th and early 21st centuries are more extensive due to their global nature and the number of institutions and people they affect. In our view, four fundamental and

interrelated forces have impelled the current academic revolution—mass higher education, globalization, the advent of the knowledge society and the importance of research universities in it, and information technology. These forces have in turn created additional changes such as the rise of the private sector and privatization, the accountability movement including today's stress on measuring the outcomes of higher education, distance education, and others.

Now, in the early 21st century, the world is experiencing this revolution. Higher education has become a competitive enterprise. In many countries, students must compete for scarce places in universities, and in all countries admission to the top institutions has become more difficult. Universities compete for status and ranking and generally for funding from government or private sources. While competition has always been a force in academe and can help produce excellence, it can also contribute to a decline in a sense of academic community, mission, and traditional values.

The Phenomenon of Massification

Central to the reality of higher education in the 21st century is massification—the tremendous expansion of enrollments that has taken place worldwide in the past 30 years. The "logic" of massification is inevitable and includes greater social mobility for a growing segment of the population, a new pattern of funding higher education, increasingly diversified higher education systems in most countries, generally an overall lowering of academic standards, and other tendencies. Like many of the other main trends discussed here, while massification is not an entirely new phase, at this "deeper stage" of ongoing revolution in higher education must be considered in different ways. At the first stage, higher education struggled just to cope with demand—the need for expanded infrastructure and a larger teaching corps. During the past decade systems have begun to wrestle with the implications of diversity and to consider which subgroups are still not being included and appropriately served.

The United States was the first country to achieve mass higher education, with 40 percent of the age cohort attending postsecondary education in 1960. While some developing countries still educate fewer than 10 percent of the age group, almost all countries have dramatically increased their participation rates. Western Europe and Japan experienced rapid growth in the 1980s, followed by East Asia and Latin America. China and India, which enroll 20 percent and 10 percent of their age groups, respectively, are currently the world's largest and third-largest academic systems.

Their higher education systems will be expanding rapidly in the coming decades and may indeed account for close to half the world's enrollment growth.

Globally, the percentage of the age cohort enrolled in tertiary education has grown from 19 percent in 2000 to 26 percent in 2007, with the most dramatic gains in middle- and upper-income countries. There are now more than 150.6 million tertiary students globally, roughly a 53 percent increase over 2000. In low-income countries tertiary-level participation has improved only marginally, from 5 percent in 2000 to 7 percent in 2007. Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest participation rate in the world at 5 percent. In Latin America, enrollment is still less than half that of high-income countries. However, growth is taking place everywhere, with dramatic consequences.

Demographics will continue as a driving force for development and reform in the coming decades. The patterns and geographical scope will vary, but the basic thrust will remain. In 2008, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development identified several key demographic trends for the period to 2030:

- Student participation will continue to expand, as will higher education systems. Only a few countries will see a contraction in student numbers.
- Women will form the majority of student populations in most developed countries and will substantially expand their participation everywhere.
- The mix of the student population will become more varied, with greater numbers of international students, older students, part-time students, and other types.
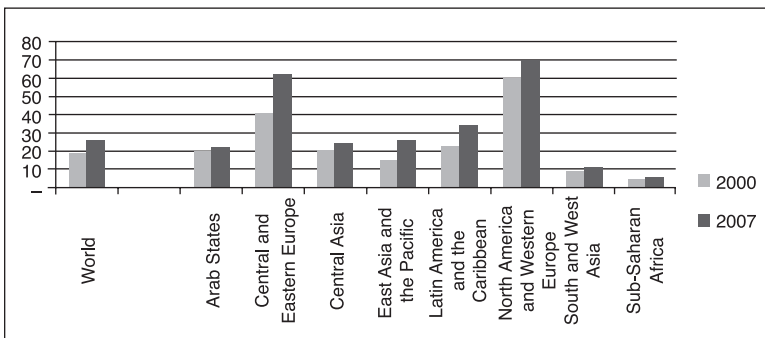
Figure 1. Tertiary Gross Enrollment Ratio, Percentages by Geographical Region, 2000 and 2007

Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2009.

- The social base in higher education will continue to broaden, along with uncertainty about how this will affect inequalities of educational opportunities between social groups.
- Attitudes and policies relating to access as well as the consciousness among disadvantaged groups will change and become more central to national debates.
- The academic profession will become more internationally oriented and mobile but will still be structured in accordance with national circumstances.
- The activities and roles of the academic profession will be more diversified and specialized and subject to varied employment contracts.
- For many developing countries, the need for ever-expanding numbers of university teachers will mean that overall qualifications, now rather low, may not improve much, and current reliance on part-time staff in many countries may continue (OECD 2008).

Globalization and Internationalization

Globalization, a key reality in the 21st century, has already profoundly affected higher education. In this report, we are concerned with how it affects universities. We define globalization as the reality shaped by an increasingly integrated world economy, new information and communications technology, the emergence of an international knowledge network, the role of the English language, and other forces beyond the control of academic institutions. Internationalization is defined as the variety of policies and programs that universities and governments implement to respond to globalization. These may include sending students to study abroad, setting up a branch campus overseas, internationalizing the curriculum, or engaging in international partnerships.

Universities have always been affected by international trends and to a certain degree operated within a broader international community of academic institutions, scholars, and research. Yet, 21st-century realities have magnified the importance of the global context. The rise of English as the dominant language of scientific communication is unprecedented since Latin dominated the academy in medieval Europe. Information and communications technology has created a universal means of instantaneous contact and simplified scientific communication. At the same time, these changes have helped to concentrate ownership of publishers, databases, and other key resources in the hands of the strongest universities and some multinational companies, located almost exclusively in the developed world.

For the "haves" in the developed world globalization on higher education offers exciting new opportunities for study and research no longer

limited by national boundaries. For many in the developing countries, the trend represents an assault on national culture and identity. It is undoubtedly both. At the very least, with 2.5 million students, countless scholars, degree programs, and even universities moving around the globe there is a pressing need for international cooperation and agreements. But such agreements, as is the case with the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organization and the implementation of common standards of quality assurance, may sow the seeds of deep inequalities because the established academic "powers" in Europe and North America tend to dominate debate and policy.

International student mobility is one of the central parts of contemporary higher education globalization. Mobility will increase, rising to more than 7 million students by 2020 according to some estimates. The flow of international students has been a reflection of national and institutional strategies—but mainly of the decisions of individual students worldwide. The overwhelming direction of mobility is from the developing world to North America, western Europe, and Australia and especially to the English-speaking nations. Asia is the major sending region. However, mobility within the European Union and increasingly among Asian countries is growing in importance. Globally, international student mobility largely reflects a South-North phenomenon.

Internationalization has been prominent at regional and international levels. The Bologna process and Lisbon strategy in Europe are the clearest examples of international engagement at this level, with the first drawing more than 40 countries into a voluntary process of enabling the creation of a European higher education area. This has become a reference for similar efforts elsewhere in the world (ENLACES in Latin America, development of a harmonization strategy in the African Union, and other initiatives).

The last decade has also seen a veritable explosion in numbers of programs and institutions that are operating internationally. Qatar, Singapore, and the United Arab Emirates stand out as examples of countries that have boldly promoted internationalization as a matter of national policy; they have recruited foreign universities to establish local campuses, with the goal of expanding access for local student populations and serving as higher education "hubs" for their regions. But for the world's poorest and most resource-deprived institutions, the opportunities to engage internationally can be extremely limited.

Inequality among national higher education systems as well as within countries has increased in the past several decades. The academic world has always been characterized by centers and peripheries. The strongest

universities, usually because of their research prowess and reputation for excellence, are seen as centers. African universities, for example, have found it extremely challenging and complex to find their footing on the global higher education stage. They barely register on the world institutional rankings and league tables and produce only a tiny percentage of the world's research output.

There is a growing tension around the center-periphery dynamic. Developing countries often desire world-class universities on par with the traditional universities at "the center." Today's mania for ranking academic institutions and degree programs adds to this tension. Institutional rankings favor universities that use English as the main language of instruction and research and have a large array of disciplines and programs and substantial research funds from government or other sources. These rankings have methodological problems, but they are widely used and influential and show no signs of disappearing.

The wealth of nations and universities plays a key role in determining the quality and centrality of a university or academic system. This places developing countries at a significant disadvantage and puts special strains on most academic systems facing the dilemma of expanded enrollment and the need to support top-quality research universities.

Inequalities in Access

Despite many policy initiatives in recent years, broader postsecondary participation has not benefited all sectors of society equally. A recent comparative study of 15 countries shows that despite greater inclusion, the privileged classes have retained their relative advantage in nearly all nations.

Providing higher education to all sectors of a nation's population means confronting social inequalities deeply rooted in history, culture, and economic structure that influence an individual's ability to compete. Geography, unequal distribution of wealth, and resources all contribute to the disadvantage of certain population groups. Participation tends to be below national averages for populations living in remote or rural areas and for indigenous groups.

A number of governments have put measures in place to increase access: Mexico's Ministry of Education has invested in the development of additional educational services in disadvantaged areas with some success: 90 percent of students enrolled are the first members of their family to pursue higher education and 40 percent live in economically depressed

areas. Initiatives in Ghana, Kenya, and Tanzania have lowered admission cutoffs for women to increase female enrollment. The Indian government obliges universities to reserve a set of spaces for disadvantaged caste, tribal, and other groups. There has been modest improvement, but participation of lower castes, rural populations, and Muslims continue to lag behind the general population. Brazil has mandated universities to reserve space for the disabled and for Afro-Brazilian students.

Even in countries where enrollment is high, inequalities persist: in the United States, participation rates for minority students continue to lag behind. Community colleges have made tertiary education more accessible, but research shows that the likelihood that community college students will continue on to a four-year degree is largely determined by the socioeconomic status of the student's family, regardless of race or ethnicity. The United Kingdom continues to be concerned about widening access, especially to its top universities.

Cost remains an enormous barrier to access. Even where tuition is free, students have to bear indirect costs such as living expenses and often loss of income. Scholarships, grants, and/or loan programs are demonstrating some degree of success but cannot by themselves remove economic barriers. Fear of debt tends to be a greater deterrent for students from poorer backgrounds. Income-contingent loan schemes (where repayment plans are tied to postgraduation earnings) have gained popularity in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa but are still more attractive to middle- and lower-middle-class students. Mexico has introduced loan programs that make the private sector more accessible to a broader spectrum of families. Chile has implemented a new loan program that targets students from low-income families

Teaching, Learning, and Curricula: Persistence and Pertinence

Access is more than "getting through the door." True progress depends on levels of completion for all population groups. Here data are scarce. But what is clear is that an increasingly diverse student body also creates pressure to put in place new systems for academic support and innovative approaches to pedagogy. Research shows how university teaching influences student engagement in the classroom. For example, Mexico has created new "intercultural universities" grounded in indigenous philosophies, cultures, languages and histories. Student diversity has also contributed to an

increase in the popularity of many professionally oriented programs and institutions, notably in the business and information and communications technology fields. In much of the world, however, the challenge of ensuring that today's diverse student population completes the academic programs and is prepared in terms of skills for a changing economy and labor force remains only partly fulfilled.

Quality Assurance, Accountability, and Qualifications Frameworks

Quality assurance in higher education has risen to the top of the policy agenda in many nations and has a growing international salience. Post-secondary education has to prepare graduates with new skills, a broad knowledge base and a range of competencies to enter a more complex and interdependent world. Agencies throughout the world are struggling to define these goals in terms that can be understood, measured, and shared across borders and cultures. Globalization, regional integration, and the ever-increasing mobility of students and scholars have emphasized the need for transparent quality assurance arrangements that can be understood across borders. The explosive growth of both traditional institutions and new providers—such as, distance learning based programs and private (including for-profit) colleges and universities—raises new questions with regard to standards of quality. Quite naturally, "consumers" of higher education (students, parents, employers) are demanding some kind of certification of institutions and the qualifications they award.

Although quality is a multidimensional concept, a pattern for evaluating higher education has been established in most of the world. In a break from the past, this new pattern tends to rely on peers rather than government authorities. Institutions are more often evaluated against their own self-defined mission than against an institutional model defined by a regulatory agency. In many cases, the regulatory function of many government and parastatal agencies has shifted to a validating role. An increasing emphasis is also being put on "outcomes" of higher education. Evaluators are looking for new data and indicators that demonstrate that students have mastered specific objectives as a result of their education. These new initiatives, many still in their early phases, are also linked to increasing emphasis on accountability. They will require considerable development because the accurate definition and measurement of educational outcomes are difficult, and neither the metrics nor the methodologies have been fully formed.

Financing Higher Education and the
Public Good/Private Good Debate

Higher education is increasingly viewed as a major engine of economic development. Government tax revenues are not keeping pace with the rapidly rising costs of higher education. The expansion of student numbers has presented a major challenge for systems where the tradition has been to provide access to free or highly subsidized tertiary education. In financial terms, this has become an unsustainable model, placing pressure on systems to fundamentally restructure the "social contract" between higher education and society at large. Parents and/or students are increasingly responsible for tuition and other fees. Even in western Europe, long the bastion of free public higher education, tuition fees are now part of funding postsecondary education in all but a few northern European countries.

Traditionally, postsecondary education has been seen as a *public good*, contributing to society through educating citizens, improving human capital, encouraging civic involvement, and boosting economic development. In the past several decades, higher education has increasingly been seen as a *private good*, largely benefiting individuals, with the implication that academic institutions, and their students, should pay a significant part of the cost of postsecondary education. Funding shortages due to massification have also meant that higher education systems and institutions are increasingly responsible for generating larger percentages of their own revenue. This debate has intensified due not only to the financial challenges of massification but also to a more widespread political inclination toward greater privatization of services once provided by the state. The growing emphasis on cost recovery, higher tuition, and university-industry links often conflicts with the traditional social role and service function of higher education. Some universities sponsor publishing houses, journals, theater groups, noncommercial radio and television stations, and in many other ways serve as key intellectual centers. These roles are particularly important in countries with weak social and cultural outlets and few institutions fostering free debate and dialogue.

Economic crisis, massification, and widespread acceptance of the private-good argument have led to a growing privatization of higher education worldwide, deterioration in conditions of study, problems for the academic profession, and the general impoverishment of academe. The austerity has been most crippling in sub-Saharan Africa, but it is serious throughout the developing world and countries in transition and has affected rich

countries as well. In response to these financial pressures, universities and national systems have sought solutions on the cost and demand side. The first—increasing class sizes and teaching loads, substituting lower-cost part-time faculty for full-time academic staff—are difficult, academically problematic, and heavily contested.

Policy solutions on the revenue side include cost sharing—generally associated with tuition fees and other "user charges." Tuition fees have been introduced in countries where higher education was formerly free or nearly so (China in 1997, United Kingdom in 1998, Austria in 2001, and others). Many countries, most notably in sub-Saharan Africa and in central and eastern Europe, have significantly increased charges for student living.

Some countries—notably Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Brazil, and others—have kept the public sector relatively selective and elite, shifting the burden of mass enrollments to private higher education.

The Private Revolution

The growth of private higher education worldwide has been one of the most remarkable developments of the past several decades. Today, some 30 percent of global higher education enrollment is private. Private higher education has existed in many countries for centuries and has traditionally been the dominant force in such East Asia countries as Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines and, of course, constituted a key part of the American higher education landscape, but it was a minor element globally. Now private higher education institutions, many of them for-profit or quasi for-profit, represent the fastest-growing sector worldwide. Countries with over 70 percent private enrollment include Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan. The private sector now educates more than half the student population in such countries as Mexico, Brazil, and Chile. Private universities are rapidly expanding in central and eastern Europe and in the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as in Africa. China and India have significant private sectors as well.

In general, the private sector is "demand absorbing"—offering access to students who might not be qualified for public institutions or cannot be accommodated in other universities because of overcrowding. While some selective private universities exist, in general the private sector serves a mass clientele and is not seen as prestigious. Legally for-profit institutions constitute a small higher education subsector, but there is notable growth in developing regions. The sector is run mostly on a business model, with

power and authority concentrated in boards and chief executives and with faculty holding little authority or influence. Students are seen as consumers.

A related trend is the privatization of public universities. In the United States, most of the great public research universities now receive under a quarter of their operating budgets from the state. They are expected to generate the rest from student tuition, research, university-industry linkages, the sale of university-related products, and other entrepreneurial activities and in many ways are privatized. Privatization of state universities is a new development in much of the rest of the world. Countries such as Australia and China have been explicit in asking universities to earn more of their operating expenses by generating their own revenues. In some cases, such financial sources contribute to the commercialization of the institution and conflicts with the traditional roles of the university.

Information and Communications Technology

It is obvious that academe is influenced or, some people would argue, transformed by the information and communications technology development. It has been said that the traditional university will be rendered obsolete by information technology, distance education, and other technology-induced innovation. The demise of the traditional university will, in our view, not take place. But major change is taking place, and it is one of the key parts of the academic transformation of the 21st century.

The Internet has truly revolutionized how knowledge is communicated. E-mail has become a ubiquitous means for academic interaction of all kinds. Electronic journals have become widespread and in some fields quite substantive. Traditional publishers of books and journals have increasingly turned to the Internet to distribute their publications. Examining the deeper implications of this trend reveals that it has exacerbated the division between "haves" and "have-nots." Some parts of the world, particularly Africa, remain relatively underserved by high-speed Internet access. South Korea and Singapore are at the forefront of countries providing access to high-speed Internet service.

The Academic Profession

The academic profession is under stress as never before. The need to respond to the demands of massification has caused the average qualification for academics in many countries to decline. It is possible that up to half of

the world's postsecondary teachers have only earned a bachelor's degree (in China only 9 percent of the academic profession have doctorates, 35 percent in India). This is especially the case in developing countries. In Latin America, up to 80 percent of academics are part time, with no security of employment or involvement with the university, and part-time employment is a growing trend elsewhere, including in the United States. In many countries, universities now employ part-time teachers who have full-time jobs at other institutions and are thus unable to give full commitment anywhere (e.g., China, Vietnam, and Uganda). The variation in academic salaries among countries is quite significant, contributing to a brain migration to countries that pay more. In many countries, academics are unable to live on their salaries and must moonlight. A recent study of academic salaries in 15 countries show that full-time academic staff can survive on their salaries but they do not earn much more than the average salary in their country (Rumbley, Pacheco, and Altbach 2008).

In terms of accountability and assessment, the professoriate has lost much of its autonomy. The pendulum of authority in higher education has swung from the academics to managers and bureaucrats with significant impact on the university.

The Research Environment

The three missions of the modern university—teaching, research, and public service—live in constant tension with each other. To the extent that they enjoy autonomy to develop their own plans and programs, universities must make hard choices in setting priorities and allocating resources, as do governments and other agencies responsible for system planning for higher education.

Research universities are at the pinnacle of the academic system and are directly involved in the global knowledge network. They require major expenditures to build and are expensive to maintain. Their facilities, including laboratories, libraries, and information and technology infrastructures, must be maintained to the highest international standards. Research production in key areas, such as information technology and the life sciences, has become extremely important to national development agencies as well as for the prestige of individual institutions. Government support for university-based research has increased in recent years in order to encourage work in such fields as biotechnology and informatics. In the European Union, the share of higher education expenditure on R&D spending has

increased consistently over the last few years. The government sector funds directly or indirectly 72 percent of all academic research in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries. The so-called triple helix of university-government-industry linkages has resulted in important organizational changes within the university. Special offices have grown and prospered and helped to generate new income streams for the university.

Intellectual property is a growing challenge in higher education but especially in research universities. Who owns knowledge? Who benefits from research? Universities, seeking to maximize revenues, want to protect intellectual property—research results that promise patents, licenses, and income. The topic often brings into focus the potential conflicts between those who produce research and knowledge and sponsors who may wish to control the knowledge and benefits that come from it.

In the developing world, scientific and technological research after World War II was largely a state-supported enterprise concentrated in government research institutes. This has changed quite radically since the 1990s with the downfall of the Soviet Union. The most revealing change, however, has taken place in China where the trend to fund university-based research is now more in line with the West. A number of other middle-income and developing countries are pushing forward ambitious agendas to raise the amount and quality of their research activities. In South Korea, the Brain Korea 21 plan of 1998 promoted the principle of selection and concentration of research efforts within the traditional top universities. In Latin America, university-based research continues to be concentrated in a few large-scale public universities. The Brazilian system awards some 10,000 PhDs and 30,000 master's degrees each year, a 300 percent growth in 10 years. Graduate programs are ranked in terms of their research productivity and financed accordingly.

The Implications for India

India is among the nations most dramatically affected by the trends identified here because it is at the beginning of the massification phase of academic development while at the same time its economy is growing rapidly. The strain and challenges for Indian higher education are evident everywhere. India hardly appears on any of the global higher education rankings while at the same time overall enrolment rates are well behind China and other middle-income countries. India provides higher education access to slightly more than 10 percent of its young people, while China enrolls

more than double that proportion, and most industrialized nations now educate 50 percent or more of the relevant age group. Further, India's non-completion rates are quite high. India lacks significant high-quality research-based universities at the top, while at the same time it has yet to provide access to those who demand it at the bottom (Altbach 2009; Altbach 2006).

The lack of selective high-quality postsecondary education at the top is of special importance as India seeks as the economy matures and ever higher skill levels are needed. The Indian Institutes of Technology and of Management, and a few other small and specialized institutions provide world-class education, but they are not research universities and they serve only a tiny number of students. The fact is that none of India's universities are of "world class" quality—and none have internationally competitive facilities. It is a testimony to the ingenuity and dedication of a small group of academics that India produces as many research articles and patents as it does. India needs perhaps 50 internationally competitive research universities if it is provide the highly educated personnel needed and the research output required for a modern economy. At present, with the exception of a few small and specialized institutions, the bulk of Indian colleges and universities have no clear mission. Only a few of India's 25,000 undergraduate colleges have specific goals or purposes. Its 480 universities are not provided either the resources or the mandate to build a distinctive and innovative profile. Clearly differentiated missions—and patterns of funding as well—are part of successful academic systems in other countries.

India simply does not spend enough on education in general and higher education in particular. Under 1 percent of GDP is spent on education—compared to the 5 percent recommended by many experts. Developed countries typically spend around 5 percent. If higher education is to provide both high quality at the top and mass access at the bottom, significantly more must be spent.

Accountability and quality assurance are considered central to any successful mass higher education system. India's arrangements are neither effective nor do they encourage quality. The affiliating system inherited from British colonialism was intended to ensure accountability and control of India's undergraduate colleges by university authorities, and has succeeded in putting most colleges into a highly bureaucratized and controlled environment that has impeded innovation and autonomy while maintaining basic standards and common policies. The universities, although they have some formal autonomy, are funded and generally under the control of the state governments. They have in some cases become politicized. Government

control is more concerned with satisfying bureaucratic rules than ensuring quality. The central government agencies responsible for supporting higher education—the University Grants Commission and the All-India Council for Technical Education, have been widely criticized for ineffectiveness and are being significantly transformed by the government. Quality assurance has been spotty and largely ineffective. India will need to build mechanisms to effectively deal with these issues.

Internationalization in its various manifestations is a key element of 21st century higher education. India, as one of the world's top exporters of students, is a significant contributor to internationalization—largely to the detriment of the country itself. However, India's colleges and universities are themselves largely insulated from current thinking about internationalization. Most have few meaningful formal overseas relationships or links. India is largely at the periphery of internationalization trends. However, significant changes are taking place. Foreign universities are increasingly interested in working with Indian counterparts because of India's rapid economic growth and higher education potential. Recent decisions by the central government to open India's higher education sector to overseas collaboration and institutions may mean change as well.

India has some advantages in the international arena. Its use of English for a significant part of the higher education system makes it easier to forge international links and participate in programs. A few Indian institutions have already established overseas branches or programs. The decisions of Indian students concerning study abroad are important globally since India is such a larger exporter of students.

India has a large private higher education sector that has traditionally been heavily subsidized by the state and tightly controlled by the public universities. The large majority of India's 25,000 colleges are private. But they are subject to university regulations on almost every aspect of their operation. And traditionally most have been subsidized. This situation is changing—there are now a number of private universities that are largely free of government control and receive no public funds. There are also a growing number of colleges that receive no public subsidy although they are affiliated to public universities and remain under their control. The unsubsidized private higher education sector is rapidly expanding—ensuring that it can serve a public purpose will be a challenge.

It is clear that India is affected by global trends. So far, there is little evidence that the country is seriously considering the lessons of the global academic environment or systematically creating an internationally competitive academic system.

Conclusion

We live today in the midst of a serious global economic crisis that will have repercussions in society at large and within higher education in ways that are not yet clear. Many countries and universities will experience financial problems with serious consequences in the short and perhaps the medium term, although the impact will vary worldwide and some nations will be affected less than others. The severity of the economic downturn is perhaps the major factor, but specific national and local policies will play a significant role as well. Current estimates indicate that certain of the least-developed countries will be most affected, in part because their universities have few resources or infrastructures to fall back on. The crisis is likely to have the following implications:

- Research universities are likely to see significant constraints on their budgets as governments will be unable to provide the resources needed for their continued improvement.
- In many cases, the priority will be to allocate funds to ensure that access to the higher education system is not dramatically cut. In countries where student loan programs exist, either in the public or private sectors, severe constraints on their availability to students may be implemented.
- The system will face pressures to establish or increase tuition fees for students.
- Cost-cutting practices at many universities will result in a deterioration of quality. More part-time faculty are likely to be hired, class sizes increased, and other savings implemented.
- "Freezes" on hiring, construction of new facilities, improving information technology, and purchasing books and journals are likely developments.

We are convinced of the centrality of the higher education enterprise globally and the need for strong, vibrant postsecondary institutions to support the knowledge economy as well as to provide the education necessary for social mobility and economic progress essential to societies across the globe.

The role of higher education as a public good continues to be fundamentally important and must be supported. We emphasize this because this aspect of higher education is easily neglected in the rush for income and prestige.

The multiple and diverse responsibilities of higher education are ultimately key to the well-being of modern society, but this expanded role adds considerable complexity and many new challenges. Understanding

the broader role of higher education in a globalized world is the first step to dealing constructively with the challenges that will inevitably loom on the horizon. The enormous challenge ahead is the uneven distribution of human capital and funds that will allow some nations to take full advantage of new opportunities while others risk drifting further behind.

Note

*   This Article is based on Philip G. Altbach, Liz Reisberg, and Laura E. Rumbley. *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution.* A Report Prepared for the UNESCO 2009 World Conference on Higher Education. Paris: UNESCO, 2009. http://www.unesco.org/tools/fileretrieve/2844977e.pdf.

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SECTION V

Publishing and Language Issues in India

Deconstructing the Imperium: Publishing, Language Question, and the Future of Indian Higher Education

Arvind Radhakrishnan

The veteran South African leader Nelson Mandela once remarked "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." The founding fathers of our republic had shared the very same vision when they saw higher education as an emancipatory tool that would lift multitudes out of the ignominy of being mired in ignorance and poverty. India is now fast emerging as an important player in world affairs and its future will be secure only if its higher education sector performs commendably. Many scholars have written and commented about the problems in Indian higher education; however, very few would match the dedication and tenacity shown by Philip G. Altbach.

Professor Philip G. Altbach's contribution to the cause of higher education in India is truly laudable. His association with this area is by no means an ephemeral one, lasting as it has for over 50 years now. He has been writing about issues related to Indian higher education since the 1960s. He has through his writings examined a plethora of issues ranging from research quality and funding to issues of access and publishing monopolies. The sheer ambit of his work would make the task of interpretation and classification an onerous one.

Professor Altbach has been concerned with the issue of language over the last few decades. The monopoly that the English language seems to enjoy in the Indian education system always perturbed him. Altbach (2007) in his paper "The Imperial Tongue: English as the Dominating Academic Language" highlights the dangers of this phenomenon. The international role of English and its steady domination of the academic world have many ramifications for the "peripheral" regions of Asia and Africa. English

language scientific and scholarly journals are nearly in all cases edited by academics in the main English speaking countries. This results in a "prescriptive" process whereby scholars from other parts of the world are more or less forced to conform to the research paradigms of these leading journals. This would effectively hamper the originality and creativity of other national scholarships. Even the Internet which is supposedly a more "open" source, the interests of the major contributors dominate and English is the most widely used language. One is almost obliged to pose a Spivakian question, "Can the subaltern speak?" Spivak (1985) was launching a scathing critique of the Western academy for its imperious attitude. Professor Altbach has posed similar questions in his assiduous research.

Another area that Professor Altbach was concerned about was the ability of major English speaking countries to dictate curricular trends. The United States seems to have succeeded the most when it comes to dominating the curriculum worldwide. Altbach gives us a very pertinent example when he talks about the international spread of the master of business administration (MBA) degree. The MBA degree had evolved in the United States to meet specific business needs in that nation. Now it has become almost mandatory for senior executives around the world to possess this qualification and the medium is nearly always English. This has become a raging obsession with most upwardly mobile Indians now. Many Indian universities offer their own MBA degrees using English and a curriculum largely derived from the United States. The curriculum is the corner stone of any academic discipline. The Indian educational system is woefully lacking when it comes to designing suitable and rigorous syllabi. Curriculum design ought to be the result of a dialogical process where ideas from all parts of the globe need to be integrated. However, when this dialogue is controlled by the English speaking "metropolis," it becomes detrimental to national scholarship. The result of the dialogue is already predetermined, as Dipesh Chakrabarty (1995) would argue "within a field of possibilities that is already structured from the very beginning in favour of certain outcomes."

Professor Altbach has sounded the warning bells when he alludes to a new world order when it comes to ranking scholarly and scientific work. He cites the example of the science citation index (SCI) which he says has become a de facto ranking system which universities worldwide acknowledge. These universities expect their professors to publish in these listed journals and reward those who are able to do so. Since English predominates in these ranking systems, academics who publish in their respective national languages suffer immensely. An English dominated environment, argues Altbach, would end up virtually decimating national scientific/scholar communities. Domestic publications that are highly relevant to

national needs may be sidelined or even ignored simply because they are not written in English. International recognition is now paramount for the ranking of knowledge and this will cause ambitious scholars to seek international publications in areas that are popular with leading international journals. This would come at the cost of neglecting certain topics that would be of local relevance. These may end up becoming "subjugated knowledges," a term used by Michel Foucault. Foucault (1980, p. 82) described such knowledges as "knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scienticity."

The plight of the Third World with regards to publishing is another area that Professor Altbach was concerned with from the very beginning. His early writings clearly reflect this. In his essay, "Scholarly Publishing in the Third World," Altbach (1978) highlights the infrastructural problems that plague publishing efforts in the Third World. The problems of distribution in markets that are small for scholarly works and that are dispersed across wide geographical areas were disseminated in great detail by Altbach. From low literacy rates and low higher education enrollment to limited purchasing power the Third World suffers immensely. Asia and Africa saddled with the legacy of colonialism which ensured that the medium of instruction was either English or French. This meant that a very small proportion of the population who understood these languages could access higher education. This virtually reduced the Third World to a state of infancy in comparison with the "developed" world. V. G. Kiernan's comments on the African experience of colonialism can be applied here to further substantiate Altbach's concerns.

> The notion of the African as minor took very strong hold. Spaniards and Boers had questioned whether natives had souls: modern Europeans cared less about that but doubted whether they had minds….A theory came to be fashionable that mental growth in the African ceased early, that childhood was never left behind. (cited in Nandy 1983, p. 15)

Professor Altbach also highlighted the fact that the bulk of funding for scientific projects is spent in the West. The publishing of such scholarly works is dominated by firms based in industrialized nations. Their entrenched position makes it difficult for indigenous publishers to thrive. This according to Altbach confines the Third World nations to the periphery of the world system of knowledge. He also highlights the role played by neocolonialism by which industrialized nations dictate a variety of policies ranging from foreign aid programs to restructuring of education policies. The situation has changed slightly in India with the emergence of numerous indigenous publishers. Altbach in fact mentions the National Book Trust

(NBT) for the seminal role it played in the production of basic literacy materials, textbooks, and works that furthered cultural and intellectual tastes. However, the situation of dependency continues to persist. He posits a solution by suggesting that universities start their own publishing divisions. He cites the long history of university publishing going back to 1478 when the Oxford University Press was established and the huge strides that the United States has taken with nearly every major university operating their own presses. This was an attempt to declare intellectual independence, as private publishing houses showed scant interest in publishing scholarly works. Indian universities are beginning to follow this model, though they still have a long way to go.

Professor Altbach's commitment to the cause of higher education and publishing in India has been unflinching. His writings have not only had a huge effect on policy issues, it has also created a new conceptual vocabulary for Indian scholars. His critical essays have sensitized us to the dangers of intellectual dependency and encouraged Indian scholarship to speak in voice that is now distinctly their own. Edward Said (1983, p. 29) spoke about the need for such critical writing, which ought to "think of itself as life-enhancing and constitutively opposed to every form of tyranny, domination and abuse, its social goals are non-coercive knowledge produced in the interests of human freedom." This is what Professor Altbach has succeeded in accomplishing. Indian higher education will need to overcome all these obstacles and forge a bright future for this nation. The very fact that we are seeking solutions, rather than be constantly embittered by the past or elaborately solaced by the status quo is an encouraging sign. For this we will forever remain grateful to Professor Altbach.

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20

Book Publishing in a Developing Regional Culture: The Case of Maharashtra, India

Philip G. Altbach

B ooks and other printed materials play an important role in the
Third World. They contribute to the growth and dissemination of
knowledge, they are often integral to the creation of an indigenous
political culture, and they are key to the growth and maintainance of lit-
eracy. Central to the issue of providing printed materials is the publishing
process.[1] Most of the rather limited attention paid to publishing in the
Third World has been focused on books in European languages, since these
languages remain the primary publishing languages of most Third World
nations. This article will consider the rather special problems of publishing
in an indigenous Third World language, since in the long run book pub-
lishing must expand in these languages. Metropolitan languages currently
serve only a small élite, and the large majority of the population is cut
off from knowledge communicated through these languages. In India, for
example, it is estimated that about 2 per cent of the population is literate in
English—the language in which approximately half of the books are pub-
lished and the language of the major newspapers and magazines. The overall

literacy rate is 39 per cent, low by the standards of industrialized nations but significantly higher than for English. Literacy in indigenous languages, however, is divided among more than fifteen major languages.

This essay seeks to examine publishing, and by implication knowledge distribution, in one of India's major regional languages, Marathi, the mother-tongue of 50 million people. The problems faced by publishers in these developing regional cultures are very different from those experienced by the metropolitan languages—and very little is known about them.[2] As literacy rates slowly rise, they increase mainly in indigenous languages, thereby creating a need for printed materials—and a market for them as well.[3]

Whether in industrialized or developing nations, the publisher co-ordinates the process of getting a book from an author to the intended audience. Not only do publishers co-ordinate a variety of technical roles such as editing, printing, binding and distributing books, but they also play a key intellectual role. In a sense, they are 'gatekeepers of knowledge' in that they decide what information will reach public attention.[4] Yet, publishing is an industry which does not require a massive input of financial resources, being 'intellectual-intensive' rather than capital-intensive. Yet, publishing presents a difficult challenge for the Third World. A successful publishing industry depends not only on the publisher, but on a host of factors over which he has no control. For example, literacy rates in the Third World are low, thereby limiting the market for books. Purchasing power is limited even where literacy does exist. Book distribution facilities, particularly retail book stores and other outlets, are very few. There is often a shortage of printing facilities, paper and even of ink. Often very few persons trained in the publishing process are available.

In addition, the history of colonialism weighs heavily on many Third World nations.[5] Publishing enterprises were in general established by Europeans, and thus their orientations are often Western in nature. Regional languages, which are keys to building an indigenous publishing industry, often receive a low priority. The language issue is central to understanding Marathi publishing. Subjects traditionally presented in the English medium—science and current events—continue to have considerable impact on the market, thereby limiting the scope for the expansion of Marathi publishing.

A Word on Indian Publishing

Established under British colonialism and dominated for many years by foreign firms and foreign norms, the controlling element of Indian publishing

remains the English-language houses, although these firms have all been 'Indianized'.[6] The large publishers located in Delhi, Bombay and to a lesser extent Calcutta and Madras dominate publishing in terms of established norms and orientations. Publishing in India is by now well established, and India is the eighth largest publishing nation in the world, and by far the largest publisher in the Third World. Indian books are used in other Third World nations, and the necessary infrastructures of printing facilities, paper suppliers, editorial expertise, and to some extent distribution arrangements (although distribution remains the weak link in Indian publishing) exist in the English-language sector of Indian publishing.

Publishing in India's fifteen regional languages is newer and less well established. Virtually all of the discussion of Indian publishing has thus far been concerned with English-language publishing, and thus relatively little is known about regional-language publishing. Regional-language publishing is growing and is very slowly coming to be an important element in the country's cultural structure. The proportion of books published in English has been modestly declining in recent years. For example, the total Indian reading public (in 1973) was approximately 77.5 million in all languages, with about 12 million literate in English. Of a total of 17,020 book titles published in 1972–73, 7,314 were issued in English. Thus, 43 per cent of the book titles were published for 16 per cent of the reading public (and 2 per cent of the total population). Marathi, which is the third largest publishing language in India, had 1,231 titles issued in 1972–73. This constituted about 7 per cent of the total titles published according to certain statistics (conflicting figures also exist). Hindi, the second largest publishing language and mother tongue of just under half of Indian population (but only about one-quarter of the literate population) accounted for 2,825 (17 per cent) of the book titles published. The inequality in publishing is evident from these statistics. Even the most developed publishing languages, such as Bengali, Malayalam and Marathi, suffer significant disadvantages when compared to English.

Not only are the regional languages at a numerical disadvantage, but the kinds of books published are limited in scope. Almost all books on advanced scientific subjects, whether in the natural or social sciences, are published in English. Most post-graduate textbooks and supplementary volumes are published in English. A large proportion of the books on current events are issued in English. The regional languages and Hindi have a disproportionate offering of books on religion, literature, cultural affairs, and popular novels and self-help books. Most school textbooks are now published in the regional languages, as are an increasing number of college

texts. But the books required for post-graduate study and for research work are still almost exclusively in English, even in fields such as sociology, which are in the process of shifting the medium of instruction to the regional language at the post-graduate level in many universities.

The Maharashtra Context

The state of Maharashtra provides a cultural and economic context which determines the status of its publishing industry. With a population of 50 million, Maharashtra is one of India's larger states. The official state language, Marathi, is the mother tongue of a large majority of the population. Marathi, which is Sanskrit based and written in the Devanagari script, has a long literary and intellectual tradition. Maharashtra was established in 1960, after a long struggle by the Marathi-speaking community to have a state based on the use of their language. Thus, the very existence of Maharashtra is a tribute to the commitment to Marathi language and culture as well as to other factors. Maharashtrians also have an important political culture, dating back to the leadership of Shivaji, who dominated much of central India in the seventeenth century. Maharashtrians have a reputation for industriousness, thrift, and a commitment to culture, reflected in the high level of literacy (50 per cent) and a flourishing educational system. Even on a world scale, Marathi is not an insignificant language. It has, for example, many more speakers than Dutch or Swedish, and is on a par with Italian.

Maharashtra is dominated by two centres: Bombay and Poona. Bombay, the capital of the state, has a population of over 8 million. It is a polyglot city which, although dominated by a Marathi-speaking population, includes large numbers of Gujaratis, Parsis, South Indians and others whose mother tongue is not Marathi. As it is the key commercial city in India, English is of continuing importance as the major language of commerce. The city's major newspapers are in English and the city's financial élite is mostly non-Maharashtrian. Bombay is also an important publishing centre. The University of Bombay, one of the oldest in India and one of the most prestigious, has chosen to keep most of its academic programmes in English rather than shifting to Marathi. Without question, Bombay dominates Maharashtra financially, commercially and industrially. It is the seat of the state government and contains many of the key intellectual institutions, both English and Marathi.

The other centre is Poona, the traditional seat of Marathi culture and power and still an intellectual centre of importance in the state. Several key

Marathi publishers and cultural institutions are located there, and the city, which has a population of about 1 million, has a lively cultural life. Unlike Bombay, Poona's intellectual climate is almost exclusively Maharashtrian, and the Marathi language plays a larger role. The rest of the state, with 75 per cent of the population, plays little role in its intellectual life and has few publishers or centres of culture. Indeed, the lack of bookstores and the limited number of libraries outside of Bombay and Poona, cause substantial problems for the growth of the publishing industry.

The orientation of Maharashtrian culture and the configurations of the state's intellectual and cultural life help to determine the nature of its publishing industry. Maharashtra's income level is one of the highest in India, but the city of Bombay accounts for a substantial part of this wealth. While the state has a fairly well-developed library system, with about 1,400 in all, most of the village libraries purchase few books. Perhaps 220 libraries try to keep fairly current in terms of book purchases of Marathi publications. While English-language readership tends to be concentrated in the cities and fairly accessible to the retail bookshops, Marathi readers are much more dispersed and more difficult to reach.

Marathi culture has a strong intellectual tradition, but this has been directed more at the theatre and literary magazines than towards books. The publishing industry has had to attempt to instil a book-consciousness in a population which is not used to purchasing books. In this sense, Maharashtra differs from Bengal and Kerala, where books have played a more important traditional role. In addition, those most able to afford books often prefer to purchase reading materials in English. In Maharashtra, many of these persons are not Marathi-speaking in any case. In general, there is more prestige attached to reading English than any Indian language. Thus, Marathi culture is for the most part middle-class and thus far has not emphasized books as a means of cultural or intellectual exchange.

The Scope of Marathi Publishing

Marathi publishing originated with a Christian missionary and the first book printed was a Marathi-English dictionary in 1805.[7] These beginnings are rather typical of publishing in many Third-World languages. Many of the early Marathi books served the spread of Christianity. Although a Marathi-speaking state did not emerge until 1960, political encouragement for literature in Marathi began in 1956, when a bilingual Bombay state was established. Cultural reformers of the late nineteenth century as well

as political and cultural nationalists of the twentieth century stressed, to some extent, the importance of Marathi as a medium of expression. Thus, Marathi journals and newspapers have existed in Bombay, Poona and several other large towns for a century or more.

Recent developments have provided a firmer base for intellectual enterprise in Marathi, but a significant contradiction exists. On the one hand, official policy has favoured the expansion of Marathi cultural and intellectual expression, but on the other the pressure to retain English is very strong. The establishment of a Marathi-speaking state was, of course, a key factor. Other elements which contributed to the growth of Marathi intellectual life—and also of publishing—including the following: central government grants of some 10 million rupees for fostering textbooks in Marathi, the gradual expansion of literacy in Marathi, the shift of most of the schools and many colleges and some universities to Marathi medium, the continued growth of the Marathi theatre, and the policies of the government of Maharashtra.[8]

There are also powerful pressures against the rapid growth of Marathi as the dominant intellectual language in the state. The desire of intellectuals to reach a wide audience, in India as well as abroad, militates against the use of Marathi. The fact that advanced education at the post-graduate level in most fields, especially the sciences, remains in English also influences authors. The almost complete domination of private-sector business and commerce by English maintains its status as the 'prestige' language.

While there are no firm statistics on the scope of Marathi publishing, it is possible to make some sound estimates. There are about 200 Marathi publishers, but only fifteen to twenty-five of these are classified as 'big' by most observers. And a 'big' publisher in Marathi issues only ten or more new titles per year. The large majority issue only a few titles annually and are primarily in other business—usually bookselling or distributing. Several English-language publishers issue a few titles in Marathi, but should probably not be classified as full-scale Marathi publishers. There are fewer than five fully professional Marathi publishers, with full-time editorial staff and a business which is primarily devoted to publishing books in Marathi. Thus, as several observers have pointed out, Marathi publishing is not professional in the established sense of the term. It remains an enterprise attached to other kinds of work. The entire ethos and operation of Marathi publishing is affected by this reality. Virtually no general (trade) publishers depend on book publishing for their primary source of revenue. However, there are a number of 'full time' publishers who focus on the production of textbooks and self-help publications.

Professionally trained personnel is rare in Marathi publishing. Most publishers are family firms which have only a few employees devoted to publishing, and these often have other responsibilities in addition to publishing. Relatively few Maharashtrian publishers seem to be involved in the professional publishing community in India; this has hindered the growth of an effective publishing infrastructure. A new Poona-based organization, the Marathi Prakashak Parishad (Marathi Publishers' Association), has recently been established and indicates a growing professional consciousness.

Most publishing firms tend to be very small, with an output of just a few titles annually. There is relatively little effort to distribute these books, and the printings are small. On the other hand, overheads are low and the publication of a single title is a relatively limited financial risk for most publishers. It is estimated that an average printing for a Marathi book, except for textbooks, is around 1,000 copies. Books often remain in print for a decade or more, and sell quite slowly. But since the numbers of books involved is limited, there are few efforts at careful cost accounting. The publishing operation is done on an avocational basis and there is less economic pressure to 'produce' quick profits—or in many cases, any profits at all.

The markets for books in Marathi are limited and rather specialized and the perceptions of these markets play a major role in determining what is published and in deciding on the size of editions. As with all books in India, libraries purchase most Marathi books. There are probably 200 public and state-supported libraries in the state which attempt to maintain a high level of book acquisition in Marathi. Most village libraries, which number around 1,000, probably account for relatively few book purchases. In addition, there are more than 700 colleges in Maharashtra, and some college libraries purchase a limited number of Marathi-language books. Such purchases are probably higher in rural and town colleges, which have expanded rapidly in recent years, since Marathi tends often to be the instructional medium in such colleges. But college library purchasing is normally limited and specialized to some extent.

It is widely assumed that scientific and technical books will have no market in Marathi, and that books in the social sciences will sell poorly. Publishers believe that most institutional as well as private purchasers prefer books in English on these topics. Sales statistics apparently support these perceptions, and as a result private publishers are seldom willing to publish any scholarly or technical books in Marathi. Publishers perceive the market for Marathi books to be in the areas of fiction, cultural commentary and criticism, religion, and to some extent in 'popular' books on current

political and social affairs. Curiously, books on poetry sell fairly well in Marathi. Titles selling over 3,000 copies in a year or so are considered 'best sellers'. Magazines have a substantial circulation in Maharashtra, although they are by no means as popular as in Tamil Nadu or Bengal. A number of publishers issue magazines and journals as well as books. Marathi writers have developed the essay to a high level, and magazines are good outlets for literary or political essays. Many of these magazines are published on an annual basis at the time of major holidays and are, in a sense, book-length collections of essays on a range of topics. The magazine format also has the advantage of including advertisements, which help to defray the costs of publication. It has been estimated that there are as many as 500 different magazines of this type, with circulations ranging from fewer than 1,000 to 6,000 or more. A few are regularly published, such as *Kirlosakars*, which sells about 20,000 copies per monthly issue, but most are less frequently issued and have smaller circulations. In a sense, authors are used to writing for journals and readers accustomed to buying them. It has been somewhat difficult for books to 'break into' a market dominated by the magazines and other cultural forms.

Distribution is probably the weakest link in the chain of Indian publishing generally, and it is an especially serious difficulty for the regional languages.[9] The numbers of book titles are limited and the topics on which Marathi books are published restricted; thus, booksellers have a difficult time making sufficient profits from Marathi books. The network of relatively efficient wholesalers which provide national distribution for books in English is by and large lacking for Marathi publications. In general, the distribution network functions best for books which provide the highest profits (imported books), and worst for volumes which are least profitable, the regional language publications.[10]

It has been estimated that there are approximately fifteen bookshops in Bombay and another twenty-five in Poona which carry a fairly wide selection of Marathi books. Beyond these few shops, it is extraordinarily difficult to obtain Marathi books without ordering them from the publisher. The smaller bookshops outside the major metropolitan centres generate most of their income from textbooks and from non-book items. Such bookshops as attempt seriously to provide some diversity of stock are geared mainly to serving the library market. As this market has been eroded by wholesalers who have attempted, with some success, to sell directly to libraries by offering better discounts, the retail bookshops have been placed under tremendous economic pressure. Booksellers, in part because their economic mainstay is not in selling trade books, take little initiative. Their selection

is very limited indeed, and they are reluctant to 'special order' books for individual customers, in part because postal rates for books are very high.

The distribution network produces a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty in the book trade. The failure of publishers to offer profitable discounts, to court the booksellers, and to provide them with information about their books means that the incentive to remain abreast of current books and to stock a good selection is very limited.

The economics of Marathi publishing are difficult fully to discern, but a few generalizations can be made. The investment per title is relatively small in most cases. It is estimated that an average of 8,000 to 10,000 rupees must be invested in a normal 250-page volume in a printing of between 1,000 and 2,000.[11] Printing costs for Marathi are somewhat lower than for English, primarily since much Marathi printing is done in Poona, where costs in general are lower than in Bombay. Marathi publishers almost invariably use poorer quality paper than is common for books in English, and hand-binding is universal. Since publishers employ few professionals and do little advertising or publicity, overheads are significantly lower than in English-language publishing in India. All of these economies permit lower production costs.

In addition, the discount structure for Marathi books is different than for English books, and this structure permits lower retail costs. The costing ratio for Marathi books tends to be 1:3, or setting the retail price at three times the actual cost of the volume. In English-language publishing, the ratio tends to be 1:4 or 1:5. There are lower discounts to booksellers and wholesalers—and thus lower profits for book distributors. This is but one reason for the relatively underdeveloped distribution network for Marathi books. Booksellers will naturally prefer to handle English-language books, since they make more money in selling them. Books in English command a discount of 40 per cent or more, while Marathi books are generally handled at a 30 per cent discount. The economic equation is, of course, complicated.

The economics of authorship in Marathi is also a problem for publishers. While the royalty rates tend to be similar to those in English, 10 to 15 per cent being standard, lower unit prices for books and small editions mean that authors do not earn much money. In addition, Marathi books take a very long time to sell, and thus payment is spread. Most authors who write in Marathi are also capable of writing in English, and some prefer English simply because it is more remunerative. In many cases, authors who are not well established command even lower royalties or their work is purchased on a flat-fee basis by publishers. There is the perennial problem in Indian publishing of late payment of even these modest royalties. It is

probably fair to observe that authorship, like publishing itself, is something of an avocation, a 'labour of love' rather than a serious professional undertaking. The situation for a few authors has recently improved to some degree. The establishment of several literary prizes, the sale of translation rights, and in a few cases fees paid by recording firms and copyright earnings from performances have all added to the incomes of a small number of well-known Marathi authors.

Several innovative Marathi publishers have attempted to use alternative means of selling their books, but with limited success. Several book clubs have been started in recent years as a means of circumventing the distribution apparatus, lowering prices to readers, or providing the publishers with a means of guaranteeing sales. The oldest book club in Marathi is sponsored by Popular Prakashan, one of the larger Marathi publishers which also has a large English-language publishing enterprise, a printing press, and several bookshops. The Bombay Book Club offers about 600 titles to its 2,000 members.

A more recent development is the Readers' Movement (Granthali), which was founded by several Marathi authors. Their aim is to publish a limited number of titles per year for members. While it is too early to judge the success of this effort, about five books have been published in editions of about 2,000 copies and offered to members at about 5 rupees per copy and to the general public at 10 to 15 rupees. The Granthali, as a volunteer effort of committed authors, has little overhead, so it is difficult to judge the book club by the usual economic criteria. It does indicate, however, that there is a consciousness about the prices of books and the means of distribution among at least a few writers and journalists. An early effort at efficient book distribution was the Marathi Grantha Prakashak Sabha, a publishers' co-operative which attempted, without dramatic success, to improve book distribution channels. In addition, several publishers, at present most notably Continental Prakashan of Poona, use their own vans to distribute and sell books in rural areas.

Government Involvement

Government initiative and participation is an important element in Third World publishing, and the situation in Maharashtra is no exception. For example, the decision several years ago to 'nationalize' textbook publishing at the school level had widespread and deep implications for private sector publishing. One of the major and most remunerative markets for books was

immediately removed. The school text market was especially important in that it could guarantee a fairly quick return on investment and distribution networks were well established. Government policy was aimed at reducing the cost of books and at ensuring greater control over both the production and writing of texts. But one of the implications was severely to cripple private sector publishing. Without the relatively lucrative text market, private publishers could not bring out significant numbers of general books.

Several government agencies are concerned with book publishing and distribution. The Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture has a broad responsibility for the 'general stimulation of Marathi culture and literature'. The University Textbook Committee has a more limited responsibility for the production and distribution of textbooks, mainly at the post-secondary level. A grant of 10 million rupees to the Textbook Committee was made by the central government and this permitted the substantial development of textbooks. Maharashtra was able to use its grant (a similar amount was provided to each state) fairly effectively.

The coordinating agency for book development is the Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, with its headquarters in Bombay. Founded in 1960, the board has wide responsibilities, including the general stimulation of Marathi culture and literature, book publication in fields of culture, language, sciences and the arts, and preparation of key reference books in Marathi.[12] The major project of the board has been the sponsorship of a twenty-volume Marathi encyclopedia, patterned after the *Encyclopedia Britannica.* Eight of the projected twenty volumes have so far been published. In addition, the board has sponsored several other reference projects, with the aim of providing Marathi readers with access to a world knowledge base. The board has sponsored the translation of major world classics into Marathi. Many of these volumes are published by private publishers with subsidies from the board. The board pays for the translations and subsidizes the printing costs so that the selling prices are modest. The board also sponsors the preparation of books in the applied sciences and in practical areas. Volumes on radio repair, elementary physics, and similar topics are published under board auspices.

The board assists private publishers through its subsidy programmes. Its annual budget of approximately 2.5 million rupees has permitted the publication of about a dozen new titles each year. Other books are partially aided by board funds. Most of the editions are fairly small, similar to commercial presses, but occasionally books are published in larger numbers. The board also assists authors by providing opportunities for translation and for subsidized writing. The encyclopedia project has involved a large number

of Maharashtrian intellectuals. The overall impact of the board on Marathi publishing is not very large, but it has assisted in the publication of over 100 volumes which probably would otherwise not have been published.

Another government body, the Maharashtra University Textbook Production Board, which has been funded through the University Grants Commission for the most part, has undertaken the publication of college and university-level textbooks and supplementary materials in the sciences and social sciences. Most of the books are originals, but some are translations from English. These volumes are published by private firms with financing from the university board, are distributed through normal commercial channels. In the past seven years, this programme has published more than 160 volumes. Authors benefit since they are paid standard book royalties of 15 per cent.[13]

While it is difficult to evaluate the overall role of government in Marathi publishing, it is possible that the single act of nationalizing school-level textbooks was a blow so damaging to private publishers that all of the other assistance provided has not made up for it. None of the government initiatives have been directly aimed at helping the private publishing sector.

Conclusion

Marathi publishing has, over fifty years, succeeded in establishing itself as an integral part of the Maharashtrian intellectual scene. Basic infrastructures exist; there are printing facilities, a minimal distribution network, and a number of publishers (and others) willing to take the risk of issuing books. The potential for further development is, without question, quite strong. As levels of literacy rise and as the middle class grows and expands from the larger towns and cities to smaller towns in the State, and as the centres of intellectual life gradually shift from English to Marathi (and the other regional languages), there will be a larger market for books. And there will be a much more urgent need for them. The current shift of the medium of instruction in the schools to Marathi, especially outside the urban areas, is especially significant.

Despite these long-term prospects, most observers of the book trade are not very optimistic about the immediate future. The performance of the publishing industry to date has been mixed. Although it has established itself against considerable odds, there is a lack of professionalism and a very serious problem of book distribution. A few publishers possess reasonable expertise, and a few have played an active—and sometimes a leading—role

in Marathi intellectual life, but most cannot be considered to have an important function in these areas. The role of government has been ambiguous and the intellectual community itself looks in different directions at once. There is little book consciousness, and not much has been done to develop it.

Marathi, like other Third-World languages, finds itself in a triply peripheral position. Not only is Marathi a small language on the world scale, but it also functions in a 'society of scarcity', where the technologies of printing, book distribution, and the like are not as yet very well developed. Book technology, in relation to the purchasing power of the public, is expensive. Further, literacy rates are fairly low and much of the population is excluded from printed material for this reason. Finally, Marathi functions in a national and international market dominated by English. In India, English-language publishers and multinational firms dominate the scene. The large Delhi and Bombay firms have the most professional operations; they set standards for regional languages publishing, often to the detriment of the indigenous languages. They have a major role in book imports and exports, a critical element of the book trade. They dominate such elements as copyright policy, wholesaling, and distribution networks. They are able to siphon off the best talent, in terms of publishing expertise and also authors, and they are better able to obtain commercial financing.

Thus, Marathi publishing functions within concentric circles of disadvantage. It is not part of the international publishing network dominated by the industrialized nations using 'world' languages such as English, French, and to some extent German and Spanish. These nations control the international book trade, have dominated copyright arrangements, and have determined book pricing and distribution practices. Marathi publishers are also at a disadvantage in the context of Indian publishing, which is controlled to a considerable degree by English and to some extent Hindi firms. And Marathi publishing functions in the context of a poor and only partly literate regional culture. That publishing in Marathi has developed as effectively as it has is itself impressive. The basis for a viable publishing industry now exists and is contributing actively to Maharashtrian intellectual and educational life. The period up to the mid-1970s can be seen as that of the development of an infrastructure. While it is not clear that a 'take-off' point has been reached, the industry now has the basic facilities it needs.

It may be appropriate to conclude this essay by raising a basic question concerning the publishing industry in the Third World. This analysis, written by a sympathetic observer of the Indian scene, is based on implicit assumptions concerning the nature of publishing, books and the

distribution of knowledge. These assumptions are Western in nature, and reflect the historical development of publishing and knowledge distribution in Europe and North America. They are also the assumptions on which the Indian publishing industry is based and which virtually all Indian publishers share today.

Among these assumptions are ideas about the nature of a book in terms of paper quality, printing excellence and design. We assume that books must be professionally edited and distributed through networks familiar in Western terms. We assume that books, in general, must 'pay their own way' in terms of earning a profit or at least not losing money for those producing them. We assume that the book is the logical means of communication rather than magazines, pamphlets, etc. And we assume that print media are the basic form of communication.

Many of these assumptions are justified, but it may be useful to step back from established practice and think about other models. Some alternative examples do exist: in the Indian context, a highly successful co-operative publishing house owned by Malayalam authors in Kerala, the Sahitya Pravartaka Shakarana Sangam, is based on somewhat different basic assumptions. In Nigeria, the emergence of self-publishing ventures aimed at a popular audience represent another publishing alternative. Soviet book policy is also based on assumptions somewhat different from general Western concepts, in that less stress is placed on economic returns and more on political and social uses of knowledge.[14] And even in the United States, a new trend towards 'alternative' and self-publishing exists side by side with the take-over of publishing companies by large multi-purpose corporations.[15]

Notes

1. General issues of publishing in the Third World have been considered in Philip G. Altbach, *Publishing in India: An Analysis,* Delhi and New York, Oxford University Press, 1975; Philip G. Altbach, 'Literary Colonialism: Books in the Third World', *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 45, May 1975, p. 226–36; and Philip G. Altbach and Keith Smith, 'Publishing in the Third World', *Library Trends*, Vol. 26, Spring 1978, p. 449–600 (special issue).
2. This study is based largely on interviews with approximately fifty individuals directly involved with publishing in Maharashtra, by a consideration of the limited literature available on the subject, and by observation of Marathi publishers. Without the assistance of the Marathi publishing trade, this discussion would have been impossible. I am indebted to these busy individuals who freely gave of their time. I also appreciate the comments of Ramdas Bhatkal, Sadashiv Padhye and Sheila Slaughter on an earlier draft.

3. See: Datus Smith Jr, *A Guide to Book Publishing*, New York, R. R. Bowker, 1966; and Ronald Barker and Robert Escarpit (eds.), *The Book Hunger*, Paris, Unesco, 1973 for detailed considerations of the problems of Third-World publishing.

4. Lewis A. Coser, 'Publishers as Gatekeepers of Knowledge', in P. G. Altbach and S. McVey (eds.), *Perspectives on Publishing*, p. 17–26, Lexington, Mass., D. C. Heath, 1976.

5. For further discussion of these matters, see Keith Smith, 'Who Controls Book Publishing in Anglophone Middle Africa?', in Altbach and McVey (eds.), op. cit., p. 129–40; and Altbach, 'Literary Colonialism', op. cit.

6. See Samuel Israel, 'The Colonial Heritage in Indian Publishing', *Library Trends*, Vol. 26, Spring 1978, p. 539–53; and Philip G. Altbach, *Publishing in India*, op. cit.

7. The only full discussion of the history of Marathi publishing is A. H. Limaye, *The Nature of Publications in Marathi: Motivation and Tradition*, Poona, Prasad Prakashan, 1972 (in Marathi).

8. It should be noted in this regard that at least one Maharashtra government policy, the 'nationalization' of school textbook production, removed a lucrative market for private sector publishers and materially weakened the book trade in the state.

9. See Altbach, *Publishing in India*, op. cit., p. 48–53. See also Arthur Isenberg, 'Toward Better Book Distribution in Asian Countries', *Indian Book Industry*, August–September 1970, p. 35–55.

10. Interview with P. C. Manaktala, Bombay, 8 October 1977.

11. The investment necessary for a book published in English would be about 25 per cent higher, due to higher overheads, a different discount structure, somewhat more expensive printing costs, and the use of more costly paper and binding.

12. For a discussion of the board's programmes, see Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, *Objectives, Programmes, Progress,* Bombay, Government of Maharashtra, 1976.

13. Interview with Kulkarni, Continental Prakashan, Poona, 10 October 1977.

14. See Gregory Walker, *Soviet Book Publishing Policy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978.

15. See Bill Henderson (ed.), *The Publish It Yourself Handbook: Literary Tradition and How-To*, Yonkers, New York, Pushcart Book Press, 1973.

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'Neocolonialism' and Indian Publishing

Philip G. Altbach

India, as one of the critical 'Third World' countries, has received a good deal of attention from the major powers. One of the areas of this attention is its intellectual and academic life. The broader implications of this influence have been discussed elsewhere, (including Philip G Altbach, "Education and Neocolonialism: Some Facts," *United Asia*, May–June 1970). The publishing of books and the support of journals plays an important role in the impact of wealthy nations on poorer areas and this aspect deserves special attention. These notes, however, are far from comprehensive and are intended mainly to stimulate thought on this key aspect of Indian scholarly and intellectual life. For a general overview of Indian publishing see Samuel Israel's recent article in *Quest* (January–February 1971).

A number of journals published in India receive direct or indirect support from foreign governments or interests which may have some role in shaping their policies. The journals supported until recently by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, *China Report* and *Quest*, are examples of non-Indian financial subsidies to Indian publications. Of a different nature and somewhat beyond the scope of this article are magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek* which have a wide circulation in India and clearly represent, rather broadly, a particular political stance. It has often been said that some Indian-run magazines receive subsidies, either directly or through such means as advertisements. *Link*, which is generally associated with pro-Soviet views, has

been rumoured to receive outside financial support and its pages contain large advertisements from Eastern European and Arab governments and semi-official agencies.

While there is probably no way to eliminate foreign subsidised journals within the limitations of a commitment to freedom of the Press, the impact of this fact should be understood. Not only are the views of foreign governments often expressed in Indian journals without attribution, but such magazines as *Time* and *Newsweek* may hinder the establishment of more comprehensive Indian publications in this general area.

Of more importance to Indian academic and intellectual life are the various publishing programmes of foreign governments in India, primarily the American programmes which are the most pervasive. Other countries also are involved in the publication and distribution of books in India. Soviet books, usually of a technical nature but on political themes as well, are available at greatly reduced rates. In addition, the Peoples' Publishing House, which is controlled by the CPI, publishes books by Soviet authors. The British Council distributes books in India and also sponsors cheap editions of standard texts and classics which are available to students. Few of these books are on political themes.

There are basically two US programmes which affect publishing, the joint Indo-US textbook programme and the general book subsidy efforts of the US Information Service in India. The textbook programme is better known. Hundreds of book titles have been published under the textbook programme by various Indian publishers in most academic disciplines, although with an emphasis on the sciences. The basic idea is that Indian Students should have available inexpensive editions of textbooks originally published in the United States. The actual selection is done by an Indo-US Board, made up mostly of officials of the US Government and of the Indian Ministry of Education. The programme is financed through American PL 480 funds and the books issued are sold at a fraction of their US cost and at a lower cost than unsubsidised Indian textbooks.

Laudable as some of the aims of this programme are, a number of negative implications result from it. Of perhaps most importance, the programme inhibits the writing and publication of books in areas in which an American subsidised book exists. Indian publishers may find it difficult to compete with a subsidised book priced at eight or ten rupees when their own volume would cost double this amount. Indian scholars might also be inhibited for much the same reason.

In the sciences, where the relevance of the material differs little according to national setting, there might be relatively fewer objections to the

Indo-US textbook programme, but even in this area American books might not be suited to the syllabus of Indian universities, to local laboratories or to the specific needs of Indian students. The problem is rather more serious in the social sciences, where national situations do matter and in which the bias or approaches of the authors are quite important. The difficulty for an Indian-written text in sociology, for example, in competition with an American book in the Indian market is a serious problem. It means that Indian students will learn American sociology with the ideological and geographical emphases of most US sociology textbooks. The same situation applies to other fields such as political science and education.

Thus, the Indo-US textbook programme has the result of inhibiting Indian textbook writing and publishing and also tends to limit some kinds of research. The programme creates an orientation in Indian universities toward US curricular and other models and it infuses US ideological assumptions into Indian academic life. Furthermore, many of the texts selected are out of date and no longer in use in the US. This means that Indian students get outmoded knowledge which is also at times of limited relevance to their situation.

The second aspect of American participation is even more serious. This is the subsidy of individual books of a general nature which are published in India and neighbouring countries. In the Near East and South Asia alone, a total of 2,000,000 copies of 511 books were published in the year ending June 30, 1969. The books selected are simply given to various Indian publishers by the US Information Service, with no screening by any Indian agency, and are subsidised by as much as 80 per cent of the cost of publication. The Indian publisher is free to sell the books as he sees fit, or even to throw them away. There is no indication in these books that they are subsidised by the United States Government. The choice of the books is significant. Many of the books are authorised (and uncritical) biographies of American leaders, from Abraham Lincoln to Richard Nixon. Others are scholarly studies or commentaries on various subjects which reflect a generally pro-American or at least an anti-communist viewpoint. Titles such as Douglas Pike's book on the Vietcong, Max Lerner's "American Civilisation" and others are typical of this programme.

This USIS publishing effort has many negative aspects. Material financed by the US Government and deemed to be favourable to it is published in India without any indication of the source of the subsidy or the origin of the material. Thus, propaganda and educational material of the US Government appears in fairly substantial quantities on the Indian market without attribution or label. The low prices of these books may give them

an added circulation although it seems that the irrelevance of many of the US sponsored books and the indifference of the publishers limits the sales. There is no doubt that the printing of these books uses up a share of scarce publishing resources and perhaps foreign exchange as well.

The implications of foreign neocolonialism in Indian publishing are not of direct importance in any major way. Yet, those in India concerned with higher education, with intellectual life generally, and with a growing but still fairly unstable publishing industry should give some thought to this matter. Is it advisable to have an important aspect of higher education—textbooks—influenced to a substantial degree from outside the country? Do the advantages of having inexpensive books available to Indian students outweigh the foreign orientation and other disadvantages involved? Should not foreign propaganda distributed or sold in India be clearly labelled as such?

This note raises more questions than it answers, since decisions concerning textbooks and publishing involve complex issues of freedom of publishing and intellectual inquiry as well as of the allocation of resources. Yet, it seems that steps should be taken to raise the intellectual level and the commercial viability of Indian textbook and other scholarly publishing, and to provide some clear guidelines in this area. Without development of the infrastructures of intellectual life, including an independent and efficient publishing industry, improvement of education and of intellectual thought generally will prove difficult.

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Publishing in Developing Countries: India as a Case Study

Philip G. Altbach

Introduction

India is not a paradigm for all Third World countries, nor are India's experiences directly applicable to other nations. Yet India serves as an excellent case study of publishing in developing countries. It has a long history of indigenous publishing and today has one of the largest publishing enterprises in the Third World. India possesses all of the necessary pre-conditions for publishing—a large printing industry, editorial competence, paper manufacturing, and a network for the distribution of books. Indian publishing functions both as private enterprise and as part of the public sector, an experience common to many developing nations. The central government constitutes the largest single publishing agency in India while private sector publishers are together the largest and most innovative segment of the publishing enterprise. Indian publishing serves markets in both a 'colonial' language, English, and a variety of regional languages. In this study, the focus will be mainly on publishing in English, for while there is a growing publishing effort in the regional languages, most scholarly publishing is still done in English.

India is atypical among developing nations in many respects. It is a vast nation with a varied ethnic and linguistic mix. In its urban sector, India is more advanced in industrialization, education, literacy, and culture than most Third World countries. A generation has passed since Independence, and India has had a chance to create its own distinctive institutional arrangements. Even with these atypical elements, however, India constitutes a useful case study.

UNESCO statistics indicate that India is among the world's largest publishing nations and that it ranks about eighth in terms of numbers of titles published annually. (This rank may have fluctuated somewhat in recent years since India's book production has not been consistent.[1]) The statistics concerning book production in India are significant in understanding the publishing enterprise. Figures from the National Library show that in 1972–3, a total of 17,020 titles were published as compared to 14,480 a year before.[2] In 1964, 46 per cent of all books printed in India were in

Table I
Statistics on Book Production in 1972–3: Language of Publication

*Total**	17,020
English	7,314
Hindi	2,825
Marathi	1,231
Bengali	1,053
Gujarati	697
Tamil	689
Malayalam	617
Telugu	576
Oriya	488
Punjabi	353
Urdu	323
Kannada	285
Assamese	282
Sanskrit	176
Other Languages	91

* Number of titles
Source: National Library, Calcutta.

English.[3] This proportion has dropped somewhat in recent years, but book titles in English outnumber the leading competitor, Hindi, by almost three to one. The following table indicates the status of the regional languages in book production.

English dominates written expression and, in a sense, intellectual life in a manner disproportionate to its numerical strength in the population. About 30 per cent of India's population is literate, and 2 per cent is literate in English; the total reading public in 1966 was about 77,500,000 in all languages, with approximately 12,000,000 literate in English.[4] Despite these statistics and a campaign by the government and many intellectuals to stress Hindi and the regional languages, English maintains a virtual monopoly on book production in scientific and scholarly fields. Even fields such as politics and current affairs are greatly dominated by English language publications.[5] English owes its position to the historical circumstances of colonialism, in part to the linguistic bifurcation of the sub-continent, and to the use of English in the educational system. While the situation is changing in that English is being rapidly displaced as the key medium of education, at present it remains the strongest language for many kinds of published material. While it is not possible to discuss the implications of the roles of English and the regional languages in India's overall development, there is no question but that English at present occupies the dominant position.

Publishing statistics are naturally influenced by rates of literacy, the educational system, and other matters. Despite the fact that India's overall production of book titles is quite large, the per capita publishing figures fall significantly below the world average, reflecting both the nation's poverty and its low rate of literacy. In 1963, the world average was 127 titles published per million population. In Asia, the average was 48 titles per million, and in India only 27 titles per million population.[6] The total book production per million in India is also low—the consumption of pages per person is only 32 annually, or the equivalent of one pamphlet per individual. Comparable figures for the consumption of books from industrialized nations go as high as 2,000 pages per person per year. In 1972, India's overall literacy rate was about 30 per cent, but the urban population was 56 per cent literate. Even more significant is the fact that 67 per cent of the population of the state and national capitals is literate.[7]

The print runs per title in India are low—well below the international average of 13,000 (1963). The average printing for a scholarly or general book in English is probably not much higher than one or two thousand copies, and in some of the regional languages it is even lower.

The kinds of books published in India are also somewhat different from other countries, particularly industrialized nations, and perhaps reflect some of the emphases of the society. About 35 per cent of books published are in the social sciences and only about 10 per cent in the pure and applied sciences. By comparison, 54 per cent of the books published in the U.S.S.R. are on scientific subjects and in the U.S. the figure is 25 per cent. While there is a good deal of writing on scientific subjects, India's internal market makes the publication of scientific books difficult because it is quite small. In recent years, with the growth of exports and an expansion of the internal market, scientific publishing has developed.

The organization of Indian publishing is multifaceted. In the public sector, book enterprises range from ministries of the central and state governments to semi-official publicly-financed bodies such as the National Book Trust, the Sahitya Akademi and the Indian Standards Institution. About 450 agencies in the public sector publish books on a fairly regular basis. These efforts are only partly controlled by the usual economic incentives and constraints which affect the book industry. The private sector is, in India, organized around small and medium-sized firms. It is estimated that there are about 10,000 small publishers in India, 2,000 medium-sized firms, and 200 large publishers.[8] But perhaps only twenty of these large firms are fully equipped publishers, with adequate distribution facilities, some sources of capital and professional expertise. Most of the rest of the publishers issue books only sporadically and have few of the normal facilities of a publishing house. This is especially true of the small and medium-sized firms. There are also an estimated 30,000 printing presses, most of which are outdated and probably useless for book production. Most of the smaller presses and firms are engaged in non-book printing work for the most part. Many are in addition booksellers, wholesalers, distributors, or publishers.

English language publishing is concentrated in the four metropolitan centres of Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, in that order of importance. There are perhaps fifty firms which publish in English on a regular basis. While Bombay was clearly the centre of Indian publishing until a few years ago, Delhi has now become headquarters for a number of the larger firms. Proximity to government ministries, centres of advanced studies, foreign embassies, and international agencies has made Delhi attractive to the book trade. A location in Delhi can also tap the increasingly lucrative Hindi market. Delhi, because of its large number of educational and government institutions, and its relatively affluent population is itself one of the largest markets for books in the country.

The Indian publishing scene is complex. The cost of labour tends to be low, but the price of paper is very high by international standards. There are many publishers, but only a very small number who matter when it comes to scholarly or general books. The network of distribution and sales for Indian books is inadequate, yet books reach their intended markets. The public sector engages in a large publishing programme, but without much coordination and in some cases with considerable waste. The language question, internal political matters, the needs and policies of the educational establishment, and other factors all impinge on publishing. The purpose of the remaining part of this study is to unravel some of the complexities in order to obtain an understanding of the publishing enterprise in its social, political, economic and intellectual context.

Historical Development

Printing and publishing in the modern sense can be traced to a Jesuit missionary, who was responsible for the first printing in India with movable metal type in 1557.[9] While much of the early printing was religious and done by Christian missionary groups, in the eighteenth century secular books began to appear in the vernacular languages, particularly in Bengali, as a result of the cultural renaissance in Bengal. Cultural figures such as Rabindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee used books to press the Bengali cultural renaissance in the nineteenth century. While few established publishing houses emerged at this time, books were circulated to the growing literate middle class in Bengal. Similar currents were apparent in other parts of India, yet this cultural and intellectual renaissance did not see the emergence of publishing houses in the modern sense of the term. For the most part, individuals or organizations (such as the Brahmo Samaj) simply arranged for the printing of books, which made their way gradually to the intended audience. This was perhaps a rather inefficient means of disseminating information, but the community of readers was sufficiently small and concentrated in the urban areas to make it viable.

As the educational system expanded, an increasing demand arose for textbooks and educational materials at both the school and college levels. Among the first publishers to take full advantage of this need were British-owned firms, such as Macmillans in 1903, Longmans in *c.* 1906, and Oxford University Press in 1912. Most early British efforts were concentrated on importing books from England and to some extent on reprinting or developing original books for use in schools and colleges. The British

firms had the advantage that the education system was, for the most part, simply imported from England with a curriculum similar or identical to that used in Britain. Thus, textbooks published in Britain could be adapted for Indian use or simply used without alteration. Both Oxford University Press and Longmans concentrated on the textbook field, but occasionally ventured into original publishing of books related to India. The British firms were responsible for bringing out some of the first scholarly books published in India.

Another important current was Indian, impelled largely by nationalist political motives. These Indian publishers were overshadowed by the British firms and were generally short-lived. Many were of an *ad hoc* nature and aimed simply at getting books of topical, political, or cultural interest into the hands of educated Indians. These publishing thrusts were particularly strong in Bengal and in Maharashtra.

In this century independent publishing has profited by the Independence struggle and was in part related to it. The traditional British firms continued, and textbooks rolled off the presses. A new current was emerging, however, that proved to be the basis for post-Independence publishing: a number of firms loosely associated with the nationalist movement were founded during the 1940s. Padma Publishers, Hind Kitabs, and others emerged but collapsed within a few years.[10] Renaissance Publishers was established by followers of M. N. Roy to assist in the dissemination of his political views. This early generation of Indian publishers issued books primarily in English; and like its predecessors it was also short-lived. Misperception of the market due to the largely political motivations of the firms, harassment by the British authorities, lack of professional and business expertise and experience, and inadequate capital resources caused these publishing ventures to fail. These pioneering firms did prove, however, that indigenous publishing of a serious nature was possible; this helped to stimulate post-Independence efforts.

It is not surprising that the immediate post-Independence period saw a great increase in publishing. Not only were Indians optimistic in the spirit of newly-won independence, but the need for books increased rapidly. The educational system, which under the British was generally elitist and urban oriented, expanded. New colleges and universities were established (the number of colleges increased from 933 in 1947 to 2,360 in 1960) and the student population at the college level grew from 225,000 in 1947 to 1,000,000 in 1960. The educational market, traditionally one of the main sources for publishers' revenues, was large. Public and college libraries, another important market for books, grew rapidly and many new

libraries were established. The British-owned firms remained in India but took a lower profile after Independence. The political and other restrictions imposed by the British authorities, particularly during wartime, were lifted by the new independent government. Perhaps most important, however, was the fact that the newly independent nation had a great need for educational materials and wanted to open discussion of public questions. Books were one of the key elements in these discussions. This was the combination of circumstances which led to the quick growth of a publishing enterprise in India after 1950.

After 1947, when the market for books of all kinds increased dramatically, an indigenous publishing enterprise grew to meet this demand. At first, books appeared in an *ad hoc* manner, issued largely by booksellers turned publishers. Soon, a number of enterprising booksellers, wholesalers, and book importers went into publishing in a more serious manner and began to develop a 'backlist' of books, the beginnings of a distribution network, and some staff who had specific responsibilities for publishing books. The first major Indian firm to devote itself largely to publishing rather than to such functions as importing or distributing books was Asia Publishing House, founded in 1943. Asia was the first Indian publisher to attempt to meet international editorial and production standards and to develop professional specialization and expertise in publishing. Indeed, Asia Publishing House trained many of the staff members of the other Indian firms. Allied Publishers and Popular Prakashan followed and established themselves as publishers of serious books. Bombay emerged as the centre of Indian publishing in this period, although there were active firms in the other metropolitan areas.

The Indian government also entered into the publishing field. Government ministries began to publish books and reports. Some of this publishing activity was handled by the Manager of Publications and distributed through this channel. But much central government publishing was done in an *ad hoc* manner, with little or no sales of the material issued. The state governments were slower to begin publishing activities, although some of the states started to issue books. The government publishing efforts were characterized by especially poor distribution facilities and fairly low standards of production. While a few of the private firms tried to set a higher standard, most were not much better than the government.

The import of books from abroad also accelerated at this time. Much of the importing was from Britain, the traditional supplier of books to India, but American firms slowly entered the field, particularly after the beginning of major American book programmes in 1954, which included incentives

for book exports and direct foreign aid programmes in the field of publishing. International book trade agreements, however, left the Indian export market largely in the hands of British publishers, sometimes to the disadvantage of the Indian importer and reader. Book imports were, and remain to some extent, an important aspect of the publishing enterprise in India. Many publishers are also importers and could not survive economically without the income from their import activities.

Few, if any, Indian publishers survive on the basis of their publishing activities alone. Almost all engage in subsidiary commercial activities, usually related to the book trade. Most publishers originated as booksellers, wholesalers, or importers of books, and occasionally as printers. For many firms, such activities are more profitable than publishing. Publishing is, therefore, very closely linked to other business enterprises, and it is unlikely that it could stand on its own as a 'pure' enterprise without these ancillary activities. This situation is true in general in the Third World due to the fact that publishing is usually too marginal an activity to make a steady profit. It is possible that publishing as a profession has suffered because of its combination with other activities, but this is probably an inevitable result of the overall economic situation.

It is possible that Indian publishing in a sense matured too early, in that expansion was rapid and often took place without planning. The output of titles in India increased rapidly to around 18,000 in the mid-1950s and then declined. The level has again been slowly rising, and only recently reached its earlier production.

The reasons for the rapid decline between 1955 and 1960 are complex. Without question, the most important reason was economic. Fluctuations in the general economic situation were combined with a slight decline in educational expenditures. Another related factor was connected with the lack of expertise and planning. Those in charge of publishing firms could not foresee impending problems, in part because of a rapidly changing situation and in part because of a lack of knowledge about publishing. Networks for the distribution and sale of books were rudimentary and limited possible sales. The very fast expansion of the educational system and of libraries slowed somewhat, thereby limiting the expansion of book sales to crucial institutional markets. The general currents of the Indian economy, which underwent severe fluctuations in the 1950s, also affected the publishing scene.

Indian publishing has always had shaky financial foundations. In the early period, some Indian publishers built their businesses on the basis of credit extended by foreign, largely American, publishers, for the import

Table II
Output of Book Titles in India

1950	12,689 titles
1955	18,559
1960	10,741
1965	13,094
1970	14,145
1974	17,600

Source: National Library, Calcutta. (Figures include pamphlets.)

and sale of books in India. The Indian publishers, who were also wholesalers, used the proceeds of these import sales to finance their own books. When Indian books sold more slowly than expected, the publishers found themselves unable to pay their debts. Bank loans were usually unavailable because the Indian financial community prefers to invest its money in ventures which, unlike publishing, yield a fairly fast and secure return. In addition, banks find it difficult to evaluate the worth of book stocks which might be used as collateral. The government has not extended credit facilities to publishers either. Thus, there has been a severe credit squeeze which still continues to affect publishers. This situation reached a crisis when, in the 1950s, publishers expanded quickly and were unable to recoup their investments.

Without expertise, publishers could not foresee that their books would not sell quickly, and they could not accurately predict the flow of financial resources. Some publishers resorted to dishonest business practices such as delaying payments and non-payment of royalties. Other firms simply folded. Local printers, binders, and paper suppliers often went unpaid for long periods of time. Publishers became involved in a 'vicious circle' of late payment and problems of credit.

Modern Indian publishing was shaped in the 1950s. The outlook, financial basis, modes of operation, and other matters were developed during the 1950s and remain similar at the present time. The publishing enterprise has grown, has developed some expertise and professionalism, and has raised standards of production and content of books. The market for books is larger, standards are higher, and there is a greater participation from the public sector. But the basic organizational and philosophical orientation of publishing retains its earlier characteristics. Not only are many of the

'founding generation' of publishers still on the scene, but the objective cir-cumstances have not basically changed.

Despite the rather haphazard growth of publishing in the post-Independence period, the publishing enterprise did get established on a firm basis. Led by Asia Publishing House, publishers greatly improved stan-dards of production and selection of manuscripts, and developed expertise and some professionalism. Paperbacks also came onto the Indian scene with Jaico (largely in English) and Hind Pocket Books (in English, Hindi and other languages), proving that there is the beginning of a mass market for popular books in India.

The Economics of Publishing

At the very centre of the publishing enterprise are financial considerations. Despite the fact that publishing is in many respects an 'intellectual' enter-prise, without a sound economic base it cannot survive. Economic factors intrude into all aspects of publishing, from the selection of a manuscript to the cost of paper to the credit arrangements allowed to booksellers. Eco-nomics is one of the least well-understood aspects of Indian publishing. There have been no systematic studies of the economics of publishing in India. Publishers themselves disagree concerning the economic realities.[11] The economics of publishing in India is further complicated by the fact that publishing is often financially linked to other enterprises, and it is often dif-ficult to separate these aspects.

By its nature, publishing is one of the most imprecise and risky of 'industries'. In India, this natural imprecision is combined with 'unnatural' confusion over important economic issues to the long-term detriment of the publishing enterprise. The economics of Indian publishing is in some respects difficult to understand. In some ways India is a 'high cost' publish-ing country, while in others it is low cost. Labour tends to be inexpensive (by international standards) but high quality printing is difficult to obtain and is expensive.[12]

The case of paper is indicative of some of the problems of publish-ing. Paper has always been costly in India, due in part to restrictions on its import. The recent paper 'famine' has placed publishing in a precarious position.[13] (It should be pointed out however that the paper 'famine' was caused not so much by an absolute shortage as an unwillingness of paper mills to produce less remunerative grades of paper required for publishing price-inelastic textbooks. Recently, government regulations have increased

the supply of paper for publication of textbooks and the crisis has eased somewhat.) The price of paper has risen dramatically, precipitating higher prices for books. Oxford University Press, for example, has estimated that paper costs 50 to 55 per cent of the total cost for educational and general books together and about 30 per cent of the cost of a scholarly book. Further, supplies of paper are uncertain and the quality is undependable in a seller's market. Paper suppliers demanded cash payment and also some additional 'kickbacks'. Large quantities of paper have been either unavailable or beyond the abilities of publishers to pay. The publisher cannot raise the prices of books indefinitely since they are already relatively expensive, yet the cost of paper continues to rise and the publisher is caught very much in the middle.

The market for books determines to a considerable extent the kinds of books that are published and the cost of these books. In India, the market is both small and to some extent inelastic. This means that the individual market for scholarly and general books is limited, both by low literacy rates and by low purchasing power. The institutional market accounts for the bulk of book sales, and this market is inelastic—there is a limited number of libraries. Publishers are not constrained to offer the lowest possible price for books, since libraries are not as concerned about this matter. In India, it is estimated that 90 per cent or more of book sales are to institutions.[14] In India, as in most developing countries, the market for books is small and therefore the printings are small. Editions as small as 500 copies for a scholarly book are not uncommon and the general range is between 1,000 and 2,000 copies. It is natural that the cost per copy for such small editions is high. There are some exceptions to this general situation. Recently, books by prominent journalists or politicians on topical subjects have sold in large numbers. Seven to ten thousand copies is not unusual for the sales of such a topical volume, and sales of up to 30,000 have been achieved in a few cases.

The calculations which go into the pricing of a book are a key to understanding the economics of publishing. Indian publishers have usually priced their books at four to five times the cost of production. Some scholarly books have recently been priced at an even higher ratio. Textbooks and paperbacks are usually priced at a lower rate since sales are expected to be larger and require negligible promotion, discounts for booksellers are lower, the quality of production can be lower, and the individual buyer is of importance in pricing calculations. It is estimated that a publisher must spend Rs 10,000 to Rs 15,000 in direct costs (composition and printing, binding, paper, and jackets) for an average-sized serious book in English. This investment has increased considerably recently as paper costs have more than doubled

and composition costs have gone up from Rs 12 to Rs 21 per page in the major cities. Costs can be lower outside Delhi or Bombay, although quality tends to be lower as well. Thus, a book that costs Rs 10 per copy to produce in an edition of 1,500 copies would have to be priced at Rs 50 or more, immediately placing it beyond the reach of virtually all teachers and all but the wealthiest book buyers. By international standards, this is still fairly inexpensive, but for the Indian market it is a very high price. Furthermore, a publisher must expect to wait two years for a full return on his investment. If sales of 500 to 700 copies of a serious book are attained in the first eight months to one year after publication, this is considered good. This slow rate of sales means that scarce capital is tied up and it is difficult to continue to publish books, pay printers, etc. In the present inflation, paper merchants and others have been demanding payment in advance, thus precluding the usual credit arrangements.

The cost of a book has been figured in many ways. One common summary of the total cost of a book is as follows:[15]

Production costs	20%
Discounts (to wholesalers, booksellers, etc.)	35%
Royalty	15%
Overhead	20%
Net profit	10%

The direct costs for a scholarly book, as estimated by Oxford University Press, can be summarized as follows:

Composing and printing	40%
Paper	30%
Binding	20%
Jacket, blocks, etc.	10%

This 10 per cent profit is achieved only if the entire edition is sold out and if the cost of publicity and other ancillary matters are relatively modest, which rarely occurs. It is clear that the margin of profit is not very high and that the risk on each book is considerable. Furthermore, publishing, unlike other industries, must pay for many of the costs of production in advance and cannot rely on long-term credit arrangements.[16] The fiscal return on publishing is generally modest and investors as well as banks prefer to place their funds in industries and other commercial schemes where the return on investment can be 15 or 20 per cent and not the modest yield of 5 per cent which is common in publishing.[17]

Both publishers and outside observers agree that there is not much profit to be made in the publishing and sales of scholarly and serious books. One large textbook publisher says that he produces serious books largely to take up the slack during the periods when few texts are purchased and to keep his presses working during quiet periods. Serious books do produce a steady although relatively modest profit throughout the year. The problem is one of recovering invested capital quickly. Such books also give added prestige to the publishing firm, and enable the publisher to build up a good reputation among academics. The publication of serious books can be a marginally profitable sideline for a large publishing firm if it is handled with a reasonable amount of care, but it cannot be profitable for any but a very small and specialized publisher in India.

The first post-Independence Indian publisher with high professional standards, Asia Publishing House, at first combined importing with publishing but then abandoned most of its importing. While Asia continues to function, it is no longer at the centre of Indian publishing. The firm's economic difficulties began when it became a 'pure' publisher with few non-publishing activities. Asia also over-expanded after its initial success and for a time was publishing one new book per week. In addition, the quality of both market research and production declined. Two other firms, Manaktala and Nachiketa, were founded in the 1960s with a commitment to publish books of high intellectual and technical standards. They both succeeded for a few years, but found it economically impossible to continue.

It has been estimated that it requires Rs 500,000 to start a publishing firm and an additional Rs 500,000 to keep it afloat for three years until income begins to equal outflow.[18] As a result of these financial realities, it is likely that publishing will continue to be done in conjunction with some other business activity, usually related to books. Publishing can also be conducted if capital is available from some source or if it is not necessary to make a profit. An example of the first type of arrangement is a collaborative agreement with a foreign publisher or with a large Indian corporation. The latter could be a university press or a publishing enterprise run by a public sector agency on a non-profit basis. Just as independent publishing has become more difficult in the United States and other industrialized nations, and there has been a trend for larger corporations to purchase publishing firms, India cannot support independent private publishing.

The paper situation is an indication of the ways in which economic, political, and business factors come together to affect the publisher. Government policy prevents the import of paper and for a long time set the price of paper. These policies worked against rapid expansion of the domestic paper industry. A worldwide paper shortage made it profitable for Indian

paper manufacturers to export paper to Japan for the first time, thereby exacerbating the continuing shortage in India itself. Paper merchants were able to demand almost any price for their products while the paper mills were tempted to shift production to more lucrative types of paper.

Since the 'nationalization' of the textbook market, one sub-system of educational publishing which remains open to private sector publishers is the publication of 'guides' and similar self-help books. 'Guides' are usually poorly printed and poorly written books which are aimed at helping a student in a particular subject pass the university examinations or one of the many government civil service examinations. The better publishers eschew guide publishing as below the dignity of a serious firm, but a number of firms make considerable profits from these books, which have large circulations and sell for low prices. The authors of guides, generally academics, also obtain substantial royalties from them. While perhaps lacking in dignity and usually in intellectual merit, there is a large market for these kinds of books, and many small publishers are able to reap large profits. Similar sub-systems exist for the publishing of textbooks in law, medicine and other subjects. Although some textbooks in these specialized and professional fields have been published with subsidies from the National Book Trust or the American PL 480 programme, there is still a considerable market left in these areas.

During the past decade, government authorities at both the central and state levels have been eliminating private sector publishers from the text market by producing textbooks. This has been done for a number of reasons. In some areas, the private publishers were not supplying relevant textbooks. This was particularly the case in some of the regional languages where publishers took little initiative in producing textbooks. The 'nationalization' of textbooks was also part of a general trend towards public sector initiative in many fields. Finally, government authorities wanted to provide good textbooks to students at a low price, and felt that this could be accomplished through the public sector. The programmes have not been an overwhelming success, although some states have had more successful programmes than others. Most textbooks at the primary and secondary levels in the regional languages are now produced by public agencies and are not marketed by private sector publishers. Textbooks for English-medium schools and most textbooks at the college and university level are still in the hands of private firms, although there has recently been a trend for the universities to publish their own textbooks.

The loss of the textbook market has unquestionably been a serious financial blow to the private sector publishers. While few publishers have

gone out of business directly as a result of the withdrawal of this market, there have been serious readjustments. The fact that the college market does remain has helped, but many publishers are pessimistic about holding on to even this small part of the total text market. The college textbook market is itself complicated since books are usually recommended and not necessarily prescribed. Thus, estimating sales is often difficult and cut-throat competition reigns in popular fields of study. As a result of the limitations of the textbook market several publishers have gone into specialized publishing such as law and medicine. The market for children's books is also considerable. But it is unlikely that any of these avenues will completely replace textbooks as a key economic factor in Indian publishing.

Despite the many problems discussed in this section, Indian publishing has been able to serve the scholarly and intellectual communities with books. Through both private initiative and the recent government intervention in the textbook market, students have been able to obtain textbooks for their courses. For a developing country, these accomplishments are impressive. The economic situation is not without its problems. The current inflation, and particularly the rising cost of paper and the difficulty in obtaining it, have placed a severe burden on publishers and made books even more expensive for the individual purchaser than was formerly the case. A workable adjustment between the private and public sectors so that each will have a role in the publishing enterprise has yet to be worked out. Yet, despite these problems, publishing continues to take place and creative work finds an outlet.

The Distribution of Books

Book distribution and consumption is closely linked to the economic viability of the publishing enterprise. Most agree that the distribution network is the weakest link in the 'book chain' in that it is difficult in India to get a book to its intended reader and to provide prospective buyers with information concerning books. The publisher is unable to distribute the books that are produced and must rely on others to get books into the hands of buyers. Some libraries and other institutions may purchase directly from the publisher. Most, however, buy through wholesalers or retail booksellers. The situation is particularly difficult outside the large cities, where bookshops are scarce and stocked with few general or scholarly books.[19]

The problems of book distribution in a developing country are manifold. Artur Isenberg, a Ford Foundation book expert, has outlined some of them:[20]

a.   publishers place little stress on publicity for their books and thus both the reading public and the booksellers are unaware of relevant publications;

b.   publishers have no clear knowledge of their potential markets and thus cannot accurately estimate the appropriate size for the printing of a given book;

c.   bookshops are undercapitalized, have few return privileges, are poorly and unimaginatively organized, have little status, and as a result of the above, have few books in stock;

d.   rural areas are virtually bookless;

e.   adequate national bibliographies and other reference tools do not exist and books are hard to find;

f.   the system is in general characterized by cut-throat competition, and especially by the 'tender' system.[21]

The Indian book distribution system harbours many middlemen. While a number of the larger publishers act as their own wholesalers and distributors, this function is typically handled by independent wholesalers, who serve bookshops and the institutional trade, especially libraries. The wholesalers take a part of the 35–40 per cent discount given by publishers on general books or college and university texts. (Discounts on school textbooks are generally a bit lower.) The retail bookseller obtains a discount of only 15 to 20 per cent from the wholesaler or distributor and therefore operates on an extremely slim margin. When he is asked to provide an additional discount to libraries for bulk purchases, his profit often disappears entirely. These discounts are in many cases almost mandatory if the bookseller is to obtain the order.[22]

The fact that there is little internal or external regulation of publishing has caused problems for the distribution of books. There is no agreement among publishers, distributors, or booksellers concerning discounts which would prevent the kind of competition which often reduces profits for booksellers to almost nothing. Distributors and booksellers often compete for customers by offering large discounts.

Lack of information is a part of the problem of distribution. Publishers are often lax about publicizing their books, and there are no standard reference works or journals to which a bookseller or reader can turn for information about a new book.[23] Recent efforts to update the Indian National Bibliography by the National Library, Calcutta, and a privately published *Reference Catalogue of Indian Books in Print* have helped the bibliographic situation, although both of these publications inevitably have substantial time lags between the publication of a book and its listing.

There is little advertising for specialized books, such as scholarly books, although such advertising schemes as direct-mail publicity are beginning to

be used as a means of sales and publicity. The local bookseller is unable to stock many new general books and for the most part relies on textbooks for his main sales. This is due to lack of space, credit, and limited local interest. This situation further reduces the exposure of the book-buying public to current titles.

Few booksellers are well trained. Even if adequate bibliographical tools were available, it is unlikely that many booksellers would be able to take advantage of them. UNESCO, the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations, and other groups have undertaken training programmes for booksellers, but there is still a lack of professional expertise in this field. Few booksellers are willing to order a book for a customer, in part because the profit on a 'special order' book is quite low. The situation is even more serious with regard to books published outside India, which prospective purchasers find almost impossible to obtain. It is clear that until there are more booksellers who are able to provide more complete service to customers, book sales will be even more limited than necessary and the reading public and book-purchasing institutions will have difficulty in obtaining the books they need.

A special element of the distribution process of books in India is the importing of books. Book imports still account for a considerable portion of the Indian book business and are quite necessary for India's educational institutions and libraries. A number of publishers are also book importers who rely on profits from importing to sustain their enterprise. The total annual expenditure on book imports is about Rs 6 to 7 crores (1 crore equals 10,000,000). Rs 12 crores is allowed by the government for this purpose, but the expenditure of even half this amount is a large part of the book trade.[24] The trade is handled by private firms which are licenced by the government. It has been estimated that fewer than fifteen large firms handle 80 per cent of the total import of books into India.[25]

Importers work directly with foreign publishers or distributors in ordering books and provide them directly to customers or, more often, to booksellers. Perhaps a dozen foreign publishers, mostly British or American, have offices in India. Most foreign publishers work through one or more Indian importers. The process by which the individual buyer in India obtains a foreign book is one which involves several 'middlemen' and is generally lengthy, although some Indian booksellers import directly from overseas publishers.

Book importing is a controversial subject in India. Many have claimed that books which are appropriate for India's economic and social development are not being imported and that irrelevant although perhaps profitable

books are chosen by the private import firms. Recent regulations which fix a proportion of an importer's licence which must be devoted to educational and scholarly books and in general greater surveillance by government authorities have probably improved the quality of book imports into India. Scholars and librarians say that they are unable to obtain books which they need because it is impossible to import only a few copies of a single title. It is clear that the private importers have been more concerned with maximizing profits than with serving the intellectual and educational communities. This, of course, is not surprising since the importers are profit-making businesses. Book imports have also provided an extra margin of profit for publishers enabling them to bring out their own books. The point is that, for various reasons, Indian buyers have not been able to obtain needed books from abroad and the process of book import has been less than adequate. Most private publishers and importers have argued that there should be no restrictions concerning the import of books, since restrictions would lead to limitations on the freedom of information.[26] The government, and many librarians and others, have argued that there is a need for some regulation of the import trade.

As a result of the criticisms levelled against the importers, the central government, through the State Trading Corporation (STC), moved into the import business for a short time in 1973. The STC issued a circular to libraries asking that orders for imported books be placed through them. At the same time, the rupee equivalent of import licences available to the private sector was cut, although the total was still close to the amount which was actually spent for imported books. The government's concern was to improve the distribution of imported books, to cut down on malpractices by commercial importers, and to make sure that relevant books were imported into India.

Reaction against the State Trading Corporation's import scheme was swift and vocal from the publishing community.[27] Most publishers denounced the plan as spelling financial disaster for the book trade and particularly for the importers. The STC intervention was also denounced as a limitation on the freedom of information since a government agency would be directly in charge of book imports and could restrict the nature of books coming into the country.[28] Libraries opposed the plan as well, in part because of pressure from publishers and in part because they feared that obtaining imported books would become even more difficult. The STC, which could not extend credit to purchasers, had to demand cash payments. This also aroused opposition, since most institutional buyers were used to having credit available for purchases.

Two elements combined to defeat the STC's initiative, and the plan was abandoned before it was ever fully implemented.[29] The first was the lack of preparation and facilities by the STC itself. Government officials simply did not realize that the importing of books is a complex matter yielding limited profits and requiring considerable work. The other factor was the strenuous opposition of most of the publishing community. Almost all publishers, and particularly those with an interest in importing books, opposed the government. Institutional buyers, who feared increased bureaucracy and a lack of credit facilities, also opposed the plan.

The problem of importing books has by no means been solved. For the present, the system remains the same as it was prior to the STC's initiative. The problem of adequately regulating the import trade so that scarce foreign exchange is not wasted and at the same time necessary books are supplied to Indian buyers remains. The situation is particularly serious for scholarly books, which are almost inevitably imported in small quantities and are therefore the least profitable type of book import.

There is no question but that book distribution must be improved if adequate markets for Indian books are to be assured. This is true not only for scholarly books, but for all kinds of reading materials. The scarcity of booksellers in smaller towns is a problem. The lack of adequate credit facilities to booksellers from banks and a discount structure which allows only a small profit for booksellers contribute to the weakness. Inadequate bibliographical materials and publicity hinder the rapid spread of information about new books. The difficulty of obtaining imported books contributes to the problem. There seems to be no immediate hope for the amelioration of most of these problems.

Copyright

Copyright policies and regulations are one of the most perplexing policy issues for the book trade in developing countries. Copyright as an institution evolved over a long period in the West, and only in recent years has it been fully accepted in most Western countries.[30] It is worth noting that American publishing firms got their start when U.S. publishers in the nineteenth century disregarded copyright regulations and freely reprinted books from England and elsewhere without the payment of royalties. At present, however, Western authors and publishers are protected by copyright agreements and laws both within their own countries and internationally.[31]

The situation of the developing countries with regard to copyright is somewhat complicated at the present time. For one thing, the major international copyright agreements (the European-sponsored Berne Agreements and the American-sponsored Universal Copyright Convention) have been written by the industrialized nations in their own interests. The developing countries have unique problems which are not considered in the copyright agreements. In recent years, there have been moves in the direction of making copyright agreements more relevant for developing countries, in part to forestall massive disaffiliation by Third World nations from the copyright system. India has been a leader in advocating reforms in the system.[32]

The problems of developing countries in relation to copyright are considerable. While most developing countries affirm the need for individual authors to have legal protection for their own work and for publishers to have some assurance that they will be the sole producer of a particular book, they also recognize that they have some special needs. For example, the apparatus of publishing is, in general, controlled by publishers in the industrialized nations. These nations publish the very large majority of books, and have a virtual monopoly over books on scientific and technical subjects. The bulk of the world's translations are from the major world languages into smaller languages, such as the indigenous languages of India. Moreover, publishers in advanced countries profit more from exporting books than from granting permission to reprint them or translate them in developing areas. India is in a particularly difficult situation because of traditional practice of 'Commonwealth preferences' which has cut India off from the American book market. According to this informal arrangement, British publishers handled India's interests and controlled most of the exports to India. This situation did not serve India very well.

The Indian view concerning copyright is somewhat unclear. India is a signatory to both the Universal Copyright Convention and to the Berne Agreements, and is a member of the international copyright community. For the most part, Indian publishers adhere to the copyright agreements. There is, however, some pirating (illegal printing) of books which have a high sales potential such as novels and some textbooks. Scholarly books, because they do not sell in large quantities, have been ignored by 'book pirates'.[33]

The Indian government has advocated changing the international copyright agreements to provide more adequately for the needs of developing countries. The government has particularly advocated 'compulsory licencing' by which the developing countries would have the power to reprint for very modest fees any essential scientific or technical books even if the

original publisher did not provide permission. There have been hints that India would arbitrarily impose such licencing if the international community did not act, although no action in this regard has been taken as yet. Indian publishers themselves have no unified position, perhaps reflecting the differing interests of publishers, wholesalers, booksellers and others represented in the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations, the 'official' voice of the book trade. Most publishers seem to be committed to the accepted concept of copyright. However, they also favour compulsory licencing or some arrangement which would save foreign exchange and make it easier to reprint and translate books in India. Some publishers continue to support the traditional notion of copyright and do not favour compulsory licencing.

One of the advocates of compulsory licencing has outlined some of the arguments in its favour:

a.   India could reprint foreign books in India and could charge only one-third of the foreign price;
b.   part of the Rs 6 crores now spent annually for book imports could be saved;
c.   licencing would stimulate the Indian book industry and provide jobs at all levels;
d.   domestically printed books earn tax revenue for the government, while imports do not, and this would further help the economy.[34]

Other critics of current copyright practice have pointed out that there is a 'manufacturing clause' in the American system which forbids the import into the United States of more than 500 copies of a single title. This, they argue, should be applied to India as well.

The problem of translation into the Indian regional languages is part of the copyright equation. Some titles are published in as many as a dozen languages in India, usually in fairly small printings. It is usually necessary to obtain permission from foreign copyright holders for translation rights, and securing permission is often both time-consuming and expensive. Most advocates of compulsory licencing feel that India should be able to freely publish translations of books on scientific and technical subjects so long as their authors receive some modest payment. In return for this blanket permission, India would guarantee not to export books printed under compulsory licence and would otherwise abide by copyright agreements. Recent changes in the international copyright agreements have closely paralleled the Indian position, although the situation remains in flux.

The interests of various constituencies concerned with books differ to some extent on copyright matters. Some of the smaller publishers with no

interest in importing books favour the scrapping of all international copyright agreements. Most publishers seem to favour some kind of compulsory licencing arrangements, although a few importers prefer to retain the *status quo.* Authors do not constitute, a vocal pressure group, and thus have not strongly expressed themselves on copyright questions. It is clear, however, that authors will be affected by any changes. If Indian publishers are allowed to freely and inexpensively reprint books from abroad, it is possible that they will find this cheaper than to publish Indian authors. Libraries would also be affected by changes in copyright policy, as it would have implications for the kinds of books published in India and the availability of books from overseas.[35]

The copyright question shows how much a single issue has many ramifications for Indian publishing. It is an international issue since agreements between nations are involved. In this regard, India has been one of the leading voices of the developing nations in international copyright discussions. Copyright affects different elements of the book trade differently. Authors might well be harmed by relaxing the present regulations, as is advocated by many. Importers have a vested interest in retaining a substantial import trade, and have tended to support the *status quo.* Most publishers, in whose interest it is to make reprinting foreign books easier, have strongly advocated reform in the copyright law. The international publishing community, dominated by the industrialized nations, has only reluctantly moved towards reform.

'Public' and 'Private'

The publishing enterprise in developing countries is underwritten by the state to a considerable degree. Government subsidy supports the production of books which are deemed necessary but which private concerns could not afford to publish. Government policy directs priorities in publication and stimulates development in given sectors of the trade. In many developing countries, national ideological commitment to the 'public sector' as the crucial area of the economy makes government intervention more accepted and stimulates financial commitment.

Since Independence, the largest single publishing agency has been the Government of India, which is responsible for an estimated 20 per cent of the books produced. Through ministries and departments at the centre and in the states, and through government-sponsored research institutes, many books, pamphlets, reports and other documents are published by

government. The government is a recognized and accepted fact in publishing in India, not only in its direct role but also in formulating policy concerning many aspects of the book trade. Government authorities have increasingly recognized books as an important aspect of national development, and have devoted an increasing amount of resources and attention to publishing and books. Because of its large and growing participation in publishing, the role and policies of the government must be critically examined. The following discussion will examine some of the major issues raised in the continuing discussions concerning the role of the government in publishing.

The government has a role in publishing not only through its direct activities but through its broader policies. In developing countries, government policy impinges on most aspects of the economy, even where a strong private sector exists.[36] India is no exception. Government decisions concerning the import and export of books, the construction of new paper mills, paper prices, and credit regulations have a direct and immediate effect on the book trade. A recent cutback in library expenditures was immediately felt, and the 'paper crisis' in the book business of the past year was in part a result of government policy decisions. Even such seemingly unrelated matters as the development of a machine-tool industry can have implications for publishing.[37]

The Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India maintains an office in New Delhi which monitors government policy and keeps in close touch with government officials concerned with books. The Federation has sought, with only limited success, to influence policy. At least, Federation representatives make sure that relevant government officials are aware of their views. However, the Federation is not united on the issues. Theoretically, the Federation has represented the views not only of publishers but also of importers, distributors, and booksellers, the latter being under-represented, however. Recently, a split in the Federation has created a new organization, the Federation of Indian Publishers, which speaks only for the publishers. In time some working relationship between the two groups will most likely evolve. In the meanwhile, the factionalism among official organs of the book trade has weakened their bargaining position with government officials.

Government book policy is predicated on many considerations. The publishers are one of several influences on government decision-making. The balance of payments, the requirements of other sectors of the economy for imported items may, for instance, affect book import quotas. Demands from newspapers, packaging manufacturers, and others for paper

allotments affects the supply of paper for books. In a developing country such as India, the competition for scarce resources is very sharp, and in relation to food or fuel, for example, an industry such as publishing may seem peripheral to the development of the nation. The inherent competition between public sector publishing enterprises, such as the National Book Trust (NBT) or the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), may also enter into the balance of government decision-making concerning publishing.

An example of dramatic government initiative in publishing is the nationalization of textbooks at the school level; the economic implications of this development were discussed previously. Officials of the Ministry of Education were particularly concerned that Indian textbooks reflect a 'national' approach and that the use of 'irrelevant' foreign books be ended. Public authorities also wanted to raise the quality of textbooks and felt that public initiative was the most effective means of doing this. Another goal of nationalized textbooks was to reduce the price through public subsidy. The textbook scheme was initiated by the central government, and some funding came from the centre. However, the implementation of most of the programmes was in the hands of the states. Agencies like the National Council of Educational Research and Training were asked to develop 'model' textbooks and have helped to provide state boards with books which would lend themselves to easy translation and printing. With the exception of the guidance provided by the NCERT, most textbook publishing efforts have been at the state level, usually channeled through the state directorate of education. The states have taken as an urgent task the provision of basic texts in the regional languages. These state programmes have begun the task of providing vernacular textbooks at a cost students can afford.

It is not surprising that the government became involved in the production of textbooks at the elementary and secondary school levels. Textbooks are widely recognized as a crucial element of any educational system, and are perhaps especially important where many teachers are not highly qualified. Textbooks are a potential means of instilling national values, and government authorities are naturally concerned that appropriate values are stressed. The political pressure for inexpensive textbooks also played a role. Whether the public sector has achieved complete success in terms of providing useful, inexpensive, and well-produced textbooks at the school level remains a subject of debate in Indian educational and publishing circles. Most commentators have major criticisms of the state programmes, citing long delays in the publication of books, some waste and substandard production. Authors have criticized the payment of modest lump-sum

payments instead of royalties. Many have questioned the inherent danger of having a monopoly over the production of textbooks in the hands of political authorities. Despite these criticisms, many states have produced textbooks in the regional languages which are successfully used in the schools.

The last major markets for private sector textbook publishing are in the English-medium primary and secondary schools, and especially at the college and university levels.[38] Most college level textbooks are still published by private firms, particularly in subjects for which only English is used as the medium of instruction. At the postgraduate level, virtually all textbooks are produced by private firms; there is no plan to change this. Several universities have in the past decade begun to produce textbooks in some undergraduate subjects themselves, thereby cutting into the market of the private publishers. University presses produce books for their own institutions and can accurately predict the market for books in particular subjects. Distribution is easy since it is to a local market. While this trend towards university-published material is not yet far advanced, it is seen by the private sector publishers as a threat to one of their few remaining textbook markets.

The government has established a number of agencies which deal with books in addition to the textbooks and other programmes. The Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting not only issues government documents of various kinds, but publishes a large number of books and pamphlets on a range of subjects. One of the largest and most important government agencies is the National Book Trust (NBT).[39] The NBT has a key role not only in its own publishing programmes but also in coordinating the activities of private publishers and assisting in national book programmes.

The NBT's sponsorship of an annual book fair, which not only includes displays of books but also symposia concerning aspects of publishing, is the main forum for national discussion among publishers. The book fairs are also a means of publicizing the book trade to the public. Founded in 1957, the NBT had a budget of around five million rupees in 1972.[40] The agency also receives funds for specific projects from the Ministry of Education as well as other agencies. According to many observers, the NBT suffered from an initial, not uncommon, distribution lag. One estimate is that the NBT has ten million rupees worth of unsold books.[41] This wastage was in part because early projects were not of great relevance, the titles were poorly selected, and technical standards low.[42]

The National Book Trust publishes about 200 titles, including reprints, per year. The thrust of its publishing programme is to make books of educational and cultural value available to the general reader. It has sponsored

a series of children's books, a series on the Indian states, and other publications. The NBT has a small book subsidy programme for university level textbooks in English, which is funded from Indian government sources. Another small programme funded by the United States is intended to make books on science and technology from the United States and from Indian sources available in the Indian languages. NBT books are distributed by private firms for the most part, although the agency is becoming more active in promoting its own publications. All NBT printing is done by commercial presses. The NBT's substantial book publishing programme and its staff of 150 make it an active force in Indian publishing.

Government book programmes of various kinds grew rapidly after the late 1950s. As the need for books in the regional languages became clear, the government provided grants of Rs 10,000,000 to many of the regional languages. However, only Rs 25,000,000 of the total of Rs 80,000,000 allocated was used in the first few years of the programme. Other specialized government agencies have participated in book programmes. The Indian Council for Social Science Research has had a publication scheme which provided small grants to private publishers to assist in the printing of social science studies. States have also assisted in the publication of textbooks in a major way, and some of the states, such as Kerala, have fairly substantial general book programmes. It is impossible to document in entirety the various publishing activities of the state governments.

In an effort to coordinate government-related book activities, a National Book Development Board (NBDB) was founded in 1967. The Board has also acted as a liaison between private publishers and the government. As recently reconstituted, it includes some sixty individuals from the publishing community and from government, and has concerned itself with recommending and mediating broad aspects of book policy. Not particularly active, the NBDB met only seven times between 1967 and 1972; nor has it been very successful in having its recommendations implemented. Among the recommendations are the following: (1) the publishing enterprise should be classified as an 'essential industry', (2) tax concessions for publishers, (3) more adequate credit advances to publishers, (4) reduced postal rates for books, (5) restricted import of foreign titles except books which cannot have an Indian reprint edition for economic reasons, and (6) that the government set up an export promotion council for books.[43] The advisory status of the NBDB delineates its role and effectiveness. At least the existence of such an agency provides a forum for discussion and shows the interest of the government in coordinating book-related activities.

Direct government involvement in publishing was not very large during the 1950s. There was little coordination of the government's own publishing programmes, and no overall direction or policy orientation to the government's book programmes. Despite the fact that government agencies were responsible for more than 20 per cent of the nation's book output, the distribution mechanisms at the centre and in the states were quite inadequate. Because government-sponsored publishing efforts were not usually subject to market conditions, funds were allocated for printing and sometimes for distribution, but the enterprise was not expected to show a financial balance. There has been some improvement in recent years, particularly by semi-government agencies like the Sahitya Akademi, the Indian Standards Institution, and others. Many of the publications of various ministries, however, remain virtually without distribution or publicity channels.[44]

Direct government involvement in publishing cannot be underestimated, and this participation is growing. It has been estimated that there are about 400 publishing agencies in the public sector, some 200 of these under the auspices of the central government or its agencies. The Ministry of Education itself has publishing agencies under its jurisdiction, including the National Book Trust, the NCERT, and the Indian Council for Social Science Research. An agency like the Sahitya Akademi, which is concerned with promoting creative writing and cultural matters, has published at least 450 books in recent years in all of the Indian languages and English and Nepali. Some of these books were published through commercial channels, but most were issued directly by the Akademi. In addition, various government-sponsored research institutes, such as the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the Indian Council of Medical Research, and others, have issued scientific and scholarly publications.

This discussion has only highlighted some of the important aspects of the government's role in publishing. Direct government involvement by many ministries and agencies at the central and state levels accounts for a significant portion of the total number of books produced in India. Indirect government involvement through policies relating to publishers and subsidies to libraries so that they can purchase books, affects the status of the publishing enterprise in India. Indeed, it is almost impossible to consider any aspect of Indian publishing without some government involvement. This is true from the regulation of the paper supply and the allocation of foreign exchange for replacement parts for printing presses to the provision of subsidies for the production of certain kinds of books. The government, on its part, has many concerns and problems of which the state of

the publishing enterprise is but one small aspect. Thus, it is not surprising that publishers complain that their interests are not given top priority by government officials. While important, books must inevitably lag behind food supplies and industrialization as concerns of government.

Foreign Influences

Publishing is not only a regional and national enterprise, but it also has an international dimension. Developing countries and nations which are at the 'periphery' of the world's intellectual currents are especially dependent on the international sector of publishing. Being provincial in the international intellectual world imposes certain realities upon a developing country: books (and knowledge) must be imported from abroad; works from one of the 'world languages' must be translated into their own more limited languages and, finally, perhaps Third World authors themselves prefer to publish their work abroad rather than at home. Developing countries not only have 'provincial' languages, but lack the financial and technical resources for an active publishing and communications enterprise. The result of this situation is that the Third World must rely on the industrialized nations for most basic knowledge, particularly in the sciences.

The problem is in part one of language.[45] The bulk of the 'knowledge producing' nations use one of the major metropolitan languages although there are a number of exceptions, such as Japan and the Soviet Union, to this rule. English, French, and to a lesser extent German and Spanish are the languages of necessity for communication among scientific and intellectual elites. India, in this respect, is in a peculiar position. A large number of people are literate in English and English has been used as a medium of government and of scientific and intellectual life for two centuries. Thus, Indians are ahead of many developing countries in being able to communicate easily with the centres of scientific work. On the other hand, this very facility with English has hindered the sophisticated and scientific development of indigenous languages. The Indian elite continues to use English as the primary means of intellectual interchange, and the indigenous languages remain to some extent underdeveloped.

There is also an economic aspect to the continuing foreign influence on publishing in developing countries. The developing countries are importers of knowledge, and hence of books and other published materials. India spends about Rs 7 crores on book and periodical imports annually. The key scientific journals are published in the West, scientific books appear

there first, and many important scientific materials must be imported. Not only is the Indian market too small to warrant reprinting many of these materials, but it is important to have scientific materials available quickly, and importing is the only way to assure this availability. As a result of this situation, there is a large book importing network in India. Foreign books, and foreign publishers as well, have some influence in Indian publishing and intellectual circles as a result of copyright arrangements, historical traditions, and the perhaps inevitable intellectual 'balance of power' that gives the industrialized world the lead in the creation of scientific knowledge of many kinds.

Political factors also enter into the intellectual relations between the industrialized nations and the Third World. Publishers have been at the centre of this 'battle' for the intellectual allegiance of the developing areas. The developing areas have been battlegrounds of the 'Cold War' which, while muted by detente, continues to some extent. India particularly has been an ideological battleground because of its size and the fact that it is one of the most strategic non-aligned nations. The various Great Powers have attempted to influence Indian intellectuals and public opinion generally through books and a variety of other intellectual and cultural programmes.

Foreign embassies publish journals and books, and subsidize Indian newspapers and magazines. Besides the book programmes and the efforts which foreign countries have made to influence Indians through the printed word, embassies also hold seminars and provide free trips to Indian intellectuals and other 'opinion makers'. Several of these programmes will be examined in some detail. The largest of these is the American-sponsored PL 480 book programmes. The British English Language Book Society (ELBS) is extensive, as is the Soviet Union's multiple book programmes, from the subsidized distribution of Soviet books in English to the subsidization of Soviet books published in India. While part of the impetus for these book programmes is a sincere effort to upgrade Indian education and intellectual life, many of these efforts are politically motivated and aimed at enhancing the influence of the donor power in India, particularly among 'opinion making' segments of the population.

The developing countries can do relatively little about their position of intellectual dependence. Countries like Burma, which have simply banned all outside knowledge and outside cultural and political influences, have found themselves cut off from intellectual developments and virtually stagnant. Even China, with a record of the most successful intellectual self-sufficiency, has been partly dependent on outside technological information. Developing countries must rely on new knowledge and research

findings from the industrialized nations. They must pay for patents as well as for the import of books. They must, to some extent, continue to rely on the major world languages as a means of scientific, intellectual, and to some extent cultural communication.

India has been particularly dependent on outside intellectual currents. The large circulations of magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek* indicate this current. Foreign films are influential and widely viewed in India. Specialized and scholarly journals are widely circulated and often considered more important than Indian magazines by intellectuals. And a large number of books are imported from abroad. These books are not only scholarly monographs and research studies, but popular best-sellers and even comic books. The impact of the West on India through all of the media of communication, but especially through the printed word, is quite important. Given this situation, it is not surprising that Indian authors often prefer to publish their work abroad because this is more prestigious as well as being more remunerative financially.

Third World nations are not entirely at the mercy of the industrialized countries. A country can insist on the development of an indigenous language for scientific as well as general communication, as Indonesia has done. The import of journals and books can be strictly controlled. Or the import of foreign films can be limited, as India has done. Less drastic steps than censorship, such as moves towards compulsory licencing of books which would reduce the outflow of foreign exchange, and the subsidization of local journals which could attract scholars, are also possible. However, in discussions of the intellectual relationships between the industrialized and developing countries the basic factors of the 'centre' and 'periphery' in world intellectual life must be considered, and also the very large amounts of money available in the industrialized nations for research and publication in a range of fields. These factors almost inevitably place the Third World in a position of at least partial dependence.

Neither foreign publishers nor foreign governments dominate Indian publishing as is the case in much of the Third World. In Francophone Africa, for example, most books are directly imported from France, and there has been almost no development of indigenous publishing. In English-speaking Africa, with a publishing history of several decades, British firms completely dominated the market until the past decade, when several indigenous publishing houses were founded. Foreign influences do, however, continue to exist in India although they are less crucial to the total intellectual scene than in many other Third World nations. The traditional form of foreign involvement—private British publishers—remain to some extent

active in India. Book-related foreign aid programmes have assumed a larger role than private involvement in recent years. The point of this discussion is that the interrelationships between India and the industrialized nations are complex and should be arranged so that sufficient benefits accrue to the Indian side.[46]

The role of the traditionally important British firms has considerably diminished in the post-Independence period. Most of these publishers now have Indian management, and all have Indians in senior positions—Oxford University Press is probably the only firm which still has an Englishman as its head. The British firms still publish textbooks, but mostly for the elite English-medium schools. The firms have increased their commitment to general and scholarly books, and have maintained high standards both in terms of selection of manuscripts and production. The British publishers are actively engaged in importing books from England. Oxford University Press, for example, has been active in reprinting and distributing in India scholarly books published abroad. While still expensive by Indian standards, such books are priced significantly below their cost in the West. It has been estimated, for example, that binding imported sheets of a foreign book in India would save about 25 per cent over importing the book. Reprinting the book in India would save about 50 per cent. While the trend has been for the diminution of British influence in Indian publishing, a number of British firms have set up operations in India in recent years, often in collaboration with an Indian publisher. Arnold Heinemann, for example, has recently established a subsidiary in New Delhi which has taken some interest in Indian creative writing.

American publishers are a relatively new addition to India's publishing scene. American firms have become particularly active since the advent of large-scale American government assistance to book programmes in the late 1950s. Many of the larger American publishers (McGraw-Hill, Van Nostrand, Prentice-Hall, John Wiley, and a few others) now have Indian branches. The American firms differ from the British concerns in that their work is mostly limited to publishing their own American titles or importing American books. McGraw-Hill, which has a collaboration agreement with Tatas and their new firm, Tata-McGraw-Hill, is an exception to this general rule as it has embarked on a highly professional programme of publishing books in India. Most of the American and American-oriented firms such as Affiliated East-West Publishers, Prentice-Hall, and Wiley-Eastern have basically been reprint houses concerned mostly with the Indian college textbook markets and attuned to the American assistance programmes. These firms are not undertaking independent publication of books by

Indian authors, with a stress on scientific and technical subjects. It remains to be seen whether these firms will be able to operate as independent entities on the Indian publishing scene with the reduction of the various aid programmes. It is clear, however, that the American-affiliated publishers in India are undergoing considerable change.

The non-Indian publishers are subject to the same government regulations regarding repatriation of profits and income taxes as any foreign enterprise. The foreign publishers have an advantage because their foreign connections are useful in obtaining credit and capital from the 'parent' company and also assistance in the import of books. Prentice-Hall and McGraw-Hill have series of textbooks printed in English in Japan, Hong Kong or Singapore for marketing to colleges throughout Asia. These books have been imported into India. Oxford University Press acts as the distribution agent for a number of university presses in the United States and Britain who wish to have their books marketed in India. The American firms benefited from 1948 until 1967 from the U.S. government sponsored Informational Media Guaranty Program, under which the U.S. government underwrote the export of American books to developing countries.[47]

Of greatest concern to this analysis are the programmes sponsored by foreign governments in India related to books and publishing. We shall be primarily concerned with American book programmes since these have been the largest in terms of size and expenditures. The Soviet Union has had a small book programme of its own in India. There is a joint Indo-Soviet textbook effort which has mainly made Soviet scientific textbooks available in India at subsidized prices. Other Soviet books on topics from politics to economics are sold in India at subsidized prices through normal commercial channels. In general, direct Soviet book efforts have been small and not very effective. Most of the political books have been on Marxism or allied topics. The textbooks have been used to a limited extent in colleges and universities. Soviet writings have not been very influential in Indian intellectual or educational life.[48] The Peoples' Publishing House is loosely affiliated to the Communist Party of India, and has cooperated in many Soviet book programmes. PPH distributes some Soviet books and has printed many volumes in collaboration with various Soviet publishing houses or the Soviet government. Soviet efforts have lacked expertise and a sustained thrust. They have relied, with some exceptions, on the distribution channels of the Peoples' Publishing House and other leftist channels, and have therefore not reached a very wide audience. Soviet programmes have been considerably smaller than American or British book efforts, and this has also contributed to their lack of viability.

British book programmes are also a force in the Indian market. The main British book effort in India is the English Language Book Society (ELBS). The ELBS functions in many developing countries where English is a medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Its aim is to bring college and university level textbooks published in Britain to readers in developing countries at a fraction of their original price. The textbooks are in fields ranging from agronomy to sociology, with stress on the natural and applied sciences. Several hundred titles are included in the ELBS programme; more than 1,000,000 ELBS books are sold throughout the world each year, with about 60 per cent of the total sale in India.[49] Unlike most American-sponsored book aid, where the books are printed in India, most of the ELBS books are printed in England. The British publisher is directly subsidized by the British government, and the books are then distributed through normal export-import and commercial channels to the developing areas at prices well below the usual British cost. Indian publishers have opposed this programme not only because of a general opposition to foreign book programmes and subsidies, but because the printing of ELBS books is done in England, thereby depriving the Indian industry of any benefits.[50] Many of the ELBS titles are not screened by Indian authorities, since the books are not published specifically for India and are imported through normal commercial channels. This gives the Indian authorities less control over the British programme than over its American counterpart since there is no Indian input into the screening process. In addition to the ELBS, the British High Commission maintains a full time officer to assist with book programmes.

While most aid has been in the form of loans for the import of food, and assistance programmes in agriculture and industry, a small part of American foreign aid has concerned intellectual and cultural life. American efforts in education have been widespread, and the U.S. has helped to develop agricultural universities, engineering institutions, and other educational institutions. Book aid has been a small but important part of the total American aid package. The largest book-related programmes were administered by the United States Information Service, indicating perhaps that the U.S. authorities felt that book aid was aimed at promoting American interests and knowledge of the United States. Other book projects were run by the Agency for International Development.[51]

The motivations for American book aid to developing countries are complex. The Agency for International Development began to take an interest in book projects in the late 1950s as part of efforts to assist in modernization and development. American aid agencies have been concerned with building up institutional 'infrastructures' in developing areas

that would assist rapid modernization, and education was seen as one of these elements. The 1950s was the period when American government agencies were most concerned with the 'ideological threat' of international communism. Books were seen as a means of opposing Communism, and efforts were made to make anti-Communist books available to readers in the Third World. Assistance to anti-Communist intellectual activities was also common, with funds often being provided by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency through various 'cover' organizations.[52]

Foreign aid, and particularly intellectual assistance, cannot be separated from the policy goals of the donor country, or for that matter, from the policies and orientation of the recipient nation. American book efforts flourished at a time when massive U.S. aid was being given to India and when American advisers were evident in India in large numbers. All this has changed, and India has assumed a more self-reliant position. As a result, American aid programmes have declined and the book programmes have all but disappeared.

The rationale for book aid to developing countries was expressed well in an AID document:

> Books are one of the major factors in building the human resources required for the political, economic and social development of a nation. They are a tool for stimulating both leaders and the general public in thinking about political, economic, and social issues. They offer information which is vital for a balanced understanding of the processes with which an emerging nation has to deal. They are a record of the action taken in dealing with social and economic problems. They serve as a medium for the transfer of knowledge and know-how in the education and training process within a generation and between generations.[53]

The United States Information Service, which has also been very active in book programmes, has expressed its rationale as well:

> The Agency promotes the translation and distribution abroad of American books which illustrate important aspects of American life and culture or which contribute significantly to the exposure of communist theory and practice. Most of these books are sold through existing or newly developed commercial channels. Many are used in schools or universities or are made available for supplementary reading.[54]

The scope and range of AID book programmes internationally is large. In addition to direct book programmes, the Agency assisted in the training of publishing and editorial personnel, sponsored surveys of local book industries, provided equipment for printing, and subsidized the promotion,

distribution, and production of books on many subjects. AID has stressed books considered to be directly useful in development programmes, such as volumes on technology, textbooks in scientific fields, and similar books.

The United States Information Agency statistics indicate the scope of the book aid. Between 1950 and 1964, USIA assisted in the production of 9,000 editions and printed 80 million copies in 51 languages, almost all in the Third World.[55] India has had one of the largest American book efforts. It is estimated that the USIA general book programme in India published around 1,500 titles in English and Indian languages between 1951 and 1972. This programme has been ended, due in part to the cooling of relations between India and the United States and in part because USIA officials questioned its effectiveness. It has been replaced by a much more modest effort which includes an American Book Club.

The American textbook project is more important for the purposes of this study than the 'general' programme. Many hundreds of titles were published under the USIA-administered PL 480 textbook programme. In 1970, 297 English reprint titles appeared and 1,679,906 copies were produced; in 1972, 289 titles were published in a total of 1,390,019 copies. Most of the editions of these books were fairly modest, with between 3,000 and 5,000 copies being printed. Some books received larger printings. For example, a volume in educational psychology sold 20,000 copies and 50,000 copies of a dictionary were sold in a few weeks. Although the large proportion of titles were in the sciences and technology, a significant minority were in the social sciences and humanities.

While American-sponsored books constitute only a small part of the annual production of the Indian publishing industry, they have had a significant impact on the college textbook market, and have been quite important to several publishing firms. The American 'standard textbook programme', which has placed more than 1,000 different textbook titles on the market in India, has made it difficult for Indian publishers to publish unsubsidized textbooks in areas covered by the American programme. Thus, American books in some fields dominate the market. The book programme, which was intended to supply low-priced textbooks for Indian students in fields where suitable Indian books were unavailable, has had the result of inhibiting the emergence of Indian texts. And, unfortunately, American books have been issued in fields where Indian books were either available or could have quickly been produced.

The American programme was a windfall for a number of Indian publishers. While most of the larger Indian publishers have participated in some aspect of American-sponsored publishing programmes, several have been built around them. Several affiliates of American publishers, for example,

Affiliated East-West Publishers, a subsidiary of Van Nostrand, which has published more than 200 PL 480 textbook titles, have made substantial profits from the programme because of subsidies and sales.[56]

There has been much criticism in India of the programme, although the PL 480 standard textbook project was initiated with the specific agreement of the Ministry of Education. The committee which makes the final decision concerning selection of books was a joint Indian-American group with representatives of the Ministry of Education on the committee. The Americans did not foist the programme on an unsuspecting Indian educational establishment. Moreover, the publishing community has, by and large, approved of the programme, although some individual publishers have privately criticized it. The larger Indian publishers have found the programme quite profitable. However, one of the most vocal critics of the programme has stated:

> [The PL 480 programme] delivers a crippling blow to the Indian publisher who refuses to be tempted by the blandishments of foreign governments and publishers to become a mere reprint house for their books and who insists on performing a more exalted task—that of presenting and promoting the finest in Indian thought and scholarship. He has to compete on grossly unequal terms with the foreign publisher whose vast resources are more than amply augmented by generous subsidies from his own government.[57]

The programme has implications for the production of indigenous textbooks and implications for the Indian author by making it quite difficult in some fields for him to compete with subsidized books. Indians, in this way, are discouraged from writing the most profitable types of books—textbooks. The efforts also make demands on the time of publishers and upon limited resources such as paper and press time. When a book is subsidized and cannot possibly lose money, most publishers jump at the opportunity to issue it.

Alongside the academic market, the American government, through the U.S. Information Service, subsidized the production of many hundreds of titles aimed at the general book market. Books selected by the USIS presented information concerning American life or contained anti-Communist polemics. These books were offered to private Indian publishers and published for the general market at low prices. This was possible because the Indian publisher received up to 80 per cent of the cost of production from the American authorities. Most of these books were not commercially successful despite the fact that the publishers made a profit because of the subsidy. Books in English were augmented by a few

translations into Indian languages. No statement in the books informed the reader that a foreign country had subsidized publication, and the Indian authorities had no role in the selection of the titles. Discriminating readers could, of course, tell that a thick volume priced at five or ten rupees must be subsidized by someone; moreover, biographies of Richard Nixon or Benjamin Franklin were obviously American-issued products.

Although accurate documentation is unavailable, it is possible that foreign book aid to India has in a sense contributed to corruption and to external political influences in the publishing enterprise. One publisher has claimed that PL 480 contracts were given to publishers with pro-American views, and that a few publishers benefited considerably because of the programmes.[58] Critics have claimed that the American authorities did not exercise careful controls over the programmes, and that Indian publishers gave inaccurate figures for printings with the result that payment was made for books never actually printed. In some cases, books were pulped since efforts to sell unpopular titles were not worthwhile to the publisher. It is clear many of the books subsidized by foreign countries in India were of little value to India, and that the programmes involved elements of waste.

The balance sheet for foreign book aid to India, and particularly for the American textbook programmes, is mixed. The textbook programme did supply books to Indian students inexpensively in some fields in which no books were available at the time. This was particularly useful at a time when the educational system was expanding rapidly. The seminars and conferences on book-related matters sponsored by a variety of national and international agencies were useful ways of providing expertise to Indians.[59] But the textbook programmes have had negative results as well. The ideological biases of Western textbooks in fields like the social sciences and humanities may be damaging for Indian students. The textbook efforts may have hampered the emergence of Indian authors, since unsubsidized Indian-authored textbooks could not effectively compete on the market. Artificially low prices for textbooks may have to some extent distorted the pricing structure, and made Indians unwilling to pay market-related prices for unsubsidized books. The issue of foreign participation in Indian publishing—and in intellectual life generally—is a complex one and deserves careful analysis.

Regional Language Publishing

The main focus of this study has been on the role of the publisher in the creation and dissemination of knowledge. The bulk of this kind of publishing

in India takes place in English, and so our discussion has mainly concerned the English language book trade. Nevertheless, there is a vital and growing publishing effort occurring in the Indian languages, and a modest amount of scholarly and scientific publishing going on as well. It is, therefore, important to give at least some attention to this aspect of the publishing enterprise. This discussion must necessarily be both brief and very incomplete. Only two languages are considered—Hindi and Marathi—because of the availability of data. A number of other languages also have an active publishing enterprise. Bengali, Malayalam, Telugu, and Tamil are particularly important in this respect.[60]

Regional language publishing is in a generally rather difficult situation. As has been noted, the percentage of the population literate in English is very small and the number of individuals who read the major regional languages is considerable. Yet, it is fair to say that with the possible exceptions of Bengali and perhaps Marathi, there is little 'book consciousness' among readers in the regional languages. An indication of this situation is that individuals who are willing to pay Rs 30 for a book in English will only pay Rs 10 or less for a book in their mother tongue. Book buying in India has been limited to a small elite able to afford books and with a strong educational background. This elite is English-speaking for the most part, scattered throughout the country, but concentrated in the cities. The number of libraries which purchase serious books is not very large and these libraries are scattered throughout India. Thus, the library market in a particular state is often too small to sustain regional language publishers, and 'exports' of books in, for example, Bengali to Maharashtra or Tamilnadu are practically nonexistent. Thus, the regional market is balkanized.

The structure of intellectual prestige, financial remuneration, and national exposure all impel the Indian author to publish in English rather than in one of the regional languages. As has been pointed out, creative work in many fields occurs most often in English, and the regional languages have active written expression only in such areas as religion, fiction, cultural commentary, and a few others. The pressures towards writing in English are considerable, and few authors who are able to do so resist them.

The relationship between English and the regional languages is similar to the centre-periphery situation which is evident in India's intellectual relationships with Britain or the United States. Power, influence, and knowledge generally flow up to the centre (New Delhi) through the use of the English language (and to some extent Hindi). English is not only the language of India's elite, of its national politics, and of elements of its legal and educational systems, but it is also India's means of communication with the outside world.

Hindi, as the mother tongue of more than 40 per cent of India's population and as the national language, is in a somewhat stronger position than the other regional languages, but all, including Hindi, find themselves pressed by the power of English over the means of communication in the nation. The smaller regional languages (Punjabi, Assamese, Sindhi, and a few others) find themselves threatened as 'publishing' languages. The volume of books and journals published in these languages is small, and many commentators have warned of the disappearance of these languages as literary entities. For example, fewer than 300 titles a year are published in such languages as Kannada, Assamese, and Punjabi.

The situation is not totally bleak, however, nor are the publishers (and authors) completely powerless. The cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century in Bengal was initiated in part by creative writers who were committed to expressing themselves in Bengali.[61] Publishers, as well as journalists, artists, authors, film-makers and others, can contribute to the viability of the regional languages and the cultures which support these languages by committing themselves to making creative work available in these languages. But the battle is an uphill one. The economic situation of cultural life in the regional languages is quite difficult, and the trend towards English or Hindi continues as a very strong element.

Several of the regional languages have been active and have a viable publishing apparatus, although none, including Hindi, can be called flourishing. In Kerala, which has the highest literacy rate (60 per cent) in India and a long tradition of creative writing, the existence of a cooperative publishing house owned by Malayalam writers, the Sahitya Pravartaka Sahakarana Sangam, has helped serious publishing. This cooperative pays its authors royalties, has been able to set up a good distribution network, and successfully publishes serious fiction, literary and cultural commentary, and other books. Publishers in Marathi, Tamil, Bengali, Gujarati, and Telugu have been able to function. In other languages, there are very few reputable publishers. Book sales and the market for books in some of the regional languages simply cannot support publishing firms on any but the most modest levels. Per capita book production figures indicate the situation of the regional languages. The Asian average in 1964 was 48 titles published per million population, and the world figure was 127. In Hindi, only 9.6 titles were published per million, with the number going to 31.2 in Marathi and 29.2 in Gujarati. The all-India figure was 27 titles per million. These statistics are more than a decade old, and it is clear that Hindi has increased its standing.[62]

One might expect that publishing in the regional languages would be growing at a rapid rate since the number of literate individuals is increasing.

But the situation is mixed, and great optimism is certainly not warranted. There are a number of reasons to expect that the long-term future of regional languages will be favourable. Education at all levels, including higher education, is increasingly conducted in the regional languages, and textbooks and ancillary materials are needed. Literacy rates in the regional languages are rising slowly as well. As the importance of English declines, as the government stresses Hindi or the regional languages and as the educational system uses English less, it is logical that there should be a corresponding rise in the use of the regional languages for political and educational purposes. There is a long-term trend towards the growth of an active economic, political, and intellectual development of the regional languages.

Despite these long-term trends, regional language publishers have stated that their sales have not increased markedly, that they are caught in a cost-price squeeze, and that they feel themselves more threatened now than at any time in recent years. The market for scholarly books is particularly limited, although there are the beginnings of sales potential for popular books in areas like religion, politics, and fiction. Some have commented that the audience for books in regional languages is small—in Tamil, for example, magazines printing serious literature have large circulations but readers do not buy books. In Marathi, despite a fairly high literacy rate and a strong intellectual tradition, books do not sell well—people would rather attend a play or a serious film than buy a book.[63]

Publishing in the regional languages shares many of the characteristics of English-language publishing. One pessimistic observer noted:

> The majority of publishers of books in Indian languages are essentially book-sellers possessing neither the technique nor the staff nor the equipment which are indispensable for any good publishing concern. Thus, publishers rush to press as soon as they catch hold of any manuscripts, which, in their opinion, are of marketable value. Hardly any editing is done by these publishers and the attention paid to the printing, binding, and get-up leaves much to be desired.[64]

It is probably true that the regional language publishers have smaller staffs, less expertise, and a less secure financial base than their English-medium counterparts. Further, there is a great need to keep the cost of books quite low since the market cannot absorb high book prices. This means that standards of production must be low. Also, most of the regional language publishers are smaller than their counterparts in English. Furthermore, while distance is less of a problem for distribution, there are few bookshops which stock regional language books, and have less incentive to stock a particular title, since the profit per book is low.

As in English, library sales account for a large proportion of the sales of scholarly books. In both Hindi and Marathi, it is estimated that 60 per cent of the sales are to libraries, which is a lower percentage than for English books.[65] Because of the necessity of keeping prices low, the cost-price margin is lower than in English, with many regional language publishers pricing books three to four times the cost of producing the book. Print-runs tend to be similar to those in English, with 1,000 copies being typical for a serious book in Hindi or Marathi.

Everyone agrees that there is a future for books in the regional languages. The total number of titles published each year is growing and the number of serious and scholarly books is increasing modestly. However, the regional languages and Hindi are not overtaking English as the language of intellectual communication in India. Long-term change is inevitable, particularly as the upper levels of government and the educational system shift to the regional languages. At present, the regional languages are media of creative writing and expression only in a few areas. There are more books being translated from English to the regional languages, but most writers choose to express themselves in English. The regional languages are viable means of communicating well-developed cultures but they have a long way to go to become the predominant languages of intellectual work in India.

'Academic' Publishing

This study is largely concerned with scholarly publishing—with those books that add to the knowledge of a society or communicate this knowledge. It is often the case that scholarly books introduce new knowledge into a society through seemingly abstract research studies. A volume of basic or applied research in agriculture, for example, may form the basis for an innovation in agricultural practice later. In this way, scholarly books have an indirect impact on the society. In this section, our concern is with publishers who specifically deal with scholarly books as their primary focus of interest. We have called these 'academic' publishers. While some academic publishers are universities, some government agencies and a few private sector publishers fall into this category. Academic publishing as a specialty of the publishing enterprise is not as yet well developed in India due to the inherent economic and distribution problems which exist. This section will discuss both the present situation and the potential for such publishing in India. Academic publishing is in the best of circumstances a rather difficult undertaking. As one American publisher put it:

> We publish the smallest editions at the greatest cost, and on these we place the highest price, and then we try to market-them to people who can least afford them.[66]

Academic publishing on a non-profit basis has become one of the major means of getting new knowledge, research findings, and criticism published in the United States. The main non-profit scholarly publishers in the United States, the university presses, account for about one-tenth of the title production in the U.S. each year but only two per cent of the book sales. The American university presses emerged as a major element of American publishing after the Second World War when it became clear that private publishers were unwilling to publish the increasing amount of scholarly work being produced. A means, not tied to profit making, had to be found to assure the availability of this type of material. The university presses, which have until recently received subsidies from their parent institutions, were able to fill the gap and emerged as an important element of American publishing.

As noted earlier in this study, the American-style university press is not the only model for scholarly publishing. While university presses are important in Britain (Oxford and Cambridge University Presses are among the largest and oldest scholarly presses in the world), private publishers take a more active role in publishing scholarly materials than is the case in the United States. In Europe, although there are some academic presses, most scholarly books are published by private publishers, who are able to make a modest profit on these books due to universal literacy, high levels of education, and a tradition of book buying by individuals. The socialist countries of Eastern Europe use a third model of scholarly publishing, with public sector publishers issuing all books, including scholarly books. For the most part, scientific organizations like the Academy of Sciences and its branches handle the publication of research monographs and scholarly books without regard for the possible profitability of such books.[67] All industrialized countries have devised mechanisms for the publication and dissemination of scholarly materials, as the importance of these materials has been recognized, as has the inherent uneconomic nature of publishing them.

While India has at least the rudiments of an academic publishing network, with universities, some private firms, and various specialized institutions taking part, other Third World nations are less fortunate. Indonesia, which has a large population and a substantial university system, has problems making books available. There are very few publishers in Indonesia and a limited number of academics able to produce scholarly books of high

quality. The situation is so serious that college textbooks in Indonesia are lacking in many fields.[68] Smaller developing countries are in an even worse situation, since the natural market for books is so small as to make publishing almost of any kind uneconomic. The provision of scholarly books and the stimulation of high level research is a problem for many of the smaller developing countries. It has been suggested that cooperative marketing and perhaps publishing arrangements for countries with the same language or in the same region may be a partial solution.[69]

India has made use of publishing by research institutes, government ministries, and universities as means of making knowledge available. Another relevant model for developing countries is a kind of cooperative publishing arrangement between a number of academic institutions and research centres. Such a hypothetical cooperative press would be able to have materials readily available and would not be an undue drain on economic or personnel resources. Distribution of books would be easier and high technical standards could be maintained. This model has particular attraction for India, where university presses have often been parochial in orientation and seldom publish materials by scholars outside the home campus. A pooling of financial and technical resources would permit a cooperative press to distribute books more effectively than is now possible for the academic presses, could ensure higher technical standards, and could have more control over the quality of the manuscripts.

The 'hidden hand' in scholarly publishing in almost every country is the government. This is perhaps especially the case in developing countries where academic institutions do not have a surplus of funds and where capital for publishing is very difficult to obtain. Even in the United States, academic presses depend on indirect government subsidies through grants to university libraries and occasionally on direct grants for particular projects.[70] The critical factor is to ensure that government (or foundation) assistance does not intrude directly on the publishing process and that academic publishers have sufficient technical and intellectual independence to operate in a fully professional manner.

Private sector publishers in India have a continuing role to play in scholarly publishing in India, and have in fact produced many scholarly books. The economics of Indian publishing permit publishers who have careful control over the costs of production to make a modest profit on editions of 1,000 copies or even fewer. Thus, scholarly publishing is economically within the realm of the private sector publishers. As in the United States and other countries, scholarly publishing is often undertaken by private firms for reasons of prestige rather than profit. Private publishers have

considerably more flexibility and independence than either government agencies or university presses.

A number of government programmes have been aimed at assisting the publication of scholarly books and also helping private publishers. One of the most interesting of these programmes was sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR). The ICSSR provided publication grants of Rs 3,000 to doctoral theses and other studies it considered worthy of support. Studies which were selected by the ICSSR were published by private publishers, who used these grants to defray the costs of publication. The books were then sold on a commercial basis. A total of 146 studies, mostly dissertations which were edited for publication, were published under this ICSSR programme, which was ended in November 1973, in part because ICSSR authorities felt that some of the grants were not administered properly. Universities and other semi-public agencies have used private publishers either to publish books and studies sponsored by them or have used private firms for distribution. The Gokhale Institute of Politics in Poona and the Indian Statistical Institute have at various times used Asia Publishing House as their publisher, and the University of Bombay Press has used Popular Prakashan to distribute its books. Popular Prakashan currently functions as the printer and distributor for many of the publications of the Indian Council of Social Science Research.

University publishing has a fairly long but not a very distinguished history. The first university press, Calcutta University Press, was founded in 1909, and has a backlist of more than 1,000 titles.[71] Other fairly old presses exist at the University of Bombay and at Punjab University at Chandigarh. Other universities have presses, but few are actively pursuing scholarly publishing. A recent experiment in publishing occurred at Jodhpur University under the leadership of the former Vice-Chancellor, V. V. John. A university press was created at a new institution and faculty members were involved in running it. While the press was not concerned primarily with scholarly books—its main mission was to provide books useful to the university's students—it was an attempt to innovate, to involve the academic community in the publishing enterprise, and to produce new kinds of books. The experiment came to an end with Vice-Chancellor John's abrupt departure from office in 1972.

University presses have become more widespread and more active in India recently. But their main activities have been printing stationery, examination papers, other university materials, and publishing textbooks. These textbooks are generally written by professors in the university and are not used outside the institution. Such textbooks have concentrated on language

and literature, but have by no means been limited to these fields. The trend for universities to publish their own textbooks has been growing.

University press involvement in textbook printing has several drawbacks. It detracts from the more scholarly role of the university press and means that the major consideration is given to textbooks. Since each university sponsors its own books and there is little national or even regional distribution among academic presses, there is probably needless duplication and unnecessarily small printings. If textbooks were printed in larger editions, the cost per copy might be lowered and students thereby provided with real savings. At present, many universities prefer to use textbooks or volumes of readings written by their own faculty. But there is no reason why textbooks could not be used on a national or regional basis, as is common in most other countries. Perhaps the major drawback of the university press textbooks is the fact that the private sector is increasingly denied its last major textbook market. Thus, private firms are unable to use the profits that they might make on textbooks to issue scholarly books.

The University of Bombay Press is a well-established university press and takes a greater role in scholarly publishing than most academic publishers. It is, therefore, a good example of the organization and management of this type of publishing enterprise.[72] About one-fifth of its total work is devoted to the printing of books (the rest being taken up with the printing needs of the university, particularly examination papers), and less than half of this amount to scholarly and general books. Thus, it is likely that about ten per cent of the effort of the University of Bombay Press is concerned with publishing books of a general or scholarly nature. In 1972–3, for example, the Press printed 96,300 copies of textbooks and about 8,300 copies of general and scholarly books. About twenty textbooks and perhaps a dozen scholarly books are published in a given year, with the printings of the latter running between 1,500 and 3,000. A series of research monographs is also published that has even smaller printings. The Press prints in eleven languages, although almost all of its scholarly publishing is in English. The Press is fiscally a department of the University of Bombay, and has no independent financial status. The University provides a grant of Rs 50,000 each year for its operation as well as providing rent-free quarters. This subsidy is relatively modest since the annual turnover is about Rs 450,000.

The Press has no professional editorial staff at all. Its superintendent is a printer by background, and there is no editorial or stylistic work done by the Press on its publications. The Press has a fully equipped printing establishment, although much of its machinery is outmoded. Decisions concerning the Press, including the selection of titles, are handled by a Publications

Board of about eight members from the faculties of the University. There seems to be almost no attention given to promoting or distributing the publications of the Press. Several distribution arrangements with private publishers have been tried but none have proved successful. At present, the University Cooperative Store handles the distribution of the Press's books. This arrangement may be suitable for textbooks, but it does not provide an adequate distribution for scholarly and general books.

While the University of Bombay Press is able to continue with its work because of its 'captive' textbook market and its printing services to the University, it is not a major scholarly publisher and contributes little to the advancement of knowledge in India. Most academic books published by commercial presses are more attractive. At present, the University of Bombay Press is a printer of substantial proportions, but is not a publisher.

The University of Bombay Press is fairly typical of the larger and better established university presses in India. It is possible that Calcutta and Punjab pay more attention to scholarly publishing, but on the other hand, most of the Indian university presses have no general and scholarly publishing programmes at all. If university presses are to play an active role in issuing scholarly books in India, they must have resources and clearly defined goals. The purposes of a university press have been outlined by Datus Smith. These purposes include:

> to serve scholarship in the local country by making the results of research coherently available for the use of all;
>
> to stimulate and vitalize research, to encourage authors, to subject research to criticism by public exposure;
>
> to serve as a connecting link with the world community of scholars through informing other countries of results of research and to publish selected scholarly works from abroad;
>
> to exhibit standards of book publishing that can help raise the general level;
>
> to strengthen cultural morale at the university and in the country generally by ending dependence on foreign countries in doing scholarly publishing.[73]

Smith goes on to argue that scholarly publishers must meet a number of conditions. Among these are (a) academic control (key editorial decisions should remain in the hands of professors), (b) professional staff (editorial functions should be handled by skilled professionals), (c) long-term commitment (institutions should commit themselves to a functioning press for a number of years at a time), and (d) operational autonomy (within a framework of broad university policy).[74]

Universities are not the only non-profit producers of scholarly books. In the Delhi area alone, there are a number of institutions which publish 'serious' books on a regular basis.[75] When the total number of publications issued by these agencies is added up, it is a substantial annual figure. Coordination of editorial, production, and distribution arrangements would greatly improve both the standards of these publications and would probably lower the costs. Coordinating arrangements would also be made for some of the smaller university presses.

Scholarly publishing is an important function, and one which has been done in an *ad hoc* manner for the most part. This section has outlined some of the means which India has used to provide scholarly materials. It is clear that the issue needs further consideration by those in the book trade as well as universities, government ministries, and others involved in education.

Case Studies

These discussions have so far been general in nature, seeking to provide an overview of Indian publishing. In order to provide a more complete view of the 'reality' of Indian publishing, several short 'case studies' of individual publishers are presented. These vignettes are not complete analyses of the firms discussed, nor is there a claim made that these publishers are typical of the book trade. The focus is on providing some detailed information concerning a few publishers. The problems and contributions of several publishers are presented here. These discussions are incomplete, and do not include a detailed picture of any individual publishers. The publishers considered here are well-established private firms publishing mostly in English.[76]

Asia Publishing House was perhaps the first Indian publisher to publish along professional lines and to devote itself largely to the publication of 'serious' books.[77] Although Asia has become much less active in recent years, it remains one of India's larger and most respected publishing firms. Asia is the only Indian publisher to maintain offices in both London and New York. Its founder and head, Peter Jayasinghe, is still one of the leaders of Indian publishing. Asia is important in Indian publishing not only because it is one of the larger firms, but because it was one of the first to differentiate between the various editorial and production functions and to train professionals in the field of publishing. Indeed, many of the senior editors in other firms were trained at Asia Publishing House. One veteran

described Peter Jayasinghe as the only 'real' publisher in India in the sense that he has a long-range vision concerning books. Asia Publishing House was founded in 1943 and has published 4,300 titles in the thirty-one years of its existence, of which 1,500 are still in print. While most of these books are devoted to scholarly topics, to current affairs and politics, or to science, a few novels have also been published. The bulk of Asia's work has been in English, but some efforts have been made in Hindi as well. Asia has an annual turnover of about Rs 6,400,000, most of which is accounted for by sales of books from their back-list.

Despite its status, Asia Publishing House has seriously declined. In 1973, for example, Asia published fewer than 35 new titles, and its senior editorial staff in Bombay was reduced to fewer than four. Part of its impressive headquarters building in Bombay was rented out to a bank. There have been many rumours in recent years of the impending collapse of the firm; most of the talented senior editors have left to join other publishers. While the full explanation of the decline of Asia Publishing House cannot be presented here, a number of factors of general applicability can be mentioned. A number of observers have noted that Asia grew too fast in the 1950s, that it selected many titles which were of marginal value (both in terms of literary and scientific merit and in terms of sales potential), and as a result there was a lack of capital since the books published did not sell quickly enough to recoup the investment. In addition, despite a well-trained professional staff, it was not possible to maintain high technical standards when more than 300 books were being published in a year. Thus, standards of production as well as quality of the books fell to some extent. The declining tempo of sales that resulted, not by any means a unique phenomenon in Indian publishing, led to all the familiar difficulties which confront a publisher when cash inflow does not balance outflow. An acute shortage of working capital can be crippling in an enterprise like publishing in which capital turnover is slow and at the same time does not easily attract investment from private or institutional sources.

The rise and fall of Asia Publishing House shows both the strengths and weaknesses of Indian publishing. Asia proved that it is possible to build a large firm by combining the import and distribution of foreign books with the publishing and distribution of Indian books. Peter Jayasinghe proved in the 1950s that there is scope for an Indian publisher with imagination and high professional standards. While some Asia books were printed in large numbers and sold very well, such as some of the writings of Jawaharlal Nehru, most of the books were issued in printings of 2,000 copies and took three or four years to sell out. The firm relied to some extent on its contacts

with eminent Indians who published their books with Asia—some of these books were successful, while others proved to be failures. These contacts in high places were no doubt valuable to the firm.

One of the signs of the 'decline' of the firm was the delay in publication of manuscripts and payment of royalties, which was a natural corollary of Asia's cash-flow problems. This also contributed not only to a demoralization of the authors but also to their abandoning Asia as a publisher of their books. Asia's story is all too familiar in Indian publishing.

Another example of a publisher who attempted to maintain very high technical standards and to build a firm along 'modern' lines but who in the end failed is P. C. Manaktala and Sons. P. C. Manaktala, for many years associated with Allied Publishers, went into business for himself in 1964, with the aim of producing high quality serious books and distributing them effectively. The firm had no foreign agency or other ancillary elements—its only concern was publishing. Most of the books published by Manaktala were general books of a serious nature, on politics, current affairs, and social questions. A few college textbooks were published. The firm had a relationship with the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, which subsidized the publication of a number of Manaktala books. In its two and a half years of active existence, the firm published 70 general books and 7 textbooks. Manaktala maintained extremely high standards—it is probably true that Manaktala books were the best produced in India, meeting international standards in terms of design and production. Moreover, the titles were usually chosen with care and the manuscripts were subjected to some editorial work. Distribution was handled through Allied Publishers, which has a large distribution network. Manaktala also made an effort to publicize its books by mailing publicity material and other means.

Despite an active publishing programme, effective leadership and high standards, Manaktala was forced to cease its publishing activities in late 1967.[78] A number of reasons have been given for this situation. Perhaps the basic problem was a shortage of capital. Manaktala may have expanded publishing operations too quickly, using up the available capital and small bank credit arrangements before the books that were published were able to inject sufficient new money into the firm. Negotiations with the British firm Allen and Unwin, which would have provided capital for the operation, proved unsuccessful at the moment when funds were urgently needed. Further, it is possible that Manaktala's overhead costs were too high and the operation simply too lavish for Indian conditions. Editorial staff were very well paid and with the considerable care given to each book, it was inevitable that the editorial costs per volume were quite high. The capital

of Rs 230,000 that was available to start the firm was insufficient to see it through until it could be self-financing. The firm also began operations just before a major economic recession hit the country, and this naturally caused a decline in the sales of books in general.

A publisher who has been reasonably successful in bringing out scholarly books and is now celebrating its fiftieth anniversary is Popular Prakashan. Founded in 1924 as a bookstore (Popular Book Depot) and publishing books since 1928, Popular Prakashan has been in the hands of the same family since that time. The bookstore operation continues to be a key part of the business, and acts as a distributor for Popular Prakashan books as well as the books of other publishers. One of the largest book-stores in India, it attracts many institutional buyers and has a reputation throughout the country. Popular Prakashan has also been engaged in work-ing with other institutions in cooperative publishing arrangements. For a period, Popular was the publisher for the University of Bombay, and it now works with the Indian Council of Social Science Research. In 1973, the total turnover of the publishing operation of Popular Prakashan was about Rs 800,000 and about 75 books were published, 45 of them in English and most of the rest in Marathi. (The firm has been publishing books in Marathi and to a very limited extent in Hindi since 1952.) Most Popular books are serious or scholarly books along with some textbooks.[79]

It is possible that Popular Prakashan and its associated enterprises have survived as publishers because they are a 'conglomerate' of book-related businesses, most of which are not very large. In addition to its publishing firm and bookshop, Popular owns a printing press and binding equipment; it runs a modest importing business, and it publishes one of the two major book-trade publications. None of the personnel of the firm seem to be highly paid professionals, thus further cutting down on overhead. Indeed, Popular Prakashan has been criticized for its lack of care in editorial work on manuscripts and for the inconsistent technical quality of its books. The firm's backlist is quite large and includes many standard academic works. The fact that Popular Prakashan has been able to survive as a publisher and bookseller of considerable size and with a good reputation for almost fifty years is a unique achievement.

So far this discussion has focused on publishers who are headquartered in Bombay, the centre of publishing in India until 1970. In recent years, the locus of the book trade has moved to Delhi. Most of the firms which have been founded in recent years are located in Delhi, such as Tata McGraw-Hill, Vikas, Sterling, Thompsons, and others. In addition several formerly Bombay-based firms have moved to Delhi, including Oxford University Press. Macmillans, formerly centred in Madras, has also moved to Delhi.

Even the firms which retain their headquarters in Bombay have sizable branch offices in Delhi.

Vikas Publishing House is something of a sensation among Indian publishers. Founded in 1969, Vikas has established itself, according to many observers, as one of the most successful publishers in India. Vikas is now publishing about 100 titles per year. Its list varies considerably and features serious studies of the development problems of India and China along with 'instant' best-selling volumes on cricket. According to Vikas director Narendra Kumar, the bulk of the titles are of a scholarly nature but a large proportion of the sales are from more popular books. Vikas is part of the UBS Publishers Distributors firm, and thus obtains its capital from one of India's most successful distribution agencies and has the advantage of effective distribution.[80] Vikas publishes predominantly in English, but also publishes books in Hindi. It also issues a paperback series, and has recently begun to issue college textbooks.

While a number of observers have compared Vikas's rapid rise to that of Asia Publishing House and have worried that the firm may be over-expanding, most feel that Vikas is at present the most effective publisher in India. Its books are almost all well produced and well edited, although some have criticized Vikas's list as being uneven. Its overheads are fairly low and its distribution network perhaps the best in India. It may also be significant that Vikas's leadership is comparatively young and has aggressively sought new and different kinds of books to publish. Vikas is at present an example of what a solid financial base from the UBS agency and a distribution system can do in the Indian market.

These vignettes have stressed the larger, more visible English-language publishers. Asia, Vikas, Popular, and Manaktala are by no means typical. They are without question among the largest and best in the country. A more typical example is a small Bombay firm which attempted to enter the publishing field, brought out a handful of books in English and Hindi, and virtually ended its publishing activities. This firm was beset by internal problems (disputes between the editors and management), could not find sufficient capital, and was unable to locate a good distribution mechanism.

A smaller new firm has the problems of obtaining sufficient capital (at least Rs 200,000 is needed to see a publisher through the first year or so of operation), or distribution, or publicity, and of trained staff. Without considerable outside financial backing it is very difficult to maintain the publishing initiative for long enough to begin to make the business pay. Furthermore, it is difficult for a newly established firm to obtain manuscripts which have either quality or sales potential. The incidence of failure of publishing efforts is quite high.

There is the additional problem of trained editorial personnel. There are relatively few well-trained editors who are able to see a manuscript through from its raw form to a printed book. In India, where most publishing firms do not have bifurcated editorial functions, the editor must handle many jobs. Typically, well-trained publishing professionals tend to move from firm to firm in search of higher salaries and a greater degree of professional autonomy. The newer firms are often unable to afford this talent or unwilling to allow the required autonomy.

The more typical Indian publisher engages in publishing only as a sideline and is primarily a bookseller, printer, or distributor. This kind of firm issues a few books a year, has no professional staff, makes no effort to publicize or professionally distribute books, and is a purely marginal operation for its owner. These firms often reprint old books which are no longer under copyright, or publish in an eclectic manner in accordance with the manuscripts which happen to reach the owner.

There are also a number of specialized firms some of which do excellent work and contribute to scholarly publishing. Several firms publish Indological works, both reprints and new books. One such publisher is Motilal Banarsidass. Other firms specialize in the publishing of law or medical books. There are several paperback publishers who devote at least some of their lists to serious books. The largest are Orient Paperbacks and Jaico, which publish popular novels and self-improvement books along with some serious works of fiction, politics, or scholarship. Orient Paperbacks' parent firm, Hind Pocket Books, has a backlist of 3,000 titles in Hindi (compared to 160 titles in English). Many of these paperbacks are 'serious' books, reprints from Western classics, or current discussions of Indian problems. Hind Pocket Books' parent firm, Rajpal and Sons, was founded in 1891.

Indian publishers are a mixed lot, and it is difficult to generalize about them. Publishers range from firms with professional staff, backlists of hundreds of titles, distribution networks, and export potential, to small operations issuing a few titles a year with virtually no distribution effort. While publishing has not established itself as a fully profitable commercial operation in India, there is no question but that considerable professionalism and efficiency have been built up in the past decade.

Publishing and the Intellectual Community

This study concludes with a consideration of the one element which has been left out of this discussion—the publishing personnel and the 'public' which publishing serves—the Indian intellectual and educational

communities. Publishing responds to market demand to a considerable extent, and is at the same time dependent on what intellectual 'products' are produced by authors. In this way, publishers and authors are in a symbiotic relationship. Part of the equation also concerns the characteristics of those professionals who work in publishing firms and those who own the firms—sometimes the same individuals. Thus, publishing is not simply a matter of manuscripts, printing presses, and books. It concerns authors, editors, owners, and, finally, readers.

(a) The Publisher

After this consideration of the difficulties of publishing in a developing society, one might ask who would be ill-advised enough to become engaged, either financially or professionally, in publishing. It is difficult to provide a definitive answer to this question, but there seems to be no lack of individuals interested in the field. A new training course for publishing at the College of Vocational Studies of Delhi University has more than fifty students, and a newly formed Association of Publishing Professionals attempted for a short period to represent the interests of a new breed of non-owner professionals. This new Association was formed as a counterbalance to the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations, which was seen as dominated by owners and wholesalers, and as too concerned with the purely economic aspects of the publishing enterprise, but for a number of reasons never established itself.[81]

It is difficult to describe the 'typical' individual working in publishing. The majority have a business or bookselling background and have become publishers somewhat by chance. The leadership of most of the smaller firms is neither well trained in publishing nor has much knowledge about books. Some bookseller-publishers have a genuine love for books and a reasonable knowledge about them, but these individuals are in a minority. Many of the owners are primarily businessmen who happen to be in a book-related business. The economics of book distribution and printing is related but in many ways different from that of publishing. And a good deal more specialized knowledge is needed to run a publishing house. Most know enough to provide leadership to their firms and some have a flair for picking profitable titles or series.

Most of the individuals at the top levels of publishing come from business-oriented classes and have urban backgrounds. They tend to be well educated, often with post-graduate degrees in arts subjects. The families tend to have been involved in publishing, or at least bookselling, for more

than a generation, and knowledge of the book business comes naturally for many owner-publishers. With some exceptions, publishing houses tend to be family concerns, with all basic decisions made by the owners. It is only in the foreign firms and a few of the larger new concerns that there are corporate financial and decision-making structures. Owner-publishers remain the key people in the publishing enterprise in India, although the trend is slowly towards more bureaucratic business organizations. The owner-publishers dominate the Federation of Publishers and most other professional organizations, and these are the individuals who generally represent India at international meetings. They also dominate the regional publishers' organizations.

There is also a 'new breed' of publishers developing in India. These are non-owner professionals who have come into publishing in recent years and have risen to positions of senior executives in some of the larger firms. Most publishers, of course, have virtually no staff at all beyond the owner and some clerks, so the professionals are limited to private sector firms which have some senior employees, and also some of the public-sector publishing activities, which have professional personnel at the top levels. The number of these professionals is still quite small in India. A few professionals also work in the more serious regional language firms such as Rajpal and Sons, Rajkamal Prakashan, and some others. It is likely that there are perhaps one hundred qualified non-owner professionals in India, concentrated largely in Delhi and Bombay, with a few in Calcutta and Madras. These individuals are usually well educated, generally with a humanities or social science background. They are reasonably well paid, earning from Rs 1,500 to about Rs 2,000 per month. All have been trained 'on the job' with many coming from backgrounds in Asia Publishing House or a few other firms. There is some job mobility between firms, and a few such professionals have been lured into the advertising industry by higher salaries.

There are, of course, many job frustrations for these professional editorial personnel. One is the fact that most decisions in the firm are in the hands of the owners, who are often not as well trained or knowledgeable as their staff and may not be primarily interested in the publishing aspects of their business enterprises. Publishing houses are very short of trained staff, and this means that the few professionally trained staff must handle many functions. It is not uncommon for a single individual to handle all of the aspects of book production, from copy-editing to negotiations with printers, publicity, proof-reading, and the like. In the long run this is clearly not in the best interests of the firm since relatively well-paid manpower is doing a job which could be done by support staff.

Professional editors are seldom in direct contact with authors, a function which they perform in many other countries, which keeps them in touch with literary and academic currents. Professional staff seldom define themselves as 'intellectuals'. They are to some extent in touch with current intellectual trends, but few are directly involved in manuscript development—the usual practice in India is simply for an author to hand a manuscript to a publisher and for the publisher to make a decision about whether to publish it. Editorial staff are seldom writers themselves, and they are not involved in the organizations of writers or other intellectuals.

The future of publishing as a career in India is unclear. The continuing decline of standards of English in the educational system will make it more difficult for publishers to find personnel with a sense of style in the English language. While salaries in publishing, at the senior levels, are competitive with academic salaries, it is likely that a talented individual could earn more in an advertising agency or some other non-publishing business. As competition for jobs becomes sharper, it is possible that well-qualified individuals will enter publishing as a career. At present, however, publishing is not seen as a high status and remunerative career by many young Indians.

Professionalism is an increasingly important element in Indian publishing. Owners are increasingly aware of the need for skilled professional assistance and standards of production are gradually rising. Editing manuscripts is now accepted as an important part of the publishing process. Specialization of functions within publishing firms is gradually developing, although at this point such specialization is limited to the larger firms. Publishers are paying more attention to publicity and other functions previously ignored, and this will provide openings for trained individuals. The regional language publishers will grow and eventually require professionally trained staff as well.

(b) The Author

In many respects, the author is the forgotten person in the publishing equation. Publishers are dependent on authors for books; authors are infrequently accorded the respect that is their share in industrialized countries, are seldom sought after and sometimes dishonestly dealt with, once the book is published. There is little effort to 'develop' a book idea with an author, and publishers do not often attempt to publish a number of books by the same individual. Perhaps most important, authorship is not very remunerative in India; the rewards in terms of money, prestige, and advancement are not large.[82]

The general practice in India is for an author to submit a completed manuscript to a publisher for consideration. If the publisher is interested, a contract is drawn up and the book published. There are seldom advances on royalties paid to authors and it is unusual for publishers to provide contracts to authors before a manuscript is completed. It is very common in India for authors to subsidize their own books by paying publishers to defray the cost of printing. While many reputable publishers are hesitant to discuss this, it is practised by many publishers in India, and is often the only avenue for an author to get a book published. Once a manuscript has been accepted by a publisher, very little editorial work is done on it in most cases. This is a particularly serious problem for books published in English, since many authors do not have a firm command of the language, and manuscripts are often in need of considerable editorial work.

Authors are occasionally exploited by publishers. In addition to long delays in publication, changes in design and paper, and other problems which are common in many countries, Indian authors have some special problems. While standard contractual royalties are between 10 and 15 per cent—with some textbook authors getting up to 25 per cent royalties—it is not uncommon for publishers to pay royalties late or in some cases not to pay them at all. The author has little remedy since the cost and delay of taking the matter to court is substantial. Publishers sometimes do not render accurate sales statements and occasionally even print a second edition of a book without informing the author. Some publishers have been known to consistently under-report the sales of a book and thus have smaller royalty payments to make. Indian authors often feel considerable hostility towards their own publishers and towards the publishing community generally.[83] Few authors are known to feel loyalty to a particular publisher and often shift from firm to firm.

Authorship in India is not a well-developed profession. There is little money to be made in writing scholarly books or books on current events. An occasional volume on an issue of public interest, such as the Bangladesh war, will sell reasonably well—a sale of 8,000 copies in hardback is considered extraordinary. Novels in paperback sometimes sell more copies, and a paperback publisher printed an edition of 500,000 of a Hindi novel by a popular lowbrow author not long ago. Most authors of scholarly books are not freelance writers but rather are academics, government officials, businessmen, or journalists.

Indian authors have seldom organized to protect their interests. Authors are not represented in any of the committees which are concerned with books or publishing, and their interests have not been a major issue

in discussions of copyright. There is no professional association of authors, although a recent effort to set up a Writers' Guild in Delhi may be a step in this direction. The Indian P.E.N. organization acts as an intellectual forum for writers. In a few cases, writers have organized to publish their own books as a protest against the state of commercial publishing, but these efforts have been regionally based for the most part. They have met with reasonable success in Kerala and West Bengal, where workshops and cooperatives have a role in publishing creative work.

Some Indian authors prefer to publish abroad not only because they can make more money but also they feel their work is valued more highly and they find publishers more congenial. Several of India's most popular novelists in English, such as Ruth Prawer Jhabvala and R. K. Narayan, receive most of their income from the sales of their books abroad. Narayan for many years published his novels himself rather than entrust them to a commercial press. Many academic writers attempt to publish their books in the United States or Europe where the financial remuneration is higher and where they can hope for a businesslike relationship with their publisher. The number of Indian authors able to publish abroad is very small but the widespread interest among Indian intellectuals in publishing abroad is an unfortunate commentary on both the state of intellectual life and on the image of publishers.

Writers in English are not only better and more professionally treated by publishers than their regional language compeers, but they earn more money. The situation of writing in the regional languages is particularly bleak from the author's viewpoint. There are few regional language publishers who are able to adequately distribute books. Financial returns are small because of low sales combined with a modest price for the books, and the publishers tend to be even less professional than in English. The situation in Kerala, where book sales tend to be somewhat higher, is a partial exception to this rule. One well-known intellectual has said that at least in some regional languages, it is much better for a creative writer to write for periodicals rather than write books, since the long-term financial rewards are probably better.[84]

The Indian intellectual subculture does not stress writing as much as similar subcultures in the West. In the still strong traditional culture, creative and scholarly writing does not play an important role. Stress is on traditional knowledge often communicated through non-written forms. Elements of the traditional culture are stronger in India than their counterparts are in the West. The modern institutional network does not support writing and publishing to a very great degree. Career advancement in

the universities does not depend on publication. It is very difficult for an individual to make much money writing books. Even journalistic writing is poorly paid. All of these factors tend to diminish the impetus to write books and to place authors outside of the centre of the society.

Indian authors have few means of obtaining 'feedback' concerning their work. The mechanisms of book reviewing are inadequate, and this fact has a number of implications. Few journals feature high quality book reviews of a critical or evaluative nature. A few exceptions, such as the *Economic and Political Weekly* or *Quest* cannot make up for the lack. Newspapers feature few reviews, and even the specialized scholarly journals have only a few reviews, and these tend to be descriptive in nature. The implications of this situation are that books do not receive publicity through review media, and, perhaps most important, authors have no way of obtaining evaluations of their work. The public has no means of evaluating which books may be worth purchasing. The lack of book reviews of a serious analytic nature is indicative of the general situation of Indian intellectual life.

Conclusion

This study has focused on the role of the publishing enterprise in India's intellectual and educational life, and has discussed some of the problems and possibilities of the book trade. We have been just as concerned with the internal dynamics and realities of publishing as with a broad discussion of the sociology of publishing. In this sense, this study is more a descriptive exercise than an effort to theorize about the role of books in a modernizing society. We have made no pretence at providing a 'theory' and have been content to describe and analyse the present situation in the hope that such an analysis will stimulate further research and broad theorizing.

Publishing occupies a small but vital role in the intellectual life of a nation and deserves critical attention. It is a national resource and as such should have support not only from government but from intellectuals and, more generally, from readers. The ignorance of the nature of publishing and of its problems exhibited by authors and intellectuals not only in India but in other countries as well is considerable. As has been noted, books occupy an ancillary role in the process of modernization and are a means both of the transmission of a culture and of the infusion of new ideas and new technologies into a society.

In many ways, the accomplishments of Indian publishing are impressive. Despite the difficulties which have been described in this study, India

is one of the world's leading publishing countries in terms of annual production of titles. The publishing enterprise is fairly well established and has, despite setbacks, been able to grow. Furthermore, the quality of Indian books has improved markedly. Regional language publishing, while still in an early stage of development, has grown and in several languages there is an active and viable publishing enterprise. India has built what is without question the largest publishing enterprise in the Third World. A publishing infrastructure has also been developed. There is not only a printing and binding industry, but competent editors, production supervisors, and other personnel necessary for publishing.

These accomplishments have taken place in a society of scarcity, with resources at a premium and acute competition for them evident. The paper 'crisis' which has been described in this study is one example of this situation. Publishing is subject to the stresses of the Indian economy, and these stresses have without question hindered the growth of publishing. Furthermore, shortage, inflation, and other economic problems have caused books to be expensive, and thus beyond the purchasing power of most Indians. The level of literacy in India remains low, and the general educational situation has affected the growth of publishing. The key to a flourishing publishing enterprise is literacy combined with adequate purchasing power and a large number of libraries. This situation exists in part for English language publishing, but not as yet for the regional languages.

The post-Independence progress of publishing has not been without problems. The quantitative progress of publishing has not been steady. After a very quick period of growth, there was a decline followed by slower growth. Despite the emergence of a number of publishing firms with a commitment to scholarly publishing and with a degree of professionalism, much of Indian publishing remains in the hands of small entrepreneurs who are unable to exercise high standards of quality or even to provide for the distribution of their books. Scholarly publishing, the main concern of this study, is not generally a profitable undertaking and exists in India on a somewhat uncertain foundation. Regional language publishing has also seen uneven growth. The great expectations for books in Indian languages were not met. Slow growth in literacy, lack of purchasing power by readers in the regional languages, and little government support all limited the growth of this area of publishing. Even in Bengal, Maharashtra, Kerala, and Tamilnadu, which have strong intellectual traditions in their respective languages, English continues to play a very active role in scholarly writing.

It was stated earlier that no policy recommendations would be made. It is felt that such recommendations are not the appropriate task for a foreign

observer. Nevertheless, it might be useful to outline in broad terms some of the areas of Indian publishing which deserve serious consideration by publishers and others concerned with books.

1. *Professionalism.* The publishing enterprise has made impressive strides towards professionalism in terms of editing, improvement of standards, upgrading of personnel and other aspects. This progress has helped to improve publishing considerably. Adequate training for publishing personnel, a sense of professional responsibility, and sufficient autonomy within publishing firms, both private and public, to exercise professional judgement are all important elements of publishing. They need continuing improvement.

2. *The Government.* It has been repeatedly pointed out that the government is a key element in publishing, not only through the vitally important aspect of public sector publishing but in terms of policies that concern the book trade directly or indirectly. Government agencies at all levels should recognize the impact that their decisions have on publishing, and take this impact into consideration. Publishing needs government resources to flourish, but perhaps even more, it needs sympathetic awareness and the kind of policy decisions which will permit publishers, in both the public and private sectors, to grow and improve.

3. *Coordination.* Indian publishing is very much in need of greater coordination and communication. At the top, the organizations of publishers have not been as effective as they might be in representing the interests of the publishing enterprise, nor have these organizations provided the kind of forum for internal communications that would be useful. There is a particularly strong need for coordination between the private and public sectors in publishing.

4. *Academic Publishing.* Since scholarly books are generally unprofitable to publish, non-profit agencies can be particularly useful in publishing them. University presses are a natural source. The Indian university presses need upgrading, and their missions need to be redefined so that scholarly publishing is one of their major roles. Cooperation among university presses can reduce costs. Autonomy and a sense of direction are an integral part of effective academic publishing. Non-university research institutions and other organizations can also contribute to the publication of scholarly books.

5. *Regional Language Publishing.* While this is a very complex subject which is somewhat beyond the scope of this study, it is clear that regional language publishing has been slow to develop. Regional cooperation, special assistance by state governments, and in general, careful consideration of the needs of the regional language publishers can greatly improve the situation.

6. *The Intellectual 'Public'*. There is much that can be done to encourage Indians to write and publish, and authorship can not only be a source of prestige but also of income. Attention to the concerns of authors, and businesslike and efficient handling of their economic affairs can help to stimulate better writing and eliminate the desire of authors to publish their works abroad. The development of book reviewing and of publicity for books is an integral part of this development. Publishers must pay attention to both authors and readers.

7. *Foreign Influences*. This study has pointed to the varied aspects of foreign influences on publishing and intellectual life in the Third World. Some of these influences are inevitable. However, Third World nations can minimize these influences by an awareness of their existence and careful scrutiny of foreign aid programmes. The existence of well-supported journals and an indigenous publishing enterprise will help considerably in focusing intellectual attention on domestic concerns. Minor changes in copyright regulations and some restrictions on imports can also help in this. Perhaps the main challenge is for developing countries to be constantly alert about the problem and prepared to make policy decisions to protect their own intellectual independence as much as possible.

8. *The Publisher*. At the heart of the enterprise is, of course, the publisher. Without an effective and aware publisher, none of the improvements mentioned above will be possible. Publishers must be willing to conduct themselves efficiently, with professionalism, and in the interests of their authors and customers as well as in their own.

These are but a few areas which deserve careful attention by publishers and others in India. If this study has been able to highlight some of the needs and aspirations of Indian publishing and, by implication, publishing in other Third World nations, it has served a useful purpose.

Notes

1. Abul Hasan, 'Indian Book Industry: New Perspective', *Indian Publisher and Bookseller*, 22, February 1972, p. 35.
2. These figures were supplied to the author by the National Library, Calcutta, from its annual statistical summary. Subsequent statistics concerning quantitative aspects of Indian publishing come from the same source. Statistics concerning publishing in India are not uniformly reliable. UNESCO sources sometimes differ from Indian sources due to discrepencies in the definition of a book. Thus, the figures cited in this volume may not always be entirely accurate or current. The National Library is now consolidating record-keeping, and this should provide a reliable source in the future.
3. Om Prakash, 'The Facts', *Seminar,* No. 97, September 1967, p. 14.
4. Robert Escarpit, op. cit., p. 86.

5. For a further discussion of the language situation as it applies to higher education, see A. B. Shah, ed., *The Great Debate: Language Policy and Higher Education* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1968).

6. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 12. Robert Escarpit, op. cit., p. 83, states that the figure is 25 per million in India.

7. Gopal Krishan and Madhav Shyam, 'Pattern of City Literacy', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9, 18 May 1974, p. 795.

8. Interview with Abul Hasan, Book Officer, Ministry of Education, 19 January 1973.

9. P. Banerjee, 'India' in T. Nickerson, ed., op. cit., p. 23.

10. Samuel Israel, op. cit., p. 50. There is no history of Indian publishing available at the present time, so these notes are necessarily rather cursory.

11. Our understanding will be increased by a detailed study of publishing which has been undertaken by the National Council of Applied Economic Research under the direction of N. Venkataraman.

12. Interview with Peter S. Jayasinghe, Director, Asia Publishing House, 29 December 1972.

13. See Arvind Shah, 'The Paper Industry in India', *Indian Publisher and Bookseller*, 24, February 1974, pp. 28–33.

14. While this situation is exaggerated in India, scholarly books published in the United States also rely on library sales for a considerable proportion of their sales. It has been estimated that close to 60 per cent of the sales of American university presses are to libraries, with about one-third going to bookstores. Chandler Grannis, 'AAUP: Coping with Crisis', *Publishers Weekly,* 24 July 1972.

15. These figures have been provided by individuals involved in publishing. I am particularly indebted to Wellington Caldeira, D. N. Malhotra, Dr Sujit Mukherjee, and Narendra Kumar for their insights.

16. O. P. Ghai, 'Publishing in India', *Illustrated Weekly of India,* 19 March 1972, p. 10.

17. R. J. Taraporevala, 'Economics of Book Publishing and Need for Capital', in T. V. K. Krishnan, ed., op. cit., p. 47.

18. Interview with P. C. Manaktala, Director, Allied Publishers, 13 January 1973.

19. See Artur Isenberg, op. cit., for a discussion of the problems of book distribution.

20. Ibid., p. 35ff.

21. The 'tender' system in the Indian book trade is the curious relationship between the bookseller or distributors and the librarian in which the librarian places substantial orders with individual booksellers or distributors and demands a higher than usual discount for placing the order. The librarian occasionally also demands an 'under the table' bonus for his business. As a result of their power to place orders, librarians are cultivated by the book trade. The whole system has led to gross dishonesty and has placed the book trade in a particularly difficult moral as well as fiscal situation.

22. It is worth noting in this context that the national voice of the book trade, the Federation of Publishers and Booksellers Associations in India, has been dominated since its inception by publishers or publisher-distributors and the booksellers have had almost no influence. The Federation has recently split into two organizations but it is unlikely that the booksellers will be much more influential. Clearly, the bookseller is the odd man out in the book trade.

23. There are two main publications serving the book trade, the *Indian Publisher and Bookseller* and *Indian Book Industry.* While both of these publications feature listings

of new books, these are incomplete. The editors of these journals have said that they do not receive the complete cooperation of publishers in compiling their listings. The National Library, Calcutta, after a lapse of several years, is beginning to provide information on newly published books. This source may assist the book trade with current bibliographical information.

24. Ashwin Shah, 'Government Takes Over Book Buying', *Illustrated Weekly of India,* 13 May 1973, p. 45.

25. R. J. Taraporevala, 'Government Policy', *Seminar,* No. 97, September 1967, p. 20.

26. V. V. John, 'The Battle of the Books', *Times of India,* 19 March 1973.

27. For a sampling of reaction, see 'STC and the Booktrade', *Indian Publisher and Bookseller,* 23, July 1973, pp. 197–223.

28. A. B. Shah, 'Book Trade in Doldrums', *Times of India,* 12 August 1973. p. 6. See also V. V. John, op. cit., and Ashwin Shah, pp. cit.

29. At present the STC has not given up its plan for importing books, but has 'postponed' its implementation pending further study.

30. The Soviet Union only in 1974 finally agreed to adhere to international copyright agreements. See J. A. Koutchoumow, 'The New Soviet Copyright Agency is Feeling Its Way', *Publishers Weekly,* 24 June 1974, pp. 40–42.

31. For a critique of the international copyright system, see Jaman Shah, 'India and the International Copyright Convention', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 8, 31 March 1973, pp. 645–8.

32. See *International Copyright: Needs of Developing Countries* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1967).

33. For a detailed discussion of book pirating, see David Kaser, *Book Pirating in Taiwan* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969).

34. Jaman Shah, op. cit., p. 645.

35. For further discussion of the copyright issue, see N. N. Gidwani, ed., *Copyright: Legalized Piracy?* (Bombay: Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, 1968).

36. It should be pointed out that even in the United States, the heartland of *laissez faire* capitalism, government book policy has a considerable impact on publishing. Government grants to libraries and government aid to higher education both have a direct impact on the book trade. Publishers, through the American Publishers Association, maintain a lobbyist in Washington, D.C. to influence government policy concerning books. Other book-related organizations, such as the American Library Association, maintain similar representation.

37. The first Indian-made printing press was recently put into production.

38. It should be noted that private sector publishers still serve the elite English- medium private schools, a small but important market.

39. For a critical account of the National Book Trust, see Attar Singh, *et al.,* 'National Book Trust', *Round Table,* 1, 9 March 1973, pp. 28–42.

40. Interview with K. S. Duggal, former Director, National Book Trust, 28 January 1973.

41. Suresh Kohli, 'National Book Trust', *Round Table,* 1, 9 March 1973, p. 41.

42. Samuel Israel, op. cit., p. 54.

43. See Abul Hasan, 'Role of National Book Development Bodies in Developing Countries', *Indian Book Industry,* 7, November 1972, pp. 12–16, for a discussion of the National Book Development Council.

44. Interview with Abul Hasan, Special Officer (Books), Ministry of Education, 7 January 1974.

45. For a discussion of this aspect of intellectual life see Edward Shils, 'Metropolis and Province in the Intellectual Community', in Edward Shils, *The Intellectual and the Powers and Other Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1972), pp. 355–71.

46. A few nations have declared total 'independence' from most foreign influences, and have managed to survive. Tanzania, which has placed great stress on indigenous local development, has greatly downgraded foreign advice and technology, although it has not eliminated them. Burma has almost completely rejected all foreign involvement, and its economy and intellectual life have stagnated. China and North Korea have also de-emphasized foreign technology and intellectual influences, apparently with considerable success. All of these efforts have required careful planning, and there is insufficient information at this point on how complete the success has been or whether the 'break' with imported knowledge has been complete.

47. The Informational Media Guaranty Program of the U.S. Government meant that U.S. publishers undertook little risk in exporting books to developing countries. Under the programme more than $80,000,000 worth of books were exported to the Third World. The programme also converted 'soft' currencies into dollars for the U.S. publishers. See Stanley Barnett and Roland Piggford, op. cit., pp. 76–7.

48. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Stephen Clarkson, 'The Low Impact of Soviet Writing and Aid on Indian Thinking and Policy', *Survey* 20 Winter 1974, pp. 1–23.

49. Information concerning the ELBS was provided by H. L. Davis of the British High Commission, New Delhi. Additional data were collected from ELBS publications.

50. Samuel Israel, op. cit., p. 52.

51. For some further comment on American book programmes in India, see Philip G. Altbach, 'Neocolonialism and Indian Publishing', op. cit. Additional materials have been obtained from USIS documents relating to book programmes as well as interviews with both USIS officials and with publishers.

52. See Christopher Lasch, 'The Cultural Cold War' in C. Lasch, *The Agony of the American Left* (New York: Knopf, 1969), pp. 61–114 for a more detailed discussion of American cultural policy at this time.

53. Quoted from AID manual, 1612–69.3—1967 cited in Stanley Barnett and Roland Piggford, op. cit., p. 1.

54. Curtis Benjamin, *Books as Forces in National Development and International Relations* (New York: National Foreign Trade Council, 1964), p. 72.

55. Ibid., p. 72.

56. Interview with S. L. Gupta, M. P., Director of S. Chand, one of India's largest textbook concerns, 17 January 1973.

57. Peter S. Jayasinghe, op. cit., p. 17.

58. K. C. Beri, 'Hindi Books with U.S. Aid Opposed', *Indian Publisher and Bookseller,* 22 March 1972, p. 99.

59. UNESCO, the British Council, Franklin Book Programs, and other agencies have been active in providing technical assistance to Indian publishing. UNESCO maintains a regional book centre in Pakistan which provides assistance to South Asia.

60. There is very little information available concerning the operation of regional language publishing, its scope, and its potential markets. The major journals dealing with publishing, *Indian Publisher and Bookseller* and *Indian Book Industry,* give almost no attention to the regional publishers. There is a federation of Hindi publishers, and organizations also exist for some of the other languages. But there is no all-India focus

for these publishers. There is one volume available concerning the history of Marathi publishing. See S. P. Limaye, *History of Marathi Publishing* (Poona: Venus Book Stall, 1968), in Marathi.

61. See David Kopf, op. cit.

62. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 14.

63. Interview with Professor S. P. Bhagwat, Director, Mouj Prakashan, 17 December 1973.

64. Peter Jayasinghe, 'Book Distribution and Promotion in North India', in N. Sankaranarayanan, ed., *Book Distribution and Promotion Problems in South Asia* (Madras: UNESCO, n.d.), p. 37.

65. Interviews with Mrs S. Sandhu, Director, Rajkamal Prakashan, 17 January 1973, and with Prof. S. P. Bhagway, op. cit.

66. Chester Kerr, 'Publishing Scholarly Books' in T. V. K. Krishnan, ed., op. cit., p. 126.

67. The best coverage of the world of scholarly publishing is in the pages of the journal *Scholarly Publishing,* edited at the University of Toronto.

68. Stanley Barnett, *et al., Developmental Book Activities and Needs in Indonesia* (New York: Wolf Management Services, 1967), p. 79. This report was conducted by an American team financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

69. Chandler Grannis, 'Toronto: Scholarly Publishers Meet, Form International Association', *Publishers Weekly*, 4 December 1972, p. 24.

70. William C. Becker, 'The Crisis One Year Later', *Scholarly Publishing,* 4, July 1973, pp. 291–303. More general information on American scholarly publishing can be found in Chester Kerr, 'The Kerr Report Revisited', *Scholarly Publishing,* 1, 1970, pp. 5–30, and in Gene Hawes, op. cit.

71. S. Kanjilal, 'The University Press in India', *Scholarly Publishing,* 4, October 1972, p. 75.

72. Most of the data concerning the University of Bombay Press was obtained from V. G. Moghe, Superintendent, University of Bombay Press, 2 January 1973, and from documents of the Press.

73. Datus Smith, Jr., 'University Presses in Asia' in T. Nickerson, ed., op. cit., p. 242.

74. Ibid., p. 243.

75. The following are a few of the organizations in the New Delhi area which engage in some publishing of scholarly and serious books: Indian Institute of Public Administration, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Indian School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Jamia Millia Islamia, Sahitya Akademi, Indian Council of Social Science Research, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Council for Social Development, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, and others. This listing does not include the publications of various government ministries. It is probable that more than 100 books are published annually by this group of institutions.

76. The data for these vignettes is based largely on interviews with employees of the firms, on comments by other publishers, and by impressions gathered on visits to the firms.

77. Samuel Israel, op. cit., p. 51.

78. Most of the information concerning P. C. Manaktala and Sons, Publishers comes from interviews with P. C. Manaktala, Director, Allied Publishers, 4 January 1973.

79. Information concerning Popular Prakashan is primarily based on interviews with Sadanand Bhatkal and Ramdas Bhatkal, owners, Popular Prakashan and Popular

Book Depot. As part of its fiftieth anniversary celebrations, a history of the firm is being written.

80. Interview with Narendra Kumar, Director, Vikas Publishing House, 16 January 1973.

81. Interview with Samuel Israel, Director, National Book Trust, 15 January.

82. The non-remunerativeness of writing books is especially clear for scholarly books. Authors who write 'guides' for use in schools or some kinds of textbooks can make fairly large sums of money, but authors of scholarly books seldom make much.

83. Samuel Israel, 'Book Publishing in India: Public Image and Reality', *Monthly Public Opinion Surveys,* 18, No. 4, 1972, p. 2.

84. Interview with Kaa Naa Subramaniam, Tamil novelist and intellectual 10 January 1974.

23

Center and Periphery: The Case of India

Philip G. Altbach

India serves as a particularly appropriate case study for a consideration of knowledge production and distribution. It shares with many Third World nations problems of poverty; low levels of literacy (approximately 40 percent); problems of political unrest; the pulls of ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups; and major issues of national integration. Further, India shares a colonial past with many other Third World nations. The continuing impact of the English language and of British educational and cultural policies affects contemporary India.

Yet, India is also a major producer and distributor of knowledge in its own right. India boasts the world's third-largest scientific community, and while the quality of many of these scientists and of some scientific institutions is deficient, there is a scientific infrastructure of considerable importance. Its university system is one of the world's largest, with more than 3 million students enrolled. India is a major publishing nation, ranking eighth in the world, and it exports books to other Third World nations as well as to the West. Finally, India is the world's second-largest producer of motion pictures, and the Indian film industry is a powerful influence within India (Indians, despite their poverty, have a high average rate of

movie attendance) and has a considerable impact abroad, since Indian films are common in the Middle East and in South and Southeast Asia.

In many respects, India's knowledge and cultural industries are more autonomous than is the case in much of the Third World. Indian law forbids foreign control of many book publishers and many other industries. Multinational publishers participate in the Indian publishing business, but only as minority shareholders. This situation has increased the autonomy of Indian publishers, film studios, and newspapers. Further, India's large internal market permits publishers and others to look within the country for an audience. In most cultural and intellectual fields, India is relatively self-sufficient for expertise. There are well-trained Indian film producers and directors and a highly regarded school for training film industry personnel. There are many Indian publishers and editors, and there are several training courses for the book industry. In other words, India has achieved intellectual self-sufficiency in several important respects, and this fact separates it from many other Third World nations. Indeed, it is possible to find expatriate Indian personnel working in other parts of the Third World as teachers, editors, and in other skilled capacities.

India's intellectual and cultural infrastructure is significant in understanding its knowledge industry.[1] Although only about 40 percent of the population is literate, this figure accounts for a literate population of more than 300 million people. And while only 2 or 3 percent of the population is literate in English, this fact accounts for more than 20 million individuals, most of whom are located in the cities and are at the top of the income scales. English remains, forty years after independence, the language of the elite, of intellectual discourse in the sciences and social sciences, and as a major language of commerce. The role of English cannot be overlooked in discussing India's publishing, educational, or cultural development, yet the speakers of India's indigenous languages have also developed impressive cultural infrastructures. Hindi, the national language and mother tongue of about 45 percent of the population, is used in a growing publishing industry and in the bulk of India's films, and sustains a very large mass audience for cultural products. The speakers of Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, and Malayalam—among India's major languages—have been particularly impressive in their development of publishing houses, film studios, journals, and a lively intellectual life. Thus, while English remains the largest language for book publishing, for example, many of the other languages also support publishing houses and provide a growing audience for books, films, and magazines.

In some respects, India constitutes two major societies. Its urban sector, about 20 percent of the total, is in almost every respect fully modern,

with all of the infrastructures of an industrialized society (and many of the problems as well). The 80 percent of India's population that lives in rural areas remains to be brought into the twentieth century, although elements of modern society have penetrated to the remote villages in most of India. Income, educational standards, access to goods, standards of living, and the other accoutrements of modernity are concentrated in the urban areas. The gulf between the urban minority and the rural majority is immense and remains one of India's major social problems. In this analysis, our concern is largely with the urban sector, which dominates both the production and the utilization of knowledge. It is, indeed, a special problem of Third World nations that the inequalities between urban and rural areas are very great and that this gulf is reflected in the distribution of power, wealth, and knowledge. While there are efforts to ensure that school-books and the curriculum reflect the demographic realities of the nation, there is generally an urban bias in the educational system and in the mass media. This bias contributes to the migration to the cities of people seeking work and the benefits of urban life that have been exhibited in the media. Opportunities for advancement generally require a gravitation to the urban areas. Publishing and the mass media are largely urban oriented. The bulk of the market is in the cities, where literacy rates are higher, where there is access to books and other cultural products, and where there is a higher standard of living.

India, therefore, constitutes a particularly fertile example for an examination of knowledge creation and distribution. While it shares with other Third World nations poverty, low levels of literacy, and other problems, it has at the same time developed an impressive knowledge industry. Thus, it is possible to study in the Indian context both the problems of underdevelopment and the ways in which publishing and the mass media have grown in a Third World nation.

It should also be pointed out that India in some respects stands between the peripheral position of many smaller Third World nations and the metropolitan centers of the United States, Britain, or France.[2] While dependent on Western academic systems for basic research in many fields, and while looking to the West for major journals and books, India also has a large and active academic system that produces research, journals, and textbooks of its own. This knowledge often reaches other Third World nations. Similarly, Indian films, popular magazines, and other cultural products also reach a considerable audience in the Third World outside India. India, in a sense, is a "regional center" that provides an intellectual magnet certainly for its smaller neighbors in South Asia but also to some extent for sections of the Middle East and Southeast Asia. India's participation in agencies like

UNESCO and other international groups also provides leadership. Thus while this chapter relies mainly on one country—India—for its examples, it is clear that there is relevance well beyond the case study.

India as Center and Periphery

India, like several other Third World nations, is both a major regional center that has considerable influence in its area and a peripheral country in terms of the international knowledge network.[3] India thus provides media leadership as well as cultural products to countries in the region—Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and to a lesser extent Pakistan and Burma. Indian films and books have an even wider influence. Many Middle Eastern, African, and Southeast Asian nations use Indian college-level textbooks extensively (in English), and Indian films are widespread in Africa and Asia. India, as a leader of the nonaligned nations, also has regional influence as a voice for South Asian concerns.

India is the largest media market in South Asia and thus has the regional offices of many multinational publishers, advertising agencies, press agencies, and other media-related companies. More important in the Indian case is its very large internal market which permits Indian publishers and media organizations to produce a variety of products for the local market that can be exported. Like many other regional centers in the Third World, such as Egypt, Mexico, and Argentina, a substantial local market is combined with the use of an international language that permits exports. India's internal market in English is considerable, and the English-speaking population is India's most affluent class and the class most directly involved in the international media network. The more than 20 million Indians who are literate in English are spread across the subcontinent. English continues to serve as India's de facto link language. The major newspapers are published in English, as are the influential magazines and journals. While higher education has shifted in part to the regional languages, English continues to dominate at the graduate level, and a number of prestigious universities still offer all of their instruction in English. Thus, English remains quite important in Indian national and intellectual life. English, of course, is the key link with the outside world and the language in which book exports are sold.

Several of India's regional languages also have significant influence outside the country and contribute to India's regional importance. Tamil, the major South Indian language (which is unrelated to the Sanskrit-based northern languages), is spoken by significant minorities in Sri Lanka and in

Singapore and Malaysia. Tamil films, books, and cultural products are common in these areas. Gujarati communities exist in East Africa, and materials in this language can be found in Africa. Most important, perhaps, is the influence of Hindi films throughout Asia and Africa. India, as the world's second largest producer of feature films, has a large export market in Africa and Asia. The Indian films that are popular with audiences in the Third World are escapist entertainment movies which do not require knowledge of Hindi, the language of these movies. Hindi popular films can be seen frequently in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in West and East Africa.

English is the major language of Indian book and magazine exports. The export market for Indian-produced textbooks, largely at the college and university level, is substantial in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Indian books are often more relevant to the needs of Third World nations than are college textbooks produced in the industrialized nations. Indian books are also substantially less expensive than Western texts. Indian publishers, with a few exceptions, are not very active in the text export market, and thus Indian books are not circulated as widely as might be the case. Scientific books tend to be more widely used abroad than books in the humanities and social sciences. Indeed, it has been stated by Indian publishers that projected overseas sales are the margin between profit and loss for most scholarly books. The bulk of overseas sales are to academic libraries in North America, Britain, and Australia. In many cases, 30 percent or more of the sales of scholarly titles are sold abroad. The fact that virtually all scholarly books published in India are in English aids overseas circulation. The lack of overseas sales potential for books in Indian languages may inhibit book production in these languages.

India is at the same time very much at the periphery of the international knowledge network. As Jeremy Tunstall has pointed out, even its large and flourishing film industry is basically derivative of Hollywood models.[4] India depends on Western technologies for many of its media industries. Foreign news disseminated in India comes largely from the Western wire services (although Indian newspaper correspondents can be found in a few major capitals). Western books are widely available in India—and the use of English as the major means of intellectual communications makes the penetration by Western books easier. In virtually every respect, the India media industries are derivative of metropolitan models. The major Indian newsweekly, *India Today*, emulates *Time* and *Newsweek.* The major daily newspapers use the Western wire services, and they reprint columns from the *New York Times* and the *London Times.* Many Indian authors prefer to have their work published abroad because it provides greater remuneration and more recognition. This means, however, that authors must write with

an international audience in mind rather than solely for an Indian readership. Scholarship is also very much linked to the international knowledge network. Research results are communicated in Western journals, and many Indian academics prefer to try to get their work published in major international journals, virtually all of which are published in the West. It is possible to discern an overreliance on Western cultural influences. For example, many of the book reviews found in the major newspapers and review media are of books published in the West. This means that Indian published books get insufficient attention even within India. Authors, journalists, and intellectuals all too often look abroad for validation of their work.

India occupies a position that is both central and peripheral. India is an intellectual and media power in its own right and has regional influence, yet it remains tied to the international knowledge system. The tensions between an emerging independent cultural and scientific establishment and the very strong pull of the metropolitan center are evident in much of Indian scholarship and commentary. All too often, however, Indian intellectuals function in this situation of ambivalence and conflict without conscious recognition of the problems.[5] The entire knowledge system—from the film industry that looks to the West for innovations in the technology of filmmaking to the academic community that is connected to methodological and research trends in the industrialized nations—relates to the metropolitan centers. Yet, in the context of this relationship there is also a strong element of independence. Centers and peripheries, while realities in the modern world, are nonetheless complex phenomena.

Elements of Independence

This discussion emphasizes elements of the knowledge system in India that have achieved considerable independence. Few, if any, of these elements are fully independent because India has self-consciously maintained strong intellectual ties with the rest of the world and particularly with Britain and the United States. Yet, there are aspects of the system that have achieved considerable independence. These elements of independence will be useful guides to other Third World nations as they seek to build up their own capabilities in the field of knowledge production and distribution.

Infrastructures

Because of a considerable investment over time, the existence of a pool of trained manpower, and the large internal market, most elements of the

Indian knowledge and media industries have basic self-sufficiency in both personnel and equipment. What is more, training facilities exist within India for most media fields, and an increasing proportion of the hardware, from printing presses to film and paper-making capacity, is locally produced. When compared to other Third World nations, these capabilities are quite impressive. A few examples will illustrate this point.

The Indian publishing industry is self-sufficient in most respects, although the most advanced technologies in printing equipment and computer-assisted typesetting must still be imported from abroad. In terms of personnel, most editors and other professionals in India are locally trained. Several training courses exist in Indian colleges for publishing personnel, and many publishers provide on-the-job training as well. Training courses for printers are also offered. Virtually no expatriates can be found anywhere in the publishing or printing industries in India. India produces its own printing presses, although it does not manufacture the most advanced equipment. Indian-produced printing presses are outmoded on the world market but are still useful in the domestic printing industry. As India has moved into competition in printing and publishing on the world market, it has found that some kinds of up-to-date equipment must be imported from abroad. For example, India now exports typesetting to other countries, and, in general, this typesetting is done on imported computer-assisted equipment. Low wages and overhead permit India to compete effectively in this area. The equipment, however, must be imported, although India is now producing its own software in some fields. It is a curious paradox that the needs of the local publishing and printing industries can be fulfilled from indigenously manufactured items, but when the nation moves to participate in the international market, state-of-the-art, imported equipment is needed.

Paper is a key ingredient of the publishing industry and is an often-ignored element in knowledge distribution generally, since without an adequate paper supply at a price that is congruent with local purchasing power, access to many kinds of knowledge is inhibited. India is ahead of many Third World nations in that it does have a significant papermaking capacity. But Indian-made paper is expensive, is in short supply, and is especially inadequate for book manufacturing. "Cultural paper," the kind of paper generally used for books, is of poor quality, and in very short supply in India. The Indian government has discouraged paper imports as a means of building the local industry and conserving foreign exchange.[6] Thus, there are recurring shortages, high prices, and problems of quality in book paper. Newsprint is less of a problem in India, and most Indian newspapers are printed on locally produced paper. Despite the problems, the existence of

a domestic printing industry is an important advantage for India. Many other Third World nations are completely dependent on foreign paper suppliers located almost exclusively in the industrial nations.[7] Thus, prices for paper, as well as the nature and quality of the paper, are controlled by the industrial countries.

The Indian film industry is also largely self-sufficient in terms of personnel training and in most aspects of film production. High-quality technicolor film is often imported, but India does produce films of many kinds domestically. Sophisticated cameras are still imported as well. But most Indian films, from documentaries to large-budget popular films, are made entirely in India by Indian personnel with an increasing proportion of Indian-made equipment. Indian film studios are well equipped.[8] By Western standards, Indian films are not terribly sophisticated, but they suit a large audience in India and abroad, and they are relatively inexpensive to produce. Further, film-makers like Mrinal Sen and Satyajit Ray have proved that the Indian film industry can produce high-quality films.

Textbooks

The provision of school textbooks to the educational system is a key contribution of any publishing industry, since texts are a key to learning and, in many countries, just as important as teachers.[9] India provides virtually all of its textbook needs at all levels. With fifteen official languages and with schools in many of the Indian states functioning in several languages, the provision of textbooks is a considerable challenge. Yet, India has developed texts in all fields in more than fifteen languages. In most cases, these texts reflect Indian curricular concepts and use examples from India, although theoretical aspects often stem from Western research and development. In most states, textbooks at the primary and secondary levels are provided by state textbook agencies, which sometimes work with private-sector publishers to produce the books and sometimes have this capability themselves. The takeover of textbook publishing by the states has been a serious problem for private-sector publishers since it has removed one of their most lucrative and predictable markets. At the college and university levels India also provides for the bulk of its textbook needs, usually through the private sector. In some fields, especially at the graduate level, books must still be imported or printed in India under license from foreign publishers.

In most fields Indian authors are able to produce appropriate textbooks, and the publishing industry is sufficiently well-developed to provide the technical expertise to produce the books. Indian textbooks are

generally more inexpensively produced than their Western counterparts, in keeping with the fiscal realities of the Indian educational system. It has been an impressive accomplishment in the postindependence period to develop the infrastructures, the knowledge, and the skills to produce textbooks in a range of fields in many languages. It should also be kept in mind that close to 100 million Indians attend school at any given time, and while there are still shortages of books in many fields—and particularly in the rural areas— the Indian textbook industry has developed impressively.

Authors

With the world's eighth-largest publishing industry, India has developed a large population of authors in all of its publishing languages. While there are as yet very few Indians who can support themselves fully by writing, there is expertise in India to produce books on most subjects, and there are incentives for authors. Although India still imports textbooks from abroad at the university level, virtually all texts at the primary and secondary levels are written by Indians, as well as an increasing proportion at the post-secondary level. Academics write research-based monographs, and there is a market for such books within India and to some extent abroad. Popular novels, self-help books, and other kinds of books are also produced in large numbers in India. Without question, the most remunerative language in which to write is English (with the exception of a few blockbuster Hindi novels); thus many authors prefer to publish their books in English. Several of the regional languages, however, have developed sizable audiences in recent years, and authors have come forward to serve these emerging markets. Bengali, Marathi, Malayalam, and Telegu have emerged as languages of significant book production. Hindi, the official language of the country, also has a growing book market, and of greater importance, government sponsorship for some book publication.

Television

The emergence of television in the past decade as a major force in India has brought major changes to the media industry. At present, most of the major urban areas have access to television, and the large metropolitan areas now have color reception. Some rural areas are provided with satellite-assisted television reception for educational purposes. The television networks, controlled by the centred government, have created new jobs in writing, acting,

producing, and ancillary skills. Virtually all these jobs are located in the major cities and are available to people with high levels of education.

As India entered the television age, it was interested in avoiding some of the errors of other Third World nations. As a result, only a small portion of television time in India is devoted to foreign-produced material. While there has been some criticism of the showing of noneducational Hindi popular films on television, most of the programming is indigenous and some of it rather innovative. India has attempted to use television for educational purposes and has been fairly successful in extending programming to some of the rural areas. At present, these advanced technologies are being used only on a trial basis. The point is that while there are certainly problems in the creation of a complex television network using not only Hindi and English but also the various Indian regional languages, there has been significant progress toward providing the country with indigenous programming.

India has succeeded in developing most of the basic structures of a knowledge industry during the past thirty years. It has achieved virtual independence in textbook development, it has almost completely indigenized the publishing industry, and it has moved forcefully into the mass media area as well. There is a vigorous cultural life in virtually all of India's major indigenous languages, with major independent film industries in such languages as Tamil, Telegu, and Bengali, as well as the national industry in Hindi. While India is still very much part of the international knowledge network, it has nonetheless achieved a significant degree of independence.

Interdependence and Dependence

India's ties to the international knowledge network, its heritage of colonialism, and its continued use of English are all elements of interdependence. It is useful to point to some elements of this relationship to indicate how even a large and in some ways autonomous cultural system interacts with the major metropolitan cultural empires.[10] The phenomena discussed here are only illustrative and by no means exhaustive.

The immense technological, commercial, and historical weight of the international knowledge system weighs heavily on India, as it does on the other countries of the Third World. Basic media technology is Western in nature, and the patents, licenses, and manufacturing facilities are in the industrialized nations. Although it has been pointed out that India has some capability in building printing machinery and some other media products, new technological developments come from the West and must be

purchased, sometimes at considerable cost. Satellite communications, computer-assisted typesetting, and many other innovations must be imported. India, like other developing nations, must make difficult decisions concerning what aspects of the emerging technologies to utilize. Cost-benefit analyses, the question of whether a new technology will relate effectively to existing traditional structures, and other issues are part of such decisions. The pressures to use the new technologies, almost regardless of the cost, are immense. Indeed, if India wishes to participate in international media and knowledge networks, it must keep abreast of these developments. And the origin of the new technologies and control over them remain with industrialized nations. For example, the decision whether to utilize color technology for television has far-reaching implications. One must choose a particular technology, must modify production facilities as well as transmission stations, and put in place a capability for the manufacture of color television sets (or import them at considerable cost). The pressure, internal and external, to use color technology is great.

The Western heritage in the development of the mass media is also significant and tends to tie Third World nations to continuing relationships with Western knowledge networks.[11] A few examples will indicate the power of this heritage. The concept of the book is a Western concept; it was exported to the Third World. Not only was modern printing and paper technology a Western invention, but the concept of how books should be printed, what quality of paper should be used, and other factors were also imported from the West. It might be that different ideas about books, such as the possible usefulness of printing inexpensive volumes that have a short life, would be more useful for the Third World than the traditional Western concept that a book should be relatively durable.[12] Similarly, Indian magazines and newspapers look very much like their Western counterparts. Their purposes are similar, journalistic conventions are common, and there is a great deal of borrowing from Western models. As noted earlier, the Indian print media use articles and stories from the Western wire services. Further, Western publications such as *Time* and *Newsweek* have a wide circulation in India. Even *Reader's Digest*, which is published in an Indian edition, ranks as one of the most important publications in the country.

India is an integral part of the international knowledge system. It is a party to the international copyright agreements, and although there has been much criticism in India of copyright arrangements and some "pirating" of popular books, India nonetheless has maintained allegiance to the copyright system.[13] The copyright system is controlled by the industrialized nations, and despite some liberalization in recent years, it basically

serves their needs. Third World nations such as India have some difficulties obtaining permission to reprint or translate books published originally in the West, and the cost of obtaining rights is sometimes high. India has relatively little to offer the industrialized nations in terms of book translations or rights, and so the intellectual balance of payments is quite one-sided. Further, while India does export books to both Third World and industrialized nations, it imports many more books than it exports. The prices of books are determined in the West, and those prices are very often quite high. In many areas, such as research, science, and technology, virtually all of the relevant books are published in the West.

India is also part of the international commercial network of knowledge. It depends on the world market—with prices and terms dictated by the producer (industrialized) nations. The major book distribution agencies are in the West, and they determine the terms and conditions of the book trade. Many Western publishers have representatives or branch offices in India, while few Indian publishers have offices abroad. Indian newspapers subscribe to the Western wire services, but no Western agencies have much interest in the Press Trust of India. Thus, India is part of the system, but in almost every respect it does not determine how the system works. Book prices are set abroad. The costs of participation in worldwide communications systems are also externally controlled.

Western nations also attempt to influence and sometimes control the knowledge and media industries in the Third World.[14] Foreign-aid programs often have a component relating to books and the mass media. It has been common for industrialized nations to provide textbooks in large quantities to Third World nations, thus causing problems of adjustment for local publishing industries and influencing students through these books. Some nations have provided special assistance for book exports to the Third World. Information agencies frequently seek to influence elites through publications and other media-related activities. Seldom are there similar activities by Third World nations in the industrialized countries.

The heritage of the colonial language and the continuing use of that language is also a matter of considerable importance for the Third World. About half of India's books are published in English, although only 2 or 3 percent of the population is literate in that language. Similarly, the major daily newspapers and magazines are also in English. The use of English by the elite has meant that a very large proportion of the Indian population is cut off from an important knowledge distribution network. Despite some official efforts to disseminate knowledge through the regional languages, the dominance of English has not changed. The participation of India in the

international network reinforces the role of English within India, since the network functions in English.

It can be seen from this discussion that in many respects India does not control its own destiny in terms of knowledge distribution and creation. Because it must import some technologies—the results of research done overseas—and because it must rely on information from the industrialized nations, India remains dependent in significant ways on external forces. It does not control the prices it must pay for many of these elements. And it does not control the mechanisms for distribution, so it remains at the mercy of the industrialized nations.

Centers and Peripheries within India

It is tempting to treat nations as single entities and to generalize about them. Yet India is a complex country with considerable regional variations and with a gulf between the relatively advanced urban areas (about 20 percent of the total) and the countryside. While many of these differences are magnified in the Indian context, they are common in the Third World and very often ignored in analyses of Third World realities. In India, the urban areas, and particularly the major metropolitan cities, are centers and the rural areas are peripheral. Knowledge emanates from the center and generally reflects an urban orientation. The publishing houses, media producers, major universities, and most authors are urban centered. Urban values, life styles, concerns, occupational structures, and interests dominate the media. Urban income levels are higher and therefore media products are almost exclusively aimed at the urban market.

Further, rural areas find access to knowledge and cultural products difficult. Radio reaches much of the country, but television is largely limited to the larger cities. In many rural areas, electrical supplies are sporadic at best. There are few bookstores, and mail service may be somewhat irregular. Literacy rates are significantly lower in the countryside, and, as has been noted, income levels are lower. Indian authorities have been concerned about this dramatic imbalance, and efforts have been made in some areas, such as the images found in textbooks, to reflect more accurately the urban-rural mix in India.

Regions are also unequally provided with access to the knowledge system. India's more widely spoken languages generally are better covered by books, magazines, and other cultural products. A few regions with strong cultural interests, such as Bengal and Maharashtra, are particularly well

served. Some parts of the country, however, have relatively less access to the knowledge network. Some of the poorer states, such as Bihar, and a few linguistic groups, such as Assamese, Sindhis, Oriyas, and a few others, are relatively underserved in terms of books and journals.

It goes almost without saying that income levels are differentially served by the knowledge network. Those with higher incomes are dramatically overserved. The urban middle and upper classes have the best access, and most media products are aimed at these groups. Even India's flourishing film magazines are aimed at this economic group. The advertising industry, which is an important part of the economic base for newspapers and magazines, is aimed at this very small (probably under 10 percent) portion of the Indian population. And with the very great gulf in India (as in many other Third World nations) between the relatively wealthy minority and the impoverished masses, the differences in access to the knowledge network are dramatic.

In every country there are internal variations—by class, region, language, or other variables. But in India the gulf between the centers and the peripheries within the nation is very dramatic indeed. The danger, of course, is that the mass of the population will be cut off from the cultural mainstream and that resentments may develop as a result. Further, the implications for literacy campaigns, educational programs, and the like are immense. Within a country like India it is impossible to posit national generalizations because of the dramatic variations among the regions. One must first explore the centers and peripheries within the country and explain the differing access to and participation in the knowledge system of the nation.

This discussion has dealt almost exclusively with the infrastructures and networks of knowledge distribution and creation and not with the content of the information that is transmitted. Such an analysis involves a complex consideration of the content of school textbooks, video images, the content of journals and newspapers, and a range of other sources of information reaching Indians and is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that the information received by Indians, who in this respect are somewhat typical of Third World peoples, comes from a variety of sources. It is likely that the information reaching the rural majority is largely of indigenous origins. Schoolbooks are authored by Indians using Indian data and examples. The basic content of radio and television is largely indigenous. The daily newspapers depend on Indian sources for news and analysis of South Asian affairs but still must use Western information for much of their foreign news and commentary. Even the indigenous-language newspapers use Western news sources translated into Indian languages. Information sources and content

for the better-educated urban minority come from more complex origins. Serious journals often use articles written by Westerners. Western newsmagazines, such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, have significant readerships in India. At the college and university level, foreign textbooks are widely used, and even indigenously produced volumes have Western models and sources in many fields. Western scholars have produced much of the research about India, and their interpretations are widely accepted, although the balance of scholarship is changing.

India has had a relatively open attitude concerning the importation of knowledge. Educated Indians have ready access to information from abroad, and books, videotapes, magazines, and other artifacts of foreign knowledge and culture are highly valued, yet the balance has been slowly changing as Indians have produced more information, knowledge, and the elements of modern culture. There is a mingling of indigenous and foreign sources, even in the products produced by Indians. There is an inevitable borrowing of knowledge and styles in a world where the dominant cultural and educational patterns are largely produced in the West in the major world languages.

India's knowledge distribution apparatus is complex and has elements of both dependence and self-sufficiency. India is an intellectual power in its region, yet it depends in many ways on the industrialized nations. India has, in its knowledge system, elements that come from both the center and the periphery. The elements that go to make up the knowledge system—colonial heritage, the continued use of English as a key language, the power of the international Western-dominated media, and strong and vibrant national publishing and media industries—exist in a complex and changing relationship. The purpose of this chapter has been to point precisely to this complexity. Without question, India, as one of the largest and most powerful of the emerging powers of the Third World, will have a key role to play in the intellectual balance of power in the twenty-first century. Its publishing and film industries are already powerful forces in the Third World, yet it is clear from this discussion that even a nation as large as India faces real problems in building an independent knowledge system.

The role of emerging technologies creates an even more ambivalent situation in the near future. As India and other Third World nations are increasingly linked to technology-driven international knowledge networks, it is clear that control will remain basically with the Western media empires. India at least is aware of the problems and is trying, as with its television programming, to maximize the indigenous content of its offerings. The challenges are daunting. It may be useful to point to some possible

ways in which Third World nations may maximize their independence and autonomy within the context of the international system.

1. National policies may help to concentrate scarce resources in areas that can maximize strengths. The key term here may be selectivity—if it is not possible to build a fully independent knowledge system, at least a segment of that system can be autonomous. For example, National Book Development Councils, which exist in many Third World nations, help to focus attention and policies.

2. Regional cooperation may be a means of maximizing autonomy among Third World nations. To date, efforts at regional cooperation have not succeeded, but the concept remains a powerful one.

3. Combined action to force alterations in international policies that work against the interest of Third World nations, such as the international copyright agreements, is one likely option.

4. Awareness of the problems will help national policies—and the individual actions of agencies—maximize autonomy. For example, particular foreign-aid policies of the industrialized nations may not be in the best interests of the Third World. By careful analysis, such policies may be stopped.

There is no panacea in a world of complexities in which power is not equally distributed. The basic control over the international knowledge system will remain in the hands of the technologically advanced nations with large academic systems, the means of control over the communications network, and the bulk of investment capital, yet as India has shown, there is within this context much that can be done to maximize autonomy and independence. Those Third World nations that have built up effective knowledge networks, such as India, Mexico, and Egypt, have a special responsibility to work in the interests of their smaller compeers. In a world of inequality, knowledge is at least a commodity that can be partly manipulated so that a measure of independence an autonomy may be achieved.

Notes

1. Satish Saberwal, ed., *Towards a Cultural Policy* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1975).
2. For a further discussion of this concept, see Edward Shills, *Intellectuals and the Powers*.
3. See Anthony Smith, *The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). See also Tunstall, *The Media are American* (London: Constable, 1977) pp. 116–125.
4. Tunstall, *The Media are American*, pp. 119–120.
5. A refreshing exception is Akhileshwar Jha, *Intellectuals at the Crossroads* (New Delhi: Vir, 1975), and from a different perspective, N.C. Chaudhury, *The Intellectual in India*

(New Delhi: Vikas 1977). For an Asian perspective, see S.H. Alatas, *Intellectuals in Developing Societies* (London: Cass, 1977).

6. See Jorg Becker, *The Geopolitics of Cultural Paper: International Dimensions of Paper Production* (Paris: UNESCO, 1982), for a general discussion of the problems of paper production and distribution.

7. Canada and Sweden are the world's major paper exporters and produce the largest quantities of wood pulp, the main ingredient of paper. Sweden has given large quantities of cultural paper to Third world nations as part of its foreign-aid program.

8. The classic discussion of the growth and development of the Indian film industry is Erick Barnoum and S. Krishnaswamy, *Indian Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

9. For a broader discussion of the role of textbooks in the Third World, see Chapter 7.

10. See also Krishna Kumar, ed., *Bonds Without Bondage: Explorations in Transcultural Interations* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979).

11. It is significant that despite India's close political and military relationship with the Soviet Union, there is little Soviet impact on education, the mass media, or the knowledge industry.

12. For a discussion of related issues in the Western context, see Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

13. See, for example, Gidwani, *Copyright: Legalized Piracy?*, and *International Copyright: Needs of Developing Countries* (New Delhi: Ministry of Education, 1967). For a broader view on copyright, see E.A. Olin, Jr., "International Copyright and the Needs of Developing Countries," *Cornell International Law Journal* 7 (May 1974), pp. 81–112.

14. This topic has been discussed at greater length in Philip G. Altbach, "Servitude of the Mind?" *Teachers College Record* 79 (December 1977), pp. 197–204.

24

The Imperial Tongue: English as the Dominating Academic Language

Philip G. Altbach

Academic superpowers like the US and the UK have ensured that English is the predominant academic and scientific language and that the curricula are dictated by trends there. While this has created a global academic environment with a common medium of communication, it has been at the cost of other national languages and research topics of local importance.

English dominates the fields of science, scholarship, and instruction as never before. While it is unlikely that it will achieve the status that Latin enjoyed as the sole language of teaching and scholarship at the 13th century universities in Europe, the Latin analogy has some relevance today. Back then, Latin not only permitted the internationalisation of the universities but also allowed the Roman Catholic church to dominate intellectual and academic life. It was only the Protestant reformation led by Martin Luther, combined with a growing sense of national identity, that challenged and then displaced Latin with national languages. As late as the 1930s, German was a widely used international scientific language and until the mid-20th century, most countries used their national languages for university teaching and for science and scholarship. French, German,

Russian, and to some extent Spanish were, and still are, used for academic and scientific publication and have some regional and international sway. Scholarly communities in Japanese, Swedish and many other languages were active and continue to exist as well. English was the closest thing to an international language, with several major academic systems using it—the US, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and most of Canada. In addition, the emerging academic systems of the former British empire—especially India, Pakistan and Nigeria—use English as the main teaching and publishing language. But English did not go unchallenged, and national academic communities seemed in general committed to national languages.

Now, English serves unchallenged as the main international academic language—indeed, national academic systems enthusiastically welcome English as a key means of internationalising, competing, and becoming "world class." But the domination by English pushes world science toward hegemony by the main English-speaking academic systems and creates challenges for scholars, and universities, that do not use English.

Causes of English Hegemony

It is not hard to see why English is the dominant academic and scientific language. Nations using English, particularly the US, have become the academic superpowers. Size and wealth matter a great deal in determining the academic pecking order. The US alone spends almost half the world's research and development (R&D) funds and is home to a large proportion of the top universities on the world's increasingly influential league tables. The English-speaking academic systems host more than half the world's international students—many of these graduates return to their home countries with a zeal for English and for the foreign universities at which they obtained their degrees. The main scientific and scholarly journals are published in English because their editors and most of their contributors are in the English-speaking universities. Similarly, the large majority of the world's academic web sites and scientific networks function in English.

English is the world's most widely studied second language. This gives it a significant advantage in many non-English-speaking countries simply because of the number of speakers and the fact that it is by far the most widely distributed language. There are, for example, more students studying English in China than are studying English in the US, and more speakers of English in India than in Britain. Further, English has an official status in more than 70 countries. Colonialism provided stimulus for the spread of English (as well as other European languages) as early as the

18th century—to North America, south Asia, and the Caribbean—and later to Africa, other parts of Asia, Australasia, and the south Pacific. Today, no African university offers instruction in any indigenous African language—academic and intellectual life takes place in English, French, Portuguese, Arabic, and Afrikaans, and it can be argued that English has pride of place. British and later American economic and political power spread English as well.

The international role of English and its growing domination of academic life worldwide have many implications. The power of English language scientific and scholarly journals, edited in almost all cases by academics in the main English-speaking countries, means that the research paradigms and scholarly interests of the journal editors, editorial board members, and indeed the majority of readers dominate journals and to a large extent research agendas and methodologies in most disciplines. Scholars in other parts of the world must conform to the interests of the prestigious journals if they wish their work to be published in them. While the internet is more open, the interests of the major contributors and users tend to dominate, and the English language is most widely used. International scientific meetings increasingly use English as the only official language.

The curriculum is increasingly dominated by trends prevalent in the major English-speaking countries, and in a globalised world this means that curricular trends are expressed in English and increasingly come from the US and a few other countries. The international spread of the master of business administration (MBA) degree is a good example of contemporary trends. The MBA degree was developed in the US to serve the needs of American business. Over time, it became the standard qualification required by senior executives in the US. In the past two decades, English has been recognised as a key qualification for management in other countries, compelled both by the growing influence of multinational corporations and by the power of American universities. US universities now offer MBA degrees in many parts of the world, and non-US universities have established their own MBA programmes, often using English and a largely US curriculum. This development shows the power both of the English language and of American higher education practices and ideas.

The academic journals and books published in English and edited from the US and the UK increasingly dominate world scholarship. These publications are almost the only ones internationally circulated. They are the most prestigious journals and academics worldwide compete to publish in them. They are listed in the science citation index (SCI) and its sister indexes. While SCI was not developed to rank journals or to measure

the scholarly productivity of individual academics or institutions, it has become a de facto ranking. Universities worldwide want their professors to publish in these listed journals and reward those who do. For example, Norwegian academics who publish in English and in recognised journals are paid fees for their accomplishments—their colleagues who publish in Norwegian are paid less or not at all. In Korea, the pressure is great to publish in recognised international journals in English. These are examples of a widespread trend.

Academic programmes offered in English have become widespread in many non-English-speaking countries. Universities in Europe, Asia, and to some extent Latin America are offering degree programmes in English alongside instruction in national languages. A small number of new private universities operating solely in English have also been established, sometimes calling themselves the American University of... in order to take advantage of the prestige and popularity of English. In some cases, these universities seek accreditation in the US, which has been granted to a few such institutions.

The worldwide branch campus movement for the most part uses English as the medium of instruction. The US, Australia, and the UK have been most active in establishing branch campuses, and it is not surprising that English is the medium of instruction. Non-English-speaking countries often use English as well—Dutch and German branch overseas campuses often offer their programmes in English. There are at least 100 branch campuses, mainly sponsored by universities in the North and operating in the South. The branch campus movement exports both language and curriculum, introducing new ideas into host countries and perhaps displacing national models.

Most observers see the impact of English in higher education worldwide as a positive trend—contributing to globalisation and enhancing an international academic culture. A global academic environment needs a common medium of communication, and English is the only possible language. In addition, English brings new ideas to sometimes moribund academic institutions worldwide. But there are significant downsides to the new hegemony of English.

Downsides

The impact of English in most cases increases the influence of the major English-speaking academic systems, particularly in the US and the UK.

These countries have many of the world's leading universities, produce a high proportion of scientific discoveries and scholarship, and mainly are the centres of scientific communication. The norms, values, methodologies, and orientations of the academic communities of these centres tend to dominate the rest of the world—the peripheries. While English is not the only factor of this trend, it is central.

What happens to national scientific communities in an English-dominated global environment? There has always been tension between the local and the global in science and scholarship—since knowledge is by its nature international. The use of national languages and the existence of national journals and publishers are called into question. Knowledge is ranked according to whether it is recognised by the international academic community or not. If not, even though a domestic publication may be highly relevant to national needs, it is considered even within a country as being less prestigious, and this may have implications for a scholar's academic career or salary. Ambitious academics will naturally seek to publish in international publications to advance their careers and increase their reach. Topics such as local history, and research on local health problems may be ignored to gain recognition internationally.

Some time ago, the Dutch minister of education proposed that universities in the Netherlands shift the language of instruction from Dutch to English so that Holland could boost its attraction for international students and integrate more fully in global scholarship. The Dutch parliament debated the issue and decided not to shift the language—arguing that the Netherlands would lose its distinctive culture if the Dutch language was no longer used for intellectual and academic life. This argument is relevant elsewhere. If the knowledge that is most valued is aimed at the international academic world and is expressed in English, there will be negative implications for national scientific and intellectual systems.

In many countries, academic rewards of all kinds accrue to those using English and participating in global scientific networks. These scholars are typically invited to international conferences, awarded research funds by both international and national funders, and are generally seen as leaders of their scientific communities. Universities and governments often use the SCI and related systems to judge the impact and value of their academics and universities. SCI becomes a kind of proxy for quality and productivity. Similarly, the international ranking systems use such measures. This is not surprising, since there are few other easy ways of measuring productivity. However, again, this privileges those who produce their work in English and intend to reach an international audience.

These factors will tend to orient researchers and scholars to themes, as well as the use of English, that they feel will appeal to an international audience, often at the expense of essential but more parochial themes that might be of interest only to local or national audiences. Further, the methodologies chosen for research will also tend to be those popular internationally, whether these methods are relevant to the specific topic being researched or not.

The current debate concerning the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as part of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has direct implications for this discussion. GATS will force academic systems worldwide to be more open to foreign influences. Should GATS be widely implemented, this will inevitably mean that the English language institutions and programmes will further entrench themselves worldwide.

These factors lead to homogenising knowledge worldwide. Not only is English the dominant language, but its relationship with the controlling trends in international science and scholarship is a powerful combination of forces contributing to decreasing diversity of themes and methodologies.

What Can Be Done?

If globalisation implies broad trends determining the direction of the world economy, science, and other factors, then the use of English as the global language of science and scholarship is inevitable for the foreseeable future. Science indeed is increasingly international, and the global mobility of students and professors is a long-term reality. There is an international knowledge network that involves not only science and scholarship but increasingly people. This network operates mainly in English and is dominated by the main English-speaking academic systems.

The argument here is that the international network is both inevitable and largely positive, but that national and local scientific communities and higher education systems must be protected. Internationalisation may be positive but homogenisation is a bad thing. An entirely open market will weaken these communities, just as the major world languages today are snuffing out small and weak languages. Science and scholarship in national languages deserve support. The evaluation of academic merit should not depend solely on the judgments or rankings of the SCI or other exogenous agencies—and thus left to foreigners. While the effort of local evaluation may not be easy, it is necessary. Research published in national languages

needs support. An appropriate mix between local and international publication will help nurture an active research community.

The essential necessity is an understanding of the importance of national scientific and intellectual communities. Creating a balance between the local and the global may not be easy but intellectual independence depends on it.

SECTION VI

Campus Politics

Student Movement: Now and Then

K. N. Panikkar

It was about 50 years back that Professor Philip. G. Altbach undertook the study of the student movement in India, with particular reference to student politics in Mumbai, which earned him a research degree. Although his field of research has substantially widened since then, he has maintained a healthy interest in the problems of higher education in India and has extensively written about them. What attracted him to the study of student politics was the radicalism of the youth during the 1960s in order to gauge its impact on the politics of India. The campuses were then vibrant with discussion about political philosophies and ways of social and economic transformation of society. Such involvement, however, was limited to a very small segment of the student population in institutions located in major urban centers. Outside these institutions, student politics were concerned more with the immediate and pressing local problems.

The nature of student politics has changed so much during the last 60 years that the Supreme Court of India constituted a committee under former Election Commissioner, Shri J. M. Lyngdoh, to "frame guidelines on Students' elections in colleges and universities." Such an intervention by the Supreme Court was occasioned by the election to the Union becoming the be all and end all of student politics, leading to factional fights and violence. In fact elections had become a synonym for student politics, as almost all student activities are undertaken with an eye on elections. Since the colleges and universities have become feeder devices for political candidates and party workers in several institutions, elections tend to vitiate the atmosphere in the campuses with violence and intimidation. The elections were not fought on issues pertinent to the problems the students faced in the campuses or on matters which directly impinged upon education, but on political problems, not directly concerned with

the student community. What happened in elections was a reflection of the state of the student movement which had become an appendage of one political party or the other. Such a politicization of the student movement has turned the campuses into areas, which political parties use for recruiting their cadres. An unfortunate consequence of this development is the recurrence of violence between the followers of different political formations. Consequently, demands were voiced by several educational administrators to restrict the student politics on the campus. However, the Lyngdoh committee did not see anything wrong in political parties being active on the campuses. Instead the Committee was of the opinion that "presentation of and debate about different ideologies and plans and perspective of national development are to be welcomed and political activity directed towards this end would be wholesome for the growth of the universities." In other words, the political activities on the campuses should be able to sensitize the students about their responsibilities as citizens.

The students' participation in political agitation in India has a long history, dating back to the Swadeshi movement during the early part of the twentieth century. The students then played an active role in organizing the boycott of foreign goods, which clearly underlined their potential for radicalizing the anti-colonial movement. Mahatma Gandhi drew upon this potential by inspiring them to leave colleges and universities and to participate in the non-cooperation movement. It heralded the entry of students on a large scale into the political arena as well as the emergence of Youth Leagues for the coordination of student activities. An important outcome of this participation was the foundation of national student federation of India. Since then students have formed an integral part of Indian politics, both as an ally of larger political movements as well as through their own independent organizations. The student activism thus covered both local and national issues.

In the Civil Disobedience movement launched by Gandhiji in 1930, students were involved in militant activities and the revolutionary socialists drew support and recruits from them. In 1936 the All India Students' Federation (AISF) was formed, which had one thousand affiliated organizations and fifty thousand members. The AISF provided a common platform in which Gandhians, socialists, and communists worked harmoniously. However, the United Front did not last long. The differences developed between the communists on one side and the Gandhians and socialists, on the other, over supporting the British war efforts after the Soviet Union entered the War in 1940, led to a split. The latter, organized themselves as Students'

Congress, was active during the Quit India movement of 1942, in which about fifteen thousand students participated.

During the post-independence period the Congress and the socialists joined together to form a non-political student organization, the National Union of Students (NUS) in 1950. The factional splits within the organization led to its disintegration by 1958. Thereafter, student politics came to be linked with different political parties. The major students' organizations today are Student Federation of India (SFI), National Student Union of India (NSUI), Akhil Bharat Vidhyarti Parishad (ABVP), and AISF. These organizations work under the control of political parties—the Communist Party of India (Marxist), Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party and Communist Party of India respectively. The majority of students, particularly those who pursue professional courses, are reluctant to participate in the activities of these organizations. Added to that is the prohibition of political activities in institutions managed by private agencies. The student movement in India, except in some pockets like Kerala and West Bengal, is therefore quite weak. In fact, the overwhelming majority of students are not part of any student organization. This is partly because of the predominance of career oriented upper class—cast orientation of the students in the campuses. Altbach suggests that the lower class students, "though the most oppressed sections of society, do not participate in movements, even when they involve issues of direct concern for them." In recent times there is discernible change in this situation; in most campuses the students from the lower castes have become relatively more active and have undertake agitations for their rights.

Altbach has identified three general trends in the student movement during the post-colonial period. First, the involvement of students in political activities as a part of the organizations created and controlled by political parties. Secondly, student involvement in specific demands and issues, such as the agitations regarding language in Tamil Nadu, anti-corruption in Orissa, and against reservation. Thirdly, sporadic demonstrations, unrest, and indiscipline related to local collegiate and academic matters. Over the years, particularly after the introduction of neoliberal policies the campuses have increasingly become apolitical. They prefer to concentrate more on academic achievements rather than taking interest in political agitations. This is quite in consonance with the aspirations of the middle class who invest major part of their income for the education of their children.

Though the Indian university campuses look relatively quiescent, there is an undercurrent of resentment, anger, and dissatisfaction about the

prevailing academic conditions and infrastructural facilities, particularly in institutions which impart general education. While the centers of excellence, which mainly cater to the privileged sections of society, maintain high standards, the conditions in other institutions are appalling. Most of the violence in the campuses is the student response to these conditions. The Indian campuses are now devoid of a student movement which would struggle for the improvement of these conditions in a peaceful and constructive manner.

25

The Transformation of the Indian Student Movement

Philip G. Altbach*

Students constitute a key element in the economic and political development in many of the new states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In some nations they have toppled governments, in others they have played a significant role in nationalist struggles. In almost all of the developing nations, the student community constitutes a primary source of technologically trained manpower, and an important impetus to the process of modernization. The elites which will have a major responsibility for shaping the affairs of the emerging nations are, to a large degree, recruited from the student community.

In many nations, the student movement—that segment of the student community which has organized itself for political or social action—has made significant contributions to political development. In several of the new states, student movements have been involved in revolutionary political struggles, in educational and cultural reforms, and in a range of political and social concerns. Students have gained valuable training in political methods and ideology through the student movement. In many instances, the student political movements have been instrumental in shaping political and social attitudes of the emerging (and occasionally the incumbent) elites in the developing nations. These student organizations, often the largest Western-oriented groups in the nation, have proved to be a spiritual

and ideological "home" for those individuals who seek to engender Western values and methods.

Student organizations have often provided an important adjunct to the formal education which emerging elites receive in schools and colleges. The extra-curricular role of the student movement, as well as the views of this movement on educational issues can provide a valuable source of information on educational policy and development in the new nations. It is a fact that much of the student "discontent" so much discussed by educators and politicians has its roots in grievances directly related to education.

India offers a particularly interesting model for examining the role of the student movement. Its long tradition of Western education has built up a sizeable Westernized class. It has seen indigenous organized political activity at least since the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The long struggle for independence from the British, which went through a number of significant stages and ended in the non-violent mass movement led by Gandhi, also provided a training ground for political activists and forced the Westernized middle classes to build a broad based movement. Almost two decades of independence has allowed indigenous political institutions to develop and problems of economic development, educational reform, and political stabilization to reveal themselves.

The Indian student movement has been intimately concerned with most of these developments, and was deeply involved in and committed to the nationalist movement. It can be divided into two distinct phases which mirror some of the important changes which have taken place in Indian society. Prior to Independence in 1947, the students took an active part in the political life of the nation, and were organized into a number of powerful movements. Political groups were quite influential in the student community and provided strong support to the nationalist movement. Since Independence, the student movement in India has all but collapsed. Most of the organizations which exercised so strong an influence on the students have disappeared, and the spirit of nationalism and sacrifice has left the campus. Indian students exhibit something of an ambivalence about the society in which they must take their place, and there is a notable lack of enthusiasm for the vital tasks of nation building.

The Student Movement and the Independence Struggle

Prior to 1920, the small Indian student community had little experience with politics, and concerned itself primarily with its academic program and

with cultural affairs. But as the nationalist movement grew and was gradually transformed under Gandhi's leadership from a middle class "debating society" into a militant mass movement, the students took an increasingly active role in politics. The impact of nationalism was combined with Western intellectual influences—particularly the ideas of the British Fabian socialists and later the Russian Communists. During the 1920's, many student groups were formed which took an interest in politics. The nascent Indian Communist movement, as well as the left-wing of the Congress, were active on the campuses, and discussion groups devoted to politics were popular. The right-wing Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which emphasized Hindu nationalism and cultural regeneration was also born during this period and had a strong element of student support.

Gandhi's Non-Cooperation movement of 1920 was the first political struggle in which students were involved on a substantial scale. The call for students to quit their colleges and support Congress-sponsored "national colleges" received substantial backing. Although the national colleges were short-lived, the traditional educational structure was temporarily thrown into confusion. Students helped with Congress campaigns and meetings, and when Congress leaders were arrested, students assumed the leadership of the movement.

The 1920 movement provided the students with valuable political experience and established the student movement as a part of campus life in India. The organizations formed in the course of the struggle continued to exist, and politically minded students involved themselves in "constructive" social service projects and in study circles. Youth Leagues were formed in major educational centers with the help of leftist Congress leaders, and the first annual All India Student Conference was held in 1920 to provide coordination to the growing student political movement. The dominant trend among the politically minded students was radical, and Gandhian traditionalism and non-violence had much less influence than socialist ideologies. The annual student conferences, which normally attracted more than 3,000 student delegates from all parts of India, provided left-wing Congressmen with a platform and with support for their views.[1]

While only a minority of the Indian student community was politically active during the 1920's, it was during this period that the movement established itself and gained both organizational experience and some degree of ideological sophistication. Student cultural associations also came into their own and became an important part of campus life. Organizations devoted to debating, drama, literature and other subjects blossomed at many

colleges, often with the support of the college authorities. For the first time, students were involved in large numbers in the planning and administration of extracurricular activities. While unrelated to politics, such activities gave students a sense of confidence as well as training in organizational matters.

The 1930's brought an intensification of the political struggle in India and along with it a growth in the student movement. Gandhi's militant Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 involved students on an unprecedented scale, and many of the activities calculated to impair British administration in India were carried out by students. Colleges were closed, agitations launched, and illegal publications distributed. Hundreds of students were dismissed from their colleges or were sent to jail. While the struggle died down after almost a year, the student movement continued its activity, and the All India Students' Federation was organized in 1936 to provide a unified voice for the student movement. From the beginning, the AISF was strongly nationalist and radical in its political views.[2] Communists, socialists, and Gandhians worked harmoniously within the AISF and provincial affiliates were organized in all parts of India. The annual AISF conferences, held at the same time as the sessions of the Indian National Congress, attracted upwards of 3,000 delegates and the top Congress leaders addressed the students.

In this period, the newly-formed Congress Socialist Party had a strong influence on politically minded students, as did the small but articulate Communist Party. Study groups trained cadres in ideology as well as in organizational tactics. Many committed student leaders became active in the growing trade union movement or in the cultural organizations sponsored by the leftist political groups.[3]

In addition to the "mainstream" nationalist student movement, a number of other important trends existed within the student movement. Many Muslim students, previously apathetic or pro-Congress, were influenced by Mohammad Ali Jinnah's call for a separate Muslim state in India and joined the Muslim League's All India Muslim Students' Federation. This organization did not participate in the independence movement, but instead pressed for Muslim rights and defended Muslims when they were attacked. Muslim student organizations also shaped the political ideologies of a whole generation of Muslim leaders, and were particularly important because of the relative backwardness of the Muslim community in India.

The Hindu right-wing also gained strength. The RSS appealed to militant Hindu nationalism and to anti-Muslim and anti-Christian sentiments among the Hindus. By upholding traditional Hindu values, then under

attack from Westernized elements in India, the RSS was able to attract many students, particularly in smaller colleges. Its para-military program which emphasized physical training and discipline, appealed to many students. The Hindu Students' Federation was similar in ideology to the RSS, although its approach was somewhat more sophisticated. As a counter to the RSS, secular-minded leftists organized the Rashtra Seva Dal (RSD), which also sponsored a para-military program in addition to other cultural and social activities. The RSD was devoted to secular values and did much to overcome the communalism of both Hindu and Muslim extremists. Its strength was mainly in Maharashtra, while the RSS drew most of its support from the Hindi-speaking areas of north India.

By 1938, the Indian colleges were highly politicized. While the "mainstream" leftist student groups had a dominant position, they were by no means unchallenged. As the nationalist movement gained strength and militancy, students took a more active part in the struggle, and many voluntarily left the colleges to work in the labor movement or with Gandhian constructive programs. The increasing ideological sophistication of the student movement also created problems, and the factional infighting which has become characteristic of Indian politics grew rapidly.

The split in the All India Students' Federation in 1940 was indicative of this trend. The differences between the Communists on one side and the socialists and Gandhians on the other came into the open in 1940. The Communist faction was able to impose its support for the Soviet Union and its strong criticism of the Congress on the AISF. The socialists led a walk-out, and two separate student organizations were formed as a result. The bitterness engendered and the energy wasted during these disputes weakened the student movement, sowing the seeds of further factional problems later.

During the 1942 "Quit India" movement, the students played a key role; the nationalist student movement (the Communists at this time were actively supporting the British war effort) succeeded in closing most of India's colleges for extended periods, and involved masses of students in the struggle. Students who had not previously been involved in politics worked for the Congress and participated in almost daily demonstrations. Committed student cadres took part in sabotage campaigns and tried, with some success, to disrupt British administration. When the adult Congress leadership was arrested, the students took over much of the leadership of the struggle and acted as a liaison between underground leaders and the movement. Student groups published illegal newspapers, and even operated a clandestine radio station.

The 1942 struggle was the apex of the student movement in India, involving for the first time, a majority of the students. Thousands were jailed, and many thousands were dismissed from their colleges. The militancy of the 1942 movement was retained, if on a reduced scale, until the end of the Independence struggle. The nationalist student movement had achieved substantial influence on the campus, and many of the best students participated in the struggle.

By 1946, however, the student movement had lost much of its impetus. While the Students' Congress (the nationalist wing of the movement and successor to the non-Communist wing of the AISF) remained a large and active organization, its emphasis returned to campus issues or the Gandhian constructive program. Many radical student leaders were disillusioned by the compromises which the Congress leadership found it necessary to make in order to achieve Independence without further bloodshed. The 1946 mutiny of the Indian Navy was a further shock to them, since the Congress ordered the militant sailors to surrender to the British in the interest of a compromise.[4] Many active student leaders participated in the movement, and this event marked the end of the politically significant phase of the student movement in India.

A number of important factors had contributed to the growth of a militant student movement in pre-1947 India. The student community itself was fairly small and homogeneous. Most students came from upper middle or upper class and caste backgrounds, and the educational emphasis was strongly on the liberal arts. Higher education usually insured a fairly high status job after graduation, and most students did not have to worry about financial problems while studying. The colleges themselves were relatively compact, and communication between colleges was not too difficult. From the beginning, many of the best students were involved in the student political movement, particularly in the left-wing groups, and this helped to make the movement more "respectable."

In the 1930's and 1940's, India was a highly politicized nation, particularly in the cities and towns, where most of the colleges were located and from which the vast majority of the students were recruited. The heady revolutionary atmosphere had its effect on the students, and it was not difficult to create interest in the student movement. Western political ideologies had a powerful influence on the students and stimulated much thought and discussion. Thus, the immediacy of the nationalist struggle was combined with an ideological ferment, thereby creating a politically conscious student movement.

The Student Movement since 1947

By 1947 the student movement had lost much of its momentum, and many of the key student organizations had all but collapsed. With a few isolated exceptions, the student movement was never able to regain its militancy and has been steadily weakened. The causes for this decline are complex; it is only possible to mention some of them briefly here.

Perhaps the most important factor was the end of the independence struggle. Prior to 1947, political issues were clear and dramatic—the British had to be driven from the subcontinent. Respected nationalist leaders, such as Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan, encouraged students to take an active part in the political struggle. Following Independence, the Congress leaders reversed themselves and urged students to stay out of politics. Furthermore, students learned that compromise was a necessary ingredient of practical politics; the issues were no longer obvious. The spirit of self-sacrifice which had marked the independence struggle almost disappeared, and many political leaders and others were more concerned with their own careers than with ideology or national development.

As the student movement lost its main *raison d'etre*, the attitude of government and educational authorities changed drastically. The powerful Congress and Socialist student organizations were abandoned by the adult leaders and ignored by most of the students. The Communists retained their interest in the student movement, but embarked on a disastrous program of violence against the government, thereby losing most of its support.[5]

The student community and the educational system were also undergoing substantial changes during this period. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of arts and science colleges in India grew from 498 to 1,039, and the enrollment doubled, from 310,000 to 691,000 students.[6] Higher education became available to young people from rural or lower middle class backgrounds, and unemployment of graduates, always a problem in India, assumed substantial proportions. The quality of instruction declined as the number of students increased. The homogeneity of the student community was shattered by this influx of students. Thus, the physical and sociological composition of the student community made the creation of a movement much more difficult. Higher education was no longer a preserve of the elite, but became a necessity for many middle level government or private jobs.

As a result of these and other pressures, the student movement has substantially changed its role and function since 1947. The mass political organizations of the pre-Independence period have either collapsed or have become debating societies of modest proportions. The most active student

groups on the Indian campus today are the local organizations devoted to cultural or social concerns, most of which are sponsored by the college or university. The various elected college unions, again under official sponsorship and supervision, are often able to coordinate the various extra curricular activities. The interest of the student community has shifted from the political realm to cultural and social activities.

Among the most popular organizations on the Indian campus are the various linguistic associations, organized as separate groups. A typical college in Bombay will have a Marathi Literary Society, a Hindi Mandal, a Gujarati Dramatic group, an English Literary Society, and others. While these groups probably tend to limit the social contacts of the students to members of their own linguistic community, they do provide an outlet for student energy and are valuable in an educational system conducted in a language which is only imperfectly understood by many of the students.

Religious and communal student groups also continue to exist, although they are less important than the linguistic associations. Christians, Sikh, Muslim, Parsi, and other minority religious communities have organized their own student groups, which have some following on the campus. Most of these groups have no political interests and are intended to provide a social center for the students involved. Debating clubs, film societies, and discussion groups are popular at most colleges, and an attempt has been made to provide an adequate athletic program for the students.

A number of the all-India student organizations still exist, and retain some degree of influence. The largest of the pre-Independence student movements, the Students' Congress was disbanded in 1948. Congress leaders expressed interest in the formation of a non-political student organization, and the socialists agreed to unite with them in the formation of the National Union of Students. Founded at a large congress in Bombay at which Nehru and the socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan spoke, the NUS proved unable to rid itself of the heritage of outside political manipulation and soon floundered.

The National Union of Students remained fairly active for several years after its formation, but eventually, political infighting together with a negative attitude by most educators destroyed the organization. An attempt was made to make the organization representative, but when less than half of the universities in India joined, financial problems made NUS operations precarious. After an initial burst of enthusiasm, the NUS found itself virtually leaderless and forced to rely on students more interested in their own personal advancement than in building a student movement. Factional disputes caused a split, and by 1958 the NUS was, for all practical purposes, dead.

Another group, the National Council of University Students of India (NCUSI), was formed subsequently to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of the NUS. But this new group has faced many of the same problems as its predecessor—opposition from educators and political leaders, student apathy, and careerism among its own leaders. The Cold War has brought the problem of foreign subsidies, for both the East and the West are interested in gaining as much influence among the Indian students as possible and have been willing to support student organizations. The Russians have traditionally supported the Communist-sponsored All-India Students' Federation, while the NCUSI has reportedly received funds from Western sources, further removing it from the campus.[7] It seems quite unlikely that the NCUSI will be able to build a representative student association in India even though it has generally stayed out of partisan Indian politics. At present the organization has branches in less than one-third of the universities, with a few ongoing programs to prove its usefulness to the student community.

The political parties in India have had a rather ambivalent attitude toward the students in recent years. The Congress Party, for instance, has sponsored its own youth affiliate; moreover, it has vacillated between encouraging student participation in politics and warning against such participation. The Youth Congress was formed in 1949. Despite its claims to be the largest youth organization in India, it has not succeeded in making any impact on the campus and has served mainly as a "front group" for aspiring Congress politicians. Its few social service projects have attracted some interest; yet, the Youth Congress had almost no active chapters in India before its recent dissolution because of internal political conflicts. The organization took part in Congress election campaigns and saw a short burst of activity during the Chinese invasion of 1962, when it was responsible for obtaining support for the government from the youth and students.

The oldest student organization in India still in existence is the AISF, founded in 1936. Under Communist control since 1940, the AISF claims to be the largest representative student group in India. In fact, however, it is almost non-existent outside of the major centers of Communist strength in India—Bengal and Kerala. Furthermore, the recent split in the Indian Communist Party has aligned many sections of the AISF with the "left" Communists, thereby arousing the opposition of the "right" faction. The AISF does continue to have major influence in the colleges of Calcutta, although much of its activity has been more in the cultural and social area than directly concerned with politics. The AISF has also failed to attract the

kind of dedicated and able leadership that it did in the past years, and the organization faces both political and organizational crises. It is doubtful if it has more than 1,000 active members in India (compared to more than 50,000 two decades ago) and probably boasts less than twenty-five affiliates, out of a total of more than one thousand colleges.

The Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha (Socialist Student Organization) was founded in 1953 by the Socialist Party when the NUS experiment failed. The SYS has been adversely affected by the various splits within the Indian socialist movement in the past decade. Never intended as a militant movement, the SYS has acted as an educational arm of the socialist groups in some areas, although it has only a small number of affiliates limited mostly to northern India. The strength of the SYS has declined along with the viability of the socialist parties; it can probably boast of less than 500 active members. Its discussion groups have provided some of the few forums for serious political debate among students, but even these have been too limited to make any real impact on the campus.

One of the most important of the student organizations in India today is the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (All-India Students' Organization). This group, usually called the Vidyarthi Parishad, has maintained that it is non-political, but there is strong evidence to suggest that it is the youth wing of the rightist Hindu communalist parties. The Vidyarthi Parishad concentrates on a culturally oriented program and scrupulously avoids broader political issues. The association claims that teachers, students, and administrators should cooperate and not oppose one another. Professors serve with students on various governing bodies of the Parishad.

The Vidyarthi Parishad was founded in 1955 by students and teachers who had been involved in the militant right-wing RSS. The organization, under competent and dedicated leadership, has grown steadily and now has strong roots in the Hindi speaking areas of northern India. With a sprinkling of members in other parts of India, the Vidyarthi Parishad comes close to being an all-India organization. The organization has strongly stressed patriotism, but has also engaged in a good deal of social service work such as textbook libraries for needy students and a limited scholarship program. Its program, which has emphasized cooperation with college administrators, has succeeded in gaining the sympathy of many principals. The political composition and emphasis of the Parishad is, however, quite clear. A large proportion of its members were formerly in the RSS, including a majority of the National Council. The communalist views of many of its members are evident, even though the Parishad has refrained from making inflammatory statements.

The reasons for the limited success achieved by the Vidyarthi Parishad are simple. Competent leaders have provided an active program which has relevance to the student community. Social service and cultural activity has been combined with occasional demonstrations for student rights. Although the Vidyarthi Parishad claims 50,000 members, it is unlikely it has more than five thousand active supporters,[8] and it is certainly true that the association lacks broad campus support. That it is probably the most active student organization in India is more than an indication of the general weakness of the student movement than of the strength of the Vidyarthi Parishad.

These are the main national student organizations. There are other groups, such as national associations of religious groups like the National Council of Catholic College Students, but these generally make little impact on the student community. The government has made several attempts to foster constructive work among students. The Bharat Sevak Samaj (Indian Service Association), a semi-official group, has sponsored social service projects in various parts of India and has succeeded in involving students in its work. The scope of this work has, however, been limited and student potential for service has not been adequately tapped. The Congress Party as well as local colleges have also sponsored service projects and students have enthusiastically responded when asked to participate in village uplift work and other projects.

Student Indiscipline—The Bogey of Indian Higher Education

While the problem of student "indiscipline" in India has received much attention in recent years, its seriousness has probably been exaggerated by educators and other officials. "Indiscipline" has been variously defined; the term is often used to describe any student action which does not meet with the approval of the government or of educational officials. Actions ranging from violent demonstrations protesting an examination or a fee increase to peaceful meetings or petitioning have been labelled "indiscipline." If one takes into account the poor conditions of a large proportion of the student community, the attitude of many administrators toward student grievances, and the falling standards in much of Indian higher education, it is surprising that there has not been more indiscipline. For, in fact, student indiscipline has been limited to a relatively small number of educational institutions and is not characteristic of the student community.

Among the most famous examples of student indiscipline are Banaras Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University, two of India's most venerable institutions. At both of these schools, faculty politics had succeeded in lowering the standards of the institution and the morale of both teachers and students. The Banaras incidents, which caused the university to be closed temporarily, were investigated by a Government commission which found evidence of mismanagement and favoritism.

Other examples of indiscipline which give some indication of its scope and impact were the linguistic rioting in Madras state in 1965, in which students took a leading role in agitating against the imposition of Hindi as a national language, and the 1964 student demonstrations in Orissa which led to the resignation of the chief minister on charges of corruption. Calcutta has traditionally been politically volatile and is one of the few places in India where the student political movement has continued almost unabated. Student protests against stiff examinations, bad instructors, or other real or imagined injustices related to university administration have been widespread. Students in Bombay have demonstrated recently against a college principal who allegedly kicked his students, against increases in university fees, and against poor living conditions.

Thus, student indiscipline is more often than not directed against a specific administrative policy rather than at broader educational issues or matters of political importance, although politics has provided an important undercurrent to post-Independence student agitation. Another characteristic of student indiscipline is its generally spontaneous nature, for most student agitations are not planned by politically motivated student agitators or by non-students, but are the result of spontaneous student action. Lack of organization is a hallmark, and there have been many instances when self-appointed student leaders have prepared lists of demands only after the agitation had been launched. While political parties have tried to exploit student demonstrations, and sometimes with success, they have rarely initiated them.

The causes for student unrest in India are not difficult to perceive. The educational system is characterized by poor standards of instruction, especially in the liberal arts (where most of the indiscipline seems to originate), by inadequate facilities such as libraries and laboratories, by an outmoded curriculum, and by poorly trained teachers. Students have few outlets for their energy, and demonstrations are perhaps such an outlet. Many students begin their collegiate careers at the age of fifteen or sixteen and lack the maturity that a few extra years would give. Furthermore, students living in hostels and away from their families for the first time are probably affected

by their freedom, particularly in view of India's strict family system. The generational problem, present in almost every society, lies somewhat below the surface in India, although it probably influences the students. Finally, the economic uncertainty of many Indian students is clearly a cause for ambivalence and indiscipline. Many students must hold part time jobs, and a survey of students in Calcutta pointed out that a substantial number were undernourished. It is difficult for graduates, especially in the liberal arts, to obtain suitable employment, adding a further factor of uncertainty to the plans of many students. The amount of "wastage" (the number of students who do not finish their college educations) in India is quite high, and many of these former students remain at the universities.[9]

Despite these factors and the everyday frustrations to which the student in India is subjected, amount of indiscipline is surprisingly small. Most of India's 1,500 colleges have never witnessed any agitation. And while many institutions have been subjected to an occasional isolated demonstration, such actions are the exception rather than the rule. The centers of student unrest in India which have received so much attention in recent years— Aligarh, Lucknow, Calcutta, Banaras—offer interesting case studies, but are by no means typical of educational institutions in India.

The Future of the Student Community

The age of the student movement in India seems to have ended, and ideological politics play a very small part among the students. Almost all of the national student organizations are bureaucratic structures rather than functioning movements. No one, the government, politicians and educators included, have been able to arouse the students. In essence, the Indian student community is without direction and without ideology. Life remains difficult on the subcontinent, and students are much involved in the day-to-day struggle for existence and future employment.

But political or educational interest among students is not dead. On the contrary, strong movements can be launched when the students feel involved with a particular issue. The Orissa agitations and the Madras riots are indications of this fact. Fee increases or arbitrary administrative action can mobilize the students into a well organized campaign. But these are *ad hoc* and essentially directionless movements—aimed at a specific goal. When the aim has been achieved (or soundly defeated) the students retreat into their apathy and no ongoing movement is created. It is almost certain that students will continue to play a sporadic although occasionally

significant political role in India. The creation of a movement similar to that which characterized the student community during the Independence struggle is very unlikely.

It is impossible to predict when or where student unrest will occur in India. Students in Madras, for example, have a tradition of serious scholarship and a notable lack of unrest, yet they participated in one of the most volatile student agitations in post-Independence India. There are, however, some parts of India which have retained a tradition of student activism, notably Calcutta, Delhi, and some of the northern cities in which indiscipline is more likely to occur. It is also possible to state with some degree of accuracy, that student unrest is more likely to occur in the arts colleges and hardly even constitutes a problem in the technological institutions. Missionary administered colleges have had less trouble than other institutions, perhaps because there is often a more satisfactory teacher–student relationship at these institutions. Some pattern does exist—traditions of student activism, poor educational opportunities, or a particularly important political event can trigger a student movement. What is lacking is any ideological or organizational base in the Indian student community.

The Indian experience may have some relevance to other developing nations. India has been independent for almost two decades, and has had a chance to develop stable institutions and patterns during that time. In India, the small "modern" segment of the society moved from a high awareness of politics and participation in an all encompassing mass movement to the more mundane and difficult tasks of building a modern nation. The tension and commitment of the Independence struggle has not been maintained. The idealism of the independence period has also been muted by the responsibilities of family and the awareness of caste and linguistic particularism. Corruption in government and private enterprise has become widespread. The students have been affected by these changes. They have high expectations of the society, and when utopia seems very far off, they often give up the fight. Furthermore, the educational system itself has changed. While during the pre-1947 period, college students constituted something of a presumptive elite, this is no longer true.

The future of the student community in India is uncertain. It is likely that the current trend toward a-politicization and a lack of social concern will continue along with increasing problems for both the educational system and the individual student. The harnessing of the student community remains a challenge to the government and the educational authorities.

Notes

* This paper was prepared as part of the Comparative National Development Project's inquiry into student political involvement in developing areas. The Project, under the direction of Seymour Martin, Lipset, was initiated at the University of California, Berkeley.

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Anatomy of Indian Student Unrest

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Philip G. Altbach

The current wave of student unrest in India has attracted the usual attention—Parliamentary questions, official investigations and commentary in the Press. Most of this discussion, however, has not thrown much new light on a problem which has become chronic in Indian higher education. These comments are intended to point out some factors which seem, to this observer at least, to be fairly self-evident.

Documentation is needed, and massive research concerning the phenomenon of student unrest and other problems facing the universities must be undertaken if progress is to be made toward solving the crisis of the university. But even given the present lack of adequate research on higher education, some generalisations can be made.

Core of discontent

It is often said that student activism in India is part of a world-wide movement, and therefore nothing can be done about it. This is only partly true. Indian student unrest is characterised, in a large majority of cases, by a complete lack of broader ideological or political concerns. It is stimulated by local grievances, many of which are irrelevant to any

educational or political issue. Demands for concessions in cinema houses, postponement of examinations, and similar issues are the core of student discontent.

While student demonstrations in the West are often started because of local issues, as was the case in Paris last May, there is also a broader political awareness and concern which is very much evident in student movements. Student leaders are highly sophisticated and committed to social reform or revolution in the Western countries, and this political awareness and concern has an impact on demonstrations. With the exception perhaps of the student movement in Calcutta, very few demonstrations in India have this kind of political root.

When students in the West demonstrate about educational questions, they invariably demand higher standards of instruction as well as more amenities. The famous Berkeley student revolt of 1964 in the United States was stimulated in part by a demand by undergraduate students for better teaching. Students in France and West Germany have demanded academic reforms to improve the quality of education as well as to provide needed additional resources to the universities. In India, the situation is generally just the opposite. Students almost invariably demonstrate for a lowering of standards.

Crucial Factor

Protests over the difficulty of examinations, demands for simplifying the syllabus, and complaints when college teachers lecture about subjects not specifically related to their examinations are the usual types of student agitations in India. While isolated students may ask for better teaching and an improvement in standards, there have been very few organised campaigns for improvement.

Another crucial factor in Indian higher education is the politicalization of the university. In general, this is not the politics of ideology or principle, but rather the politics of faction and clique. In no other country are universities so much involved in factional controversies. Some of these disputes may be related to State or local politics, but most seem to be purely internal. In other countries, governments may occasionally interfere in university affairs or demand a degree of political loyalty from professors, but in almost no other nation can one find the continuous political infighting evident in many Indian universities.

There are, of course, good reasons for the existence of political factions in the universities. India, as an American political scientist has pointed out, is a "society of scarcity" and therefore the allocation of scare resources is naturally a subject for dispute. And the universities, despite their "ivory tower" image, are no different than any other segment of society.

Declining Standards

The Indian universities have generally not developed a strong commitment to academic norms and values, nor has the Government ever left the universities alone. In very few Indian universities is there any stress on original research, one of the hallmarks of superiority in higher education. The lack of a cohesive academic community, made up of both teachers and student, has meant that there is seldom strong resistance to government interference in university affairs. Continuing expansion, for example, is candidly admitted by many university people to the anathema to improvement or even maintenance of standards. But few educationists are willing to publicly advocate limiting expansion, and so colleges continue to proliferate and standards continue to decline.

All of this cannot but have a major impact on the student community. It is certainly true that conditions of study, in all but a handful of educational institutions, are bad and deteriorating. Libraries are Inadequate, hostel facilities in most cases unavailable, and perhaps most important, teachers are often poorly trained and inadequately paid.

It is natural that students should be dissatisfied with these conditions. Indeed, it is often surprising to an outside observer that there is not more unrest on the campus than there actually is. But bad conditions alone do not make for student agitation. In institutions where political factionalism is rife agitation tends to be most active and violent. Political infighting becomes the norm of university life rather than the exception, and the students naturally take part.

Common Excuse

While there is certainly a link between student agitation and the political parties, particularly those of the opposition, it is unfair to say that politicians simply "use" the students for their own purposes. This common excuse is used by educationists to dismiss their own failings and by

government officials to blame their opponents, but it is a gross oversimplification. It is curious that in universities where there are few traditions of organised factionalism among the teachers, such as Bombay University, student unrest has been kept at a minimum.

The lesson is that where teachers and administrators maintain a relatively non-political atmosphere, students will not be so much inclined to join in factional politics. Similarly, some State Governments have maintained a relatively neutral attitude toward the universities, especially in terms of day-to-day administration, and this has also helped to limit agitation by students.

Where students have a grievance which can be conveniently exploited by political parties, an alliance of common purpose is made between the students and politicians. For example, students in Bihar were active in anti-Congress electoral politics in the 1967 elections largely because the Congress Government had used violence to disperse student demonstrators. The endemic unrest and factionalism at Banaras Hindu University and Allahabad University is at least in part due to the continuing involvement of the State Government, and of various political parties in the day-to-day affairs of the institutions.

All this is not to paint a totally black picture. Indian students can be highly idealistic if they are properly motivated. The massive student participation in the 1942 movement and the impressive mobilization of students during the Sino-Indian conflict is an indication of this fact. When students are asked to participate in social service work, they almost invariably respond enthusiastically.

And students have participated in broader political struggles which, while one might disagree with some aims and tactics, at least had a basis in rational politics. Student efforts to unseat the Orissa Government several years ago, and the participation of students in Madras in the language controversy are examples of this type of broadly based and effective political agitation.

Strong Tradition

What, then, is to be done? It seems clear that as long as there is a commitment to mass higher education with continuing expansion of institutions and a concomitant decline of standards, student unrest and agitation will continue. For it cannot be expected that university students in India will submit to deteriorating conditions and indifferent employment prospects without discontent. Despite this gloomy prognostication, however, some steps can be taken.

Administrators can listen to student grievances and seek to amelio-rate them. The academic community can recognize the idealism of some students and seek to channel it in positive directions, But the essential fact is that problems on campus and in society affect students and this real-ity, combined with the tradition of politicization in higher education, will ensure that elements of unrest and sometimes violence will plague the col-leges and universities.*

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* The last two sentences could not be deciphered from the author's copy of the published article. The present text is a new version written by the author based on his recollection of the original.

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Indian Campus Politics

Philip G. Altbach

It is a curious fact that in almost every university where students have engaged in indiscipline and disruption, teachers have been involved in politics. In a sense, the political activities of teachers and academic administrators are as much "indiscipline" as the stone-throwing and slogan-shouting of the students. But teacher indiscipline is quieter and often has the sanction, or even the instigation, of politicians and others in authority. Clearly, the political activities of the academic community in India have major implications for the progress of the universities and, of course, for student unrest.

One of the major causes of academic collapse in India is the political factionalism in universities. While politics is an ingredient of higher education in every country, it has occasionally reached unmanageable proportions in India. In universities like Allahabad, Banaras and Lucknow, political infighting overwhelmed the institution, and major crises ensued. Even where such dramatic events as strikes and police action have not taken place, the pace of academic politics is often brisk, and much of the time of professors and administrators is taken up with lobbying, electioneering for various academic committees, and related discussion and gossip. Teaching and scholarly work naturally suffer.

Absurd Hope

The causes of factional politics in the universities are not difficult to find, and are also deeply ingrained in Indian academic life. The first and major fact is that Indian society in general is highly politicized at all levels. Personal rivalries, ideological concerns, and various kinds of communal, caste, and linguistic factors are a key aspect of most elements of public life, from the village Panchayat up to the Lok Sabha. It would be absurd to expect the university to remain aloof from these political pressures. In India, unlike many other countries, political manoeuvering is not limited to specific aspects of social life, but is considered appropriate at all levels and in almost all institutions.

It has been said that societies get the kind of universities they deserve. The Indian university has never been free to develop on its own. Founded in the mid-nineteenth century by the British for their own highly utilitarian reasons—to train clerks for the middle ranks of the British bureaucracy—the universities from the very beginning were under political control. Internal political factionalism developed quite early, in part because the universities were never given adequate resources by the Government and in part due to strong traditions of politics. The nationalist period did nothing to calm the academic world and, in fact, the universities were in the forefront of Gandhi's various campaigns. Nationalist leaders, Including Gandhi and Nehru, were instrumental in building up strong traditions of political involvement in the universities and among the students.

Centres of Power

The post-independence period has been a continuation of the political element in academic life. India is, after all, a society of scarcity, and the universities have had to fight hard for even a small proportion of social resources. Within academic institutions, individuals have to struggle to secure resources, defend hard-won jobs, and in general to look out for their own interests. In addition to these probably unavoidable aspects of university life in a developing society, the Indian university has become a crucial political institution in its own right.

Universities and colleges are local centres of power. Indeed, in some States colleges are often founded by politicians in order to have a base for patronage and to provide a platform for political views. Universities, particularly, are a key source of patronage and prestige for political leaders.

Hundreds of jobs, from professors to peons, involving the expenditure of large sums of money, are involved in a university. Unfortunately, these positions are more often allocated on the basis of partisan loyalty or caste or community affiliation than because of academic merit. Because universities have a highly valued commodity to distribute—education—they are of key Importance to socially mobile (and often politically articulate) segments of the population, and if politicians, academic or otherwise, are able to deliver "education," they will receive support and continuing resources.

Tremendous Stress

Because jobs are scarce and a position with security is highly valued, academic appointments are generally in great demand, despite the fact that salaries are low and prestige is diminishing. This "sellers' market" has meant that various kinds of favouritism, nepotism, and occasionally corruption is used in academic appointments. Communal, regional, or linguistic consideration in appointments is quite common, and has added to the declining prestige of the teaching profession.

The Government has placed higher education under tremendous stress in the years since Independence, and the academic community has only just been able to survive. The tremendous expansion of the universities, which has taken place because of popular and governmental pressure, has strained academic resources to the limit. Even if all highly qualified graduates went into teaching—which certainly is not the case—there would not be enough superior teachers to go round. As a result, an increasing proportion of teachers are not well trained, and cannot do justice to their students. Other kinds of pressures have also been placed on the universities. The question of the medium of instruction is a case in point. Few government officials bothered to consider academic views on this issue, and certainly the public debate concentrates more on political and regional considerations than on academic merit. As a result, universities are saddled with linguistic decisions which may be difficult to implement and still maintain standards.

While it is true that the universities have been subjected to many pressures, much of the blame for the present situation is on the academic community. Professors and administrators have not yet realised that the university is a key and very powerful institution in a modernising society. If the academic community exercised its potential power and capacity for leadership, it could have a strong impact on the future of the university, and perhaps on the society as well. But to date no such initiative has been taken,

and vice-chancellors, college principals, and others in the universities have meekly accepted outside interference.

The politicization of the Indian university has had a number of results. Students, of course, have been tempted to follow their elders, and especially their teachers. It is particularly galling that while both politicians and professors demand that students stay out of politics, they are very much involved in factionalism themselves. Students, of course, take actions more seriously than words, and indiscipline and unrest are the result. Academic politics has had a very serious effect on standards and morale. Much has been said about the impact of academic bureaucracy on the "brain drain" and the relatively low productivity of research in India. It is not surprising that sensitive intellectuals get discouraged by the continuous infighting and factionalism. Politicians, both academic and otherwise, are now running higher education. That they have no great educational vision is not surprising. That the universities function as well as they do is even more astounding.

The Indian university is in a period of crisis and is beset by many problems. One need only pick up a newspaper to identify the most dramatic problems. But the area of academic politics is one aspect of university life which can be improved and changed without massive resources or expenditures. The university community, with sufficient hard work and organisation and with the assistance of concerned politicians and members of the public, can begin to purify higher education. Miracles cannot be expected in a society beset by many problems, but when the universities begin to use their inherent power and to understand their predicament some progress can be made.

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Student Politics and Higher Education in India

Philip G. Altbach

For over a century, student unrest has been one of India's most serious educational and political problems.[1] Student agitation has caused state governments to fall and has forced the central government to revise its language policies. While there has been much discussion of the problem of student unrest and activism in India, there has been little analysis of the underlying problems students face in a society strained by severe academic and educational crises. Indian students function in a "society of scarcity," a consideration central to any discussion of Indian higher education.[2]

Higher Education and Student Politics— The Indian Context

Macaulay's famous "Minute" on education, approved in 1853, advocated a strong European bias in the Indian educational system, a bias that still exists. Indian influences on higher education were also strong, and men like Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal and Dadabhai Naoroji in Bombay helped to stimulate the rapid growth of higher education in the nineteenth century.

Until the establishment of universities at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in 1857, higher education in India did not have a firm foundation. These institutions, begun as "affiliating" universities patterned after the University of London, set uniform educational standards for the growing number of colleges in India by regulating courses and examinations. The number of colleges in British-administered India increased from 27 to 72 between 1857 and 1882.[3] During this period, higher education was almost exclusively limited to the sons of the very small Westernized middle and upper class and was largely confined to the cities. The student population remained numerically small and relatively homogeneous both in social class and caste. Most students hoped for careers in the civil service or the professions, particularly law and medicine.

The system of higher education developed by the British in India was designed to provide Indians with facility in English and with the skills necessary to fill the lower ranks of the civil service. As an Indian middle class developed, many realized that success depended upon a Western-style higher education, and growing numbers of Indians competed for the limited number of openings in the colleges. Indian higher education expanded to meet the demands placed upon it; in the first three decades of the twentieth century the student population increased fivefold, while the number of universities doubled. In 1921, there were almost sixty thousand students in Indian colleges and universities, but by 1936 this number had doubled.[4]

As the educational system grew and the number of politically aware and articulate Indians increased, the small Indian nationalist movement changed into a militant mass movement, and students actively participated in the struggle for independence.[5] Since independence, however, student attempts to intervene in political affairs have been sporadic. Lacking the ideological fervor that characterized the nationalist period, the mass student movements have collapsed. The strong support given by the leaders of the Congress to the student movement has been withdrawn, and both political figures and educators now urge students to avoid politics and to concentrate on acquiring the skills necessary for national development.

The Indian Student Movement and the Struggle for Independence

Several students organizations had been founded by 1900, although educational and social matters and not politics were their main preoccupations. Only a relatively small minority, perhaps numbering a few thousand

throughout the country, took any interest in politics, and most of them were engaged in moderate discussion groups. As one British observer noted: "It was not till after the political and racial excitement [of the nationalist movement] that the youth attending schools and colleges showed signs of turbulence and insubordination."[6]

The period prior to 1920 was a time of establishing higher education in India and a slow development of political consciousness among students. While the militant activism of later decades was missing, students were exposed to ideological currents from Europe, and the growing political tensions within India added to this ferment.

The 1920's brought both educational and political changes to India. Continued growth in the educational system created increasing problems for the students. The establishment of new colleges, many without stable financial arrangements or adequate staff, lowered the standards of higher education and intensified the competition for jobs. Politically, the twenties saw the growth of the Indian National Congress as a mass movement under Gandhi's leadership. During its early years, the Congress was a moderate organization recruited primarily from the Western-educated middle class and not given to political agitation. As the Congress grew more militant in the early years of the twentieth century, the student community also took a more active interest in politics. The articulate and militant nationalism of the Congress appealed to the students because it provided the opportunity for dramatic political action and promised speedy independence for India. The Congress leadership was based in the college-trained intelligentsia, but the influence of radical thought on the growing working class gave it added strength.

Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920 was the first major mass agitation initiated by the Congress. It was also the first political struggle that involved large numbers of students. Youth Leagues were formed in major educational centers to co-ordinate student efforts, and the discussion and debating societies of earlier periods became the nuclei of political organizations.[7] Students helped with Congress campaigns and provided much of the manpower for the almost daily street demonstrations in the cities. In some areas, students assumed the movement's leadership when Congress leaders were arrested. National (anti-British) colleges were established in the major cities, but they were only temporarily successful, for many students returned to their regular classes when the heat of the movement abated. Although the Non-Cooperation Movement failed to expel the British from India, it did establish the Congress as a militant mass organization and gave the students and the growing trade-union movement their first experience of mass political struggle.

The Non-Cooperation Movement stimulated the foundation of a national student federation in India. The first annual All-India College Student Conference was held in Nagpur in 1920 to provide co-ordination for the growing student political movement. Similar student movements took place throughout the 1920's, and these annual gatherings helped to keep the political spark of the student movement alive in a period of general political quiet.

Regional student federations were founded in the Punjab, in Bengal, and in other areas. The All-Bengal Students' Association claimed a membership of twenty thousand in 1929. The Bombay Presidency (provincial) Students' Federation, formed in 1936, helped to bring ideological politics to the local and provincial levels. The All-India Student Conferences, which normally attracted more than three thousand students from all parts of the subcontinent, provided left-wing Congressmen with a platform and with support for their views. These conferences were characterized by militant nationalism, and the ideas of socialism and Marxism found support among the students.[8] The student movement was probably the most radical element in Indian political life during this period. The study groups organized by left-wing students brought to the Indian campus the ideologies of European Marxism and the Russian Revolution—both of which had a marked influence on the thinking of politically minded students. While only a minority of the student community was politically active in the 1920's, the movement established itself during this period and gained both organizational experience and ideological sophistication. One of the main campaigns of this period was a series of demonstrations against the Simon Commission, a British committee that visited India in 1928 to investigate the problems of Indian self-government. Students spearheaded demonstrations in most cities and demanded that the Commission recommend independence for India—the first time Indian students had organized a series of demonstrations on a national scale on their own initiative.

The 1930's brought an intensification of the political struggle in India. The influence of radical nationalist and socialist ideas spread by left-wing leaders, both in the Congress and in the student movement, prepared the students for a more active phase of the nationalist struggle. Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 involved students on an unprecedented scale, and many of the more militant activities, such as the boycotting of shops and the cutting of telephone lines, were carried out by students. The Gandhian concept of nonviolence was never fully taken up by the students, some of whom participated in terrorist activities.

One of the results of the agitation of the early 1930's was the creation of the All-India Students' Federation in 1936. From the beginning, the AISF was strongly nationalist and radical in its approach. Within two years, the new organization was able to claim one thousand affiliated organizations and fifty thousand members.[9] The AISF journal, *Students' Federation,* was circulated throughout India and provided a radical viewpoint on both educational and national issues. The AISF effectively united the student movement for several years while Gandhians, socialists, and Communists worked harmoniously within the organization. Provincial student federations carried on the regional work of the AISF, and the annual meetings of the organization usually attracted more than three thousand delegates, as well as many of the top Congress leaders.

In addition to the "mainstream" nationalist student movement, a number of other important trends existed within the student community. Many Muslim students, previously apathetic or pro-Congress, were influenced by Mohammad Ali Jinnah's call for a separate Muslim state on the Indian subcontinent and joined the Muslim League's All-India Muslim Students' Federation, founded in 1937. This organization, which had substantial support among Muslim students, did not participate in the independence movement, but pressed instead for Muslim rights. While the importance of the Muslim student groups diminished after the formation of Pakistan, the Muslim student movement helped to shape the political ideologies of a whole generation of Muslim leaders.

The Hindu right wing also gained strength, in part as a reaction to Muslim separatist sentiment. The *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), founded in the late 1920's, appealed to militant Hindu nationalism and to anti-Muslim and anti-Christian feelings among Hindus.[10] By upholding traditional Hindu values, then under attack from Westernized elements in India, the RSS was able to attract many students, particularly in smaller colleges. The Hindu Student Federation, founded in the 1930's and similar in ideology to the RSS, had a more sophisticated approach and greater appeal for college students. Its influence was limited to north India, however, and it never constituted a threat to the nationalist student movement.

The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 ushered in the most active period of political agitation undertaken by Indian students. By 1938, Indian colleges were highly politicized, and students were involved in a variety of protest activities. Strikes against college authorities occurred almost weekly in many parts of India, instigated as often to further nationalist purposes as to correct a particular educational grievance. Students not normally concerned with political issues were attracted to the dramatic nationalist

struggle. Thousands served short jail sentences for their part in the struggle, and many left college to work in the nationalist and labor movements or the Gandhian educational and social-service projects.

The split within the All-India Students' Federation in 1940 indicated some of the problems of the growing ideological sophistication of the student movement. After a period of harmony, differences between the Communists, on one side, and the socialists and the Gandhians, on the other, came into the open in 1940, making the breakup of the organization inevitable. The Communist-dominated All-India Students' Federation lost a large part of its support when the Communist Party supported the British war effort after the Soviet Union entered World War II in 1940. The nationalists organized the All-India Students' Congress in 1945. This group continued the struggle against the British, but at the same time it opposed the Communists. The Students' Congress, which stressed both social revoluti on and patriotism, was by far the most important national student organization in India at this time.

The most militant and highly organized period of the Indian student movement came during the 1942 "Quit India" struggle. When the Congress leadership called for an all-out, although nonviolent, effort to drive the British from India, the student movement succeeded in closing most of India's colleges for extended periods and brought masses of students into the struggle. About 10 per cent of the student population of India (or fifteen thousand students) was involved in the day-to-day organizational work of the nationalist movement. Students not previously involved in politics participated in almost daily demonstrations. Student cadres took part in sabotage campaigns and tried, with some success, to disrupt the British administration.[11] When the adult Congress leadership was arrested, students often assumed leadership responsibilities and provided a key liaison between the underground leaders and the movement. Student groups published illegal newspapers and even operated a clandestine radio station. Although the 1942 effort failed to expel the British from India, it was the first time that the Indian nationalists became a kind of "national liberation movement." The militancy of the students' involvement in the 1942 movement was retained, although on a reduced scale, until the end of the independence struggle.

The growth of a militant student movement in the pre-1947 period can be attributed to a number of factors—the main one being the highly politicized character of Indian cities and towns during the 1930's and 1940's. Many members of the student generation were attracted to the movement in these urban centers. The pre-independence student community,

being small and compact, was relatively easy to organize. Because young people from rural areas and from the lower castes and classes were virtually excluded from the secondary and higher educational systems, the large majority of the students came from upper-middle- or upper-class and caste backgrounds.

The emphasis in the universities at this time was on the liberal arts, and students in this area have traditionally been more concerned with intellectual and political issues.[12] As in the post-independence period, students in the liberal arts were most active in political affairs during the nationalist struggle. Law students, who were destined for an independent professional career and had little chance for a government post, were particularly active.

The Transformation of
the Student Movement

By 1947, the student movement had lost much of its momentum. The Students' Congress and other major student organizations were unsuccessful in shifting their efforts from an emphasis on political struggle to a program of Gandhian constructive service. Many radical student leaders were disillusioned by the compromises that the Congress leadership made in order to achieve independence without further bloodshed. The 1946 mutiny of the Indian Navy was an additional shock to the student movement, for the Congress leadership ordered the militant sailors to surrender to the British in the interest of a political compromise. Radical student leaders felt that they had been betrayed by the nationalist movement, and many left the student movement.[13]

With a few isolated exceptions, the student movement in India has been unable to regain its sense of militant unity and ideological purpose. Students have not ceased to participate in politics, but there has been a dramatic transformation of their movement. The nationalist fervor of the pre-independence period has been replaced by generally unorganized and sporadic agitation usually aimed at specific grievances.

The most important cause for the transformation of the student movement was the end of the independence struggle. Prior to 1947, political issues were clear and dramatic—the British had to be driven from the subcontinent, and radical social change had to be instituted in Indian society. The caste system, communal animosities, food shortages, and other social ills would be eliminated when India achieved independence and could guide her own affairs. Respected nationalist leaders encouraged students to take

an active role in the political struggle. Following independence, the issues were no longer so clear. The Congress leadership was divided on how best to deal with India's many social and economic problems, and the departure of the British solved very little. Conservative elements in the nationalist movement achieved substantial power after 1947, and many radicals were forced into the opposition. Moreover, following independence, the Congress leaders reversed their former position and urged students to stay out of politics.

The spirit of individual self-sacrifice that had marked the independence struggle almost disappeared, and many political leaders became more concerned with their own careers than with ideology or national development. Regional, linguistic, and caste loyalties, temporarily put aside for the nationalist cause, resumed their old hold. For the post-independence student leader, a political career still depended on dedication to the Congress cause, as had been the case before 1947, but it also involved such undramatic details as winning elections and placating various economic and ideological tendencies.

Indian higher education was also undergoing changes. The expansion in enrollments, begun in earnest during the mid-1930's, continued after independence at an accelerated rate. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of college students increased from 263,000 to 645,000. In 1966, more than 1,094,000 students were enrolled in about 2,565 colleges.[14] The traditional base of Indian higher education, the liberal-arts college, was also waning in prestige and importance because the standards of instruction at these colleges declined seriously, as the student population expanded at an unprecedented rate. The value of a science education, on the other hand, increased substantially, as India's industrial production rose, and the standards of admission into the scientific fields tightened in order to protect standards of instruction. Technological institutions were created and given sufficient financial resources, while the liberal-arts colleges were allowed to expand almost without limit and were not adequately financed. As the number of graduates of the liberal arts exceeded the number of jobs available, educated unemployment became an increasing problem, and holders of B.A. degrees could consider themselves fortunate in finding clerical employment. Many employers began to demand a college degree for positions previously filled by literate, but academically unqualified individuals.

As the educational system grew, higher education became available to broader segments of the population, thereby destroying the homogeneity of the student population. Members of the student community had little in common since students were drawn from diverse class and caste

backgrounds. Students from the lower-middle- and working-class families were often unwilling to risk their college careers to participate in political activity, and, in any case, they lacked a tradition of political activism.

A kind of "dual culture" has evolved on the campus as a result of the changes in higher education. Students from lower castes and classes often constitute a rather isolated, although growing, segment of the college population and seldom take part in extracurricular activities. Such students suffer most from the disadvantages of Indian higher education—poor conditions and falling standards of instruction, crowded institutions and fear of unemployment—and enjoy few of its advantages. Thus, they are frustrated and willing to participate in sporadic and disorganized student unrest and demonstrations. Working-class students or those from rural areas have generally gone into liberal-arts subjects, while upper- and middle-class students, who have received adequate secondary training and who have facility in English, have tended to go into the sciences, when they have been able to meet the rigorous admissions requirements.

The fact that the most able and qualified students have gone into the natural sciences and technical fields has had important implications for Indian higher education and for student political involvement. Students in the natural sciences have traditionally been less concerned with politics and more professionally oriented than liberal-arts students, and recent shifts have meant that many of the best students are no longer interested in political affairs.[15] Students in the sciences often do not have time for political activity, since their academic programs are both time-consuming and demanding. These changing conditions have reduced the numbers of students available for continuing political activity and have lowered the quality of student leadership.

The Indian University in the Post-Independence Period— Higher Education and Student Politics

The transformation of the political student movement in India has altered campus life. The Indian campus probably has as many student groups and organizations today as at any time in its history, but the nature of these groups has changed with the decline of ideological politics. Student unions are, perhaps, the most ubiquitous organizations in Indian universities, and their functions often include responsibility for cultural and social programs. While the unions are intended to provide a link between administrator and

student, in many cases their functioning is less than democratic, due, in part, to administrative regulations. In most colleges, student-union representatives are elected by the students, although seldom on the basis of political views.

Student unions in a number of colleges have taken on political importance. In some of the more volatile of the north Indian universities, such as Aligarh and Benares, student unions have spearheaded protest campaigns. Agitations undertaken by student unions usually stem from local issues, such as university examination policies, increases in college fees, living conditions, and the like, but in some cases student unions are controlled by ideological factions attempting to use the union as a base of operations against an opposition political group within or outside the university.[16] Communists, socialists, and factions within the Congress Party have not hesitated to use student unions for their own purposes, all the while formally decrying political interference on the campus. As a general rule, however, student unions have not been involved in politics and have been limited to their social and educational functions.

It is useful to distinguish between the kinds of student leadership found in Indian universities. The "respectable" nonpolitical cultural and social student organizations are led by students from upper-class families for the most part, and these students can be called the "academic" leadership of the Indian student community. Students active in direct-action campaigns have come more frequently from the lower social classes. This leadership constitutes a relatively new and dynamic force on the Indian campus. Students from social groups without a long tradition of education, often from illiterate families, have frequently led strikes and demonstrations. The continuing leadership of leftist student groups, however, is generally drawn from middle-class students, who have a political tradition and sufficient free time to devote to political matters. This dichotomy in student leadership is a peculiar characteristic in Indian student life.

Despite the changes in student political activity, a number of national student organizations have retained some influence. After the largest of the pre-independence student movements, the Students' Congress, was disbanded in 1948, Congress leaders expressed interest in the formation of a nonpolitical student organization, and the socialists agreed to unite with them in the formation of the National Union of Students (NUS) in 1950. The NUS proved unable to rid itself of the heritage of outside political manipulation and soon foundered, never becoming the representative nonpolitical student organization that its founders had envisaged. Inadequate financing, student apathy, and the difficulty of communication in a

rapidly expanding educational system proved to be insurmountable obstacles. Factional disputes caused several splits in the organization, and by 1958 the NUS was, for all purposes, dead.

The National Council of University Students of India (NCUSI) was subsequently formed to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of the National Union of Students. This organization has faced many of the same problems that plagued its predecessor—opposition from educators and political leaders, student apathy, and personal ambition among its own leaders. The Cold War has created the problem of foreign financial support. The Soviet Union has financially supported the Communist-sponsored All-India Students' Federation, while the NCUSI has received funds from Western sources. It is unlikely that the NCUSI will become the representative student association in India, although it has tried to keep aloof from partisan Indian politics and has occasionally been a moderating influence on the Indian student community by encouraging students to work with administrators rather than resort to immediate agitation.

The political parties in India have adopted an ambivalent attitude toward students in recent years. The Youth Congress was formed in 1949 by the All-India Congress Committee. Despite its claim that it was India's largest youth organization, it did not attract much attention and served mainly as a "front group" for aspiring Congress politicians. Because the leadership did not encourage open political discussion, the organization failed to draw able, politically oriented youth, and the Youth Congress had few active chapters before its dissolution in 1965 because of internal political conflicts.

The oldest national student organization in India is the All-India Students' Federation (AISF), which has existed without interruption since 1936. The AISF, under Communist control since 1940, has lost much of its support and a large proportion of its membership. In 1955, the AISF claimed a membership of one hundred thousand, with major concentration in West Bengal, Andhra, and Kerala, all centers of Communist political support.[17] The AISF is, however, weak in areas without Communist strength.

Despite the considerable efforts the Communist Party has made to cultivate the students, the general decline in student organizations has also affected the AISF. The changing tactics of the Communist movement have also hurt its student allies. Although Communist support for World War II permitted the AISF to function legally while the nationalist student movement was forced underground, many students felt that the Communists were traitors to Indian nationalism. Immediately after Indian independence, the Communists violently opposed the Nehru government, thus

alienating a large proportion of the student population. More recently, the split in the Communist movement caused by the Sino-Soviet dispute has disillusioned many leftist Indian students and complicated the functioning of Communist organizations. In many areas, the AISF's identity as a Communist student organization has been purposely obscured or de-emphasized. Despite this nonideological policy, AISF students in Calcutta, many of whom support the left-wing (pro-Maoist) Indian Communist Party, recently took a leading part in student demonstrations. Nevertheless, even these Calcutta demonstrations, led by ideologically committed students, erupted over purely local campus issues and spread only when the original student demands were not met by the university authorities.

In the recent past, right-wing student political organizational efforts have been quite successful in some regions. One of the most important student organizations in India today is the *Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad* (All-India Students' Organization). This group, commonly called the *Vidyarthi Parishad,* has claimed to be nonpolitical despite strong evidence suggesting that it is the youth wing of the rightist Hindu communalist parties, and particularly of the *Jan Sangh* (Peoples' Party). The *Vidyarthi Parishad* has concentrated on a culturally oriented program, avoiding broader political issues as much as possible. It has appealed for patriotism and was active in the nationalist upsurge following the Indo-Chinese conflict of 1962.

It is difficult to generalize about post-independence student political participation in India. There is no longer a unified student movement, and only a tiny fraction of the Indian student population is involved in the day-to-day operation of student political groups. Nevertheless, the annual number of demonstrations in the past years has been quite high. In general, the emphasis of the student movement has shifted from societal concerns to campus ones. Even organizations that have a basic ideological commitment, such as the All-India Students' Federation, have appealed to students on the basis of single issues, usually directly related to campus conditions. Student political involvement continues in India, stimulated in large part by the severe stresses evident in Indian social and economic life, and student activism will continue as long as India suffers from social, economic, and educational tensions and inadequacies.

Student Indiscipline—Causes and Effects

No other issue in Indian educational life has received more publicity than the problem of "student indiscipline." Violence is a distinctive characteristic of student indiscipline in India. In the Hindi-speaking areas of

northern India, student agitation has often involved destruction of private and university property. Even local agitations, such as protests against an increase in tram fares in Calcutta, are often accompanied by violent student outbursts. This tendency toward violence is perhaps related to the lack of channels through which the deeply frustrated Indian students can voice dissent. The widespread publicity given to student indiscipline may, however, obscure the statistical fact that most Indian colleges have not been plagued by student unrest.[18]

The causes of the student unrest that swept northern India in 1966 are typical of the factors which have stimulated such agitation since 1947. It is difficult to discern one key cause for the 1966 agitation, for in most instances local grievances stimulated a demonstration or protest. An analysis of some 280 student strikes and demonstrations which took place in 1964 gives some indication of the causes for student unrest. About one hundred strikes were stimulated by demands relating to examinations and the administration of educational institutions. Another sixty had their origins in protests against the police or other government functionaries; miscellaneous causes accounted for the rest. In most of the cases, there was no overt political motive. The Communists associated themselves with strikes on thirty occasions, the *Jan Sangh* twice, and other parties seventeen times. In 1964, 3 per cent of the agitations were due to nonacademic issues; in 1965, the figure rose to 5 per cent, and in 1966 to 17.4 per cent. In 1966, there were 2,206 demonstrations, of which 480 were violent. Only two years before, there had been 700 demonstrations and 113 violent outbursts.[19]

Regional differences, so vital to Indian life, have been mirrored in patterns of student political activism. There are wide variations in the intensity and nature of student unrest and activism in the Indian states. According to a government report, students in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal have been very involved in unrest and political activity in recent years. Bihar was added to this list in 1966. Students in Maharashtra have been passive, as they have in most of south India, with the exception of the language agitations of 1964 in Madras. West Bengal, with its strong tradition of militant political activism, has been a center of agitation, yet Kerala, which also has a strong Communist movement and a large and fairly concentrated student population, has seen little unrest. The Hindi "heartland" of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have been very much involved in student activism, yet the Punjab and Rajasthan, which are also in the Hindi belt, have been fairly quiet.

It is difficult to generalize about the reasons for these strong regional differences. The political complexion of the student unrest differs from area to area. The right-wing *Vidyarthi Parishad*, for example, is strong in Madhya

Pradesh and Maharashtra, but is practically nonexistent in Bengal and in the South, due in part to the language question. Socialists are strong in Uttar Pradesh, but not in Maharashtra. The Communists have strength in West Bengal and Kerala, with only pockets of support elsewhere. Conditions of study also differ from region to region, and from university to university. Clearly Calcutta students study under particularly adverse conditions; this situation no doubt contributes to their activism. Some universities have traditions of administrative factionalism and internal infighting, while others have been administratively stable. Where the university administration is in firm control, and there is little faculty discontent, student indiscipline is less likely to occur.

Student action aimed at political issues directly related to broader social issues is most significant, as it is the most widespread and often the most destructive. This type of agitation is triggered by a specific local issue, either within the university or in the vicinity of the institution. The real cause, however, lies beyond the specific incident and is related to the more general problems that Indian students must face, both in their day-to-day lives and in their vision of the future. The continuing pressure of inadequate facilities, obviously substandard educational preparation, and the fear of unemployment after graduation make students more open to indiscipline. The surprising characteristic of student indiscipline is not the large number of demonstrations, but the lack of more widespread violence and destruction.

In Orissa, a co-ordinated series of student demonstrations throughout the state forced the resignation of the government in 1964. Student leaders charged that the state chief minister, a Congress politician, was guilty of corruption and demanded his resignation. The chief minister was forced to resign, and the students won a major victory in the state. The Orissa agitations were carried out by a well-organized student committee with representatives from many of the colleges in the state, thus proving that it is possible for *ad hoc* student agitation in an area relatively free of student unrest to be successfully organized.

In 1965, students sparked rioting in south India against the imposition of Hindi as India's national language. The anti-Hindi agitation, in which more than fifty people were killed and much damage was done, caused a national crisis and forced the central government to postpone the implementation of its language policies. A Students' Action Committee from colleges throughout the Tamil-speaking areas co-ordinated demonstrations and strikes, which often became violent.[20] Opposition political groups in the south, particularly the anti-Hindi DMK Party, strongly supported the students.

In late 1966, Calcutta was convulsed by student demonstrations in favor of a United Left Front antigovernment campaign. When violence broke out, university authorities shut all educational institutions—an action affecting one hundred thousand students. Local campus issues were combined with broader ideological concerns in the agitation, which spread for the first time to students from the prestigious Presidency College in Calcutta. Militant leftist leaders in Calcutta saw their movement as a first step toward an Indian revolution on the model of the Chinese "proletarian cultural revolution." Left-Communist Calcutta students are not so much pro-Chinese as super-militant in their political views.

There are important institutional variations in Indian student unrest. Indiscipline is not a problem in most of the prestigious and well-financed technological institutions. While it is generally agreed that most student unrest has originated in the liberal-arts colleges, there are some key differences among these institutions as well. In general, older colleges that have been able to maintain relatively high standards of instruction and a spirit of corporate identity have been less plagued by student indiscipline than have the newer institutions.[21] Missionary-administered colleges have had less difficulty than other institutions, perhaps because there is often a tradition of academic excellence and a more satisfactory teacher-student relationship at these institutions.

The Indian university is closely tied to its society and shares many of the characteristics and contradictions of modern Indian life. In no society are "academic" values completely separated from the norms of the broader society, but in India these distinctions are even less evident than they are in many countries.[22] Caste and regional affiliations are seen as normal criteria for academic appointments, and factional politics within the universities bear a marked resemblance to political infighting in national life. Students attempt to use family influence in order to gain admittance to the university, or they resort to agitational politics to change an examination result. Thus, while some critics attack the universities for being an "ivory tower," higher education is very much in the mainstream of Indian social and political life.

The underlying causes for student unrest are not difficult to perceive, and there seems to be a general agreement among educators and other officials concerning at least some of them. A recent report on student unrest stated that the four main causes for student unrest are "1) lack of proper academic atmosphere, 2) absence of respect for authority—parental, educational, and governmental, 3) ideological frustration, and 4) political interference."[23] The status of university teaching has also declined since independence, and the traditional respect for the *guru* has virtually

disappeared on the campus. Students seldom have an opportunity to talk to their professors, since classes are large and the teaching loads are heavy. At the lower ranks, college teachers are poorly paid, and many instructors must hold more than one job.[24]

Indian universities annually administer externally prepared examinations to college students, and consequently the individual professor cannot control either the curriculum or the evaluation of his students. Examinations have been one of the main causes of student indiscipline throughout the history of Indian higher education. Since the late-nineteenth century, students have rioted against difficult examinations, often forcing authorities to lower standards or to reschedule tests. Even with these agitations, the examination failure rate at some universities reaches 70 or 80 per cent in some subjects.[25]

Many students begin their collegiate careers at the age of fifteen or sixteen and lack the maturity that a few extra years would give. Furthermore, students living in hostels and away from their families for the first time are probably affected by their unprecedented freedom, particularly in view of India's strict family system. The generational problem, present in almost every society, lies somewhat below the surface in India, although it probably influences the students by causing resentment against constituted adult authorities.

The economic uncertainty of many Indian students is clearly a cause for ambivalence and indiscipline. Many students hold part-time jobs in order to pay for their educational expenses and must therefore divide their attention between job and university career. It has become increasingly more difficult for graduates, especially in the liberal arts, to obtain suitable employment. Students who cannot obtain jobs frequently return to the universities to do graduate work even though they are often not interested in the academic preparation involved. The number of students who do not finish their college educations is also quite high, and many of these former students remain on the campus, since employment is not always obtainable. Well over half of those who enter college in India do not obtain a degree.

Related directly to the economic problem are the difficult conditions under which many Indian students must study. In addition to inadequate university facilities, many students are unable to provide the minimum necessities of life for themselves. A survey of students in Calcutta pointed out that a substantial number were undernourished. In urban institutions particularly, students often must live in crowded and unsanitary conditions.[26] These factors cannot but increase the frustration and alienation of a large part of the student population.

Political, social, psychological, economic, and educational issues are intertwined in India, and all have contributed to student unrest. Present educational trends are likely to continue. Despite the warnings of educators, unplanned expansion of the educational system continues unabated. The government is unwilling to restrict educational expansion even though it is unable to allocate sufficient funds to maintain educational standards. As higher education becomes available to increasing segments of the population, the value of the Bachelor's degree decreases. Centralized standards have become even more difficult to enforce, since several new universities are established each year, and higher education remains a joint responsibility of the central and state governments.

The unprecedented expansion of the student population (India has the third largest number of college students in the world, after the United States and the Soviet Union) and its growing heterogeneity have made the mobilization of the entire student community difficult, if not impossible, and have obscured the role of national student organizations. The prognosis for student politics in India is unclear. Student political activism is clearly not dead in India. Statistics indicate that the rate of unrest is increasing, and there is no reason to expect a reversal of this trend. The frustrations of the educational system, increasingly difficult conditions for the educated urban segment of the population generally, and a remnant of the nationalist tradition of student political involvement—all combine to insure the continuation of sporadic and often violent student unrest and "indiscipline." A major factor mitigating against a rebirth of the student movement is, however, the educational system itself. Few students can jeopardize their degrees by becoming politically involved, for an academic degree is a necessity in an increasingly difficult employment situation. The risks of student involvement make ideological student politics unattractive for most students. Moreover, there is little possibility that students could in any event have a major impact on Indian politics due to the relative stability of Indian political institutions.

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29

The Transition of the Bombay Student Movement

Student Politics in Bombay
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pp. 196–211

Philip G. Altbach

This final chapter has two fundamental purposes, which are aimed at placing the study in its proper perspective and at distilling same general trends from a mass of material concerning students, politics, and higher education in Bombay. After summarizing the findings of the descriptive section of the study, an effort will be made to delineate some of the recurring patterns. Student activity in Bombay has been the product mainly of external factors. Politically, the student movement would not have grown without the impetus of the nationalist struggle of the 1920s and 1930s. The strong student organizations which influenced the campus during this period were largely dependent on their environment for impetus. Student cultural activity, while more spontaneous, has also been substantially influenced by the attitudes of university administrators, the general public, and other educational factors. The patterns of student activity—of the rise and fall of militant student groups and their public support—vary with changing societal non-student factors. This does not mean that university students have been unable to accomplish anything in the area of extra-curricular activities. On the contrary, students were instrumental in

the cultural renaissance of Bengal in the early part of the twentieth century, and were an important element in nationalist cultural and political activity later in the century. Yet, the fact that the student movement almost collapsed when the nationalist political struggle ended, and the attitude of educational and political leaders changed is an indication of the dependence of the movement on outside factors.

The fact that student political activity has been so dependent on outside factors raises the question as to whether there has been a true student movement in Bombay, and in India generally. If by movement we mean a well organized definable group with specific aims, consciously functioning publicly in support of its aims, then there has been a student movement in Bombay. It is true that the movement has been sporadic, often ill-organized, and divided by differences in ideologies and interests. Yet, the students have played a conscious political role on a number of occasions during the past half-century, and their organized efforts in political and other spheres have been important to the development of higher education in India, as well as to political events.

Summary of the Findings

This summary can hope to provide but a glimpse of an eventful, formative period in the development of student activities and politics in Bombay, spanning nearly half a century. This section is intended to indicate some of the salient factors which have shaped student politics and general activities. Characteristics of student activity which have been observed in Bombay may or may not be relevant to other countries in other historical periods. It is hoped, however, that this analytical framework will provide the basis for further consideration of student activity in differing circumstances.

Student Politics and National Events

One of the major changes in the student movement has come with the divorce of student politics from national politics in India. The political parties, with the partial exception of the Communists, have withdrawn their support from the campuses. They have been relatively sincere in their protestations that politics should be divorced from the colleges and universities. During the Independence struggle, the political parties actively sought student support and considered the students as valuable allies in their political and ideological campaigns. Politics in India has lost much of its altruistic

glitter and ideological purity in the struggle to function in an independent nation, thus causing many idealistic students to eschew the seeming rampant corruption of the broader political parties. It can truthfully be stated that while at one time students played an active and at times important part in the broader political arena of Bombay, they no longer take a direct interest in politics. Some of the causes for lack of student interest in politics have been previously discussed. Academic issues and grievances relating directly to inadequate academic programs, economic insecurity, or bad living conditions have not motivated the students in the direction of sustained unrest or political action.

The major trends in student politics in Bombay are not difficult to discern in the light of the material presented in this study. The campus, since 1947, has witnessed a rapid apoliticalization; today there is scarcely a single student political organization actively functioning, to say nothing of a movement. In contrast to the broader society, where politics remains a major concern of the literate population, albeit without its image of idealism and ideology, the student world seems to have renounced politics altogether. However, student attitude surveys in Bombay and Poona show that only a small minority of the present generation of students is involved in politics; the interviews and other material presented in this study corroborate this finding. Thus, the pre-Independence trend was in the direction of student involvement in national issues and a substantial political awareness on the campus; the more recent period has been a reversal of this trend.

Organizational Characteristics of Student Movements and Groups

Student organizations, especially those without "official" patronage and support, tend to be unstable and short-lived. In Bombay, mass student movements were usually based on rather specific political or academic issues, and lasted only as long as these issues, remained vividly imprinted in the consciousness of the student population. Even the nationalist student movement, which was able to maintain itself for a number of years, suffered from the ebbs and flows of Gandhi's various campaigns. The movement all but disappeared during periods of political calm, despite the determined efforts of sophisticated student leaders.

The causes for this instability are not difficult to find. The student population is itself quite unstable; a student "generation" lasts three or four years at most. Furthermore, many student activists have brief

attention spans; they withdraw from a particular cause or organization relatively quickly, retreating into the coffee houses and taking to the streets to protest at irregular intervals. Student groups are also subject to the vagaries of academic life and the restrictions of academic examination schedules, as well as to changes in political climate. Even organizations unrelated to politics show a good deal of instability, although such "special interest" groups lead a more independent existence.

Among the politically oriented organizations, value-oriented groups are better able to withstand organizational instability than those based on specific issues or short-term causes. The ideological commitment of at least a portion of the membership of such organizations provides a stabilizing force. Value-oriented groups use specific issues for broader purposes and are able to fall back on their commitment to a particular ideology or set of beliefs when a campaign has ended. Norm-oriented student organizations, of a political or non-political nature, are oriented towards specific issues which, when settled or clearly defeated, leaves the group without a *raison d'etre*.

Norm-oriented groups concern themselves with specific issues, not seeking basic changes in the social, political, or educational system, while value-oriented organizations have a broader ideology which allows them to contribute to and frequently exploit many issues and circumstances during periods of political consciousness. Norm-oriented groups live from crisis to crisis and often steer away from tight organizational structures or restrictive statements of purpose in favor of amorphousness. While this may assure the involvement of large numbers of students over a specific issue, it paralyzes the organization when the impetus must come from internal, imaginative leadership in the absence of an external crisis. For the most part, only when movements are value-oriented (as in specific campaigns of the nationalist movement or in the "matriculation massacre" of 1936) can they be sustained when the specific focus is changed.

There are a number of important differences between the political student groups which have received most attention in this study, and other organizations devoted to educational, cultural, or social activity. The focus of the non-political groups naturally means that they will be under less pressure from outside forces. Furthermore, such groups naturally have long-range interests, and are organized with a view toward continued survival. Since they do not constitute a threat to governmental or educational authorities they often have the tacit or active cooperation of university administrators. The uncontroversial nature of most non-political student activity involves less commitment from members than does a value-oriented

political struggle; the activity of such non-political organizations is less intense, although generally more stable. Although both political and non-political student groups are similar in some of their characteristics, they do exhibit major differences as well.

The Life Cycles of Student Movements

It is clear that not all student organizations are movements, although organizations can build movements. However, many student groups which aspire to become movements or which call themselves "movements" cannot truthfully be defined as such. Student discussion groups have been known to change the opinions of their members, while larger movements of students have had a direct impact on society.

A student movement can be generated in a number of ways. It can arise spontaneously from a deeply felt need of large numbers of students. It can arise from specific agitational campaigns, or it can be consciously created by a cadre of students seeking, for reasons of political ideology or civic responsibility, to launch a movement for a specific goal. Nevertheless, if the particular issue is not relevant to the student population, the movement, whatever its source, will be a failure. The attempt to create a movement to support the ideas of Moral Re-Armament, although lavishly financed and well led, failed for want of interest among students.

Student movements in Bombay have tended to be rather non-ideological in their approach to issues and events. Even those movements led by politically sophisticated, even sectarian, students have stressed issues and not ideologies. The 1942 struggle is an example of this tendency. This movement, which had the support of the large majority of the students in Bombay and which succeeded in closing the city's colleges for several months, stressed a very simple program—support for the "Quit India" slogan and protest against the arrest of Gandhi and the other Congress leaders. Although most of the important leaders of the campaign were sophisticated socialist students, broader matters of ideology had little impact on the students and the leadership was unsuccessful in "politicizing" the struggle. Similarly, although the morning college agitation has aroused some concern among Bombay's students, the Communist-oriented Bombay Students' Union failed in its attempt to turn the agitation into a political movement.

A student movement, which necessarily involves a mass upsurge of student interest and activity (although not necessarily of agitation) may be guided by formal organizational structures, or it may be entirely

spontaneous and organizationally amorphous. On the one hand, it is possible for a movement to create a continuing organization by institution-alizing itself. On the other, it is also possible for a movement which ends in failure (or, for that matter, in total victory) to destroy any organizations which were involved in it. Thus, in differing circumstances, movements can create organizations, and organizations can also stimulate movements.

While much of the attention of this study has been devoted to movements, and, while these phenomena are the most dramatic manifesta-tions of student activity, the less volatile organizations are also of primary importance. Smaller groups and societies have often played a key role in shaping the student population, and have been instrumental in stimulating broader movements.

Students and Politics

Two distinctions may be made when considering the political interests of the student movement in Bombay. The first distinction concerns the contrast between the highly ideological but very small minority of cadres and the mass of more pragmatic student participants. Even at the apex of any student movement, a group, numbering perhaps five hundred at most, was concerned with the ideological distinctions of the various political organizations, a small cadre in a movement involving tens of thousands. The second important distinction which must be made concerning stu-dent politics and ideology has been implied earlier in this study. The period following 1947 has seen a decline of ideology in the student movement and in Indian political life. Again, the student movement has reflected the changes in society.

Most observers of the student scene in Bombay have noted that left-wing student groups made lasting impact on the thinking of students of the pre-Independence generation. This fact may have contributed to the pres-ent day prevalence of left-wing jargon which characterizes Indian politics. The interviews held with several hundred past and present student leaders have given unmistakable evidence that politics has been important at least to the elite segment of the student population.

Student Leadership and Political Involvement

During the Independence struggle, much of the politically active student leadership came almost exclusively from the upper and middle classes and

from students with very high academic and social standings within their colleges. While exact figures are unavailable, interviews with educators and former student leaders provide sufficient indications concerning the nature of student leadership in Bombay. At this period, participation in student politics was considered prestigious, and most of those student leaders who went to jail during the various struggles came from wealthy backgrounds. Since 1947, the situation has changed markedly. Students from the upper classes and upper academic levels, in both the natural sciences and liberal arts, shun student politics. While many of the more alert students have an intellectual interest in national and world politics, they almost invariably refrain from participation in any of the student political organizations. Much of the leadership has been taken over by students from the lower middle classes, who have some experience with education and a reasonably good command of English, but who are unfortunately less well prepared than upper class students. Participation in student politics is no longer a mark of academic distinction; if anything, it has become the opposite. Students from the lower classes, who are clearly the most oppressed individuals in the higher educational system, take only a small part in the existing student organizations and do not generally participate in movements, even when they involve issues of direct concern to them, such as the morning college question. Such students seem to be too much concerned with their academic careers to risk political activity. Furthermore, their unfamiliarity with the system of higher education and with the English language, in which their colleges are conducted. form an almost insurmountable barrier to political activity.

The Function of the Student Movement in Society and Politics

With the exception of the 1942 struggle, the direct impact of students on society in Bombay has been minimal. Students have on occasion aroused political protest among the public on particular issues, but they have usually failed to institute any changes. Particularly in contrast to the mass student movements of Japan, Korea and other nations, the Indian student movement appears singularly ineffective.

Student organizations have tried, usually in vain, to influence educational decisions. It is important to note that such attempts have almost always dealt with specific issues of direct urgency to the students themselves, such as examinations or fee increases, and not with broader issues

of educational policy. Yet, despite this general student refusal to take an active interest in the important issues concerning Indian higher education, there have been some rewarding results of student agitations. Reappraisal of the examination system, fee structure, and other specific reforms have been instituted as a direct result of student agitation, as well as the correcting of much more minor inequities in the system.

It is clear that with only a few exceptions students have played only a peripheral role in the broader society. They were at no time in the vanguard of the independence movement, although their support for leftists within the movement—was at that time important. The reasons for the relative unimportance of the students are connected with the overall strength of the nationalist movement, which had a developed leadership and did not need to rely on the students, and to Indian intellectual life at the time, which was able to provide trained and ideologically sophisticated leadership.

The Role of Student Organizations on the Campus

Until now, this summary has dealt rather broadly with the role of the student movement as a whole and with its political segment in particular, concerning its role in modem Indian society. It is also necessary to look more closely at the student organizations themselves, since these groups constitute the keystone of any movement and are the ongoing manifestations of student interest in a variety of issues.

In this summary, much has already been said about the function of political student organizations in the student movement and on the campus. Although without support from the colleges or universities, many of the more established student political groups have been quite long-lived. The veteran Communist student organization, for example, has had a continued existence since 1940, and the socialist groups have also had a long, although somewhat less stable, existence. As has been noted, the activity of the various political student organizations has varied greatly in different periods. During times of political awareness in the city as a whole, the political student groups were able to attract large numbers of students to meetings and other activities. When, however, broader political issues were not in the public eye, the activity of the student groups was on a much lower level. The impact of the broader political parties on the student groups has already been noted.

Of much more importance during the post-1947 period have been the non-political organizations. Cultural and Social student organizations have had a long history in Bombay and have maintained a consistently high level

of activity through the years. While the college authorities have given much more support to such groups in recent years than the past, they have always had at least the tacit approval of educators and administrators.

There are a wide variety of non-political student groups which have been active in Bombay, and it is not possible to discuss them all in detail here. It may be valuable, however, to list some of the more important types of groups: (1) cultural groups—such organizations as English Literary Societies, dramatic groups, both English and vernacular, dance groups, vernacular literary groups; (2) social groups—these usually include regional student associations which have mainly social goals; (3) religious groups—most religious minorities, such as the Parsis, Sikhs, Muslims, have strong associations among the students; (4) sports groups—these are usually directly sponsored by the colleges and exist for both men and women; (5) student unions and publishing committees—most colleges have a student union, elected by the students with the strict supervision of the college administration, on a generally non-political basis. These unions occasionally concern themselves with matters of politics, but are usually confined to supervision of officially sponsored student activities. The student committees which publish the college magazines and journals are also a source of extra-curricular activity. In addition to these well-defined groups, there exist many informal student groups. Such groups, which often meet for discussion or informal social purposes, may have an impact on student attitudes and patterns of socialization and have occasionally been of great importance to both political and social organizations.

In the foregoing sections of this study, the socializing role of the ethnic and religious student groups has been discussed. The debating and publication groups have given politically inclined students training in aspects of political processes and techniques. The literary societies have improved standards of English or have fostered scholarly study of the vernacular languages.

As a means of socialization, particularly for the financially poorer students, the social and cultural associations have been more effective than have the political groups. Within admittedly rigid limits, these organizations are usually free to plan programs that are of interest to the students. Students often see participation in such groups as a means of upward mobility in college, or as valuable training for a later career. It is true that the training gained in non-political student groups has provided a firm basis for careers in law, politics, drama, music, and other activities. Thus, it is unwise to underestimate the importance of the mundane non-political student groups on both politics and other aspects of life. This is particularly

true in the recent period, which has been marked by a decline in politics on the campuses.

Student organizations have had a varied impact on the student population over the years. Students who are vocationally oriented have not found the extra-curricular student activities appealing, and the percentages of students participating in such activities has varied over the years. However, throughout the years there has always been the dependable minority who always participates in these activities regardless of the state of affairs. Yet, in spite of their undramatic nature, these quiet non-political groups have provided a means of acclimatization to college or urban life and have given a sense of greater self-confidence to students with little experience of higher education. Groups have provided training in various areas, as well as conditions under which student and teacher might meet in an unrestrained setting. The intellectual activity carried on in student organizations has for some students supplemented and sometimes taken the place of the more formal offerings of the college curriculum.

Hypotheses Suggested by the Study

The present study has presented a broad range of empirical material concerning the history and development of the student movement in Bombay. In the introductory chapter, a number of hypotheses concerning student activity in general were suggested. In the light of the material presented in this study, it is possible to present some hypotheses to see if they are applicable to the data and possibly to suggest their broader relevance.

The hypothesis that extremist views often stimulate greater commitment in an organization from the leadership and the rank and file is reflected in this study. This greater commitment appears to enhance directly the vigor of an organization. It is clear that the extreme left and right-wing student groups in Bombay have survived many shifts in political climate and have maintained full programs. Both the Communist-dominated Bombay Students' Union and the right-wing R.S.S. and Vidyarthi Parishad have been consistently more active than other groups. In retrospect, moreover, the left-wing leadership of the nationalist student movement during the Independence struggle, sustained by a broader socialist ideology, was the primary force in the leadership of the student movement. The notable failure of the Congress and other moderate parties to attract continuous student support is another indication of the relationship of ideological commitment and the condition of an organization.

It has been hypothesized that student leadership comes from fairly definable groups within the student population. In Bombay, the study has suggested that this is at least partly true, for most of the leaders of political organizations, at least before 1947, came from upper classes and castes but that there was little distinction between regional groups. One of the main causes for the sudden withdrawal of upper class students from political involvement is the contamination of politics by widespread corruption. Politics is no longer ranked in the highly prestigious bracket of professions such as medicine and engineering; the natural sciences have displaced politics. There has been a marked influx of upper class students into the natural sciences. This is understandable both because the natural sciences are often the most vital and rewarding (intellectually, socially and, later, financially) fields in modern India and also because upper class students, by virtue of their better academic preparation, are more able to meet the stiff requirements of the natural sciences. In the course of this study it has become apparent that science students were conspicuous in their lack of political involvement. Furthermore, students of the natural sciences regard their college year as indispensable preparation for their professional careers. Correspondingly, they are more single-minded and loathe to risk their prospects through student indiscipline or political involvement. Students in the liberal arts, on the other hand, risk less, in view of their indifferent career prospects, by becoming political activists; moreover, they are more disposed to question societal problems.[1] In view of all his evidence, it is astonishing that there has not been far more serious and intense student indiscipline from large segments of the student population.

One of the key hypotheses in this study has concerned the pattern of student political life and its relationship to the broader society. The pattern of student life in Bombay has been one of rhythmic alternation between growth and decline of fairly strong student movements. The causes for the rise of the student movement in Bombay are not difficult to discern. The political fermentation which took place during the nationalist struggle provided a powerful impetus to aware young people, and the politics of the nationalist organizations soon spread to the campus.

The basis of politics in India has changed. This transformation has proved to be a far less fertile ground for the development of a student political movement. Political awareness remains high among India's literate minority, but the idealistic struggles of the nationalist movement have replaced by the day to day compromises of a firmly entrenched Congress Party. The opposition both left and right, is so far from power that their appeal is reduced and their pronouncements taken without much

seriousness. The growth of regional and interest groups politics has further altered the basis of Indian politics. All these changes may well be necessary in view of the reality of Indian policy, but they are not conducive to a large and politically active student movement. Students are less willing than their elders to tolerate compromise, demanding a moral or ideological crusade for which to fight.

These are some of the reasons for the decline in the student political movement in Bombay and in India generally. The problems and perplexities of modern India will not lend themselves to quick and conclusive solutions; and as long as conditions remain unchanged, it is unlikely that in the foreseeable future a strong student movement will emerge in modern India. Even a strong government effort to arouse student concern and interest during the Chinese invasion of 1962 failed to evoke much student response. Many students feared that they were being exploited by the Congress politicians, and their fear and distrust of the politicians overcome their patriotic motivation.

The lack of a continuing student movement in India does not mean that there will be no more indiscipline. On the contrary, trends in Indian higher education indicate that the decline of quality and increasing pressure to expand enrollments in the face of limited resources will continue unabated for some time, and that the crucial language problem in higher education will become more acute and widespread as demands for the use of the vernacular languages become more vociferous. There would seem to be no end to the kind of sporadic agitation which was seen recently during the Madras language riots (when more than thirty were killed and millions of dollars of damage was done in an agitational campaign directed and carried out primarily by students with the support of opposition political leaders) or during the campaign to bring down the government of the state of Orissa. In this latter instance, the students, again with the support of opposition politicians, sought to focus attention on alleged corruption by the state Chief Minister, and succeeded in forcing an investigation in which their charges proved correct, and the minister involved resigned, causing considerable embarrassment to the Congress government.

These instances of effective, but diffuse, political action by students, which could be multiplied many times, do not indicate the presence of an ongoing student movement. Rather, unrest which does take place is the overflow of resentment which exists below the surface in much of India's student population. That there has not been more agitation in recent years is much more surprising than the rather long catalog of riots and demonstrations which have taken place.

Conclusion

The student organizations and movements considered in this study reflect broader political and educational trends in Bombay and in India, and that the students as a modern group, sensitive to political and social change, are a particularly telling group to study when investigating the nature of modernization and political change in a developing nation. It goes without saying that the students are an important group merely because they are an incipient elite (this is probably less true in India than in the other developing nations). They are also important as an indicator of developments in other segments of society. The disillusionment of the student movement immediately following Independence in India was followed in later years by a gradual de-emphasis of ideology in politics and a tarnishing of the nationalist idealism engendered by the struggle in broader political realm. The student movement has shown the interaction of the all important religious and regional groups in Indian politics. The splits and disagreements which have been documented in this study between the Muslim and Hindu segments of the nationalist movement and the growth of a pro-Pakistan Muslim student movement during the 1940s was also a pattern of the broader political movements in India. The fact that this study has made possible a detailed organizational analysis of this development is significant, and may add to the knowledge of this crucial period in the political history of the Indian subcontinent.

Table I
Historical Development of the Student Political Movement in Bombay and Related Events

1889	Students' Brotherhood formed—moderately radical in views, discussion-oriented
1890	Muslim Students' Union formed—not directly political, although concerned with public issues
1900–1920	Young Men's Hindu Association, Young Men's Parsi Association, and other groups
1920	Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement
1920	Hind Vidyarthi Sabha (Indian Students' Organization) formed
1921	Young Collegians—politicaly liberal-oriented discussion group
1925	Rashtriya Swamasevak Sangh founded—strongly Hindu-oriented right-wing, although not directly involved in partizan politics
1930	Bombay Youth League—strongly nationalist and radical, active in Civil Disobedience Movement

(Table I contd.)

(Table I contd.)

	—Bombay Students' Swadeshi League
	—Students' Anti-Untouchable League
	—National Youth League
1930–1934	Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement
1934	Congress Socialist Party formed
1936	"Matriculation Massacre," first large scale student demonstration
1936	All-India Students' Federation founded
	—Bombay Presidency Students' Federation
	—Bombay Presidency Students' Federation
	—Bombay Students' Union
	—North Bombay Students' Union
	—Bombay Suburban Students' Union
	—strongly nationalist and radical in politics, direct action-oriented
1937	All-India Muslim Students' Federation founded—allied with the communalist Muslim League—Bombay Presidency Muslim Students' League
1937	Sikh Students' Federation founded
1940	All-India Students' Federation splits into two wings—one Gandhian-socialist and the other Communist
	—Bombay Students' Union and Bombay Presidency Students' Federation also split into two separate organizations, both retaining the same name
1940	Radical Students' Union (Royist) formed
1941	Rashtra Seva Dal founded—socialist-dominated cultural and political association
1942	Mass "Quit India" movement sponsored by the Congress
1943	Students' Unity Committee founded—an attempt to unite the various non-Communist elements in the student movement
1945	All-India Students' Congress founded—supersedes the nationalist segment of the All-India Students' Federation
	—Bombay Students' Congress incorporates the Unity Committee
1949	All-India Youth Congress founded—under the auspices of the All-India Congress Committee
1950	National Union of Students founded

(Table I contd.)

(Table I contd.)

1953	Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha (socialist youth organization) founded
1955	Vidyarthi Parishad founded—right-wing student organization
1958	All-India University Union Preparatory Committee formed to supersede the National Union of Students
1960	National Council of University Students of India formed to supercede the A.I.U.U.P.C.
1962	National Youth Front formed to resist Chinese aggression

Table II
Political Tendencies in the Indian Student Movement (1900–1965)

Marxist Left	Socialist	Social-Democratic	Moderate	Conservative	Communalist
A.I.S.F. (Communist) (1940–65)	Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha (1953–65)	Students' Brotherhood (1889–1937)		Sikh Students' Federation (1937–49)	Rashtriya Swamasevak Sangh (R.S.S.) (1925–65)
Bombay Youth League (1930)	Students' Unity Committee (1943)	Muslim Students' Union (1890–1965)		Muslim Students' Federation (1937–47)	Hindu Students Federation (1935–55)
Bombay Students' Union (1936–47)	Rashtra Seva Dal (1949–65)	Youth Congress			
Bombay Students' Congress (1945–48)	Radical Students' Union (1940–47)	National Council of University Students (1960–65)			
A.I.S.F. (Nationalist) (1936–49)		National Union of Students (1950–63)	National Youth Front (1962–64)		Vidyarthi Parishad (1955–65)

Note

1.   See Spencer, *op. cit.*, and Soares, op. cit., for a more detailed discussion of this important factor.

30

India and the World University Crisis

Philip G. Altbach

Student political activism has become a world-wide phenomenon. University students have traditionally been politically active in the nationalist movements of the formerly colonial nations, and there are some historical examples of student participation in politics in Europe. The decade of the 1960s has shown that students are a crucial political force in many countries. It is almost impossible to pick up a newspaper without seeing a reference to student unrest in some country. It is the purpose of this volume to provide some coherence and perspective to one of the most significant political developments of the current decade. Each country has its own particular type of student activism which springs from the political, cultural, and educational realities of the country. But at the same time, there are many similarities among student activists and in their activities. Indian student 'indiscipline' has its own peculiar characteristics and is certainly very much rooted in the nature of higher education in India, but at the same time Indian students have much in common with their compeers in other developing nations, and with students in the industrially advanced nations.

Student activism has had a crucial impact in many countries. One need only mention Turkey, South Korea, South Vietnam, Ecuador, and other nations in which student demonstrations have actually brought down governments to indicate the importance of student politics. In Japan, student demonstrations in 1960 forced the resignation of the Kishi government, and recent student disorders in France shook the outwardly stable de Gaulle regime to its roots. Students have also had a less dramatic but nonetheless important impact in various countries. In the United States, while the student movement has not succeeded in bringing down the government, it has focused attention on the major problems facing the American university system in a period of rapid expansion. Students have forced otherwise complacent academic administrators to seriously consider educational reforms. Similarly, one of the major results of the student demonstrations in France has been to initiate university reform. Government officials moved quickly to formulate reform proposals, and it is likely that substantial changes will soon take place in the French universities.

Student activism can take a variety of forms. Most dramatic, of course, are the major riots and disturbances which have attracted international attention. Major demonstrations were able to paralyze a nation in France, to tie up Tokyo's transportation system, and to force the closing of many universities. Other kinds of activism receive less publicity but are nevertheless significant. Student participation in electoral contests as allies of one or another political party has been crucial in some countries. Students in Bihar, for example, were credited with having helped to topple the Congress government in the 1967 general elections. Student participation in cultural movements has also been important. Indonesian students, during the early days of the nationalist movement in that country, spearheaded the creation of an Indonesian language and publicized its use. Student movements and organizations, as carriers of modern, often radical, political ideologies have been important in spreading ideological trends in various countries, particularly in the developing areas. Finally, students have been crucial in their efforts to reform the universities. In Latin America, the *reforma* of 1918, which transformed the university, was inspired by student demonstrations.

Student activism is by no means a phenomenon only of the 1960s. Although it has received massive publicity recently, student activism in many countries has a long historical tradition. In Europe, students were key elements in the revolutions of 1848 in Germany and Austria. The early Russian revolutionary movements of the 19th century consisted to a substantial degree of university students, and students in France were involved in many radical political movements. Students in Latin America also have

a long tradition of militant activism and they look back on their traditions of radicalism as a reinforcement to current struggles. Similarly, students in the formerly colonial areas have also been very much involved in nationalist and radical politics from a relatively early period. In India, the nationalist movement had a valuable ally in the student movement. In several African nations, the tiny student community produced a number of nationalist and radical leaders who were later instrumental in achieving independence for their countries. Indonesian students studying abroad during the early years of the 20th century provided early leadership to the Indonesian nationalist movement.

The variety and scope of student activism around the world is substantial, and overly facile generalizations must be avoided. It is, moreover, very difficult to predict where student activism will occur with any degree of accuracy. Few observers could have predicted seriousness of the French student revolt of May 1968. Similarly, the shifting tides of American student activism are extremely difficult to predict. A campus involved in major demonstration one semester can be quiet the next. Nevertheless, there are some generalizations that can be made, and it is one of the purposes of this volume to suggest to educationists and others some of the common features of the international student movement.

II

The strongest tradition among students in the developing nations, at least during and shortly after the independence struggles, has been that of radical nationalism. University students have been one of the most important elements which have fostered ideas of nationalism and national unity in largely traditional populations. Some nations were created in part through the efforts of university-trained intellectuals who looked to European nationalist models—to men such as Mazzini and Garibaldi who succeeded in unifying Italy in the 19th century, and later to Lenin who combined nationalism with radical socialism—as appropriate models for their own countries.

The roots of nationalism, anti-colonialism, and radicalism are clearly in the West—in the thinking of Marx, the English Fabian socialists, and of the European romantic nationalists of the 19th century—but these ideas were adapted and expanded by intellectuals in the colonial areas. Many young people from the colonial areas studied in the metropolitan nations during the 19th and early years of the 20th centuries. The impact of study

abroad, in London or Paris in most cases, was very important. Students were exposed to modern political and cultural ideas, and were made to feel their own backwardness in terms of material and political strength. Nationalist student organizations were formed overseas, such as the London-based West African Students' Union, and when students returned to their homelands, they were ready to participate in and sometimes lead nationalist struggles.

Once the ideological roots of nationalism took hold in the developing countries, mass movements opposed to colonial domination developed. University students were again one of the key elements in the formation and support for such movements. The Indian National Congress developed into a militant mass nationalist movement under Gandhi's leadership in the 1920s. The Congress was never dominated by students as were some of the nationalist movements in other countries, but it always had strong support from the student community. Perhaps more importantly, the student movement continually pressed the Congress to take a more militant and radical position, and provided a forum for some of the radical leaders, men such as Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru, during the 1930s.

Students played an even more important role in the growth of nationalist movements in Indonesia and in parts of Africa. In China, the students provided the key manpower for the movements which overthrew the Manchu dynasty and supported the establishment of the republic in 1911. Later, when China was threatened by internal discord and external aggression, the students continually pressed for more radical and militant policies in opposition to the Japanese in the 1930s. Many students supported the Communists and were involved in the final struggles which brought Mao Tse-tung to power in 1947.

The achievement of independence after World War II for many of the developing countries brought substantial changes for the student movement. The relatively simple commitment to nationalism which characterized the student activists prior to independence no longer sufficed. Many developing countries, including India, were faced with massive internal social and economic problems, and the support which the students had previously from the adult political élite disappeared. Political leaders were more interested in building up the trained cadre of manpower necessary for development than in supporting political activism among students. Moreover, politicians felt that a strong and independent student movement could provide the basis for opposition to their own regimes.

Students themselves were faced with increasing difficulties. In India, as in a number of other countries, educational facilities expanded rapidly

and wider sections of the population were able to send their children to colleges and universities. At the same time, the student population became less homogenous and conditions within the colleges deteriorated. The problem of educated unemployment also became acute. The mass nationalist student organizations were unable to transform themselves in most cases, and student political activism took on new forms. The achievement of independence certainly did not lead to an end of student political activism in India or elsewhere. But changes in the nature of activism have taken place. In place of mass student organizations, a number of more local groups, mostly of an *ad hoc* nature, have developed. Agitation has tended to be localized, focused on university issues or local political conflicts, rather than on national or broader ideological questions.

Student activism in many countries has led to repression by educational or governmental authorities. Burmese student agitation against the military government of General Ne Win led to the shelling of the Student Union building at the University of Rangoon by army artillery and the closing of the university. Authorities in other countries have had a more difficult time in successfully quelling student unrest, and recurring agitation at such institutions as Benaras Hindu University and other universities in north India indicate the difficulty in ending student unrest. Student agitations seem to be characterized by unpredictability and shifting goals.

Under the surface, students in many developing countries maintain a latent interest in politics. Their own growing academic and other difficulties and the magnitude of national problems increase a sense of frustration which has made a continuing commitment to ideological politics difficult. Yet, when dramatic events occur, it is not difficult to mobilize students. Such successful mobilization has taken place in South Korea, where a previously apathetic student population succeeded in overthrowing the government of President Rhee in 1960, in Turkey, and in several other countries. In Indonesia, Japan, and in much of Latin America a small cadre of politically committed students has maintained itself, although its influence on the general student population is small except in times of political crisis. Traditions of political activism are difficult, if not impossible, to destroy.

As student populations change and institutions grow it is natural that the nature of political activism will also change. In India, the expansion of universities and the growth of the student population to include the sons and daughters of previously uneducated and relatively low status families has had a major impact on the nature of student unrest. Difficulties in language for many students who are not conversant in English, unfavorable living conditions for many students, and the increasingly difficult job situation all

have built up deep frustrations which amenities in educational institutions and more enlightened government policies cannot end. Students in India are afraid to participate in activist movements because of possibly harmful effects on their careers and at the same time sufficiently frustrated to take to the streets on short notice. This ambivalent situation has contributed to the current rash of relatively unideological and directionless agitation.

Student politics in the developing areas has certainly not disappeared. If anything it has become more widespread in terms of the numbers of individuals involved. Yet, in most cases it is of a rather sporadic nature, and only occasionally is a real threat to established authorities. Activism is grounded in the very real frustrations and problems of the students and their societies. And since these problems are very difficult to solve, and the traditions of activism are strong, it is likely that activism will be a continuing phenomenon.

III

While student politics is a well established element of the developing areas, it has achieved new prominence in the industrially advanced nations. Only a few years ago, most commentators on the student scene stated that while sporadic student political activity was possible in the advanced countries, it was unlikely to cause any major political threat to society, and unlikely to have much impact off the campuses. Recent events in France, West Germany, the United States, and possibly even Czechoslovakia, have proved these forecasts incorrect. It is true, of course, that it remains easier for students to topple a government in many of the developing areas than in the advanced countries, but students have proved a potent force in Europe, Japan, and North America.

Despite the fact that student activism in the advanced nations takes place in a context very different from that in the developing countries, there are a number of important similarities. For one thing, students in almost every country find themselves on the political 'outs.' Not since the period of nationalist politics in the developing countries have student movements been a part of the mainstream of politics. Students in India, for example, whenever they do take part in partisan politics, are usually allied with one of the opposition parties. In most other developing countries student movements are almost always opposed to the government in power. In the educational sphere also student movements are usually against the authorities for various reasons. In the advanced countries a similar situation can be seen.

In no nation is a major student movement allied to the ruling élite. Official student groups often exist, but their influence in the student community is limited despite financial subsidies and support from the authorities. The Soviet Komsomol (Young Communist League), which has recently been thoroughly reorganized, is a case in point. While it is a large organization which plays a key role in recruiting young people to the ranks of the Communist Party, it has never been a very dynamic force on the campuses. In the West also, student organizations such as the United States National Student Association, a non-official but moderate group, has never had massive student support. Similar phenomena are evident in the developing countries as well, and in India the Youth Congress has never been very popular among students, in part because it is seen as a part of the 'establishment.'

It would seem that student activists around the world are almost always discontented with the *status quo.* This does not mean that all students are discontented. In fact, most surveys of student opinion show that the large majority of university students in almost every country are interested only in obtaining higher education and taking their places in the upper levels of their societies. Careerism and professional orientations are much more powerful forces in universities than the more intellectual and political tendencies which characterize the activist minorities. Nevertheless, the activists are of crucial importance not only because they are capable of mobilizing other students in times of crisis, but because they often set the tone for the campus. Discussions of activism often forget that, as Glaucio Soares has pointed out, student politics is in the hands of the 'active few.'

The activist movements and organizations in the industrially advanced nations tend often to be more politically aware and sophisticated than those in developing areas. Organizations like the German Socialist Student Association (SDS), which has spearheaded student unrest in West Germany and the American Students for a Democratic Society, have leadership which is very much aware of the complexities of left-wing politics. These groups, and similar ones such as the Radical Student Alliance in England and the French student movement, are very much concerned with revolutionary strategies for social change. The leadership of these student movements is much more interested in social revolution than in university reform. Student leaders are conversant with such revolutionary thinkers as Mao and Lenin as well as the currently popular Herbert Marcuse and Regis Debray. For most activists in the West, revolutionary models are to be found in Hanoi and Havana rather than Moscow and Peking. The Soviet Union and China are attacked by student radicals as too bureaucratized and no longer interested in genuine social revolution. The more romantic revolutionary experiments going

on in Cuba have much more attraction, and North Vietnam's successful struggle against American attack provide a hope that small and seemingly weak nations can defeat much stronger powers.

Student organizations in the developing areas, with very few exceptions, tend to be much more hazy about their specific political goals, and not too much time is spent on careful study of foreign revolutionary movements or philosophies. Even extremely radical or Marxist student groups do not seem to take ideological politics as seriously as it is taken in the West. In India, radically inclined groups like the All India Students' Federation or the youth wing of the Samyukta Socialist Party do not spend much time debating the subtleties of revolutionary strategy, although student activists in Calcutta are probably an exception to this rule. Student groups in Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, and other countries are relatively pragmatic in their politics. They are opposed to the established order, but they are not much concerned with maintaining ideological purity. The fact that Indonesian student organizations which had supported Sukarno before 1965 were able to turn on him within a few months is an indication of this pragmatism.

But the ideological sophistication of Western student organizations can be overemphasized. It is, for example, significant that most student agitations in the West as well as in developing areas are precipitated by local events and not by major societal issues. In addition, only a small minority of those involved in activist movements in the West are very much interested in ideological politics. Others participate in radical activity, but for more general motives. The Berkeley student revolt of 1964 in the United States, which was the first of the major disturbances of recent years, was stimulated by a local campus crisis. Radical leadership was able to give the revolt a more ideological emphasis, but the masses of students who participated and who were willing to be arrested were committed only to the idea of free speech on the campus and were in opposition to a university administration which had acted stupidly in the crisis. The French student crisis was stimulated by a local dispute at the University of Paris' suburban campus at Nanterre, where some student leaders were disciplined by university authorities. Discontent among French students with university conditions in addition to their opposition to the university authorities provided the spark for the massive demonstrations, but the causes remained essentially local. During the height of the crisis, radical student leaders attempted to focus the attention of the students on revolutionary goals and were for a time successful. But in the end, most students were satisfied with a compromise far short of social revolution.

While student unrest in the West may have an ideological tone and image, and while the top student leadership may be politically sophisticated, most student struggles are not very different from those in the developing countries. In the West, students generally live in more favorable conditions and have better employment opportunities. They are often interested in university reform and concerned with such intellectual issues as free speech on campus. In the United States, large numbers of university students were very much concerned with the issue of civil rights and Negro equality.

The involvement of outside political parties in the affairs of the universities seems to be a rather unique Indian phenomenon. In the West, political parties are almost never involved in university affairs, although there is a serious problem of attempted government interference in university life, particularly in institutions supported financially by the state. The fact that Indian political parties involve themselves in the universities gives an added impetus to student unrest, since the affairs of the universities are directly involved in partisan politics. It is significant that in Indian universities where outside political influence is limited, there tends to be less student agitation based on these issues. Traditions of academic autonomy are in general stronger in the West, thus making outside interference in university affairs more difficult.

India is not alone, however, with regard to political interference in university affairs. The case of Burma has already been mentioned, and universities in Ghana were forced to maintain ideological loyalty during the Nkrumah regime. Nkrumah's supporters were appointed to university posts, and opposition student groups were discouraged. Outside political involvement in the universities is without doubt a serious problem for higher education, and can be a key stimulus to student activism. Such interference can take many forms. In India, examples of two types of interference can be seen. Government authorities, usually on the state level, have attempted to involve themselves in university affairs. The recent crisis at Osmania University over the appointment of a vice-chancellor is one of the more dramatic examples of this type of interference. Political parties have also interested themselves in university affairs and have tried, sometimes with success, to build up factions within universities. Difficulties at Benaras Hindu University seem to reflect this type of politicization of university life in India.

The problems of universities in the advanced nations, while quite serious, do not have the same direct meaning for students as they do in many of the developing countries, and particularly in India. This situation has permitted students in advanced countries to take a more ideological view

of their universities and of society. Student movements in advanced nations are often out of step with the mainstream of politics in their countries, and often on the far left vanguard of political life. They have dramatized the problems of society and the university, and in some cases have been sufficiently effective to precipitate political change. The American student movement was one of the first elements in society to focus massive attention in the Negro problem, and student participation in the civil rights movement stimulated the Congress to pass a number of measures to help the situation of the Negro. American students have also forced the universities to re-examine many of the presuppositions underlying higher education. West German students have focused society's attention on the problem of a lack of political opposition in Germany, and the student movement has in effect, become a kind of 'extra-parliamentary opposition.' Japanese students attracted national support when they opposed the Security Treaty with the United States in 1960.

Indian students have also played a role in this area. The role of university students in the South concerning the language question forced the government to re-examine its policies. Students in Orissa forced the resignation of the chief minister in 1964, but in general student agitation in India has been more focused on local issues with little relevance to national politics. Thus, there are both similarities and differences between student agitations in the advanced and developing nations.

IV

One of the major constituents of student activism is what has been called the 'youth revolt.' Generational conflicts have existed throughout history, but the current importance of student activism in many countries has focused increased attention on the question of generational conflict and revolt. A thorough examination of this question would require analysis from both psychological and sociological perspectives, and is clearly beyond the scope of this short essay. But a few general comments can be made since the issue is of key importance to any consideration of the role of students in education and politics. Generational conflicts exist in almost every country, although their expression differs widely in various national settings. Traditional India, according to some observers, was a "land without youth" since there was no independent youth culture which has characterized Western nations. Young people went directly from an extremely permissive childhood to the religious, social, and economic responsibilities of adulthood

with no intermediate steps. This situation has changed somewhat with increasing numbers of young people in India attending schools and colleges, marrying much later, and thereby forming a kind of peer group culture similar to that found in the West.

The Indian youth culture remains to be examined thoroughly by social scientists, but some generalizations can be made. As Edward Shils and others have pointed out the Indian college student enjoys unprecedented freedom. Although many students live with their families and attend local institutions, the experience of college with its separate peer group sub-culture, the freedom to talk with students from different backgrounds, to attend films or other activities, or perhaps to have some social relationships with members of the opposite sex, is a heady experience for many students. This college sub-culture is perhaps the first independent youth culture to emerge in India and as such it is extremely important. The mere fact that young people with similar interests are in physical proximity on a college campus is itself important. In a few places this sub-culture has become involved in political activism, although in India this remains the exception rather than the rule.

Indian students are often in a kind of ambivalent relationship to their families and the traditional norms of society. In most cases, the family is able to hold the allegiance of the student, but sometimes not without dispute. The intellectual conflicts between "modern" concepts of society and personal life—less stress on religion, rejection of caste and other restrictions, decreased emphasis on the family—and more traditional norms, are sometimes strong. During the Independence struggle, when student activist movements were strong and the student community was recruited from a more wealthy and modern segment of the population, there was widespread rejection of traditional concepts. At present, while there may be uneasyness about many aspects of traditional Indian culture, there seems to be relatively little outright rejection. Fewer students, for example, are critical of arranged marriage than was true previously.

Young people around the world take the professed aims of society more seriously than do their elders. Compromise, corruption, and rhetoric do not often find favor among young people, and particularly among university students who have been taught to take moral values and social responsibilities seriously. This moral concern and rejection of the *status quo* of imperfect societies is one of the key elements behind student unrest in many countries. Modern Indian society seems to many young people as a particularly imperfect social system. The professed values of the political élite, men who were involved in the idealistic struggle for national independence, seem to

young people far different than their performance as government officials and political leaders. The corruption which students perceive at all levels of Indian society is anathema to them. The political intrigues and "unfair means" which exist in many universities is a further cause for discontent.

India is, of course, not alone in experiencing this kind of youthful discontent. Student unrest in various Eastern European Communist nations has been based at least in part on the differences which young people perceive between the theory and practice of communism. Czech students spearheaded efforts for liberalization and democratization in that country and demanded that the Communist Party live up to its expressed ideals. Although less successful, student protests in Poland and East Germany have been based on similar demands. The American student movement received its first major impetus from the civil rights struggle, when the students demanded that American society live up to its professed values and give meaningful equality to Negroes. Thus, it can be said that youth, and particularly university students, have a strain of idealism which contributes to their discontent with often imperfect societies. In India, this idealism is often obscured by more direct concerns for employment opportunities or passing all-important examinations.

It is almost a truism that most societies are undergoing rapid social and economic change in the mid-twentieth century. The overwhelming power of nuclear weapons has become a reality to the younger generation, which has grown up with the threat of atomic destruction. In the industrially advanced nations, the tremendous changes being brought about by the computer and increasing automation of industry affect young people more than any other segment of the population. In many countries, the entire employment structure is undergoing a transformation, and young people entering the labor market are naturally very much affected by these changes. Traditional norms in the advanced nations are also under constant attack. Religion has become a much less important social force in most countries, and the family is also undergoing changes. The increasing importance of the mass media, and of the educational system itself as a socializing institution, are all contributing to an unstable and often difficult situation for young people.

Developing countries are experiencing similar strains to which young people must adjust. The creation of a modern society is an extremely difficult process and often the resources available have not been sufficient to meet the expectations of educated segments of the population. In India, the rapid expansion of the educational system has not been matched by growth in the kinds of skilled jobs suitable for university graduates, and

the problem of unemployment haunts many graduates, particularly in the arts subjects. As has been noted, traditional ideas embodied in family and religion are often in conflict with more modern notions engendered by education and this causes further problems for young people who must try to reconcile these two often divergent influences.

Youth revolt expresses itself in widely divergent ways. In the United States, the hippy movement, which directly rejects the 'false' values of modern industrial society, is perhaps the most dramatic example of youth revolt. While relatively few young people become 'full-time' hippies, many are attracted to the lifestyle and some of the ideas of the hippies, and the hippy subculture has become an important aspect of modern American youth culture. Student political activism is another expression of the youth revolt, although it is based on a more intellectual analysis of the failures of the society and is committed to revolutionary social change. Radical student politics can also be found in most other countries, and some variation of the hippy sub-culture as well. The German young people who throw pastry at important public figures as a means of protest against the state and society, and the Dutch 'provos' who cleverly ridicule various aspects of established social life are also part of an international phenomenon of youth revolt and rejection of society.

V

Student activism does not exist in a vacuum. Just as students are part of the broader society, they are members of a university community. The situation of the university is therefore of crucial importance in any examination of activism. As has been noted, society-oriented student activism is often stimulated by conditions in the universities. Where academic conditions are ideal—a condition which exists in very few educational institutions—student activism will be less likely, and probably less violent when it occurs. Conditions of study, the orientation of the curriculum, the intellectual direction of the institution, and the amount of repression that exists on university campuses all contribute to the nature and direction of activism. The location of the university often has a relation to the nature and scope of activism—students located in capital cities can often have a greater political impact than those at great distance from centres of political power. Such variables as the choice of academic discipline by the student, the relationship between faculty and student activism, and others are discussed in this volume.

The modern university, in both the advanced and developing countries, is among the most crucial social institutions. Universities are responsible for training élites in the increasingly complex skills necessary in modern societies. In democratic societies, universities are called upon to act as a selection agency for the élite. This is particularly true in countries, such as the United States, India, and Japan, where relatively large numbers of young people enter the universities, and it is not possible for the élite to absorb all of them. Universities, therefore, are keystones of a democratic social order in technological societies. At the same time they are one of the last social institutions with strong roots in medieval past. Continental European universities particularly strongly hold to traditional notions of university autonomy and professorial perquisites which are sometimes in conflict with more modern trends in higher education.

Research has also become an important aspect of university life, and is one of the main social functions of higher educational institutions in most countries. In the United States, very large amounts of money are given to universities by government and private agencies to conduct a major portion of the basic research in the natural and social sciences which is crucial for a technological society. While the universities have, for the most part, gladly accepted increased funds for research, they have also had to accept increasing responsibilities to the agencies which grant these funds. In addition, the research function has often interfered with the more traditional teaching function of the university, and this conflict has been one of the causes of increasing student discontent in many of the advanced nations, and particularly in the United States. Students complain, often with much justification, that their professors are more interested in research than in teaching, and that the university's priorities are directed toward research work rather than teaching. This trend toward research, however, seems irreversible since technological societies need basic and applied research in order to maintain rates of economic advancement as well as their initiative in world scientific developments.

The 'university revolution' was started in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century, when the German university became a leading element in the scientific and political eminence of the German state. Before that time, universities existed as important social institutions in many countries, but were in the last analysis in the backwater of societal affairs. In England, the universities provided a polish for the British élite and trained the Protestant clergy, but were not crucial institutions. In both Britain and France and later in the United States, the great scientific discoveries which made the industrial revolution possible were not made in the universities but rather

by private individuals working independently. Student discontent, where it existed, could generally be ignored by society. Now, however, the situation is much different. Societies cannot ignore disruption in the universities, both because there is a strong stake in the smooth functioning of higher education, and because in many countries universities have become centers of political power and influence.

In the developing countries particularly the university has assumed an important political function. Not only does the university train the élite of the nation, but in countries where there is only a small politically aware 'public,' higher educational institutions can play a direct political role as well. University faculty members in many countries often act as government advisers or even as ministers. Political journals often emanate from university campuses, and ideological trends are reflected first within the universities. Economic planning in Indonesia is largely a university-directed affair, and several former professors serve in the Indian cabinet. It is often dangerous for a government to incur the opposition of the universities.

Student populations are also of potential importance in many developing countries. The mere fact that large numbers of intellectually oriented young people are located in one place is a stimulus for political activism. Traditions of student activism, and the actual or potential role of students in politics increases the political impact of universities. Governmental authorities in Argentina traditionally seal off the university campus first when political unrest is threatened, and universities have been closed for extended periods in such countries as India, Burma, and Japan.

It is impossible to thoroughly analyze the world university crisis in this essay, but mention can be made of several countries where the crisis has had dramatic repercussions recently. The American university crisis has been most graphically manifested in the well-publicized student agitations at Berkeley in 1964, and more recently at Columbia University in 1968. In each of these cases, small cadres of ideologically articulate students built upon substantial student discontent with political and educational issues to precipitate major crises. At Berkeley, long-standing student discontent with the 'depersonalization' of undergraduate education at the large state universities in the United States helped to stimulate the difficulties. Many younger faculty members, feeling intense competition to 'publish or perish' contributed to the discontent, as did overworked Ph.D. students who now handle much of the teaching up to the B.A. level. The Columbia events were stimulated in part by rather general student discontent, and in part by the specific issue of the relationship between the university and the U.S. government, and particularly to the American military effort in Vietnam.

Students protested against Columbia's participation in the secret Institute for Defence Analysis. Students objected to Columbia's lack of help to its surrounding neighborhood, which happens to be one of America's worst Negro ghettos and attacked the university's 'ivory tower' attitude to its community. All of these factors combined to produce a dramatic crisis.

There is no doubt that the American university is a highly successful institution. Unprecedented funds are spent on higher education, and the university has a crucial role in the political and economic structures of the nation. At the same time, expansion has been unplanned, and many institutions have ignored the teaching function in a rush to engage in profitable research. Student crises have stimulated educators to re-examine some of the premises behind the modern American university, and some steps toward educational reform have been taken. Yet, the pattern of higher education seems set, and it would be difficult for the universities to give up their research and advisory functions, even if they wished to do so. Rising costs have made the universities increasingly dependent on government agencies for financial support, and the future of academic autonomy, particularly in the state universities, is far from clear.

While the United States has been committed to a system of mass higher education, with institutions of widely varying quality existing side by side, the traditional European university has been an elitist institution, enrolling only a small number of students who have been highly selected. The European university's curriculum has also been relatively traditional in that basic research in the sciences has been slow, and many of the newer subjects, such as sociology or nuclear physics, have been added relatively recently. Social pressures have forced the European universities to expand, both in size and in academic scope, but often funds have not been forthcoming to meet the new demands. As a result, institutions became overcrowded, and traditional academic faculties became unwieldy as new subjects were added on to existing departments and schools. In addition, the concept of an elitist university has come under attack in France, Germany, Britain, and other countries.

European universities moved toward reform in the early 1960s, but they moved too slowly for their increasingly discontented student populations. Numerical expansion took place before facilities were built to handle the additional students, and the traditional dominance of the senior professor in the academic department was unwieldy in the larger universities. As in the United States educational discontent was combined with radical politics to produce major student disturbances in France and West Germany. These demonstrations have stimulated the European universities

to move more quickly in the direction of academic reform, but it is clear that the end to student dissent and university transformation is not yet in sight.

The university in Japan is of more recent origin than those of the Western nations, but it has developed into a powerful institution in a relatively short period of time. Modern higher education, dating from the Meiji restoration, 1868, has provided a backbone for Japan's technological expansion. Since World War II, the Japanese university has transformed itself from an elitist institution on the German model to a mass system based on the American university. Elements of the old elitist system remain, such as the high prestige of the 'national' institutions such as the University of Tokyo, the system of entrance examinations which is called the 'examination hell,' and the absolute power of senior professors. Institutions of widely differing standards exist side by side in Japan, although the pre-eminence of the national universities is universally recognized and the competition for entrance into them is fierce.

Japanese universities have had to cope with vastly increased student populations and increasingly expensive research projects with very little support from the government. The basic structure of the university remained traditional, with the power of the senior professor extensive and with growing academic departments providing relatively little advancement for younger faculty members. The quality of instruction in many institutions suffered, conditions of study have deteriorated, and expansion has continued unabated. One of the elements which has been left over from the elitist period of the university in Japan has been a strong tradition of political activism. The militant Zengakuren, Japan's national student union, has been able to mobilize large numbers of students to participate in political campaigns although it has only a relatively small number of activist members. Student unrest at the University of Tokyo, and other institutions has combined political dissent with educational complaints in a manner similar to other countries. Significantly, the Tokyo crisis was precipitated by a student demonstration against regulations in the medical faculty, one of the most conservative in the university, which was handled quite badly by the university administration. Starting with demands to rescind disciplinary actions against the demonstrators, the agitation broadened to include major university reforms, and ended in the occupation by student militants of several university buildings which lasted for several months.

The Indian university, which is also in a period of more or less permanent crisis, shows some differences and similarities with other university

systems. The environment of the university in India in which the student finds himself has a particularly important relationship to the question of indiscipline and student activism. Living and working conditions for Indian students are almost universally poor. Studies carried out by the University Grants Commission and by various universities indicate that a substantial proportion of the student population is undernourished and that many students have inadequate living accommodations.

The tremendous expansion of higher education which has taken place since 1947 has been one of the main determinants of the changing campus situation and of the deterioration of conditions in the universities and colleges. It is a simple fact that in a nation of limited resources it has not been possible to expand the size of institutions while at the same time maintaining standards and facilities. Many of the newer colleges, particularly those in rural areas, have inadequate library facilities, not enough laboratory places and few amenities for students or staff. One of the main problems has been the fact that well trained and committed staff members have not been available. College teaching does not pay well, has lost much of its former prestige as an occupation, and as a result the most able graduates do not generally go into teaching. Furthermore, trained teachers are even more scarce outside the cities, since educated people are not often willing to forego the pleasures of city life. With inadequately trained staff, the quality of campus life has naturally deteriorated somewhat.

It is hardly necessary to chronicle the substantial problems of the Indian university. One of the most important aspects of university life has been the politicization of many universities in India. This factor has major implications for student activism and indiscipline. Universities, because they are important social institutions which have much patronage and which are a source of local prestige, have become key social institutions in many areas. Regions regularly fight bitterly over the location of a new university, and politicians have brought their battles into the university campuses. Where such internal political interference is rampant, as has been the case of Benaras Hindu University and Allahabad University in recent years, student life has been repeatedly disrupted by political disputes, usually related in some way to the political factionalism of the broader university community. In Indian universities which have not been openly involved in political warfare, student unrest has been somewhat less of a problem. And since resources are relatively scarce on all levels in India, it is unlikely that the universities can avoid becoming involved in politics. To paraphrase the French statesman Clemenceau, "education is much too important a matter to be left to the educators."

The key to India's university crisis is expansion. Only if expansion can be stopped and the resources available allocated to existing institutions can deterioration be avoided. India has made a strong commitment to mass higher education, and major political forces in the society demand continued educational expansion. Limitation of university and college growth is, therefore, a difficult and perhaps an impossible task. Of course, reforms can be made in the present structure of the universities, but few thoroughgoing suggestions for reform have been proposed, and most educators, including those in top policymaking positions, are so much involved in making the present system function effectively that consideration of changes is difficult.

It would seem that India's educational crisis will continue for a long time, and that no immediate solutions are likely. The universities do, after all, serve an important purpose in the society, and the clamour for expansion in order to provide university degrees for growing numbers of applicants is overwhelming. The university remains the most effective means of social mobility in the society, and a degree is increasingly a prerequisite for even medium level clerical employment.

VI

Indian student unrest does not exist by itself. It is part of an international phenomenon and while many aspects of the Indian situation are unique, examples from other countries may help educators and others to better understand and hopefully to constructively deal with student problems. It is the purpose of this volume to provide this international perspective to problems of Indian students.

India shares with many other developing countries a nationalist tradition and a history of strong student involvement in politics as an adjunct of the nationalist movement. But the student movement has undergone substantial changes in the post-independence period. The organizations and motivations which stimulated political activities before 1947 are no longer vital. Many of the politicians now in power who received their political baptism in the student movement of the 1930s or 1940s, do not understand that the student unrest of the 1960s is very different than the kinds of agitations which they experienced in earlier periods. With few exceptions, ideological politics in the traditional sense play no role on the campus. While reliable data is not available, it would seem that few Indian campuses have a cadre of politically sophisticated student leaders willing to take

advantage of spontaneous unrest. National student leadership in India has too often been in the hands of careerists more interested in foreign travel than in building a movement. There are, of course, some exceptions to this generalization, and the Calcutta student movement has had committed political leadership for many years. Activists of such groups as the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad and the All-India Students' Federation have also shown commitment.

Post-independence student unrest in India has been almost entirely based on local issues, and in this sense differs from movements in other countries. In addition, when students have agitated about societal issues, these questions have also been of a relatively limited scope and did not have implications for basic social change in Indian society. Students, for example, were active in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, which demanded a separate Maharashtra state, the 1965 language agitations in Madras, the successful effort to unseat the chief minister of Orissa, and in the 1967 general elections in Bihar and some other areas. Significantly, none of these cases involved basic social transformation, but only changes in specific government policies or local political issues. In addition, the very large proportion of indiscipline is caused by campus issues which have no relationship whatever to any general political question. It is for this reason that Indian student indiscipline is so difficult to predict and is both volatile and short-lived at the same time.

Another aspect of Indian university life which differs from most other countries and which has major implications for student activism is the politicization of the universities. In no other country is the university system so closely involved in local politics. Political factionalism of an academic variety exists everywhere, but in India it seems to have developed into a fine art. The founding of local colleges is often related to politics, and political leaders are anxious to use colleges, and occasionally the university itself, as a base for political operations.

Much has been said in India about politicians using university students for their own political purposes, and no doubt this is to an extent true. Although there are no definitive studies on the matter, it is unlikely that politicians can simply 'use' students. Without the basic frustrations of university life and the undercurrent of academic politics which exists in many institutions, it is unlikely that politicians would have much success. At the University of Bombay, for example, opposition politicians and even Congressmen have tried to build political movements among the students, but have thus far been unsuccessful. Among the probable reasons for this lack of success is the fact that the university has remained relatively free of

open internal political warfare, and there are perhaps fewer frustrations to which the students are subjected. It is an oversimplification at best to simply blame student indiscipline on the machinations of politicians, on and off the campus.

It would seem to be a basic law of student unrest that it is often accompanied by administrative error and miscalculation. When administrators are able to handle student disturbances with tact, understanding and occasional firmness, and when they have a basic understanding of the causes and nature of the unrest, major crises can usually be avoided. Most students, however frustrated, are genuinely interested in completing their studies without interruption. Activist minorities find it much easier to gain support from large numbers of students when university administrators or government officials behave intemperately or impose rash disciplinary actions on student leaders. Administrative errors committed at Berkeley, Columbia, and most recently in Paris show remarkable similarities and it is rather difficult to understand why administrators do not learn from past errors. In India also university authorities have made repeated mistakes in dealing with student indiscipline, thus exacerbating already tense situations.

The period after independence in many developing countries has been a difficult one. Economic and social advancement has proved to be a difficult task, and the expectations held by many, particularly by intellectuals and students, for rapid social change have not been fulfilled. In India and in other countries, the idealism of the independence struggle has turned to corruption and cynicism. Despite Five Year Plans and other rhetoric, society has no clear sense of direction. These aspects of recent history have had an impact on the campus, and have probably contributed to the decline of ideological student organizations and the rise of sporadic but generally directionless student unrest. This directionlessness has certainly contributed to the general malaise and frustration of young people, and has made it difficult for them to express whatever latent idealism remains in them.

VII

What of the future? Student activism as a world phenomenon is certainly here to stay. Universities, even in the most advanced societies, are not going to be able to solve their problems quickly. The social problems which have stimulated student activism—race relations, changing economic patterns, depersonalization of society—are deep and abiding issues. Societies, regardless of their political orientations, find it difficult to live up to their

professed goals. All of these issues stimulate discontent among intellectuals and university students.

While it is easy to predict that student activism will continue to be a major problem facing universities and in some countries governments as well, it is not at all easy to predict trends in specific countries. Student activism is one of the most ephemeral of political activities, and movements come and go with amazing speed. The fact that student generations change every few years, and that students are very much affected by the moods and trends of the broader social order means that they are quite difficult to predict. It is also possible for governments, if they wish to expand sufficient force and coercion, to end student unrest in specific universities. They run the strong risk of also ending academic excellence at the same time, since a politically aware student body and scholarly achievement often go together.

Broader educational trends in India are not too difficult to predict, at least for the short run. As has been noted earlier, very strong pressures for continued university expansion will probably prove impossible to stop, and as a result it will prove very difficult, if not impossible, to improve university standards. The relatively poor conditions under which many students study will also not see much substantial improvement due to insufficient resources. Inadequate remuneration for university teachers means the best graduates will not enter the academic profession, and the quality of teaching will continue to suffer. Certainly ameliorative measures can and should be taken to improve the quality of instruction and student life, but basic improvement or reform is probably impossible under present conditions.

Student indiscipline and activism will no doubt continue in India at a fairly high level. If factional politics within the universities is curtailed and other reform measures taken, the amount and stridency of dissent can probably be limited, but it cannot be eliminated without basic changes in the educational system and in the social order. Given current political trends in India it is unlikely that strong ideologically based student movements on a national scale will arise. But political conditions have been known to change rapidly, and if sufficiently dramatic issues arise which can catch the imagination of substantial numbers of students, then mass ideological movements may be possible.

This essay has attempted to point to some of the common factors concerning the important question of student activism in its international context, with particular emphasis on the relevance of the international phenomenon for India. If some of the ideas presented here and in the other

essays in this volume provide some insights for educational planners and university administrators, then an important goal will have been achieved. Clearly, much more research on the Indian situation is needed. Too little is known about the context of university life in India, or about the institutions themselves. If constructive reforms are to be made, then much more knowledge is necessary. Thus, the prospects for India, at least, seem like "more of the same" in terms of student activism and indiscipline. If it is any consolation, at least India is not alone in its university crisis.

31

Student Politics: Historical Perspective and the Changing Scene*

Philip G. Altbach

For over a century, student unrest has been one of India's most serious educational and political problems.[1] Student agitation has caused state governments to fall and has forced the central government to revise its language policies. Academic institutions on all levels have been disrupted and occasionally closed because of student activism. It is the purpose of this chapter to place the Indian student movement in its historical context, and to focus some attention on current issues relating to student activism. It is only through careful analysis that the roots of student unrest can be discerned and their causes constructively dealt with.

I

In any consideration of Indian student politics, the social and educational context of the student movement must be considered. Perhaps especially in modern India, where there have been few continuing politically-oriented student movements since Independence, the context of student activism is

important. Most of the chapters in this volume bear on various aspects of the "student problem," and it is beyond the scope of this essay to deal in detail with all aspects relating to student activism. However, it is important at least to mention some of the more important elements of Indian social and educational life which bear on student activism.

The Indian student does not function in a vacuum, and he is very much a part of his society and subject to the pressures which are evident in Indian society. India, despite recent impressive gains, is still very much a "society of scarcity."[2] University students must worry about suitable employment after graduation and about the conditions of study while in college. It is hardly necessary to reiterate the fact that many Indian university graduates must wait for long periods before finding employment, and many never obtain jobs which are satisfying to them. Furthermore, the conditions of many students are substandard, and more than a few college and university students do not even have the minimum standard of living necessary for study.[3]

The educational system itself effects the lives of students very directly and has a major impact on the nature and form of student activism. In the pre-Independence period, the elitism, prestige and limited size of the academic community effected the nature of the student movement. Similarly, modern Indian higher education also effects the student movement. The tremendous growth of the academic system since 1947 and the resulting loss of status for the individual student has had an impact. Serious overcrowding and pervasive bureaucracy in higher education also makes a difference. The language issue, discussed in detail elsewhere in this volume, seriously effects the individual student. The very high 'wastage' rate in Indian higher education means that a large proportion of the student community never obtains a degree, and this naturally places strains on the individual student. The examination system, described as outmoded and irrelevant by many, also creates tensions.[4]

The Indian university has become an important political institution, and the politicization of higher education has had an impact on the student community.[5] Academic politics in many institutions involve students, thus contributing directly to an increase in activism.[6] In other parts of the country, local, state, or national political issues impinge on the campus. The language agitations in Tamilnadu in 1965 and student involvement in the various election campaigns in 1968 and 1971 testify to the impact of political events on the campus.

The fact that the Indian student movement like similar movements in other developing countries, is very much effected by its broader political

context makes the future of the movement especially difficult to predict.[7] For example, should political instability grip the country or even a part of one region a student movement with tactical sophistication could emerge and play a major role despite the absence of such movements at the present time. At present only West Bengal can claim an ideologically sophisticated and active student movement. However, other movements have arisen in India, such as during the government crisis in Orissa in 1965 and in Tamilnadu on several occasions in recent years, thus indicating that there is a very strong potential for student movements to arise when conditions for them are favourable. Much of India's "student indiscipline" is of a sporadic and unorganized nature, reflecting the reactions of students to their conditions and to the society at large.

II

In order to obtain a complete understanding of the student movement in India, it is necessary to discuss the history of Indian student movement. Several student organizations had been founded by 1900, although educational and social matters and not politics were their main preoccupations. Only a relatively small minority, perhaps numbering a few thousand throughout the country, took any interest in politics and most of them were engaged in moderate discussion groups. This situation reflects the small enrolments of the Indian universities at the time (23,000 students in 1900), and the generally elitist orientation of the student community. As one observer noted: "It was not till after the political and racial excitement (of the nationalist movement) that the youth attending the schools and colleges showed signs of turbulence and insubordination."[8]

The period prior to 1920 was a time of establishing higher education in India and a slow development of political consciousness among students. While the militant activism of later decades was missing, students were exposed to ideological currents from Europe, and the growing political tensions within India added to this ferment.

The 1920's brought both educational and political changes to India. Continued growth in the educational system created increasing problems for the students. The establishment of new colleges, many without stable financial arrangements or adequate staff, lowered the standards of higher education and intensified the competition for jobs. Politically, the twenties saw the growth of the Indian National Congress as a mass movement under Gandhi's leadership. During its early years, the Congress was a moderate

organization recruited primarily from the Western-educated middle class and not given to political agitation. As the Congress grew more militant in the early years of the twentieth century, the student community also took a more active interest in politics. The articulate and militant nationalism of the Congress appealed to the students because it provided the opportunity for dramatic political action and promised speedy independence for India. The Congress leadership was based in the college-trained intelligentsia, but the influence of radical thought on the growing working class gave it added strength.

Gandhi's non-cooperation movement of 1920 was the first major mass agitation initiated by the Congress. It was also the first political struggle that involved large numbers of students. Youth leagues were formed in major educational centres to coordinate student efforts, and the discussion and debating societies of earlier periods became the nuclei of political organizations.[9] Students helped with Congress campaigns and provided much of the manpower for the almost daily street demonstrations in the cities. In some areas, students assumed the movement's leadership when Congress leaders were arrested. National (anti-British) colleges were established in major cities, but they were only temporarily successful, for many students returned to their regular classes when the heat of the movement abated. Although the non-cooperation movement failed to expel the British from India, it did establish the Congress as a militant mass organization and gave the students and the growing trade union movement their first experience of mass political struggle.

The non-cooperation movement stimulated the foundation of a national student federation in India. The first annual All-India College Student Conference was held in Nagpur in 1920 to provide coordination for the growing student political movement. Similar student movements took place throughout the 1920's, and these annual gatherings helped to keep the political spark of the student movement alive in a period of general political quiet.

Regional student federations were founded in the Punjab, in Bengal, and in other areas. The All-Bengal Students' Association claimed a membership of twenty thousand in 1929. The Bombay Presidency (provincial) Students' Federation, formed in 1936, helped to bring ideological politics to the local and provincial levels. The All-India Student Conferences, which normally attracted more than three thousand students from all parts of the subcontinent, provided left-wing Congressmen with a platform and with support for their views. These conferences were characterized by militant nationalism, and the ideas of socialism and Marxism found support among

the students.[10] The student movement was probably the most radical element in Indian political life during this period. The study groups organized by left-wing students brought to the Indian campus the ideologies of European Marxism and the Russian Revolution—both of which had a marked influence on the thinking of politically minded students. While only a minority of the student community was politically active in the 1920's, the movement established itself during this period and gained both organizational experience and ideological sophistication.

The 1930's brought an intensification of the political struggle in India. The influence of radical nationalist and socialist ideas spread by left-wing leaders, both in the Congress and in the student movement, prepared the students for more active phase of the nationalist struggle. Gandhi's civil disobedience movement of 1930 involved students on an unprecedented scale, and many of the more militant activities, such as the boycotting of shops and the cutting of telephone lines, were carried out by students. The Gandhian concept of nonviolence was never fully taken up by the students, some of whom participated in terrorist activities.

One of the results of the agitation of the early 1930's was the creation of the All-India Students' Federation in 1936. From the beginning, the AISF was strongly nationalist and radical in its approach. Within two years, the new organization was able to claim one thousand affiliated organizations and fifty thousand members.[11] The AISF journal, *Students' Federation,* was circulated throughout India and provided a radical viewpoint on both education and national issues. The AISF effectively united the student movement for several years while Gandhians, socialists, and Communists worked harmoniously within the organization. Provincial student federations carried on the regional work of the AISF, and the annual meetings of the organization usually attracted more than three thousand delegates, as well as many of the top Congress leaders.

In addition to the "mainstream" nationalist student movement, a number of other important trends existed within the student community. Many Muslim students, previously apathetic or pro-Congress, were influenced by Mohammad Ali Jinnah's call for a separate Muslim state on the Indian subcontinent and joined the Muslim League's All India Muslim Students' Federation, founded in 1937. This organization, which had substantial support among Muslin students, did not participate in the independence movement, but pressed instead for Muslim rights. While the importance of the Muslim student groups diminished after the formation of Pakistan, the Muslim student movement helped to shape the political ideologies of a whole generation of Muslim leaders.

The Hindu right wing also gained strength, in part as a reaction to Muslim separatist sentiment. The *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), founded in the late 1920's, appealed to militant Hindu nationalism, and to anti-Muslim and anti-Christian feelings among Hindus.[12] By upholding traditional Hindu values, then under attack from Westernized elements in India, the RSS was able to attract many students, particularly in smaller colleges. The Hindu Student Federation, founded in the 1930's and similar in ideology to the RSS, had a more sophisticated approach and greater appeal for college students. Its influence was limited to north India, however, and it never constituted a threat to the nationalist student movement.

The civil disobedience movement of 1930 ushered in the most active period of political agitation undertaken by Indian students. By 1938, Indian colleges were highly politicized, and students were involved in a variety of protest activities. Strikes against college authorities occurred almost weekly in many parts of India, instigated as often to further nationalist purposes as to correct a particular educational grievance. Students not normally concerned with political issues were attracted to the dramatic nationalist struggle. Thousands served short jail sentences for their part in the struggle, and many left college to work in the nationalist and labour movements or the Gandhian educational and social-service projects.

The split within the All-India Students' Federation in 1940 indicated some of the problems of the growing ideological sophistication of the student movement. After a period of harmony, differences between the Communists, on one side, and the socialists and the Gandhians, on the other, came into the open in 1940, making the breakup of the organization inevitable. The Communist-dominated All-India Students' Federation lost a large part of its support when the Communist Party supported the British war effort after the Soviet Union entered World War II in 1940. The nationalists organized the All-India Students' Congress in 1945. This group continued the struggle against the British, but at the same time it opposed the Communists. The Students' Congress, which stressed both social revolution and patriotism, was by far the most important national student organization in India at this time.

The most militant and highly organized period of the Indian student movement came during the 1942 "Quit India" struggle. When the Congress leadership called for an all-out, although nonviolent, effort to drive the British from India, the student movement succeeded in closing most of India's colleges for extended periods and brought masses of students into the struggle. About 10 per cent of the student population of India (or fifteen thousand students) was involved in the day-to-day organizational

work of the nationalist movement. Students not previously involved in politics participated in almost daily demonstrations. Student cadres took part in sabotage campaigns and tried, with some success, to disrupt the British administration.[13] When the adult Congress leadership was arrested, students often assumed leadership responsibilities and provided a key liaison between the underground leaders and the movement. Student groups published illegal newspapers and even operated a clandestine radio station. Although the 1942 effort failed to expel the British from India, it was the first time that the Indian nationalists became a kind of "national liberation movement." The militancy of the students' involvement in the 1942 movement was retained, although on a reduced scale, until the end of the independence struggle.

The growth of a militant student movement in the pre-1947 period can be attributed to a number of factors—the main one being the highly politicized character of Indian cities and towns during the 1930's and 1940's. Many members of the student generation were attracted to the movement in these urban centres. The pre-independence student community, being small and compact, was relatively easy to organize. Because young people from rural areas and from the lower castes and classes were virtually excluded from the secondary and higher educational systems, the large majority of the students came from upper-middle—or upper-class and caste backgrounds.

The emphasis in the universities at this time was on the liberal arts, and students in this area have traditionally been more concerned with intellectual and political issues.[14] As in the post-independence period, students in the liberal arts were most active in political affairs during the nationalist struggle. Law students, who were destined for an independent professional career and had little chance for a government post, were particularly active.

III

By 1947, the student movement had lost much of its momentum. The Students' Congress and other major student organizations were unsuccessful in shifting their efforts from an emphasis on political struggle to a programme of Gandhian constructive service. Many radical student leaders were disillusioned by the compromises that the Congress leadership made in order to achieve independence without further bloodshed. The 1946 mutiny of the Indian Navy was an additional shock to the student movement, for the Congress leadership ordered the militant sailors to surrender to the

British in the interest of a political compromise. Radical student leaders felt that they had been betrayed by the nationalist movement, and many left the student movement.[15]

With a few isolated exceptions, the student movement in India has been unable to regain its sense of militant unity and ideological purpose. Students have not ceased to participate in politics, but there has been a dramatic transformation of their movement. The nationalist fervour of the pre-independence period has been replaced by generally unorganized and sporadic agitation usually aimed at specific grievances.

The most important cause for the transformation of the student movement was the end of the independence struggle. Prior to 1947, political issues were clear and dramatic—the British had to be driven from the subcontinent, and radical social change had to be instituted in Indian society. The caste system, communal animosities, food shortages, and other social ills would be eliminated when India achieved independence and could guide her own affairs. Respected nationalist leaders encouraged students to take an active role in the political struggle. Following independence, the issues were no longer so clear. The Congress leadership was divided on how best to deal with India's many social and economic problems, and the departure of the British solved very little. Conservative elements in the nationalist movement achieved substantial power after 1947, and many radicals were forced into the opposition. Moreover, following independence, the Congress leaders reversed their former position and urged students to stay out of politics.

The spirit of individual self-sacrifice that had marked the independence struggle almost disappeared, and many political leaders became more concerned with their own careers than with ideology or national development. Regional, linguistic, and caste loyalties, temporarily put aside for the nationalist cause, resumed their old hold. For the post-independence student leader, a political career still depended on dedication to the Congress cause, as had been the case before 1947, but it also involved such undramatic details as winning elections and placating various economic and ideological tendencies.

Indian higher education was also undergoing changes. The expansion in enrolments, begun in earnest during the mid-1930's, continued after independence at an accelerated rate. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of college students increased from 263,000 to 645,000. In 1967, more than 2,000,000 students were enrolled in about 2,750 colleges.[16] The traditional base of Indian higher education, the liberal-arts college, was also waning in prestige and importance because the standards of instruction at these

colleges declined seriously, as the student population expanded at an unprecedented rate. The value of science education, on the other hand, increased substantially, as India's industrial production rose, and the standards of admission into the scientific fields tightened in order to protect standards of instruction. Technological institutions were created and given sufficient financial resources, while the liberal-arts colleges were allowed to expand almost without limit and were not adequately financed. As the number of graduates of the liberal arts exceeded the number of jobs available, educated unemployment became an increasing problem, and holders of B.A. degrees could consider themselves fortunate in finding clerical employment. Many employers began to demand a college degree for positions previously filled by literate, but academically unqualified, individuals.

As the educational system grew, higher education became available to broader segments of the population, thereby destroying the homogeneity of the student population. Members of the student community had little in common since students were drawn from diverse class and caste backgrounds. Students from the lower-middle—and working-class families were often unwilling to risk their college careers to participate in political activity, and, in any case, they lacked a tradition of political activism.

A kind of "dual culture" has evolved on the campus as a result of the changes in higher education. Students from lower castes and classes often constitute a rather isolated, although growing, segment of the college population and seldom take part in extracurricular activities. Such students suffer most from the disadvantages of Indian higher education—poor conditions and falling standards of instruction, crowded institutions and fear of unemployment—and enjoy few of its advantages. Thus, they are frustrated and willing to participate in sporadic and disorganized student unrest and demonstrations. Working-class students or those from rural areas have generally gone into liberal arts subjects, while upper and middle-class students, who have received adequate secondary training and who have facility in English, have tended to go into the sciences, when they have been able to meet the rigorous admissions requirements.

The fact that the most able and qualified students have gone into the natural sciences and technical fields has had important implications for Indian higher education and for student political involvement. Students in the natural sciences have traditionally been less concerned with politics and more professionally oriented than liberal arts students, and recent shifts have meant that many of the best students are no longer interested in political affairs.[17] Students in the sciences often do not have time for political activity, since their academic programmes are both time-consuming

and demanding. These changing conditions have reduced the numbers of students available for continuing political activity and have lowered the quality of student leadership.

IV

The transformation of the political student movement in India has altered campus life. The Indian campus probably has as many student groups and organizations today as at any time in its history, but the nature of these groups has changed with the decline of ideological politics. Student unions are, perhaps, the most ubiquitous organizations in Indian universities, and their functions often include responsibility for cultural and social programmes. While the unions are intended to provide a link between administrator and student, in many cases their functioning is less than democratic, due, in part, to administrative regulations. In most colleges, union representatives are elected by the students, although seldom on the basis of political views.

Student unions in a number of colleges have taken on political importance. In some of the more volatile of the north Indian universities, such as Aligarh and Banaras, student unions have spearheaded protest campaigns. Agitations undertaken by student unions usually stem from local issues, such as university examination policies, increases in college fees, living conditions, and the like, but in some cases student unions are controlled by ideological factions attempting to use the union as a base of operations against an opposition political group within or outside the university.[18] Communists, socialists, and factions within the Congress Party have not hesitated to use student unions for their own purposes, all the while formally decrying political interference on the campus. As general rule, however, student unions have not been involved in politics and have been limited to their social and educational functions.

It is useful to distinguish between the kinds of student leadership found in Indian universities. The "respectable" nonpolitical cultural and social student organizations are led by students from upper-class families for the most part, and these students can be called the "academic" leadership of the Indian student community. Students active in direct-action campaigns have come more frequently from the lower social classes. This leadership constitutes a relatively new and dynamic force on the Indian campus. Students from social groups without a long tradition of education, often from illiterate families, have frequently led strikes and demonstrations. The

continuing leadership of leftist student groups, however, is generally drawn from middle-class students, who have a political tradition and sufficient free time to devote to political matters. This dichotomy in student leadership is a peculiar characteristic in Indian student life.

Despite the changes in student political activity, a number of national student organizations have retained some influence. After the largest of the pre-independence student movements, the Students' Congress, was disbanded in 1948, Congress leaders expressed interest in the formation of a nonpolitical student organization, and the socialists agreed to unite with them in the formation of the National Union of Students (NUS) in 1950. The NUS proved unable to rid itself of the heritage of outside political manipulation and soon foundered, never becoming the representative nonpolitical student organization that its founders had envisaged. Inadequate financing, student apathy, and the difficulty of communication in a rapidly expanding educational system proved to be insurmountable obstacles. Factional disputes caused several splits in the organization, and by 1958 the NUS was, for all purposes, dead.

The National Council of University Students of India (NCUSI) was subsequently formed to fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of the National Union of Students. This organization has faced many of the same problems that plagued its predecessor—opposition from educators and political leaders, student apathy, and personal ambition among its own leaders. The Cold war has created the problem of foreign financial support. The Soviet Union has financially supported the Communist sponsored All-India Students' Federation, while the NCUSI has received funds from Western sources. It is unlikely that the NCUSI will become the representative student association in India, although it has tried to keep aloof from partisan Indian politics and has occasionally been a moderating influence on the Indian student community by encouraging students to work with administrators rather than resort to immediate agitation.

The political parties in India have adopted an ambivalent attitude toward students in recent years. The Youth Congress was formed in 1949 by the All-India Congress Committee. Despite its claim that it was India's largest youth organization, it did not attract much attention and served mainly as a "front group" for aspiring Congress politicians. Because the leadership did not encourage open political discussion, the organization failed to draw able, politically-oriented youth, and the Youth Congress had few active chapters before its dissolution in 1965 because of internal political conflicts.

The oldest national student organization in India is the All-India Students' Federation (AISF), which has existed without interruption since

1936. The AISF, under Communist control since 1940, has lost much of its support and a large proportion of its membership. In 1955, the AISF claimed a membership of one hundred thousand, with major concentration in West Bengal, Andhra, and Kerala, all centres of Communist political support.[19] The AISF is, however, weak in areas without Communist strength.

Despite the considerable efforts the Communist Party has made to cultivate the students, the general decline in student organizations has also affected the AISF. The changing tactics of the Communist movement have also hurt its student allies. Although Communist support for World War II permitted the AISF to function legally while the nationalist student movement was forced underground, many students felt that the Communists were traitors to Indian nationalism. Immediately after Indian independence, the Communists violently opposed the Nehru government, thus alienating a large proportion of the student population. More recently, the split in the Communist movement caused by the Sino-Soviet dispute has disillusioned many leftist Indian students and complicated the functioning of Communist organizations. In many areas, the AISF's identity as a Communist student organization has been purposely obscured or de-emphasized. Despite this nonideological policy, AISF students in Calcutta, many of whom support the left-wing (pro-Maoist) Indian Communist Party, recently took a leading part in student demonstrations. Nevertheless, even these Calcutta demonstrations, led by ideologically committed students, erupted over purely local campus issues and spread only when the original student demands were not met by the university authorities.

In the recent past, right-wing student political organizational efforts have been quite successful in some regions. One of the most important student organizations in India today is the *Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad* (All-India Students' Organization). This group, commonly called the *Vidyarthi Parishad,* has claimed to be nonpolitical despite strong evidence suggesting that it is the youth wing of the rightist Hindu communalist parties, and particularly of the *Jan Sangh.* The *Vidyarthi Parishad* has concentrated on a culturally oriented programme, avoiding broader political issues as much as possible. It has appealed for patriotism and was active in the nationalist upsurge following the Indo-Chinese conflict of 1962.

It is difficult to generalize about post-Independence student political participation in India. It is true that there is no longer a unified student movement in the country and that only a tiny fraction of the student population is involved in the day to day operations of student political groups. On the other hand, it is clear that students have taken part in active politics and have had a major impact in some areas. Deteriorating conditions

in universities and a general low morale in academia has led to sporadic outbursts of frustration, usually related to local campus issues. In general, the concern of the student movement has shifted from societal concerns to campus ones, although there are dramatic exceptions to this comment. Student political involvement continues in India, stimulated in large part by the severe stresses evident in Indian social and economic life.

V

No other issue in Indian educational life has received more publicity than the problem of "student indiscipline." Violence is a distinctive characteristic of student indiscipline in India. In the Hindi-speaking areas of northern India, student agitation has often involved destruction of private and university property. Even local agitations, such as protests against an increase in tram fares in Calcutta, are often accompanied by violent student outbursts. This tendency toward violence is perhaps related to the lack of channels through which the deeply frustrated Indian students can voice dissent. The widespread publicity given to student indiscipline may, however, obscure the statistical fact that most Indian colleges have not been plagued by student unrest.[20]

The causes of the student unrest that swept northern India in 1966 are typical of the factors which have stimulated such agitation since 1947. It is difficult to discern one key cause for the 1966 agitation, for in most instances local grievances stimulated a demonstration or protest. An analysis of some 280 student strikes and demonstrations which took place in 1964 gives some indication of the causes for student unrest. About one hundred strikes were stimulated by demands relating to examinations and the administration of educational institutions. Another sixty had their origins in protests against the police or other government functionaries; miscellaneous causes accounted for the rest. In most of the cases, there was no overt political motive. The Communists associated themselves with strikes on thirty occasions, the *Jan Sangh* twice, and other parties seventeen times. In 1964, three per cent of the agitations were due to nonacademic issues; in 1965, the figure rose to 5 per cent, and in 1966 to 17.4 per cent. In 1966, there were 2,206 demonstrations, of which 480 were violent. Only two years before, there had been 700 demonstrations and 113 violent outbursts.[21]

There are important regional variations to student politics in India. While "indiscipline" of various kinds, related mostly to campus issues,

occurs in every state, a number of areas have not been affected by major student disturbances concerning broader political issues. States such as Maharashtra, Assam, Rajasthan, Punjab, and several others have not been directly affected by student activism, and no strong politically-oriented student movements exist in them. In these areas, students have not even been particularly active in election campaigns, a popular and generally acceptable means of student political participation.

Other Indian states, notably West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, and Tamilnadu have seen very substantial student participation in politics on various levels, and several, most particularly West Bengal, have active and continuing student political movements. There are few generalizations possible about regional variations in student activism. Local political questions, the situation of the universities in particular states, and traditions of activism and of radical politics all effect the nature of student movements. The political stability of the state itself also plays a role. Bihar, for example, has been especially unstable politically in recent years, and its students have become involved in state political issues, as well as in campus politics.

It is worthwhile to examine briefly student politics in several states, since regional differences will show up geographically in these instances. The most volatile state in India at the present time, and the one with the most active and radical student movement is West Bengal. College students, particularly from the Calcutta area, have been one of the main forces behind the Naxalite movement in the state, and many young people from the universities have become full-time revolutionaries. The continuing turmoil on the campuses, much of which is related to the struggles of the Naxalites against their political enemies as well as against the government and university authorities, is an example of the importance of the student movement. Indeed, without the participation of the students, it is unlikely that the "urban guerilla movement" in West Bengal would have much support.

It is important to note that student political involvement, even of a revolutionary nature, is not new to West Bengal. Calcutta was the home of the terrorist wing of the nationalist movement in the early years of the twentieth century, and students were active in this kind of movement from the early days. Subhas Chandra Bose, whose brand of nationalism was more radical and more violent than Gandhi's had strong support among Bengali students. The strength of left wing political parties in the state has also had an impact on the student movement, and has provided active non-campus support for student radical groups. Indeed, in general, the West

Bengal student movement has been involved with adult political parties. Student activism has not been directed, in general, at educational issues but rather toward broader political questions. Of course, demonstrations at examinations or other spontaneous protests related to student conditions or problems have also taken place with substantial frequency, but these have not been in the mainstream of Bengali student activism. The political impact of the student movement in West Bengal cannot be underestimated. The movement, and its adult counterparts, has been able to keep West Bengal in a state of turmoil over an extended period. It is clear that some section of the Calcutta middle class support, or at least tolerate the student movement. Thus, the student movement has a long term role in West Bengal politics, although it probably is not in a position to achieve substantial political power in its own right.

It is significant that the student movement in Calcutta especially has moved in an increasingly radical direction in recent years, perhaps indicating a sense of frustration with other forms of politics. In 1966, Calcutta was convulsed by demonstrations in favour of a United Left Front anti-government campaign. These demonstrations were spearheaded by students. Students were later active in the electoral campaigns which brought a leftist government to power in West Bengal. Later, however, when the Communist Party (Marxist) and its allies in the government were unable to implement a radical programme, much of the student movement turned toward the Naxalites and abandoned parliamentary politics altogether. It was at this time that terrorist tactics in Calcutta were instituted by some segments of the student movement. It is very difficult to predict the direction of the Bengali student movement, although it is clear that the movement will continue to be both radical and prone to militant activism.

West Bengal stands in sharp contrast to the rest of India with regard to student activism. In Tamilnadu, for example, students have been involved in political action for more than five years, generally in support of the DMK, now the ruling party in the state. But this activism has been of a fairly disciplined nature, and has with some exceptions been nonviolent. The 1965 student campaign against the use of Hindi as India's national language brought violence to Tamilnadu, and sparked a responsive chord in the general population. A Student's Action Committee from colleges throughout the Tamil-speaking areas coordinated demonstrations and strikes, which sometimes became violent.[22] The DMK strongly supported the students, and the 1965 agitation helped to pave the way for the party's assumption of power. Students were instrumental in the two elections in which the DMK has been successful, and provided many of the

volunteer workers for the party. However, no continuing student organizations have developed in Tamilnadu, although many students have a high degree of political consciousness and are willing to demonstrate when the DMK or student leaders call for direct action. By and large, the campuses have remained quiet, and there is little of the sporadic indiscipline which is evident in north Indian universities.

Bihar shows significant regional variation trend in student activism, which is also reflected in some parts of U.P.[23] Bihar politics has been unstable in the recent period. No party, nor even some factions of the various parties could maintain control over the state government and succession of faction-ridden ministries ruled the state. In addition, the universities became enmeshed in state politics, and academic institutions were used for political purposes. The students reacted to this situation by supporting one or another faction within the universities, in helping various groups, mostly non-Congress, in state elections, and in keeping the academic system in a general state of turmoil. This was possible in part because academic leadership was decimated by political maneuvering and few administrators or faculty members had the morale necessary to keep order on the campuses. Students sensed this situation, and not surprisingly took advantage of it.

Unlike West Bengal, the development of a major student involvement in politics in Bihar did not bring with it any major student organization. Activism remained sporadic, and oriented around a single university for the most part. The various political parties had their supporters at each university, and these individuals were able to organize militant demonstrations whenever the situation seemed favourable. Political traditions, once developed, are difficult to get rid of, and it is likely that Bihar will continue to be involved with student activism for some time in the future.

Orissa shows a different type of student involvement in politics which is typical of several parts of India. Students in Orissa have in general remained quiet and uninvolved politically. However, a coordinated series of student demonstrations throughout the state forced the resignation of the chief minister in 1964. Student leaders charged that the state chief minister, a Congress politician, was guilty of corruption and demanded his resignation. He was forced to resign, and the students won a major victory in the state. The Orissa agitations were carried out by a well-organized student committee with representatives from many of the colleges in the state, thus proving that it is possible for *ad hoc* student agitation in an area relatively free of student unrest to be successfully organized. After their victory, Orissa students returned to their classrooms, and have not been notably involved in activism since that time. This situation is reflected in several other Indian states.

In Andhra Pradesh, the agitations over the creation of a separate Telengana state have involved students, although there is no active political student movement in the area. In Maharashtra, students were involved in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in the late 1950's in favour of a separate Marathi speaking state with Bombay as its capital. This movement was ultimately successful. In both Andhra Pradesh and in Maharashtra, student involvement in particular campaigns did not mean that the movement continued after the specific effort was completed, and there has been relatively little unrest in either of those states.

Thus, the shape of student activism in the post-1965 period is difficult to clearly explain. There are three general trends—student involvement in broader political movements which have a firm ideological base, as is most graphically reflected in West Bengal and in groups like the All-India Students' Federation; student involvement in political campaigns based on outside demands and issues, such as the language agitation in Tamilnadu or the anti-corruption efforts of the Orissa students; and finally student involvement in sporadic demonstrations, unrest, and indiscipline related to local collegiate and academic matters. This latter aspect is the most important aspect of student activism in India, and accounts for the vast majority of the cases of unrest which cause university officials so much difficulty.

This latter type of unrest deserves some attention, if only because it is so widespread and receives a good deal of attention in the press. The causes of local student "indiscipline" are varied and often difficult to explain. On the most trivial level, students claim that one of their fellows has been mistreated by a hostel warden or some other official and go on a small rampage on campus. Increases in tram fees or cinema prices can cause destructive agitations. Examinations are a frequent cause of indiscipline and agitations.[24] Difficult questions can cause massive complaints from students and occasional demonstrations. Indeed, university officials in many institutions must take elaborate precautions in order to see that it is possible to hold examinations. Students also agitate over educational questions of a more significant nature. Language policies in universities, curriculum decisions, the hiring or firing of professors or administrators, and other matters can precipitate demonstrations. The intensity of these *ad hoc* and sporadic agitations varies greatly. Some are mild and respectful petitions to appropriate officials, while others can be massive and highly destructive demonstrations involving the loss of life.

Another type of *ad hoc* demonstration which has become important especially in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar is student involvement in academic crises on campus. The recurring crises at Aligarh Muslim University,

Banaras Hindu University, and Allahabad University are ample testimony
to the power of students in internal academic crises. These three institutions
have been involved in factional disputes and other struggles on the faculty
level, and between elements of the academic community and the govern-
ment. Students have involved themselves in these disputes, and have had
an effect on the outcome. Student involvement has certainly escalated these
struggles, and have often caused major campus disruption and even the
closing of institutions for extended periods.

VI

This final section will seek to identify some of the causes for student
activism, and some of the broader generalizations that can be made about
this phenomena in Indian higher education. The conclusions are necessarily
rather general, and an evolving situation will no doubt produce changes in
the explanations offered here.

There are important institutional variations in Indian student unrest.
Indiscipline is not a serious problem in most of the prestigious and well-
financed technological institutions. While it is generally agreed that most
student unrest has originated in the liberal-arts colleges, there are some key
differences among these institutions as well. In general, older colleges that
have been able to maintain relatively high standards of instruction and a
spirit of corporate identity have been less plagued by student indiscipline
than have the newer institutions.[25] Missionary-administered colleges have
had less difficulty than other institutions, perhaps because there is often a
tradition of academic excellence and a more satisfactory teacher-student
relationship at these institutions.

The Indian university is closely tied to its society and shares many
of the characteristics and contradictions of modern Indian life. In no
society are "academic" values completely separated from the norms of the
broader society, but in India these distinctions are even less evident than
they are in many countries.[26] Caste and regional affiliations are seen as
normal criteria for academic appointments, and factional politics within the
universities bear a marked resemblance to political infighting in national
life. Students attempt to use family influence in order to gain admittance
to the university, or they resort to agitational politics to change an exami-
nation result. Thus, while some critics attack the universities for being an
"ivory tower," higher education is very much in the mainstream of Indian
social and political life.

The underlying causes for student unrest are not difficult to perceive, and there seems to be a general agreement among educators and other officials concerning at least some of them. A recent report on student unrest stated that the four main causes for student unrest are "1) lack of proper academic atmosphere, 2) absence of respect for authority—parental, educational, and governmental, 3) ideological frustration, and 4) political interference."[27] The status of university teaching has also declined since independence, and the traditional respect for the *guru* has virtually disappeared on the campus. Students seldom have an opportunity to talk to their professors, since classes are large and the teaching loads are heavy. At the lower ranks, college teachers are poorly paid, and many instructors must hold more than one job.[28]

Indian universities annually administer externally prepared examinations to college students, and consequently the individual professor cannot control either the curriculum or the evaluation of his students. Examinations have been one of the main causes of student indiscipline throughout the history of Indian higher education. Since the late-nineteenth century, students have rioted against difficult examinations, often forcing authorities to lower standards or to reschedule tests. Even with these agitations, the examination failure rate at some universities reaches 70 or 80 per cent in some subjects.

Many students begin their collegiate careers at the age of fifteen or sixteen and lack the maturity that a few extra years would give. Furthermore, students living in hostels and away from their families for the first time are probably affected by their unprecedented freedom, particularly in view of India's strict family system. The generational problem, present in almost every society, lies somewhat below the surface in India, although it probably influences the students by causing resentment against constituted adult authorities.

The economic uncertainty of many Indian students is clearly a cause for ambivalence and indiscipline. Many students hold parttime jobs in order to pay for their educational expenses and must therefore divide their attention between job and university career. It has become increasingly more difficult for graduates, especially in the liberal arts, to obtain suitable employment. Students who cannot obtain jobs frequently return to universities to do graduate work even though they are often not interested in the academic preparation involved. The number of students who do not finish their college education is also quite high, and many of these former students remain on the campus, since employment is not always obtainable. Well over half of those who enter college in India do not obtain a degree.

Related directly to the economic problem are the difficult conditions under which many Indian students must study. In addition to inadequate university facilities, many students are unable to provide the minimum necessities of life for themselves. A survey of students in Calcutta pointed out that a substantial number were undernourished. In urban institutions particularly, students often must live in crowded and unsanitary conditions.[29] These factors cannot but increase the frustration and alienation of a large part of the student population.

Political, social, psychological, economic, and educational issues are intertwined in India, and all have contributed to student unrest. Present educational trends are likely to continue. Despite the warnings of educators, unplanned expansion of the educational system continues unabated. The government is unwilling to restrict educational expansion even though it is unable to allocate sufficient funds to maintain educational standards. As higher education becomes available to increasing segments of the population, the value of the Bachelor's degree decreases. Centralized standards have become even more difficult to enforce, since several new universities are established each year, and higher education remains a joint responsibility of the central and state governments.

It is clear that student activism is an established and continuing part of the Indian academic and political scene. India fulfills all of the preconditions for an active and potentially volatile student movement. It has a long history of student involvement in politics, the potential, although not at this time the reality, for political instability, an academic system which is clearly subjected to many stresses and which does not serve the student population very well, and a large and in some areas politically sophisticated student population. Indeed, because of India's large student population—the third largest in the world—and the diffusion of higher educational institutions to all parts of the country, it is possible to imagine that Indian students could at some point play an absolutely critical role in national or regional politics.[30]

With the exception of the period of the nationalist movement, Indian students have not been able to link up with viable political organizations or movements outside the campus in all but a very few instances. This has meant that the potential for effective student involvement in politics has been relatively limited. In addition, with the exception of West Bengal, there are few politically sophisticated student leaders capable of organizing effective and continuing political organizations based in colleges and universities. This situation seems to be changing somewhat, as radical student discussion groups are founded at such centres of higher education as Delhi and Bombay.

The pattern of post-Independence student activism in India has been one of sporadic regional or local student movements usually concerned with limited non-ideological issues. Such movements have been successful in a number of instances, and have certainly played a key role in politics in such areas as Bihar, Tamilnadu, U.P. and other states. It is very likely that this pattern of student involvement in regional politics will continue, and given changing local situations, change with differing political events. It seems clear that without major shifts in the political or economic situation at the centre, student activism will continue to be based in regional and local politics and not take on an all-India nature. The relative political stability of the country, perhaps particularly since the 1971 elections, should make the emergence of a major national student movement rather difficult. In addition, the importance of the university system as a key to social mobility and to employment will make relatively few students willing to take the risks necessary for major student political involvement.

Should the situation in India change, either politically or economically, however, it is entirely possible that a student movement of massive proportions could emerge. The example of Ceylon is perhaps especially relevant here. The history of Ceylon's student movement is short, and Ceylonese students have been involved on a much smaller scale in politics than have students in India. Yet, when it became clear to many students and unemployed or underemployed graduates that the government of Prime Minister Bandaranaike, despite its radical rhetoric, was unable to deal with the social problems of the country and was unable to find jobs for university graduates, an effective and militant student movement was organized. There is no reason to doubt the revolutionary potential of Indian students in this kind of situation. It is unlikely that a national student movement could effectively be organized in India due to the distances and the large and diffuse student population. But major and potentially effective regional student movements are a distinct possibility in India if the overall political and economic situation should deteriorate.

Efforts to deal constructively with the problems of student "indiscipline" in India have thus far proved unsuccessful. Given the potential for effective political activism and the reality of continuing disruption of the educational system due to local demonstrations, disruptions of examinations, and similar agitation, the failure of the academic authorities to deal with student unrest is a serious national problem. There is, of course, only a limited amount that academic authorities can do given the overall direction of Indian higher education, a direction which is not controlled by the universities but rather by public opinion, government and other

external forces. Thus, the problem of continuing expansion and concomitant decline in available funds and perhaps in standards of education are part of the academic equation in India, and inevitably lead to increasing student discontent because of the fact that graduates are unable to obtain suitable jobs due to an oversupply of educated individuals and deteriorating conditions within colleges and universities themselves. But it is not enough to state that the academic authorities are not completely responsible for the failure to end student "indiscipline" in India. The fact remains that steps which could be taken by universities and by those official agencies concerned with education have not been taken, and little initiative has been shown.

The governance of most Indian universities is severely out of date and in need of revision. Yet, practically nothing has been done to modernize the ways in which universities are administered. Simple matters of bureaucratic inefficiency and a rather rigid hierarchical structure add to student frustrations as well as hinder improvement in higher education. More far reaching changes, such as the inclusion of students or even junior staff in the governing bodies of educational institutions have not been proposed or implemented. The establishment of *ombudsmen*, individuals who will have the responsibility for looking after the interests of students and who will be responsible to them, has become a popular innovation in the United States and in some European countries. It has been not attempted on any substantial scale in India, and could substantially improve relations between students and colleges and universities. In short, there are reforms which academic institutions could make which would cost little but which would ameliorate the present situation.

Similarly, central and regional agencies concerned with higher education have been slow to propose and implement programme and reforms which might deal with student discontent. The University Grants Commission, which has taken a substantial interest in student affairs, has not been able to propose any meaningful changes. Conferences of student leaders and reports on aspects of student problems have not been translated into action, and very little money has been spent on efforts to improve the situation of students. Where funds have been expanded, such as on the construction of student hostels and centres, little in the way of new programmes or facilities have been established. Thus, there has been no positive leadership, either from the students themselves or from academic or government authorities in efforts to ameliorate the short term and immediate problems of students.

It seems clear that the objective conditions of most Indian students will remain virtually unchanged. Higher education will continue to expand,

students will continue to study in substandard conditions and will continue to have difficulty in finding suitable employment on graduation. In this situation, the localized but sometimes violent and disruptive activism which has characterized the Indian scene for almost two decades will continue. Without stimulation from economic or political factors in Indian society, it is unlikely that a major student movement dedicated to revolutionary activism will develop on the all-India scale. Such a possibility, given the appropriate circumstances in India, should not be ruled out. But for the present, it would seem that there will be more of the same.

Notes

*   This article is a revised version of a paper which appeared in S. M. Lipset and P. G. Altbach, eds., *Students in Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). The article is basically historical in nature, although some effort has been made to analyze current trends at the end. Some of the material is now somewhat out of date, although the basic elements of student unrest and activism in India remain unchanged.

1. The issue of student activism in India is dealt with in more detail in Philip G. Altbach, ed., *Turmoil and Transition,* (Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House, 1968). See also Aileen Ross, *Student Unrest in India* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1969).

2. This notion is discussed in detail in Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Scarcity,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

3. Ministry of Education, *Survey of Living Conditions of University Students,* New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1962).

4. The fact that students regularly hold demonstrations in examination hall and examinations are often disrupted is ample testimony to the seriousness of this question. The papers prepared for a recent conference on examination reform, sponsored by the Inter University Board and held in Delhi in January, 1971, provided data on this problem.

5. See Amar Kumar Singh, "Academic Politics and Student Unrest; The Case of Ranchi University," in P. G. Altbach, ed., *op. cit.,* pp. 204–240. See also P. G. Altbach, *The University of Bombay: An Academic Institution in a Transitional Society* (Bombay: Sindhu Publications, 1972).

6. The official government reports on Banaras Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University, and Allahabad University provide detailed and dramatic testimony to the importance of faculty politics.

7. See Philip G. Altbach, "Student Politics in Developing Countries," *Education Quarterly,* 21 (July, 1969), pp. 37–39.

8. Dinkar Sakrikar, "A History of the Student Movement in India," (Unpublished manuscript, 1946), p. 33.

9. Prabodh Chandra, *The Student Movement in India,* (Lahore: All-India Students Federation, 1938).

10. M. Muni Reddy, *The Students Movement in India,* (Lucknow: K. S. R. Acharya, 1947), p. 30.

11. Myron Weiner, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

12. For a study of the Hindu nationalist movement, see Joseph Curran, *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: The Case of the RSS,* (New York: Institute of Pacific Affairs, 1951).

13. Darbara Singh, *The Indian Struggle, 1942* (Lahore: Hero Publications, 1946), p. 278.

14. For a discussion of academic discipline and student political involvement see G. A. D. Soares, "The Active Few: Student Ideology and Participation in Developing Countries," in P. G. Altbach, ed., *The Student Revolution* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1970), pp. 72–98. See also Metta Spencer, "Professional, Scientific, and Intellectual Students in India," in S. M. Lipset, ed., *Student Politics* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), pp. 357–371.

15. Philip G. Altbach, "The Bombay Naval Mutiny," *Opinion, 6* (August 31, 1965), p. 35. See also B. C. Dutt, *Revolt of the Innocents* (Bombay: Sindhu Publications, 1971).

16. Barbara Burn, *et al., Higher Education in Nine Countries* (New York: Mc-Graw Hill, 1971), p. 319.

17. Metta Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

18. For a description of the role of student unions in university politics, see Joseph DiBona, *Change and Conflict in the Indian University* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1971). See also Ministry of Education, *Report of the Inquiry Commission on Banaras Hindu University* (New Delhi; Ministry of Education, 1969).

19. Myron Weiner, *op. cit.*, p. 168. Although Weiner's book is more than ten years old, this generalization is still true in 1971.

20. The literature on student unrest in India is quite extensive, particularly with regard to the very recent period. While much of the available sources are in newspaper accounts, a number of books and articles have also appeared. For a listing of published materials up to 1970, see P. G. Altbach, *A Select Bibliography on Students, Politics and Higher Education* (revised edition) (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Center for International Affairs, 1970), pp. 24–26.

21. A Correspondent, "Student Indiscipline Under Study," *Thought,* 17 (October 20, 1966), p. 11. See also *Statesman* (December 19, 1966).

22. See "The English-Hindi Controversy," *Minerva,* 3 (Summer, 1965) pp. 560–85.

23. Amar Kumar Singh, *op. cit.*, presents a detailed picture of the Bihar situation. This account is based largely on his description and analysis.

24. Margaret Cormack, *She Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Change* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961), p. 204.

25. For an account of general aspects of university life and administration in India, see Robert Gaudino, *The Indian University* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1965). The essays in this volume also deal directly with the problems of higher education in India. See also A. B. Shah, ed., *Higher Education in India* (Bombay: Lalvani, 1967).

26. A Correspondent, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

27. See particularly, Edward Shils, "The Indian Academic," this volume.

28. University Grants Commission, *Report on Standards of University Education* (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1965), p. 255.

29. Ministry of Education, *op. cit*.

30. See Philip G. Atlbach, ed., *The Student Revolution, op. cit.*, for case studies of student movements in other developing countries, as well as for theoretical studies of student activism.

SECTION VII

India and China—Comparative Analysis

Comparing China and India

Rafiq Dossani

Scholarly comparisons between China and India are now commonplace: A search in Google Scholar throws up over 2 million scholarly pieces that compare the two countries. Most such work took place in the past two decades, after India began its economic reforms. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the negative implications for the future of autocracies weighed heavily on scholarly writings in the early 1990s, leading to what were, in retrospect, overly optimistic assumptions about India's growth trajectory versus China. As the 1990s progressed, the reality of China's steady progress and India's mixed progress led to bewilderment mostly. This led some scholars to argue that India and China should not be compared.[1] Over the past decade, there seems to be a scholarly convergence to comparisons based on workforce quality. Scholars now increasingly recognize that China and India differ on some key driving forces of capacity: economic strength, population size, political stability, and administrative capacity, and that differences in workforce capacity in each of these respects drive many of the differences in performance.

As an early writer on workforce comparisons between China and India, Altbach's work seems particularly relevant. In this introduction, we examine three of Altbach's articles that compare China and India in higher education.[2] We ask the following questions: (*i*) What do the articles tell us about trajectories of workforce capacity, and what explains the different trajectories between the two countries? (*ii*) Do the articles provide useful policy prescriptions that can be substantiated by subsequent experience? (*iii*) Are the challenges in building workforce capacity—the professoriate, K-12 standards, and so on—the appropriate challenges, in the light of experience?

Altbach's 1993 article considers China's and India's capacities to contribute meaningfully to world knowledge. Implicitly, it is a comparison of

each country's capacity to grow into the global elite. He lists the attributes that countries must possess to contribute to world knowledge: cutting-edge industries and services, adequate investment in university systems, embeddedness in networks of knowledge production (that is, academic clusters and networks, role of the diaspora, conferences, publishers, data centers), starting points. At the time, only the United States, Europe, and Japan possessed these attributes.

China suffered from some serious disadvantages: a late start in higher education, limited knowledge of English, greater controls on academic life, and high reliance on public ownership had led to lower gross enrolment rates in higher education than India as of 1993. However, despite India's modest advantages over China, it fell short on all the attributes listed above. Altbach concluded that India, for the foreseeable future, would remain peripheral to world knowledge; China, even more so, it seemed. To help offset their disadvantages, Altbach recommended that China and India could usefully cooperate in order to leverage their capacities, internationalize parts of their university system through visiting scholars, cultivate the academic diaspora, develop niches of scientific excellence, and devolve educational decision-making away from the national government to the states and to university–industry consortia (including MNCs).

Few would have argued then against the importance of the attributes, India's and China's shortfalls, and China's particular disadvantages. With the exception of collaborating with India, the Chinese government, as subsequent actions showed, focused on Altbach's prescriptions over the next several years. The Chinese state did add one more policy that Altbach thought infeasible: build capacity through heavy investment in elite education and, in the process, build at least a few world-class universities. It was to prove an important ingredient of China's subsequent success in higher education.

India, preoccupied with macroeconomic and fiscal reforms during the 1990s, paid little attention to Altbach's prescriptions or to workforce issues generally. Perhaps the only Altbach prescription that was followed was by accident—decision making increasingly devolved to the states due to coalition governance in New Delhi. This, however, did little for India's capacity to contribute to world knowledge, but it was important for other reasons, such as pushing massification and equity goals.

China, beginning in the mid-1990s, and India about a decade later, changed policies to achieve massification as well as other goals such as quality, equity, and cost-effectiveness. Economic growth made this possible, though the strategies differed. In China's case, public investment drove massification; in India, private provision paid for by tuition fees was the driving force.

How did the academic community change as a result? Did they receive better working conditions (salary, autonomy, professional development opportunities)? How did they interact with the existing research establishments outside academia that were present in both countries (such as the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in India and the Chinese Academy of Sciences in China)? How did their quality and orientation change (teaching loads, research expectations, tenure)?

In their 2007 paper, Altbach and Jayaram address these issues. Of the two countries, it is evident that China undertook more systematic reforms. These included consolidating universities into a smaller number of institutions. Faculty were slowly shifted to performance-based positions and compensation; mechanisms for greater academic autonomy, greater quality, and transparency in professional development were developed. Privatization started to play a role, though it remained small. It took various forms, including permitting private for-profit institutions, enabling parts of public universities to collaborate with private interests to run courses, and raising private costs (tuition fees). However, the private components of supply usually paid poorly and offered no security of tenure.

Indian reforms were focused on enabling private entry. Their entry led to greater supply responsiveness to the rising demand for engineering and other professional education. Privatization of the Indian supply system, however, reduced teachers' wages, security of tenure and status. At the same time, in rapidly expanding fields, such as engineering, a dearth of qualified teachers resulted. These changes were driven, as noted above, by state governments. The national government, largely through the University Grants Commission, initiated a number of reforms to improve quality, but these were resisted by most other stakeholders on the supply side. The states and private providers preferred to spend resources on expansion. The authors concluded that the academic profession in India was, as of 2007, in a state of steep decline.

By 2009, Altbach's long-standing argument, that the economic future of both countries depended on a better educated workforce was widely recognized. His 2009 paper compares the current state of higher education in China and India. A new factor, the importance of at least a few world-class universities (a not uncontroversial view) enters his comparative argument in this paper.[3]

A key reason for the importance of this paper is that the differentiation in university systems that began with the reforms in China and India has matured enough that comparisons are possible and differences or similarities may be mapped to overall policy environments.

For instance, both countries faced a continuing problem of low quality in the lower tier. Nevertheless, the driving forces were different. In China's case, there was a conscious effort to build a differentiated academic system, with a hierarchy of quality—the elite research-intensive universities at the top, the comprehensive universities in the middle and the rest (often non-baccalaureate) colleges at the bottom; differentiation occurred via specialized institutions. India, lacking a "coherent differentiated academic system" continued to develop highly specialized, largely professional institutions at the top (the IITs and IIMs, primarily). The mass of comprehensive university systems continued as before, with no clear differentiation among their constituent colleges (except for the few central universities and autonomous colleges, which occupied a higher tier). Altbach attributed this to the variety of institutions, sponsorship, and jurisdiction under which the system operated and predicted that the emergence of a differentiated system is "very unlikely under current circumstances" (Altbach 2009, p. 42).

The lack of clear jurisdictions implied, in India, an academic governance system that is "dysfunctional" (Altbach 2009, p. 42). China suffered similarly, though the cause was different and perhaps more manageable: Governance by academic leadership was shared at the top with an executive vice-president chosen by the Communist Party, leading to administrative tension and "highly bureaucratic governance arrangements" (Altbach 2009, p. 43).

Still, China made great progress with its traditional universities by providing the top 140 or so institutions with resources that were significantly larger than India has done. As Altbach notes, the traditional, provincial university is the "Achilles' heel" of Indian higher education (Altbach 2009, p. 45).

Interestingly, both China and India relied on the provinces (states) to fund mass education, along with private funding; central funds were used for funding top-tier institutions' funding. China provided much more funding ($20 billion in PPP equivalent, several times that of India), though, by the standards of emerging and developed countries, the funding levels were modest in relation to the size of the national economy. The result of China's greater efforts showed up in the established world-class status of Beijing University and Tsinghua University, while there were none from India (although some of the IITs formed a specialized cohort that were considered world-class in their fields).

China was also more deliberate than India about internationalization, as exemplified by the large number of Confucius Institutes and regional collaborations. China, unlike India, also established clear rules in place for foreign universities to operate in China: interesting for India, perhaps; their impact in China appears to be limited.

We began this article by posing some questions on the usefulness of Altbach's comparative work on India and China, with regard to understanding workforce capacity, policy prescriptions, and current challenges. In the early 1990s, many writers were predicting a long period of high, +10 percent growth rates for India. Altbach's 1993 article provided a sober, accurate view of the realities of low investment, governance issues, and other factors that would hold India back. That article was less correct on predicting China's trajectory, in part because his policy recommendations were subsequently taken seriously by China. His 2007 paper on the evolution of the professoriate was, again, made in the context of high expectations in India of the growth of privately provided education. His more sober view that the academic profession in India was in "steep decline" ought to have been a wake-up call for governance reforms. The last paper we reviewed showed his concern that India was still failing to get it right—in this paper, he was more concerned about the problems that unclear jurisdictions create, especially in the traditional university system. China faced its own problems, but they appeared more manageable. As Altbach notes, China, driven by its state planning system "may be seen as too stable," while India's "relatively open political system" leads to it being "perhaps too unstable." This enables China to make "dramatic and sometimes unpredictable policy shifts" while India "constantly debating new directions, changes gradually and often without clear planning." If past record is a guide, Altbach should continue to be taken very seriously by planners in both countries.

Notes

1. For example, see D. Lal, "India and China: Contrasts in Economic Liberalization," *World Development* 23, no. 9 (1995): 1475–94.
2. The three papers reviewed are: (*i*) Philip G. Altbach, "Gigantic Peripheries: India and China in the World Knowledge System," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 24 (June 12, 1993): 1220–25; (*ii*) N. Jayaram and Philip G. Altbach, "Confucius and the Guru: The Changing Status of the Academic Profession in China and India," *Journal of Higher Education* 20, no. 4 (2007): 395–410; (*iii*) Philip G. Altbach, "The Giants Awake: Higher Education Systems in China and India," *Economic and Political Weekly* 44, no. 23 (June 6, 2009): 39–51.
3. Creating a few world-class universities is expensive. It remains a controversial strategy since it is not clear whether this helps to achieve the goal of a better prepared workforce—for instance, in India, if one looks at the IT industry, most of the leading firms were started by overseas returnees and only one of the top 10 (Infosys) was founded by IIT graduates. See R. Dossani, "Entrepreneurship: The True Story behind Indian IT," in *Making IT*, eds M. Hancock, H. Rowen, and W. Miller, Chapter 8 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 221–66.

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Gigantic Peripheries: India and China in World Knowledge System*

Philip G. Altbach

In terms of number of qualified scientists and researchers, India and China are considered the third world's scientific superpowers. Yet these two countries will remain peripheral in the world scientific system.

At first glance, these two large and important countries would seem to be well positioned for scientific leadership, and in fact they have achieved considerable success. China and India have relatively well developed scientific infrastructures today, including scientific laboratories, universities, a network of scientific journals, and large number of scientists and researchers. India, in fact, is the third world's scientific superpower in terms of number of qualified scientists, and China is not far behind. Both have a long scientific tradition—dating back many centuries in terms of indigenous science and scholarship and well over a century for western-oriented science and higher education. Both have, in the years following second world war, promulgated scientific plans and have taken scientific development seriously. And both have achieved considerable success—both are nuclear powers, for example, and both have a growing hi-tech industrial

base which is capable of producing sophisticated products although not at the cutting edge of world technology.

This essay has at its core a surprising contradiction; its basic argument is the world's two largest countries, at least in terms of population, are now and will remain for the foreseeable future relatively unimportant in terms of international science and scholarship. They are, and will continue to be, influenced by scientific developments external to them. They will not have equal access to the major elements of scientific communication such as the international scholarly journals, data bases and the like. In terms of basic scientific research, in virtually every field and discipline these two countries will remain behind the world leaders and they will be dependent on ideas and discoveries from abroad. They are, and will remain, peripheral in the world scientific system.

Why must these two large and powerful countries be relegated to peripheral status in terms of world science and technology? The answer is complex and will be explained in this essay, but the simple truth is that world science is highly centralised, that its infrastructures are located in a small number of industrialised countries, that advanced science requires large investments of funds and increasingly needs highly sophisticated laboratories, and that top scientific personnel tend to be concentrated in a small number of countries and at the key academic and research institutions within those countries. It takes a tremendous investment to break into the 'major leagues' of world science and it is unlikely that either China or India will be in a position to make this investment.

This is not to say that these two important countries cannot play a significant scientific role or that science and research cannot help to contribute to national development. Both already play a role and have already used science for development. By focusing on maintaining a scientific base, supporting scientific research and higher education and ensuring that the best scientific personnel do not leave the country, scientific research can be maintained at a reasonable level.[1] By targeting specific areas of science that can contribute to national development and generously supporting these, it may be possible to build up world-class science in a few fields. China and India need to be realistic about their position in the world system of science and technology. Through a recognition of what is, and is not, possible, the best use can be made of indigenous potential. And effective strategies can be developed for functioning in the world scientific system.

There are also distinctions to be made between the development of universities and of ancillary research capacity for internal purposes and involvement in research at the international level. Both countries have built up

large and differentiated academic systems which serve their complex needs. Quality varies, but there are in both countries universities as well as research facilities which approach or meet international standards. Advanced training in universities is necessary for expanding economics. Thus, the positions of these two countries in world research is not an argument for curtailing higher education, although this reality does relate to the research foci of their academic systems. Planning for higher education must take into account the nature of the international knowledge system and the place of the country in that system.

Countries cannot free themselves of the international knowledge system. Both the basic institutional structures of modern higher education and science and the intellectual underpinnings are western in nature and have come to dominate the world. All contemporary universities are based on the western model, regardless of their location.[2] No developing country has made a serious attempt to build a new university model. In the few attempts to break with western universities, such as during the Cultural Revolution in China in the 1960s, higher education basically stopped. Further, the scientific communications networks—journals, data bases and the like—are also western in orientation and control.

This discussion has relevance to developing countries generally, since all have seen higher education as an important part of nation building and many have stressed research as a part of the function of higher education. The points made in this essay apply to all developing countries, since all face similar problems in their efforts to build up scientific capacity and to work in the context of the world knowledge system. Indeed, most will find it even more difficult to develop scientific capacity on a much smaller population and resource base than China or India. Different developing countries face varying circumstances and their higher education and scientific development will be determined in considerable part by these realities. Many countries, such as most in sub-Saharan Africa, will find it impossible to build up a research infrastructure that can function at international levels and universities will need to adjust to this reality. Others, such as the newly industrialising countries of east Asia, have the financial and personnel resources to build up a research base in selected areas.[3] Adjusting to the realities of the international knowledge system is not solely a matter of the developing countries. Small industrialised nations or those which are outside of the mainstream must also take these factors into account. Norway, for example, despite its high per capita income, must adjust its educational and scientific priorities to fit its relationships to the international knowledge system—Norwegian scholars often obtain their advanced degrees in

other countries and use English as the language of scientific communication —and sometimes of teaching. The experiences of the largest and best developed of the third world nations—China and India—provide important lessons for other countries.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to discuss the international knowledge system in detail, but it is important to focus on some of the key elements of the system as they affect China and India.[4] By international knowledge system, we mean the people and institutions that create knowledge and the structures that communicate knowledge worldwide. There are, of course, many different kinds of knowledge. Our focus is on scientific knowledge that is based on research and which tends to be circulated internationally. This knowledge is both basic in that it relates to the advancement of the scientific disciplines and applied as it is used for technological and industrial products and innovations. While the natural, engineering and bio-medical sciences are perhaps most central, we are also concerned with the social sciences and even the humanities. The knowledge system affects all of the scholarly disciplines as well as applied fields. We are less concerned here with the important areas of indigenous science and scholarship. Fields such as religious studies, domestic history, music and art have strong local roots and are much less dependent on external forces, but even these fields often look abroad for the latest methodological trends or for the approval of scholars in the west.

The international knowledge system is complex and unequal. The means of knowledge production and distribution are both centralised. The bulk of the world's R and D expenditures are made by a small number of industrialised countries. Developing nations, including China and India, account for under 10 per cent of the world total. The US, the European Community and Japan dominate. Russia (the former Soviet Union), at one time a significant research power, is no longer much involved in research at the international level. Both basic and applied research are dominated by the major industrialised countries. Basic science depends on funding from governmental sources, the existence of a large and well trained academic scientific community based in universities (or in a very few cases government-sponsored research laboratories) and a competitive scientific culture that stresses research productivity for career advancement and prestige. Increasingly, basic science requires expensive laboratories with the most up to date equipment and access to libraries and data bases. Only the large, research-oriented universities in the industrialised countries offer these resources. Further, new interdisciplinary or subdisciplinary specialties are increasingly at the frontiers of science, and these tend to emerge in

large and well equipped academic institutions. Basic science also depends increasingly in networking—the personal and professional contacts that are helpful to scientific advancement. Being at the centre of scientific development is crucial to involvement in these informal networks.

The scientific communications system is also centralised and dominated by the major research producing nations. A few examples will indicate the elements of this network. While there are between 60,000 and 1,00,000 scientific journals world-wide, only about 3,000 are indexed by the Institute for Scientific Information (IS1), which keeps track of significant, internationally circulated science. Most of these influential journals appear in the major international scientific languages—predominantly English and to a lesser extent French and perhaps German and Spanish. These are the publications that communicate the major discoveries in the scientific disciplines, that are read by scholars and scientists throughout the world, and that are cited by other scholars. Most of them are edited by senior scholars in the US, Britain, and to a lesser extent Canada or Australia. These editors are the 'gatekeepers' of science.[5] The norms and paradigms that are influential in the academic and scientific systems of the US and the major industrialised countries dominate the world. Scholars in other parts of the world with different orientations find it difficult to get published in the major international journals. Journals from other parts of the world are not often circulated internationally. The publishing system for books is quite similar. The major publishers and editors are located in the industrialised world, as are the main markets for books (as well as journals). English dominates international scholarly publishing. The most recent innovations in scientific communications, data bases and information networks, are also located in the major industrialised nations. The major scientific producing nations own the data networks, control what goes into them, and manufacture the hardware and software that permits these systems to work.

It is clear that developing countries are at a particular disadvantage. Not only are their scientific systems generally small and poorly equipped, but they do not have easy access to the communications networks. They are, at best, consumers of knowledge. And it is often difficult even to obtain access to needed information because it is too expensive or utilises hi-tech networks that third world nations do not have readily available. Third world scholars may not be able to write easily in English and may not know the latest fashions in science or scholarship. Thus, they tend to be excluded from the top journals and are not part of the 'invisible college' of science that works through personal contacts, international conferences, seminars and the like.[6] It is in this context of inequality and scarcity that even countries as large and powerful as India and China must function.

India and China both have large and relatively productive academic and scientific systems. Both have taken science and higher education seriously. Both see science and higher education as important to national development and both desire to build research capability and to harness it to technology and industry. Each country exhibits many similarities and some significant differences. It is important to discuss the nature of the academic and scientific systems of these two important countries. Together, China and India constitute close to one-third of the total population of the globe. This, in itself, is a significant factor because they are key consumers of scientific knowledge. Both countries have large and growing academic scientific systems.

China and India show some important similarities. Both countries have made a significant commitment to higher education, but both enrol on a small proportion of the relevant age group. India enrols about 5 per cent of the relevant age group, while about 1 per cent attend post-secondary institutions in China (4 per cent of the secondary school graduating cohort). This compares to around 50 per cent in the US, 35 per cent in Japan and around 20 to 25 per cent in western Europe. However, in the context of developing countries, both India and China enrol a relatively high proportion of the age groups—many countries in Africa, for example, have only 1 or 2 per cent of the age groups in post secondary education, although Latin America educates a much higher percentage as do most of the rapidly developing economics of the pacific rim.

India has approximately 140 universities and 7,000 colleges, India also have a large number of specialised post-secondary institutions, such as the internationally recognised Indian Institutes of Technology, several Institutes of Management, the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and others. India's higher education is highly differentiated, with the quality of teaching and research high at some of the apex universities and specialised academic and research institutions. However, the bulk of undergraduate students in India's 7,000 colleges receive instruction that is well below international norms. India also has a network of government funded research facilities in a range of disciplines, from atomic energy to coal technology.[7] In addition, Indian private industry has sponsored a few research laboratories in several fields such as silk technology and pharmaceuticals. In some fields, such as computer software development, India has a large and sophisticated research apparatus, both in some of the universities and research institutes and in the private sector. India also claims one *of* the world's largest scientific communities including researchers and post-secondary level teachers. It is often said that India ranks third in the world in terms of the number of scientists, after the US and Russia.

China similarly has a large, differentiated and complex academic and research system. China has 1,024 colleges, universities and other full-time institutions of higher education. More than half of this number are visages of engineering and colleges of education. Only 4 per cent are comprehensive universities, which have the highest prestige. There are two million undergraduates and 1,13,000 graduate students in institutions of post-secondary education and there are 189 doctoral granting universities.[8] Like India. China's higher education system is highly differentiated, with a large number of institutions sponsored by provinces, cities or other local authorities which are often of poor or moderate quality and a small number *of* 'key point' universities, generally sponsored by the central governments, at the top of the system. In addition, China has a significant number of research institutions in a variety *of* fields, some of which function at international levels of excellence. While Chinese science is much less visible internationally than Indian science, China has a large and active scientific community and a significant number of scientific journals.[9] Chinese scientists have produced nuclear weapons and satellites. Except during the period of the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, China has emphasised scientific research and higher education as a part of its plans for modernisation and development.

There are also some significant differences in the academic and scientific development of these two countries. India has permitted market forces and the private sector (although with considerable state subsidy) to determine the rate of growth of higher education. The large majority of Indian students attend private colleges which are subsidised by public funds and controlled to an extent by public authority. The Indian academic system has grown steady, at a rate of close to 10 per cent annually for more than three decades and efforts to control growth by government authority have largely failed.[10] Most agree that academic standards for the majority of students have declined in recent decades. There are massive problems of educated unemployment. China, on the other hand, has tightly controlled higher education expansion. During several periods, most notably the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, expansion was stopped. Indeed, at that time the entire academic system was closed for almost a decade, with disastrous consequences for higher education and research. Higher education in China has been rigidly planned by the central government although the situation is now changing to some extent and provinces are playing a more active role in higher education development. It may be significant that the majority of college and university students focus on the social sciences and humanities in India (despite significant unemployment of graduates in these fields)

while China's planned academic development has emphasised engineering and science—and recently the study of management, with a modest proportion in the social sciences.

While the legacy of foreign influences and colonialism is significant in both countries, the specific impacts have been quite different. The modern academic and research systems of both countries have western roots although both have rich ancient cultural and educational traditions. China's early academic development was influenced by western missionaries and by modest efforts by the government to build a few universities. The language of instruction was Chinese, for the most part, and the institutional models were American, German, French and Japanese. China's higher education development went through a number of quite distinct disjointed phases, with significant disruptions during the war with Japan during the 1930s and 40s and then during the struggle between the Nationalists and Communists which culminated in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1950. During the first phase of Communist rule, the Soviet academic and scientific model was introduced into China, displacing other influences.[11] This was followed by the break with the Soviet Union and the Cultural Revolution. Since around 1970s, China has again been open to western academic influences.[12]

India, in contrast, was under British colonial rule for two centuries, achieving independence approximately at the same time as China's revolution.[13] India's academic development proceeded without the disruptions that characterised China's. The British imposed an academic model and the English language as the main medium of instruction and scholarship.[14] The colonial language and the colonial academic models remain, with some significant modifications, as the main features of the Indian academic system to the present. India's academic and intellectual ties have always been with the English-speaking western countries, especially Britain and, in recent years the US. India's academic journals and books are published in English.

While China's academic life has, since 1950, not only been tightly controlled in terms of academic growth and development but in terms of research foci and intellectual and ideological trends, India, in contrast, has had a significant measure of academic freedom and consistent contacts with the outside world. India's scientists and scholars, at least in the major universities and research laboratories, have long been a part of the international scientific community. Chinese academics have had much less contact with the outside world, limited by the constraints of language, government policy and funds.

Large numbers of students and scholars from China and India have studied abroad—mainly in the industrialised nations of the west. Many remained overseas while others returned home. In both cases, these foreign educated Indians and Chinese have had a profound influence on the two countries. Foreign study is by no means a recent phenomenon. Students began going abroad in large numbers in the 19th century and foreign returned individuals played a great role in creating modern China and India. One need only mention Sun Vat-sen and Chou En-lai as examples of Chinese who studied overseas and profoundly influenced modern China. Jawaharlal Nehru, B R Ambedkar and many other Indians also studied overseas, mostly but not exclusively in England. It should be noted that these returnees do not only bring foreign ideas back, they also reinterpret their own culture and society. For half a century, India has been one of the main 'sending' countries among the developing nations. India has been among the top five countries sending students to the US since the 1950s—it is likely that 2,00,000 Indians have earned academic degrees in the US and probably a similar number in other countries over the past 40 years.

China's foreign study experience has been somewhat different. Prior to the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in 1950, the large majority of Chinese students studied in the west or in Japan. Between 1950 and the mid-1960s, most Chinese students went to the Soviet Union—and the total numbers also decreased. After the Sino-Soviet split, the Soviet Union was no longer open to Chinese students. When China cut itself off from the outside world during the Cultural Revolution, virtually no students went abroad to study. However, beginning in the mid-1970s, when China committed itself to the 'four modernisations' and reopened the universities, students began studying abroad in unprecedented numbers. By the late 1980s, more than 25,000 students from China were studying in the US, with perhaps an equal number enroled in all other countries.[13] As is the case for India, a significant number of Chinese students have not returned home after completing their degrees.

Foreign scholars are also of considerable importance in the process of knowledge transfer and intellectual contacts. A large number of established scholars from China and India have visited western countries and Japan and have returned with ideas and orientations influenced by their sojourns abroad. For example, more than 10,000 scholars from China were in the US in the early 1990s and about 60,000 from India. Typically, foreign scholars are established academics who remain abroad for varying periods—from a few months to several years—to pursue research. Many are sponsored by universities or other agencies in the industrialised nations (such as the

Fulbright programme in the US of the DA AD [German Academic Exchange Service] in Germany).

What is important about foreign students and scholars in the context of this discussion of the academic and scientific development of China and India is that this very large group of individuals is profoundly influenced by their experiences abroad. They learn about science, research and scholarship in the industrialised countries and bring this knowledge back with them. Their orientations to science and scholarship is shaped by what they learn abroad. Further, they also frequently are influenced by the academic models, the life styles, and perhaps the products and social ideas of the countries in which they study. Because of their expertise, and sometimes also because of the prestige of a foreign academic degree, these returned students and scholars frequently achieve positions of leadership in science, higher education, the arts and sometimes in politics or business. All of this is inevitable. The flow of people who have been trained abroad is one element of the continuing set of relationships between China and India on the one hand, and the industrialised nations on the other. There has been a significant 'brain drain' from both China and India over the years. In one sense, this talent has been lost for the economic and social development of these countries. On the other hand, these populations serve as a point of contact and of interpreting ideas and practices.

Significant number of Chinese and Indians live outside of India and the PRC. These populations are an important point of contact between India and China and the industrialised world. The full extent of Chinese and Indian populations living in the west is not clear, but they number in millions and many occupy positions in science, education and the professions.[16] The number of Chinese and Indians holding academic posts in American universities is large—probably numbering more than 10,000. Many of these scientists and scholars maintain contacts with colleagues in the country of origin and they frequently work in these countries.[17] They serve as consultants, visiting professors, and they participate in conferences. In India, these people are called 'Non Resident Indians (NRI)' and they constitute an important source of investment, knowledge and contacts with the industrialised world. Similar populations of Chinese play the same role.[18]

There are also populations of Chinese and Indians settled in other parts of the world and these groups also play a role. Chinese living in Hong Kong and Taiwan, technically parts of China but not currently under the jurisdiction of the Peoples Republic of China, are of special importance. They are a source of knowledge, investment and contacts with the west and Japan.

The economies as well as the scientific and academic systems of these two areas are also of importance to China in the long run. Other Chinese populations living in countries such as Singapore and Malaysia may also play a role. There are also established Indian populations settled in such regions as south east Asia, east Africa and even Guyana in Latin America but these are less important in terms of India's international relationships.

Chinese and Indian populations settled abroad are important sources of contact, ideas and relationships with the industrialised nations. Because they understand the home culture and society and because they speak the home language, they have special advantages. And many feel a sense of kinship as well. However, these populations in a sense are a source of continuing peripherally as well because they reinforce the importance of the ideas, products and practices of the industrialised world. They are, rather, serving as point of access for foreign ideas, practices and institutions. They are not, for the most part, reinterpreting Indian or Chinese tradition. From the perspective of this essay, these diasporas serve as a source of continuing peripheriality. Their influence is considerable and very probably it is a positive one in terms of commerce, science and industry. The Chinese and Indian diasporas are among the most important in the world because they are so large, well educated and widely dispersed.

Despite their size and relatively high level of scientific and educational accomplishments, neither India nor China can avoid participating in the world knowledge system. And this participation will necessarily be unequal. The fact is that world science and scholarship will continue to be dominated by the west and Japan for some time to come for the reasons that have been discussed in this essay. This means that even India and China will be to a significant extent peripheral in the world knowledge system. The industrialised nations simply have such large scientific infrastructures and spend so much on R and D that it is not possible for developing countries to catch up. It is not possible to opt out of the system—China tried this during the cultural revolution to its great detriment.

The structural factors that have been discussed here to a very large extent determine the place of a nation in the knowledge system. These factors are not only relevant to low per capita income countries. The wealthy nations of the Arabian Gulf, for example, also face a situation of peripheriality. Their wealth does not permit them to play a central role in world science. In these cases, such as Kuwait and even Saudi Arabia, the problem is one of the size of the scientific and academic communities and the development of a culture of scientific research.[19] liven smaller highly industrialised nations with well established academic traditions, such as Norway or

Finland, find themselves peripheral parts of the world academic system and rely on research initiatives and publication outlets in the larger centres of academic power.

For the foreseeable future, India and China will depend on other countries for charting the basic direction of scientific research, for the means of obtaining information about the latest scientific developments, for training in the most advanced scientific specialities. The basic paradigms of research will take place abroad and will necessarily affect the local scientific community. Scientific products, including the most advanced laboratory equipment, advanced computers and, of course, books and journals will continue to be imported. These products are not designed with China and India in mind nor are they priced so that countries with a low per capita income can easily afford them. Training in some advanced scientific fields will also take place abroad. These are some of the elements of peripherally that will continue to affect science and higher education in China and India.

Nevertheless, these two important countries have already achieved a level of scientific and academic independence and they can continue to build on established strength and, by careful allocation of resources, achieve many of their academic and R and D goats. Indeed, in some areas, both countries have already made impressive progress, sometimes against major obstacle. Both countries have built up a significant capacity in military-related research and production so that both possess nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them. While Chinese and Indian technology in these areas does not meet world standards, it seems adequate for the purposes and it has apparently been mostly developed indigenously.[20] This example is relevant for our broader discussion because it exemplifies the challenges, the opportunities and the problems of targeted research. Both countries have invested considerable sums in military and nuclear R and D. They have, despite considerable problems and a lack of co-operation from the international scientific community, been able to build up capacity in this applied area.

China and India have the capacity to target specific areas of research for priority development. India has, for example, achieved considerable progress in computer technology at all levels, from basic research building on India's long and distinguished research tradition in mathematics and in applied areas such as software development. Significantly, Indian scientists work closely with colleagues abroad and are very much part of the international scientific community. Indians working abroad in this field, especially in the US, have contributed significantly to India's development in computer science. These non-resident Indians have even invested in the Indian

computer industry and have encouraged direct collaboration between firms in the US and those in India. They have even helped to build up an Indian Silicon valley in Bangalore as a centre for R and D in computer science and in applied computer applications. Much of the initiative for this development has come from the private sector, but the Indian government has also assisted by making research funds available and in stressing the importance of targeted R and D in this field. The late prime minister Rajiv Gandhi had a special interest in applied R and D generally and in computer technology in particular. There are other examples of successful targeting of research and the application of this research to development. India's successful 'green revolution' dramatically improved agricultural production in the 1970s. This was done by a combination of using and sometimes adapting research developed in other countries, especially in this case by the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines, applying this research to local needs in Indian scientific institutions and then disseminating information and providing resources for the use of the new technologies. Similar examples can be provided for China.

A strategy that is available to China and India is to target specific areas for intensive R and D investment. These areas are generally in fields that can directly benefit the economy and which build on strengths that already exist in the country. The strategy requires a co-ordinated effort that includes the academic and research communities, the targeted industries or agencies, and the ability to ensure that R and D can be translated into applied products, innovations or developments. However, it is also necessary to support a capacity for basic research as well because applied research cannot be built on a basis where there is no scientific community or infrastructures. Several of the Asian newly industrialising countries have successfully targeted applied research areas and have used these to support economic growth. Taiwan's support for a science-based industrial part at Hsinchu and the links between several universities which are involved in the park and the Taiwanese computer industry have yielded considerable success.[21] India has been more successful in building up basic scientific capacity in terms of a large number of scientists working both in the universities and in government laboratories, many under the aegis of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), which is supposed to provide applied research. However, the links between actual industrial and technological productivity and these scientific efforts are often not fully exploited. While China has a significant scientific infrastructure and strong links between research institutions and industrial enterprises, it would seem that highly productive links between research and industry are less common.

It is clear from this discussion that India and China are tied to an international knowledge system which places them at a significant disadvantage and that it is virtually impossible for these two large and educationally well developed third world nations to achieve full parity and independence in this system. It is necessary to recognise the nature of the system and the realities that guide it. Nonetheless, it is possible for China and India, as well as many other third world countries, to carefully assess their scientific strengths and to build on them. It is appropriate to conclude this discussion with several ideas that may be useful to these two third world scientific superpowers as they contemplate the use of R and D for development:

(a) Scientific links and co-operation between China and India may significantly strengthen both countries. Political differences have kept them apart for many years but, with the end of the cold war and other changes, it may be possible for these two countries to work together in areas of mutual scientific interest.

(b) Ensuring that at least a segment of the university system is at international levels of teaching, research and scholarship is crucial because applied R and D must have a base in domestic science Careful choices of institutions, fields and foci can be made.

(c) Decentralisation of decision-making may be useful, especially in countries as large and complex as China and India. Initiative at the state or provincial levels, perhaps supported by central government funding, may yield results. Careful coordination between enterprises and academic and scientific institutions may be easier and more effective at a more decentralised level.

(d) At the same time that many decisions are decentralised, it may be useful, at the national or perhaps regional levels, to target specific areas for R and D development. Even countries as large as China and India cannot be scientifically strong in every field.

(e) Cultivating the scientific diaspora is of importance because these scientists can be linked to the home country productively.

(f) Long-term linkages with academic and scientific institutions in other countries may be helpful in maintaining international contacts and access to the most current innovations and knowledge. These linkages may be largely in the west and Japan, but in some instances could be in the NICs.

(g) Policies that encourage multinational companies with manufacturing or commercial facilities in the country to do some of their R and D in the country as well can help to build up infrastructures and provide current scientific information that will be valuable to local industry. Multinational firms may also be encouraged or in some cases compelled to share some of their technologies.

It is clear that research, development and science are linked not only with the higher education system but also with broader issues of industrial and trade policy, with the place of the country in the international world of science and scholarship' and with ideas about the nature of research and higher education. While both China and India have built up impressive academic systems in the past half-century and they have also made considerable progress in terms of industrial development, they have not thought much about the interrelationships of these elements. Nor have they studied the experiences of each other. The first step is a clear and unemotional understanding of the nature and role of the world knowledge system. After that, it is possible to focus on how a nation which is not at the centre of scientific power can make the best possible use of its own academic and scientific resources. An important part of a successful strategy may be co-operation among countries which are in similar positions.

Notes

*   The author is indebted to Hyaeweol Choi for her comments on an earlier version of this essay.

1.   Erik W Thulstrup, *Improving, the Quality of Research in Developing Country Universities,* Education and Employment Division, Population and Human Resources Department, The World Bank, Washington, DC, 1992.

2.   There are a few non-western academic institutions remaining, such as the AI-A/har in Egypt, but these do not play a key role in modern scientific development.

3.   See Philip G Altbach et al, *Scientific Development and Higher Education: The Case of Newly Industrialising Nations,* Praeger, New York, 1989.

4.   For a complete discussion of the knowledge system, see Philip Ci Altbach, *The Knowledge Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Distribution of Knowledge,* Suny Press, Albany, 1987.

5.   Lewis Coser, 'Publishers as Gatekeepers of Ideas'. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.* 421, September 1975, pp 14–22.

6.   See Diana Crane, *Invisible Colleges Diffusion of Knowledge in Scientific Communities.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972.

7.   For current analysis of Indian higher education, see Suma Chitnis and Philip Ci Altbach (eds), *Higher Education Reform in India: Experience and Perspectives,* Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1993 and Moonis Raza, *Higher Education in India: Retrospect and Prospect,* Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi, 1991.

8.   For a discussion of current developments in Chinese higher education, see Hubert O Brown, 'People's Republic of China' in P G Altbach (ed), *International Higher Education: An Encyclopedia*, Garland Press, New York, 1991, pp 451–66.

9.   Eugene Garfield, 'Science in the Third World', *Science Age,* October November 1983, pp 59–65.

10. Philip G Altbach, 'The Dilemma of Change in Indian Higher Education', *Higher Education,* Vol 26, No 1, 1993 in press.

11. Marianne Bastid, 'Servitude or Liberation?: The Introduction of Foreign Educational Practices and Systems to China from 1840 to the Present' in R Hayhoe and M Bastid (eds), *China's Education and the Industrialised World,* M E Sharpe, Armonk, 1987, pp 3–20.

12. Ronald F Price, 'Convergence or Copying: China and the Soviet Union', ibid, pp 158-83 and Leo A Orleans, 'Soviet Influence on China's Higher Education', ibid, pp 184–98.

13. Jurgen Henze, 'Educational Modernisation as a Search for Higher Efficiency' ibid, pp 252–70.

14. Eric Ashby, *Universities British, Indian, African.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1966. See also Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898 1920,* Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1974.

15. For a detailed discussion of the nuances of foreign contacts and foreign study in the Chinese context, see Ruth Hayhoe, *Chinas Universities and the Open Door,* M E Sharpe, Armonk, 1989.

16. For an interesting general discussion of this theme, see Joel Kotkin. *Tribes How Race, Religion and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy,* Random House, New York, 1993.

17. Hyaeweol Choi, 'Asian Scholars in the United States', unpublished PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1993.

18. Binod Khadna, 'Migration of Human Capital to the United States', *luonnmu and Political Weekly,* August 11, 1990, pp 1784–94.

19. Ali N Alghafis, *Universities in Saudi Arabia: Their Role in Science, Technology and Development.* University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland, 1992 See also H A Al-Ebraheem and R P Stevens, 'Organisation, Management and Academic Problems in the Arab University: 'I he Kuwait University Experience', *Higher Education* 9 (1980), pp 203–21.

20. Not surprisingly, there is little discussion of military related research on her in China or India because of the national security implications involved. These comments are, therefore, based on general observation.

21. H Steve Hsieh, 'University Education and Research in Taiwan' in P G Altbach el al *Scientific Development and Higher Education,* pp 177–213.

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Confucius and the Guru: The Changing Status of the Academic Profession in China and India*

N. Jayaram
Philip G. Altbach

Being late starters in the sphere of modern higher education, developing countries find themselves in a difficult situation: on the one hand, they need to catch up with the rest of the world, particularly the advanced ones in the West; on the other, they confront the inexorable changes wrought by massification and globalization and their ever increasing integration into the world economy. The dilemmas involve serious policy challenges given that a growing proportion of the world's higher education students are located in developing countries: by the mid-1990s, 44 million of the world's 80 million students in higher education were in developing countries—despite the fact that only 6 percent of the population in these countries attained postsecondary degrees, while 26 percent in high-income countries have similar qualifications (Task Force on Higher Education, 2000, p. 111, p. 115). This part of the world is experiencing the highest rate of expansion of higher education.

Established in 1898, modern Chinese higher education has expanded rapidly over the last 100 years. There are now "more than 3,000 universities

and colleges—including 1,225 regular full-time universities and colleges, 686 adult higher education institutions, and 1,202 new private universities and colleges. The system encompasses 13 million students and over 1.45 million staff members, 554,000 of whom are faculty members" (Min, 2004, pp. 53–54). In India, though modern higher education was established as early as in 1857 as part of the British colonial enterprise. At the time of independence (in 1947), however, there were only 20 universities and 496 colleges catering to 241,369 students. During the next 55 years, India built up a massive system of higher education. In 2001–2002, there were 323 university-status institutions (178 state and 18 central universities, 18 medical and 40 agricultural universities, 52 institutions "deemed-to-be universities," 12 institutes of national importance, and 5 institutions established under state legislature acts), 13,150 colleges, and about 900 polytechnics. The system now employs 350,664 teachers and caters to about 8,275,000 students (though estimated to be covering hardly 8 percent of the population in the relevant (17–23) age group) (Jayaram, 2005).

By examining the developments in China and India, the "Asian giants" in higher education (Altbach & Umakoshi 2004), this chapter will discuss the problems and prospects of the professoriate in developing countries. These two countries together account for more than one-third of the world's population. China recently overtook the United States as the country with the highest enrollments, while India ranks in the top five. With their well-developed higher education systems, including some excellent research universities, both countries differ from many developing countries (Altbach, 1998). Conditions China and India share with many other developing countries include the large number of low quality institutions, sometimes difficult conditions for study, and a shortage of funds at all levels. The main focus of this chapter is to explain the changing position of academics in these countries today, and the implications for higher education. This chapter will deal with such issues as constricting employment opportunities, deteriorating career prospects and working conditions, and changing role expectations.

The Changing Context of Higher Education

Both in China and India, and in developing countries generally, higher education has traditionally enjoyed considerable state patronage. However, over the last two decades, higher education has been thrown into a vortex of change, inevitably impacting the academic profession. China has undergone a pronounced shift from a command economy to a market economy (albeit while still within the socialist framework) and from a predominantly bureaucratic culture to a competitive corporate culture. In India, the stimulus

for change has come with the 1990 adoption by the government of structural adjustment reforms influenced by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The structural change in the Chinese higher education system since the 1990s has centered on the large number of state-driven mergers. In 1998, China's 1,022 regular public higher educational institutions enrolled 1,083,600 students. Total enrollments at higher learning institutions, including adult education institutions, amounted to 6,231,000. During 1992–1995, more than 70 public (state-run) institutions merged into 28 universities, and over 100 institutions set up cross-institution consortiums. As of 2000, a total of 612 higher education institutions merged into 250. Operationally, these changes—heavily influenced by Western ethos and practices—have significantly impacted the academic profession, which hitherto carried the stamp of traditional Chinese cultural values and norms. The introduction of the "post system" in academic appointments, in contrast to the existing "title system," represents a case in point. This new system reflects the move from a predominantly bureaucratic to a competitive corporate culture in Chinese higher education.

Another reform of the Chinese higher education—particularly noteworthy, considering the unwavering socialist foundations of the Chinese state—consists of the introduction of *minban* (non-state-run) or private universities and colleges. By the beginning of 2001, about 2000 institutions existed in this new sector in Chinese higher education, though "with a lower level of student enrollments and a less stable faculty" (Chen, 2003, p. 108). The employment and service conditions at these institutions are different from those in the public institutions.

In India, structural adjustment has meant a scaling back of state patronage and a simultaneous privatization of higher education. However, the government itself is confused and has been dithering about the policy to be adopted on this matter. State investment in education in India has always failed to meet the needs of "education for all." Structural adjustment has meant a drastic cut in public expenditure on higher education: between 1980–1990 and 1994–1995, higher education's share of the central government's five-year plan expenditure decreased from 12.6 percent to 6 percent; whereas the same in non-plan expenditure declined only from 14.2 percent to 11 percent (Tilak, 1996). Overall, the allocation for higher education, which had peaked at 28 percent in the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974–1997), has steadily declined in the successive plans to just 8 percent in the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002–07), which is the same as the allocation in the First Five-Year Plan (1951–1956). The annual growth rate of public

expenditure on university and higher education, which was 13.1 percent between 1980–1981 and 1985–1986, fell to 7.8 percent between 1980–1981 and 1995–1996 (Shariff & Ghosh, 2000, p. 1400). Thus, the state, which had hitherto been the dominant partner in funding higher education, is finding it increasingly difficult even to maintain the same level of funding for higher education.

The gradual withdrawal of the state from higher education in India has been accompanied by its inability to address the need for reforms within the conventional higher education. The National Policy on Education (1985) and the Program of Action (1986), and their review by the Acharya Ramamurti Committee (1991) were all pre-structural-adjustment reform initiatives. Neither the phenomenal fall in the demand for conventional graduate courses, nor the remarkable spurt in the demand for courses in such areas as computer science and information technology, biotechnology, and management studies, was anticipated.

The unwillingness and inability of the state to invest in the new areas of education explain the growth of private institutions. These institutions, also referred to as "self-financing institutions," are of uneven quality—ranging from a small number of centers of excellence to roadside teaching-shops. These new entrants to the arena of higher education raise questions of autonomy and accountability (since they do not depend on state funding), on the one hand, and issues concerning teachers (like qualifications and recruitment, career options, pay and working conditions, etc.) on the other. Thus, private initiatives in higher education are fraught with serious implications for the academic profession.

Both in China and India, the general context of higher education has been undergoing change. While in the Chinese case the transition has been regulated, in the Indian case it is one of gradual withdrawal of state patronage in an unregulated market. What do such scenarios mean to the academic profession in the respective countries? What are the conditions and prospects of employment relations for academia?

China: Unfinished Reform and Professorial Uncertainty

Problems of Overstaffing and Understaffing

For almost 50 years, since the beginning of the socialist system of planned economic and social change, teachers were appointed in China under a

"tenure system." Under this system, once hired, academic as well as auxiliary staff were provided with what the Chinese called an "iron rice bowl"—that is, a secure job for life. All teachers received more or less the same salary regardless of their qualifications and contributions. Over the decades, this system of appointment resulted in problems of overstaffing, incompetence, and inefficiency. In 1998, the faculty-student ratio was 1:11.2. While the problem of overstaffing cut across the system of higher education, it concerned with nonteaching or auxiliary staff, rather than the teaching staff.

The problem of overstaffing has worsened with the merger of higher education institutions. The rationale for mergers was to produce economies of scale, delegate more administrative power to the local authorities, and render institutions more comprehensive. "If a smaller, less-renowned institution merges with a larger, prestigious one, the new entity usually takes the name of the latter as well as its standards for faculty appointments" (Chen, 2003, p. 109). Given their generally lower level of competence, with mergers, faculty members from the smaller institutions are obviously placed in a disadvantageous position.

Mergers have also resulted in the downsizing of the professoriate: some positions are eliminated with their corresponding staff and some faculty are retrenched or reassigned or forced to find work at other institutions or in other professions. For example, "After Central Technical Arts College was merged with Tsinghua University in 2000 . . . only 6 of the 12 English teachers at the former were retained in the English Department of Tsinghua University. The rest were forced to find work at other institutions or in other professions" (Chen, 2003, p. 109). It is not surprising, therefore, that while the teachers at smaller institutions are generally unenthusiastic about the mergers, their students welcome it.

While overstaffing exists throughout higher education, almost every institution also suffers from a shortage of competent faculty. The latter has to do with the expansion of higher education, which has accelerated since the early 1990s:

> The number of first-year-students at regular higher learning institutions increased 47.3 percent, from 1.084 million in 1998 to 1.597 million in 1999. Enrollments at adult learning institutions increased 15.7 percent, from 1.001 million to 1.158 million, and the number of graduate students increased 17.6 percent. Total student enrollments doubled between 1990 and 1999. The gross enrollment rate of the 18-to-22 age cohort increased from 3.9 percent in 1992 to 9.1 percent in 1997, to 10 percent in 2000, and is expected to rise to 15 percent in 2005 (Chen, 2003, p. 109).

For the professoriate, the fact that institutions now have more students than they can handle has led to an increase in class-size and workload. Without the help of teaching assistants, the quality of teaching is an obvious casualty. Not surprisingly, most professors follow what the Chinese call the "duck-feeding" method—teachers delivering monologues and students taking down notes passively; a system with minimal interaction between the teacher and the taught. The most acute understaffing is reported in the local vocational and adult learning institutions, which have also experienced rapid expansion during the last decade, and in institutions located in small cities.

Understaffing is compounded not only by relatively low salary levels but also by the lack of opportunities for professional development. As Min notes "while basic salaries of university faculty were comparable to those of other professionals with similar educational qualifications, faculty remuneration was lower because of larger bonuses given to employees in companies, especially in joint venture firms" (2004, p. 75). Many well-qualified, competent faculty members are dissatisfied with their jobs, and tend to leave them as and when they get the opportunity. That is, the professoriate is affected by "brain drain." For the same reasons, teaching does not attract the best talents from universities. In fact, research universities affiliated with the Ministry of Education or other ministries suffer from the same weakness. Furthermore, under the conventional tenure system it is not easy to remove the incompetent teachers either.

The laws enacted by the State Council determine the qualifications for teaching positions. The Teachers' Qualification Law of 1995 stipulates the minimum qualification of a master's degree for faculty below the age of 40. In fact, the qualification levels of teachers are still low: in 1999, only 5.4 percent of faculty held a doctoral degree, and 24 percent, a master's degree. The system permits pronounced inbreeding, with senior faculty and administrators tending to employ their own students. Very little mobility exists in the academic profession, which gives the many underqualified teachers who entered a low-salary but high-security jobs little incentive to work hard. Many of these staff have retired or have been pushed out in the process of modernization.

From "Title System" to "Post System"

Recognizing the importance of quality higher education in a rapidly globalizing world, the Chinese government has embarked upon a program of

reform in structure and orientation. The main objective of this reform is to make the system of higher education internationally competitive, and the strategy is to raise the quality of the faculty. Now at the experimental stage, once the program of reform is implemented across the institutions of higher education, it will have profound impact on the professoriate. While the Chinese government and the ruling elite have the power to implement the reform, their commitment to systemic and sustained reform remains an open question.

A hallmark of higher education reform in China, signifying a radical change in the system of recruitment for academic profession, has been the implementation of a "post system" in place of the conventional "title system" of tenured employment. In 1998, the Ministry of Education introduced the post system of academic appointments on an experimental basis in two universities—Peking University and Tsinghua University. Each of these universities was given a special annual grant of 1.8 billion Yuan or U.S. $ 222 million) for three years. Twenty-five percent of these grants were earmarked for faculty development. Academic positions are divided into three categories (A, B, and C in the descending order), with each category containing three ranks. Above the top category (A) is the special category of internationally known scholars. The rank-related subsidy is predetermined and divided into two parts: only 70 percent is paid to a faculty member each month, and the remaining 30 percent is paid after a faculty review at the end of the year.

Xiangming Chen lists four main objectives of this reform:

> (1) to break away from the "all-tenure" system with its "iron rice bowl syndrome"; (2) to separate one's title from one's rank so that competent people can be hired for the right posts even if they do not have a certain title; (3) to link one's salary with one's post, thus widening the gap between different salary scales; and (4) to downsize the faculty by reassigning surplus people to other jobs (2003, p. 113).

Unless they are competent enough, no teachers, including full professors, will be selected for the category they desire. Thus, teachers who are not competent enough will get only the basic salary for their title and no subsidy. The performance appraisal of teachers also has a provision for punitive action for nonperformers, and three professors at the prestigious Tsinghua University were reportedly dismissed because of negative student evaluations and "poor performance."

Since 2000, the post system has been implemented in other universities including Fudan University and Shanghai Transport University. Shandong

Agriculture University abolished the title system, and the savings resulting from expenses earlier incurred on superfluous personnel were diverted to increase the support for faculty with posts.

The post system and the associated rank-related subsidies are reportedly motivating the faculty to work harder than under the former title system. It is also expected to enhance to the professional development of the faculty and commitment to their work and institution. Considering the generally low basic salaries under the title system, the financial position of teachers with proven qualifications and capabilities has steadily improved. This has been a welcome development considering that the cost of living has risen over the decades, whereas the rise in the basic salary has not been commensurate.

However, for the vast majority of the teachers, who are by and large less qualified and less competent, this reform has meant closed doors. Their salaries being low and the cost of living rising, many of them are forced to look for additional jobs outside the university. Those who have been laid off due to downsizing resulting from the introduction of the post system have reached the end of the road. Of course, the downsizing has affected the administrators, auxiliary staff, and Party officials more than faculty members. For the university leadership, the reassignment of surplus staff and faculty has been a great challenge.

As noted earlier, attracting competent people and improving faculty capabilities have been on the agenda of reform. The Ministry of Education, other ministries, and institutions have carried out several recruitment campaigns. Awards, both in kind and in cash, have been instituted to improve the competence levels of the faculty. Opportunities for advanced study and research are being extended to competent faculty. Model programs—such as the 3-T (top talents, top university set up, and top scientific achievement) initiative of Shanghai 2nd Medical University—have been instituted. Even overseas teachers have been invited to teach and do research in some Chinese universities.

The Growing Private Sector

These reforms in higher education have all addressed the public universities. Besides the public sector, China now has a rapidly growing private sector in higher education that is entirely financed by nongovernmental sources. Since the early 1990s about 2,000 private institutions have been established mostly in the "practical fields of study." While the Ministry of Education oversees the establishment of private higher education institutions, it

prescribes no hard and fast rules about the number, title, ranks, or salary of the faculty.

Accordingly, private higher educational institutions offer a different model for faculty appointments, namely, the contract system. Teachers are appointed on contract for a given term, usually one year. In some cases full-time teachers are hired on monthly contracts or are paid by the hour. Part-time teachers are as a rule paid by the hour. Faculties at these institutions, irrespective of their specific contractual appointments, are generally not provided with additional benefits to their salary. Even so, the faculty salaries at private institutions are higher than those in their public counterparts.

It must be noted that a majority of the faculty at private institutions are part-time appointments. These institutions tend to hire as full-time teachers retired professors from public universities. Moreover, except for the few institutions accredited by the Ministry of Education, private institutions do not provide opportunities for promotion. These institutions maintain high teacher-student ratios. The teachers find themselves required to help the institutions with multiple tasks like accounting, counseling, etc., in addition to teaching.

Continuity and Change

The reform measures in higher education, no doubt, produce some positive consequences. The efficiency and effectiveness of teaching and research have improved. The criteria for appointment and promotion have become more fair and transparent than before. Apparently, however, while the old problems are being solved or dealt with, new ones emerge. The persistence of the mentality associated with the old title system causes dissatisfaction and resentment among faculty, who now feel deprived by the reforms. Tensions have also arisen among different institutions—as, for example, between prestigious research universities (such as Peking University or Tsinghua University) and less-well-known universities and institutions. Obviously, prestigious institutions have a competitive edge over the others.

The fact that the program of reform draws on Western ethos and practices raises questions about its compatibility with traditional Chinese cultural norms. In a country where traditional culture advocates "peace, harmony and contentedness," the new system, premised upon competitive efficiency, has engendered social tensions. The new system, which has introduced ranks and pecuniary differences among faculty, contradicts the idea of "social justice" hitherto emphasized by the socialist ideology. Realizing the adverse implications of such tensions, attempts, both formal and informal, are being made to contain them.

The size and diversity of China's higher education system make it difficult to generalize about the academic profession. This chapter examines mostly academics in the relatively high-prestige sector of an increasingly differentiated academic system. This discussion focuses less attention on the large number of academic staff, many with only bachelor's degrees, who are teaching in provincial institutions, or on the many part-time teachers. This chapter also does not point out some of the basic realities of many universities, including limited academic freedom, especially in the social sciences, and a governance system that gives limited power and autonomy to the professoriate.

In China, rapid expansion of higher education, a desire by the Chinese government to improve the qualifications of academic staff, growing institutional diversity, and accountability-based management are all creating a changing environment and increased pressure on the academic profession.

India: The Declining Profession

Declining Employment Prospects

The unbridled expansion of higher education in India during the 1970s and 1980s, resulted in an unprecedented demand for teachers. Responding to this demand, India has experienced a 16-fold increase in the number of teachers in higher education over five decades; the total number now stands at 321,000. This development does not, however, is indicate a state of healthy growth, strength, or vitality of the academic profession. Not only has the prospect of employment as a college or university teacher diminished, but security of employment, once taken for granted in the academic profession, is also becoming more problematic. As early as 1983, the National Commission on Teachers (1985) found that only 70.7 percent of university teaching staff and 68.5 percent of college teachers enjoyed permanent employment with all statutory benefits. Other faculty and staff constitute either "temporary" (with no guarantee of continuation) or ad hoc (appointed as a leave replacement for a short period of time) lecturers. New categories of teachers such as "part-time" lecturers (who teach for a specified number of teaching hours per week) and "guest" lecturers (who help the college or department "to complete portions of the syllabus") have been added. Such teachers are paid on an hourly basis, and they do not enjoy the other privileges that accompany a permanent or even a temporary or an ad hoc appointment.

The decline of employment prospects in the academic profession relates to the combined effect of structural adjustment reforms and the market forces operating within higher education. The expansion of conventional arts and sciences courses seems to have outstripped the demand for them by students, with some colleges (most Indian first-degree students study at colleges affiliated to a university) facing a severe decline in enrollments. For some private colleges assisted by grant-in-aid from the government, it has even become difficult to find workloads for teachers in these fields.

Most state governments have imposed an embargo on the recruitment of teachers. This has meant a freeze on the establishment of state-supported colleges, a downsizing in the number of permanent teachers at existing colleges, and most effective use of resources by redeploying teachers through a policy of transfers. In addition, most state governments have also introduced "voluntary retirement schemes" (giving incentives to teachers to retire from permanent service before they reach the compulsory retirement age). State governments are contemplating lowering the retirement age for college and university teachers. Not surprisingly, temporary part-time teachers have become a standard feature of higher education in India.

The downsizing of the academic profession through freezing of recruitment, redeployment of excess staff, appointment of guest lecturers, etc. is now a pan-Indian phenomenon. Moreover, this trend is not confined to the conventional liberal arts and sciences colleges but has affected some technical education institutions too. However, in such fields as computer science, information technology, and biotechnology, where the expansion has been most rapid, there is a dearth of qualified teachers. Medical education suffers from the most acute teacher shortage.

The bulk of the teaching community, however, is engaged in general education. Employment opportunities here have almost dried up, and those seeking entry into the profession have been employed on a part-time or ad hoc basis. That existing teachers find it difficult to get adequate workloads does not augur well for the academic profession. State policies of downsizing the profession will likely adversely impact the already low morale and commitment of teachers.

Traditionally, a preserve of the higher social strata, the academic profession has enjoyed a prestigious reputation. However, the rapid expansion of higher education, combined with state policy of protective discrimination, has altered the social profile of the profession. A significant proportion of the candidates belong to the scheduled castes (former untouchables and related groups), scheduled tribes, and other backward classes (the traditionally disadvantaged sections of the population identified for special

benefits and concessions). The new entrants into the academic profession, in many cases the first generation in their caste and community groups to have acquired postgraduate qualifications, basically lack exposure to the cultural moorings of the profession and are confused about the ethos of a profession in decline. Women still constitute only about one-fourth of the teachers in higher education, although in some fields in the humanities and social sciences their numbers are much higher, and lag behind in academic leadership roles.

Parochialism and inbreeding have become integral practices in higher education. Educational institutions run by minority religious communities have always shown preference for candidates belonging to their own religion or sect, and similarly those dominated by particular caste groups have shown bias in favor of their caste fellows. Universities and state governments also prefer candidates from their own geographical region. In fact, the adoption of the state language as the medium of instruction in many colleges and universities precludes eligible candidates from outside a given state.

The University Grants Commission (UGC), the national government's main funding and regulatory agency for higher education, supports inter-institutional mobility of teachers to help infuse fresh blood into a system that would otherwise become stagnant and induce cross-fertilization among the different institutions. While inbreeding inhibits mobility, other impediments exist. Moving from one institution to another reduces one's chances of promotion, which discourages lecturers and readers from leaving the institution in which they are working. State government regulations covering teachers' retirement benefits are rigid, making senior teachers wary of moving out of the state in which they are working.

Deficient Professional Preparation

Studies on college teachers have invariably emphasized the sad deficiency of academic preparation of the people entering the profession and their declining commitment to it. This lack of qualification no doubt has a lot to do with the deplorable standards of master's and doctoral level education. For decades most master's degree holders easily found employment at colleges, or even at universities, with absolutely no training in or orientation to teaching, and with doubtful aptitude for that vocation.

To ensure proficiency in the subject and aptitude for teaching or research on the part of candidates aspiring to become teachers, the UGC

introduced the scheme of the National Eligibility Test (NET). Many state governments have been permitted by the UGC to conduct a State Eligibility Test, which is treated as equivalent to the NET. As a screening mechanism, the NET is a step in the right direction. Despite these efforts, standards of post-baccalaureate education remain generally low. Professions such as architecture, law, and medicine require their prospective recruits to undergo a specified period of internship. Even a high school teacher needs to obtain the bachelor of education degree. To become a lecturer at a college or university, however, no prior training or experience is necessary.

While this anomaly is recognized by many, educators do not agree as to the additional qualifications that should be required for entry into the academic profession. Insistence on a research degree (Ph.D. or M.Phil.) has become counterproductive. The rush for enrollment in doctoral programs, following the UGC's decision in the 1970s to make a Ph.D. the minimum qualification, has resulted in a deterioration of the quality of doctoral research at universities.

Regardless of the importance of qualifications and screening at the point of entry into the profession, the need for postinduction training and periodical professional enhancement can hardly be exaggerated. Starting in 1987, the UGC established at least one Academic Staff College (ASC) in each state with the mandate to improve standards of teaching through "orientation courses" (focusing on pedagogy and social relevance of education, for young lecturers) and "refresher courses" (providing up-to-date information on the content of various disciplines, for senior lecturers).

The ASCs conducted programs to orient the new entrants into the profession and improve the knowledge and skills of those already in it. To instill a sense of seriousness, an element of compulsion has also been introduced: Those entering the profession are required to attend an orientation course before they complete their probation. Professionals in service must attend two refresher courses to become eligible for career advancement or promotion. As with all initiatives carrying a compulsory element, the original objectives underlying the establishment of ASCs are lost and the courses have been ritualized.

The dwindling recruitment to permanent posts at universities and colleges has reduced the enthusiasm for orientation courses. However, the situation concerning refresher courses differs given the large number of teachers seeking career advancement and the ASC's facilities are limited. To meet the demand for such courses, the UGC has been providing grants to departments at universities without ASCs to organize refresher courses. In addition to the ASC refresher courses, university departments and disciplinary

associations have organized "self-financed" courses. Most refresher courses, whether they are organized by the ASCs or university departments (UGC-sponsored or self-financed), are conducted as a formality and they generally lack the advanced academic orientation expected of them.

Besides the ASCs, the UGC established the College Science Improvement Program and the College Social Science and Humanities Improvement Program to enhance the quality of teachers. Permanent teachers desirous of acquiring doctoral qualifications receive paid leave for two or three years under the Faculty Improvement Program (FIP). Teachers interested in pursuing research are offered grants for minor and major research projects. Financial assistance is extended to teachers to attend seminars, symposia, and workshops. Promising young teachers with a research proclivity are offered funds under the Career Award Scheme, and the renowned among senior teachers are given National Associateship.

While they are expected to improve the quality of teaching and thereby benefit students, these human resource development schemes do not seem to have yielded the expected results. Most teachers do not avail themselves of the opportunities for professional development. Even those teachers who have made use of the FIP or other facilities have at best obtained only a research degree, but not implemented their advanced training in the classroom. Some teachers who have participated in the FIP are reported to have spent time on activities other than research. Similar complaints have been raised about the provision of sabbatical leave for university teachers. Not surprisingly, the UGC has now become more restrictive in awarding FIP fellowships.

Career Prospects and Working Conditions

While professional development and teaching performance have seldom concerned teachers or their associations, the issues of salary, career prospects and service conditions have always ranked high on their agenda. In fact, the teachers have often blamed inadequate salaries and unattractive career prospects for the deterioration in the status of the academic profession. In absolute terms, if not in relative terms, with the revised pay package promulgated by the UGC in 1998, teachers obtained the best deal ever, especially considering the nature and extent of their workload and the little accountability that is demanded of them. While the UGC pay package has been accepted in principle across the country, significant variations exist in its implementation by different states.

The academic profession has traditionally been pyramidal in structure, with more lecturers than readers and more readers than professors. This has meant that irrespective of the academic achievements and professional development, after a specified span of service, the teaching faculty were destined to stagnate. To offer opportunities for vertical mobility to teachers at multiple stages in their career, the UGC has incorporated a career-advancement scheme based on the professional development of teachers. While this scheme is well thought out, its implementation cannot be taken for granted, especially considering the failure of the unsuccessful merit promotion scheme that has been ended.

The UGC pay package fixed the retirement age for university and college teachers at 62. While the UGC is categorical that "no extension in service should be given," it has allowed the universities the option to re-employ a superannuated teacher up to age of 65 years in certain cases. However, only the central universities (those directly funded by the national government) have accepted the recommendation to set the retirement age at 62. State governments have retained the existing retirement age (58 for college academic staff and 60 for university academic staff), as they fear that it would lead to agitation by government employees demanding a similar revision of the retirement age. Given the growing unemployment rate among the educated, it would be indefensible for any state government to raise the retirement age. More important, when state governments have meager resources for higher education and are consciously pursuing a policy of downsizing the number of teachers (including through early retirement incentives), raising the retirement age would be unthinkable.

The UGC's new pay package also set the number of teaching days and the workload of teachers. A minimum of 180 "actual teaching days" per year has been stipulated for universities and colleges. Universities are to devote 72 days and colleges 60 days for admission formalities and the evaluation of students. The workload of full-time teachers has been fixed at not less than 40 hours a week for 30 working weeks (180 teaching days) in an academic year. Of these, 16 hours of direct teaching have been set for lecturers and 14 hours for readers and professors.

These regulations have received unenthusiastic acceptance by the academic profession and based on past experience are sure to be observed more in theory than in practice. For instance, university and college calendars formally include the official number of "working weeks" and "teaching days" and the stipulated duration of vacations. However, in connivance with their teachers unions, some universities have cleverly introduced midterm holidays called as "breaks" rather than "vacations." There is little accountability

with regard to the required number of teaching days. With delayed admissions, innumerable official and unofficial holidays, and strikes by students, teachers and the nonteaching staff, the loss of working days is quite high.

State governments imposed specific workloads on grant-in-aid colleges to ensure that teachers will have a certain number of "direct teaching" hours—a policy necessary for downsizing the number of teachers and redeploying or firing excess teaching staff. Fearing downsizing of staff, however, some university departments have inflated the workloads, by creating dummy timetables.

Whether the number of direct teaching hours (16 hours per week for lecturers and 14 hours for readers and professors) is a pedagogically sound norm does not seem to concern the academic profession or the UGC. Of concern, instead, area the issues of teacher truancy and absenteeism, since rather than regularly teaching the classes allotted to them, many teachers are not even on site at the institution for the stipulated five hours a day. Attempts by concerned vice-chancellors, principals, and department heads to police teachers have not yielded the desired results.

Performance Appraisal

Evaluation of the performance of its members is sadly lacking in the academic profession. Traditionally, the quality of teaching has not been a criterion for teachers to be recognized and rewarded. In practice, promotions seem based almost exclusively on seniority in service. The lack of objective indicators of performance may well undermine the effectiveness of a career advancement scheme.

Some states (e.g., Karnataka) have instituted annual "best teacher" awards, although they provide little motivation or incentives to improve teachers' performance. It is true that good performance by the students in the examination may provide some credit (and satisfaction) to teachers, either directly or indirectly. However, poor student performance is seldom used as a basis to admonish or punish teachers. Except at a few top universities and the Indian Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management, peer review or student evaluations of teachers is virtually non-existent in most colleges and university departments. Any proposal for such forms of review or evaluation would be vehemently opposed by teachers unions.

The National Policy on Education envisaged the creation of an open, participative, and objective system of teacher evaluation. It even

contemplated laying down "norms of accountability," "with incentives for good performance and disincentives for non-performance." Subsequently, the UGC announced a format for "self appraisal" by teachers, both at the time of entry into the profession and annually thereafter. However, this process has either not been initiated or has been perfunctory. In response, the UGC has now made "consistently satisfactory performance appraisal reports" mandatory for career advancement.

Academic Autonomy and Professional Organization

Barring a few rare exceptions, academic autonomy is reasonably secure in India. In fact, the instances of teachers abusing it are plenty, and these take many forms, such as non-performance of role obligations (teaching and research), resisting change in curriculum and pedagogy, indulging in mal-practice in evaluation, and others. This calls for governmental intervention, just as it raises the question of professional obligation of teachers.

Private tutoring by college teachers is one issue that has attracted criti-cal attention of governmental authorities and members of the public alike. The rise of "shadow education" conducted through "coaching classes" is closely related to the falling standards of formal education. With the exist-ing colleges being unable to teach effectively and the students wanting to sharpen their competitive edge, private tuition has become a vital supple-ment to classroom instruction and is thriving. Since teachers involved in coaching classes are, by and large, formally employed in colleges on a full-time basis, private tuition raises the question of professional ethics.

The UGC has always been critical of the college and university teachers engaging private tutoring, but has not been able to do anything about it. State governments have been ambivalent about private tutoring: while in principle, they are opposed to it, some states have introduced special coach-ing classes for students belonging to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes. Others have issued administrative orders ban-ning private tuition and coaching classes, but find it impossible to imple-ment the ban. Teachers' organizations are silent over the whole issue.

After a prolonged period of political apathy, the teaching community has been gradually politicized. This trend started in the mid-1970s. That this politicization coincided with the decline of the profession is a matter of concern. It is not that academia has become an arena of party politics or ide-ological battles, though in some universities even this has happened. Rather, "the politics of scarcity" has more direct bearing on the academic profes-sion now than ever before, and is the main motivating force for professorial

militancy. To date, however, teachers' unions have not been especially effective in improving conditions for the academic profession.

Practically every university has one or more teachers' unions, euphemistically called organizations or associations, to distinguish themselves from the working class trade unions. The growth in the number of such unions does not necessarily denote a healthy development for the profession. There has been fragmentation of organizations and often conflicts among them. Such a proliferation of teachers' unions through a process of fragmentation and segmentation has weakened the teachers' movement and hindered their professionalization. Studies on unionization of teachers have revealed that it "does not necessarily ensure their collegial participation or promote professionalization among them" (Jayaram 1992: 161–162).

Teachers' unions are generally weak. Even the All India Federation of University and College Teachers Organizations (AIFUCTO) does not command the mass support it once did. Given the middle class focus on working conditions, salary is the only issue on which teachers can be mobilized. On a closer review it appears that whatever strength teachers' unions manifest is not due to any intrinsic qualities, but due to the soft attitude of the government toward them. It is amazing that even when teachers go on prolonged strikes, the principle of "no work, no pay" has seldom been applied to them.

The pattern of agitation by teachers is by now well established: It consists of protest rallies, mass or relay hunger strikes, marching to chief/education minister's house, abstention from work, and finally the boycott examination work. Going by how the government has dealt with strikes by much stronger unions of employees in the telecommunication, postal, insurance and banking sectors during the last few years, teachers cannot take the material success of their strike for granted. Let alone an all India agitation, even state level agitations are running out of steam.

The Decline of the Professoriate

With the structural adjustment reforms and liberalization of the economy, the state is gradually shedding its responsibility for higher education. The UGC has been virtually reduced to a mere fund-disbursing agency, incapable of enforcing its own recommendations. Educationally, the Indian university system has progressively become marginalized. Being outside the purview of the UGC and to a large extent, of the state governments, the emerging private educational sector may be more successful, but it is too early to assess this.

The decline of the academic profession which was noticed over a quarter of a century ago is now almost complete (Shils, 1969). Entering the profession with no prior professional preparation other than a postgraduate degree, assured of tenure, doing unchallenging work without much accountability, teachers in colleges and universities have been largely reduced to the lowest common denominator. Every laudable policy to improve the situation has been merely ritualized. It is true that the situation is better in some centers of excellence, the institutions of national importance, and a few university departments and colleges. They are, however, drops in an ocean of mediocrity.

Ironically, the improvements in pay scales and career prospects have come at a time when the profession is at a low ebb. Teachers are largely happy with the pay package, but they are also worried about the gradual withdrawal of state support for higher education. In the meantime, both politicians and the general population have the general view that college and university teachers are a pampered lot, probably being paid more than they are worth. Without question, the profession of the guru has fallen from its pedestal.

Conclusion: The Professoriate at a Crossroads

In both China and India the academic profession is in an uncertain transitory phase. In China the academic profession is caught between the push and the pull of a state-centered socialist ideology and the old bureaucratic controls on one hand, and the socialist market economy and the new corporate culture, on the other. The professoriate in China faces the challenge of deciding what to keep and what to discard from its traditions, what to adopt and what to modify from the trends of modernity from the West, and how to decentralize an excessively centralized system without creating chaos. In India, with the state gradually withdrawing from the sphere of higher education and dithering about long-term policy, the academic profession faces an uncertain future.

In China, reform measures for public universities and the new private sector in education have brought about greater academic autonomy, attention to quality, and increased transparency in the career advancement of teachers, though the old forces of central planning and official interference are still at work. In India, the partial loss of traditional job security has been accompanied by the diminishment of academic autonomy. In both China and India, there is an increased emphasis on quality, something that was

largely ignored under systems of state control and patronage. The emphasis on quality should at least partially be credited to market forces and the internationalization of higher education.

Note

*   In preparing this chapter, we have drawn heavily on Chen (2003), Jayaram (2003), and Min (2004).

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34

The Giants Awake: Higher Education Systems in China and India*

Philip G. Altbach

With India and China aiming to build more sophisticated economies, both countries are giving priority to higher education to produce highly educated personnel and high quality research. This paper makes a comparative assessment of the development of the higher education system in the two countries, the challenges being faced and what the future holds for both countries. China has made considerable progress with its top institutions and India has illustrated with the Indian Institutes of Technology and a few other institutions that high standards are possible. Yet, the problem of quality, and the related issues of whether the graduates are qualified for the labour market, remain. It seems that China and India will, at the least, not see significant reform in the overall academic quality of higher education. An effective quality-assurance system can help to ensure standards, but neither country has such a system in place currently capable of overall supervision. The systems will probably become more stratified, with a small number of research universities at the top and very large numbers of fairly unselective colleges and universities at the bottom.

China and India, which together have a third of the world's population and are two of the most rapidly growing economies, are awakening to the significance of higher education for technological development and for the global knowledge economy. The economic realities

of China and India's rapid growth are affecting the world, from increased demand for natural resources to their roles as exporters of products of all kinds, a pattern that will continue regardless of the current economic slow-down. A growing impact of these countries is in higher education; their higher education systems are already among the world's largest; and they are major exporters of students to other countries. This trend is likely to grow in the future, as these countries expand and improve their higher education systems. Although the booms of China and India have been fuelled in the main by cheap labour and inexpensive low-end manufacturing, the situation is changing, and the economic future of both countries depends on a better-educated workforce. Universities are central in the race to provide respective workforces with skills to make them competitive in the global knowledge system.

Both countries realise that higher education is key to development and recognise the necessity to expand their higher education systems and to build some world-class research universities at the top of a differentiated system. India educates approximately 10% of its university-age population, while China enrols about 22%. China is now number one in enrol-ments, with more than 27 million. India's 13 million enrolment ranks third. Both countries have been expanding rapidly in recent years. Since the early 1990s, China's post-secondary enrolments have grown from 5 million to 27 million, while India has expanded from 5 million to 13 million (Agarwal 2009; OECD 2007b) (Figure 1, p 40). Perhaps one-third of the world's 100 million post-secondary students are in Chinese and Indian institutions of higher education.

Significant quality problems exist in less-selective colleges and universities in both countries. Many of India's impressive number of engineering graduates, up to 75% according to a McKinsey report, are too poorly educated to function effectively in the economy without additional on-the-job training (Jha 2009; Surowiecki 2007). Part of China's growing problem of graduate unemployment is related to the qualifications of some students.

Higher education comprises a policy priority in both countries. China has for almost two decades been engaged in a significant upgrade in the quality of its top universities as well as in a major expansion of enrolments in all higher education sectors. While India has for decades recognised the importance of expanding higher education access and improving quality, only quite recently have significant resources been allocated, with the Knowledge Commission's higher education recommendations of 2006 and more recent government commitments (Tilak 2007). Current plans, for example, call for expanding the number of top-tier higher education institutions (Agarwal 2009).
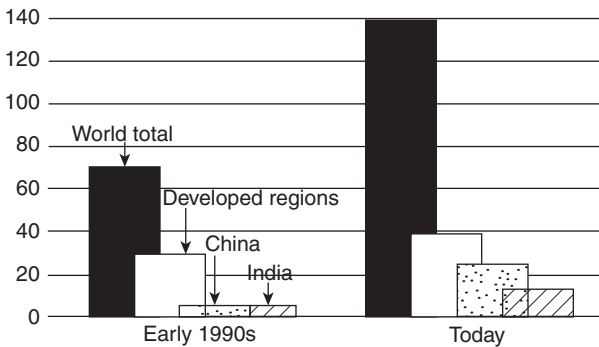
Figure 1. Number of Higher Education Students in the Early 1990s and Today (in millions)

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics; Agarwal 2009; OECD 2007b.

Envisioning higher education prospects for China and India for two decades or more is highly problematical (Li, Whalley, Zhang and Zhao 2008). Current data, for example, often lack accuracy or availability, making generalisations about the contemporary situation difficult. Future developments depend on the macro-economic, social, and political trends, and these are less easy to envisage than is the case for most Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries.

Basic stability and consistent policy orientations for higher education, while reasonably clear as seen from today's perspective, cannot be predicted with great certainty into the coming decades for either country. In a way, China today may be seen as too stable while India as perhaps overly unstable. India's relatively open political system may permit it more flexibility in coping with adversity, but it could fail to produce practical solutions or imaginative plans to improve higher education. China's state planning apparatus has developed higher education impressively, especially at the top of the system, but may lack flexibility. Both may be buffeted by internal forces or regional and global changes more profoundly than many parts of the world. The past shows that China is capable of dramatic and sometimes unpredictable policy shifts. India, constantly debating new directions, changes gradually and often without clear planning.

The future of higher education policy in both countries depends to a significant degree on several factors. Demand relates to the continuing expansion of the middle class—the population group with the most motivation to educate its children for social mobility and participation in the

modem economy—that has the resources to pay tuition and other fees and educational qualifications for admission. Other population groups have an interest in higher education access as well, but the middle class is the largest force, has dramatically expanded in recent years, and is likely to continue to grow. While estimates vary considerably, many experts agree that the Indian middle class now numbers more than 50 million, and China's is similarly large. Some estimates predict that by 2025, each country will have a middle class of perhaps 500 million. A significant number of these large groups will demand access to higher education, creating huge strains on the system. Government policy regarding funding higher education and supporting research universities and the elite sector of the system is a key factor shaping higher education prospects. Without question, as both countries join the ranks of the world's major economies, they will recognise the importance of world-class universities so as to compete globally. China has already moved to create and sustain an elite academic sector. India is beginning to grapple with this issue.

A Difficult History

For higher education systems, history plays a role in the present. For both China and India, the academic past has created difficult and problematical results for the present—and likely the future. In common with all of the world's higher education systems, both inherited the western academic model (Ben-David and Zloczower 1962). Both countries have largely not taken advantage of their extraordinarily rich indigenous intellectual and academic traditions. China, after all, invented national examinations with the Confucian examinations used for several millennia to choose civil servants and advanced institutions to train people for these tests. India had some of the world's oldest universities, such as Nalanda in Bihar. These academic traditions predated western universities by more than a thousand years. However, these ancient academic institutions and traditions have little salience today.

In the 19th century, forward-looking Chinese recognised the need to modernise so as to compete with the west and develop economically. Western academic models were chosen—through a small number of European-style universities established in the late 19th century along China's east coast in areas controlled by European powers (Hayhoe 1999). Peking University was established with American assistance and the support of the waning imperial government. Christian religious organisations worked actively in China at the time and established several universities.

Thus, by the time that the imperial system was overthrown in 1911, a small number of western-style universities existed, and many Chinese had been educated in the west and in Japan.

While the new republic moved to strengthen the existing universities and establish more institutions, civil war, economic disruption, and Japanese invasion prevented much progress from being made. At the time of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, in 1949, the higher education system was small and weak. The entire higher education system in China had only 205 universities, mostly concentrated on the east coast and in Beijing and a few other large cities, and a total of 1,16,504 students (Hayhoe 1999). The new communist regime looked to the Soviet Union for academic leadership and reorganised higher education in the Soviet model, by splitting up many of the existing universities into smaller specialised and vocationally oriented institutions in most cases linked to operational ministries. Soviet-style research academies were established separate from the universities. Normal academic development was frequently disrupted. Academic freedom was limited and the emergence of an effective academic profession hindered. Few Chinese students or scholars gained an opportunity to study abroad, and those who had a chance were limited to the Soviet Union and the eastern European socialist countries.

The most severe disruption came with the Cultural Revolution, of 1966 to 1976, which closed the entire higher education system, sent many professors and students to rural areas to work, and destroyed a generation of academics. Few countries have suffered such a dramatic academic cataclysm. With the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 and the subsequent opening of China to the world, the universities were reopened and efforts were made to look to the west for academic guidance. Chinese students were able to study abroad. Universities were permitted to look abroad for new academic ideas and were given funds to re-establish themselves. The Soviet pattern of highly specialised vocational institutions was in part dismantled. Political control was loosened as well. By the 1990s, as China's economic boom began, the university system was poised to expand.

India was a British colony for more than two centuries, ending with independence in 1947, and this experience shaped higher education and continues to influence it. The British did not give much support to higher education in their colonies. Higher education first expanded mainly due to the initiative of the growing middle class in the mid-19th century and recognition by the British that an educated civil service was needed to administer India. In 1857, the first universities were founded in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The Indian colleges and universities were British in

organisation. These institutions, teaching exclusively in English, displaced the few traditional schools left, which simply withered and died. Higher education was based on an organisational pattern where the universities constituted examining bodies more than teaching institutions. Most of the teaching took place in undergraduate colleges affiliated to the universities; examinations and curriculum were by and large controlled by the universities. This structure enabled centralised control over the colleges. A small number of British academics were recruited to teach and lead the universities and colleges. Indians had an opportunity to study in Britain, and most returned home to serve in the administration, including in the colleges and universities. Moreover, many became involved in nationalist organisations that eventually played a leading role in bringing independence to India (Basu 1974).

From the early 19th century, almost all higher education in India was entirely in English; no Indian language was used for instruction or examination. The curriculum was largely limited to fields useful to the administration and to India's emerging professional classes—such as law, the social sciences, and related fields. While the academic system remained quite small—at the time of independence with 3,69,000 students studying in 27 universities and 695 colleges (Agarwal 2009)—it succeeded in educating a cadre of graduates who provided the leadership of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and, later, Bangladesh. As late as 1961, only 1.5% of the relevant age group participated in post-secondary education (Agarwal 2009). There was little research capacity at India's colleges and universities at the time of independence, as the British had not been interested in spending money on research there; and since higher education was in English, more than 90% of the Indian population was excluded from access. India's higher education system at the time of independence was small, highly bureaucratised, restrictive on academic freedom, provided in a language most Indians did not understand, and had a restricted curriculum.

Despite many reports and much criticism, higher education expanded between independence and the end of the 20th century although there were few structural changes. Enrolments expanded from little more than 1,00,000 in 1950 to 9 million by the end of the century (Agarwal 2009). Annual growth sometimes was 10%. Most observers agree that overall quality declined and that the basic structure of the system remained quite similar to the colonial system inherited from the British (Kaul 1974).

The university arrangements inherited by both countries in the mid-20th century were not helpful for the development of an effective higher education system. In the following years, China made many changes in its

universities, but most followed Soviet patterns, and the actions were not effective in building universities that could compete internationally or serve the needs of China's modernisation. India, on the other hand, expanded higher education slowly in the years of independence and more rapidly later but made few structural changes. As a result, universities were less than effective in meeting the needs of Indian society.

Contemporary Characteristics

Both countries emerged into the mid-20th century with somewhat dysfunctional academic organisations. The Soviet model, which China followed after 1950, dismantled many of the comprehensive universities into smaller specialised institutions attached to the relevant operational ministries rather than the Ministry of Education. These smaller institutions were, for the most part, narrowly vocational and did not do much research. Research was mainly in the hands of the institutes of the academies of science that were divided by discipline or field and were not part of the university system. The dual Chinese administrative structure that continues to the present time has been questioned in terms of its academic effectiveness. Each academic institution has an academic administration headed by a rector or president and a Communist Party administration headed by a party secretary or executive vice president. It was only after the Cultural Revolution that the specialised institutions were slowly reintegrated into universities. While the academies still exist, they are in some cases linked with universities. The partial bifurcation between teaching and research continues to be a problem in China (Min 2004).

India's post-independence academic system was inherited from the British. The universities, to which almost all of the 700 undergraduate colleges were affiliated, were mainly examining bodies, with small post-baccalaureate programmes. These colleges, generally small with around 500 students, were affiliated to universities that determined the curriculum, set and administered examinations, guided admissions, and awarded degrees. The undergraduate colleges possessed little autonomy. This affiliating system, although much criticised, continues to the present. There are not more than 18,000 undergraduate colleges. A few of the universities were single-campus "unitary" institutions without affiliated colleges, and these resembled academic institutions in the west with undergraduate and graduate as well as professional degree programmes. A few research organisations in specialised fields do advanced basic research in some scientific disciplines.

While much has been added to the Indian higher education establishment, little has changed in the basic structure of the universities (Jayaram 2004).

All effective mass higher education systems are differentiated by function and often by funding sources and other variables. Most include a private sector as well. Typically, differentiated academic systems are characterised by a hierarchy of institutions, with highly selective elite research-intensive universities at the top, comprehensive universities in the middle, and an array of less-selective and often non-baccalaureate colleges at the bottom. An array of specialised institutions also compose part of the system. The elite sector typically enrols only a small proportion of the students and is, disproportionately, generously funded. Except in the United States and Japan, almost all elite universities are public.

China has moved consciously toward a differentiated academic system, having so far paid special attention to the top of the system, especially to the 150 or so research universities that are the responsibility of the central government. Most of China's approximately 1,700 universities are funded by and responsible to the provincial governments and in some instances to municipal authorities. These universities tend to be in the middle and toward the bottom of the academic hierarchy. There is currently a move to expand the non-baccalaureate sector in ways fairly similar to American community colleges. The emerging private sector tends to be at the bottom of the hierarchy. While China has not formally developed a coherent and articulated academic system with clearly defined missions and variable patterns of funding, it seems that such a system is emerging. It is likely in the coming decades that a clearly articulated and differentiated academic system will develop with input from both the central government and the provinces.

India does not have a coherent differentiated academic system and as of 2009 has not identified a strategy for moving toward a system approach. India has a widely respected small elite sector of specialised academic institutions, most notably the Indian Institutes of Technology, now numbering 13. The government recently announced that it will establish an additional eight Indian Institutes of Technology and seven Indian Institutes of Management, along with 30 new research-oriented central universities, 10 National Institutes of Technology, two Indian Institutes of Science, and 1,000 new polytechnics (*The Hindu* 2008). The bulk of the Indian higher education system, however, is undifferentiated. The 380 universities, mostly under the jurisdiction of Indian states, which have primary responsibility for education in India's federal system, are largely undifferentiated. The 24 universities under the control of the central government tend to be

somewhat better funded, and of higher quality than the rest, but there is no clear differentiation among the universities. India has a total of more than 18,000 post-secondary institutions—more than 17,000 of these are colleges offering mainly undergraduate degrees (Agarwal 2009). There is no differentiation among the colleges, although a few have taken advantage of legislation that permits high-quality colleges to separate from their sponsoring universities and offer their own autonomous degrees. These colleges are recognised as more prestigious than the rest. There are also a variety of other kinds of post-secondary institutions. Oddly named, "deemed" universities are university-level institutions, mostly specialised, recognised by the University Grants Commission, a central government agency, and thus have degree-granting authority. Additional technical institutions are recognised and evaluated by the All-India Council of Technical Education, another central government agency. India has not as yet attempted to define a coherent and differentiated academic system. The variety of institutions, sponsorship, and jurisdiction make the emergence of a system very unlikely under current circumstances.

If this description is confusing, it is because academe has grown without planning in response to massification and the need for new kinds of institutions to serve an expanding economy. Responsibility for higher education is divided among several agencies in the central government, the states (which have different policies and perspectives), an increasingly powerful private sector, and occasionally the courts. Over the years, efforts to reform higher education have sidestepped the traditional universities and rather have added new institutions alongside them. The Indian Institutes of Technology were established in this way. There is no formal division of responsibility for access or research (Jayaram 2004).

Governance

While building an effective academic system is a necessity, so too is the effective governance and management within academic institutions. Both countries face challenges in the internal governance of universities and other post-secondary institutions. Because of reasons as diverse as colonial history or a tradition of overweening bureaucracy and current political realities, these countries have academic governance arrangements that are in some ways dysfunctional. There is general agreement that the most effective universities have a combination of self-governance and autonomy, on the one hand, and appropriate accountability to external constituencies

and professional management, on the other. Neither China nor India has much self-governance. Academic institutions at all levels are subject to extraordinary bureaucratic controls, often imposed by government.

In the Indian case, the undergraduate colleges affiliated to universities are in general dominated by university rules and regulations and have little scope for autonomous decision-making. The large majority of the universities that are controlled by the state governments are in general tightly controlled by them. Political interference with academic decisions, from hiring academic staff to creating new programmes, is widespread. The newer private universities have less external controls although their governing boards are often directly involved in the day to day management of the institution. Amity University near Delhi and Symbiosis in Pune are examples of newer private universities.

China's unique combination of academic and political governance arrangements, with an academically selected president and an executive vice president chosen by the Communist Party, sometimes creates administrative tension and certainly reduces self-governance by the academic community. China has in recent years been looking toward an American-style academic leadership model. The top universities have been strengthening academic leadership, especially in the office of the president, and have been trying to give more authority to department chairs and other senior administrators and to implement a faculty responsibility system that includes accountability for research and teaching (Min 2004).

Both countries have yet to establish academic governance arrangements for their universities that maximise the decision-making input of the professoriate. Both countries have kept highly bureaucratic governance arrangements.

Funding

Both countries face significant challenges in funding their rapidly expanding higher education systems (Agarwal 2009; OECD 2007b). While the two have experienced rapid economic growth in recent years—10% or higher GDP expansion—they remain developing economies. China, in 2008 had a per capita purchasing power parity income of $5,370, while India's was $2,740 (World Bank 2008). In both countries, increasing tuition costs in both public and private sector institutions has shifted a growing burden for funding higher education to students and their families. Neither country contains an adequate system of grants or loans to ensure equal access to

higher education, although both have some financial aid programmes in place and have made efforts to provide access for poor students and students from disadvantaged populations.

Public funding for higher education comes from a variety of sources and there seems to be relatively little coordination among them. In both countries, the bulk of funding emerges from the state and provincial governments, which have a large measure of autonomy relating to the amounts spent on higher education and how allocations are made. Some states and provinces prioritise higher education, while others do not. The central authorities in China and India are mainly concerned with funding the top tier of universities and ensuring that research is appropriately supported. China provided much more funding to the research universities in part through the 985 and 211 central government-funded support programmes—approximately 150 universities have participated in these key projects. The top universities also receive funding from local and provincial authorities. For example, the Shanghai government has provided resources to its research universities, as have other cities and provinces. The Indian government, largely through the University Grants Commission, sponsors 20 universities and provides funding for innovative programmes university-based research, and to some other institutions.

Calculating private funding for higher education in China and India is quite difficult. Both countries have growing private higher education sectors, and public universities all charge tuition fees to students. Indeed, in India the large majority of students study in private colleges, some of which have public support from the state governments and a growing number that are "unaided" and have no public support. There are also 11, as of 2007, fully private universities that receive no government funding. Tuition levels vary in the private sector and are in some cases regulated by government authorities. The situation in China is similarly complicated. The *min ban* private universities and colleges are quite diverse in purpose and role. A small number are recognised by government authorities to grant degrees. All are dependent on tuition, and costs vary. Many Chinese public universities sponsor affiliated semi-private branches or other degree-offering programmes that are not state funded and charge higher tuition. These programmes are intended, in part, to provide needed revenues for their sponsoring universities as well as to increase access. Some critics have accused them for having low academic standards and a controversy has risen relating to the degrees offered.

There is universal agreement that the funding provided by public sources for higher education in China and India, as is the case worldwide,

is inadequate in meeting demands for both quality and access. India spends 0.37% and China 0.6% of GDP on post-secondary education—both under expenditures for other emerging economies and well under the 1% or more spent by developed countries.

China and India as International Higher Education Players

In very significant ways, both countries loom large on the international higher education scene and will become much more central in the future. Currently, their importance is largely unrelated to their own policies but results from the exodus of students and professionals to the west and elsewhere since the 1970s. China and India are the top two exporters of students and have been so for the past two decades. In 2008, approximately 2,00,000 Indians and 8,92,000 Chinese were studying abroad; these numbers constituted close to half of the world's total of international students (Agarwal 2008). Regardless of enrolment expansion, the two countries are likely to remain at the top of the export lists in the coming decades for several reasons. The main reasons, in India particularly but also in China, consist of the insufficient number of places in elite universities for the brightest students. The prestige of a foreign degree from a top western university has considerable cachet. An insufficient number of places in the academic systems exist for the expanding numbers of students seeking entry, and an unknown number of young people will seek foreign education as a first step toward emigration (Agarwal 2008; Altbach 2006). For students who do not score at the top of the university entrance or other examinations, obtaining a degree abroad may often be seen as preferable to studying in a less-prestigious local university. The growing middle class in both countries can increasingly afford to send their children abroad. Growing numbers of Chinese and Indians will continue to go abroad for study.

Large numbers—statistics are unavailable—of Chinese and Indian scholars and researchers are working abroad. Probably a majority of these expatriates obtained their doctorates abroad and did not return to their home countries. Some have estimated that, from the 1970s up to 2005, 75 to 80% of Chinese and Indians who obtained their doctorates in the United States did not return home, although many have academic and other relationships with their home countries. According to the Chinese Ministry of Education, 8,15,000 students went abroad to study between 1978 and 2004, and 1,98,000 returned. Statistics for other western countries

are likely similar in terms of nonreturn rates. Since the 1990s, more graduates appear to be returning home due to the improved economic and academic conditions in China and India, and there are deeper relationships between the diasporas and the home country. Both countries have worried about their "brain drains" and have sought, with very limited success, to attract their nationals home.

China has implemented an international education policy since 2000, and India is debating its approach to international higher education. China's multifaceted policy includes aggressive plans to attract international students to China. More than 2,00,000 international students were studying in China in 2007, with three-quarters of them from Asian countries (Figure 2). China awards more than 10,000 scholarships as well. Many Chinese universities have expanded their campus facilities for international students. Chinese universities see hosting international students partly as a way of earning income as well as adding a valuable international dimension to the institution. Government-sponsored Confucius Institutes, now numbering more than 292 with plans for 1,000 by 2025, provide Chinese-language instruction and cultural programmes, mainly on university campuses worldwide.

India's international efforts lag behind those of China. In 2008, approximately 20,000 international students studied in India, most from south Asia, Africa, and from the Indian diaspora. Few Indian universities have either facilities or staff for international students. Some
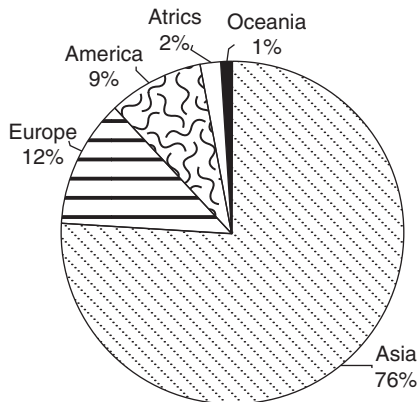
Figure 2. Distribution of International Students in China's Higher Education

Source: The China Scholarship Council 2005.

policymakers see a significant potential for India because much of the higher education system teaches in English. However, without significant investment in infrastructure, as well as a more coherent policy, Indian initiatives are unlikely to succeed (Agarwal 2006).

Of special significance are the respective roles of China and India as regional higher education powers. China is already a key partner with its neighbours in north-east Asia—hosting, for example, 35,000 students from South Korea. India, with south Asia's largest academic system, hosts students and has exchanges with Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Bhutan. Political differences have so far prevented collaboration with Pakistan.

Other countries see China and India as major markets for their higher education initiatives. Foreign involvement is already significant in both countries, and considerable potential for expansion can be envisaged. For example, 11,000 students are studying in China for British academic degrees through various kinds of collaborative arrangements, and 200 British institutions have programmes in China. American academic institutions, such as Johns Hopkins University, the University of Michigan, and many others including numerous small colleges, are also active in China. It is estimated that well over 1,000 foreign academic institutions have some kind of collaborative arrangement in China, including two full-fledged branch campuses of British universities (Fazackerley 2007). At least 150 foreign academic institutions had various kinds of joint-degree or other collaborative arrangements in India, with the largest number (66) from the United States, second largest (59) from Britain (Helms 2008). Most collaborations offer professional programmes. News reports indicate strong international interest in India, and once legislation is in place the pace of collaboration and involvement is likely to increase significantly.

While China has had legislation in place that regulates foreign collaboration since 2003, India is still in the process of implementing rules. The role of independent branch campuses, ownership of institutions, the role of the private and the for-profit sectors, quality assurance for foreign institutions, the role of franchised overseas degree programmes, and other complex issues have proved controversial. A complication in rule making and implementation for both countries are the varying jurisdictions of the central and provincial governments, as well as changing perspectives among policymakers. They seek to maintain control over foreign institutions and programmes on their territories while welcoming international involvement (Helms 2008; Agarwal 2008).

Both countries, because of their size, the scope of the higher education market, the rise of the middle class, and academic potential, are of great

interest to the international academic community. China and India are to play a key international role in higher education—mainly as a source of students and academics and as a place to do higher education "business." This would require both countries to implement transparent policies and regulations concerning foreign collaboration and involvement, in order to protect their own national interests and ensure quality as well as to clarify arrangements for potential overseas partners.

Research Universities

At the pinnacle of any academic system are research universities (Altbach and Balán 2007), which tend to be the link to the international network of science and scholarship, producers of much of the research in the academic system, and educators of the elites for key positions in society. Countries like China and India, with large academic systems and complex and advanced economies that are increasingly knowledge based, would tend to benefit from having a number of research universities that can compete with the top universities worldwide and serve the national academic system and rapidly growing economies. Both countries recognise the need for research universities at the top of the academic systems.

In 2008, neither country constituted an academic powerhouse, although China is moving in that direction. Neither country has a single university in the top 100 of the 2008 Shanghai Jiao Tong University's academic ranking of world universities, which mainly measures research productivity (sjtuihe 2008). China has two (Peking University and Tsinghua University) and India none in the top 100 of the 2008 *Times Higher Education*/QS ranking, which measures academic reputation as well as performance (*Times Higher Education* 2008). Hong Kong, which is part of China but not integrated into the Chinese academic system, has several universities in the top ranks of these league tables. However, both systems have ambitions to join the top ranks of research superpowers.

For historical reasons, China and India have specialised research institutions that are separate from the universities. In the Chinese case, the research academies are part of the Soviet legacy of academic organisation. Most of India's research institutes stem from the pre-independence period. The institutes of the academies of science in China have excellent working conditions and generally higher prestige than the universities, and often attract the best talent. The number of research institutes in India is smaller, and their role is not quite so central. Some of the institutions sponsored by

the Chinese Academy of Science (CAS) and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences offer Master's and doctoral degrees. For example, 30,000 graduate students are enrolled in CAS institutions. Similar institutes in India in some cases offer advanced degrees as well. It is generally concurred as better to have research and teaching in the same institutions, and some efforts have been initiated in China to integrate the institutes with neighbouring universities.

China has a multifaceted programme to build world-class research universities, and well over 20 billion purchasing power parity dollars have been spent on building an elite sector in Chinese higher education. At the core are several strategies. A series of mergers of more specialised universities were implemented in the 1990s to form the basis of some institutions, essentially reestablishing the comprehensive universities that existed prior to the Soviet-style changes in the 1950s. The most important effort included two major initiatives supported by the central government: the 1993 211 Higher Education Project that identified 100 universities for upgrading and establishing them as research-intensive institutions; in 1998, at the time of Peking University's centenary, the 985 project was inaugurated, aimed at creating 40 "world-class" universities in China (Liu 2007; Ma 2007). The 985 project built on China's existing research-oriented universities in all parts of the country but with the predominance in the coastal provinces and in Beijing. Central government funds were provided for infrastructure, including a number of impressive new campuses, and for a range of interdisciplinary centres and other upgrades. Provincial and other authorities gave additional support. For example, the Shanghai government has supported its four 985 project universities, adding resources to those of the central authorities. In some cases, neighbouring universities were merged, new campuses built, and emphasis placed on the research mission. A few additional universities, supported by provincial governments, have also attempted to join the ranks of the research universities.

China's research universities identify with the top world research universities and especially seek to emulate the top American research universities. In this respect, the Academic Ranking of World University—the Shanghai Jiao Tong ranking—emerged from a benchmarking effort of a prominent Chinese university. The 985 project emphasises graduate programmes, interdisciplinary centres, and teaching courses and in some cases entire degree programmes in English, publication in recognised international academic journals, and hiring faculty with international qualifications. The current Ministry of Education policy will not expand the number of 985 universities but will rather further strengthen the existing institutions.

These reforms have had a profound impact on the top level of Chinese higher education. The infusion of funds has permitted impressive new facilities, including some entirely new campuses, to be built. Reorganisation has emphasised interdisciplinary work. Mergers have in some cases created centres of excellence. New organisational structures have strengthened academic productivity and a more effective career structure. The reforms have also diversified the academic system in general and created much greater inequalities between institutions and sectors. The variations in quality, funding, mission and other factors between the top and the middle and bottom of the academic system are much greater than prior to the reforms.

India has no world-class research universities (Jayaram 2007). The global higher education rankings include just a few Indian institutions, mainly the Indian Institutes of Technology, which are not universities but rather small high-quality technology institutions. While a small number of India's 431 universities have excellent research-focused departments and institutes, it is fair to say that few if any can claim overall excellence as research universities. The 25 universities sponsored by the central government tend to be of higher quality than the 230 state universities. Six of the central and 114 of the state universities have affiliated colleges—some 20,667 in all (Ministry of Human Resource Development 2009). The highly regarded Indian Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management and a handful of other specialised institutions are recognised as internationally competitive. The Indian Institutes of Technology, for example, have a total enrolment of around 30,000 combined—more than half at the undergraduate level. But they are all small specialised institutions. Their research productivity, while impressive, is limited by the size and mission of the institutions (Indiresan 2007).

Achilles Heel

The Achilles heel of Indian higher education indeed represents the traditional universities. The state universities, particularly, are characterised by endemic underfunding, political interference, often a significant degree of corruption in academic appointments and sometimes admissions and examinations, and inadequate and ill-maintained facilities (Indiresan 2007). The tremendous burden of supervising the affiliated colleges saps the energy and creativity of most universities. The University of Mumbai, for example, has 364 affiliated colleges, while the University of Calcutta has 170 and Delhi University 83. Although most of the students are located in the undergraduate colleges, the universities are responsible for examinations of

huge numbers—for Mumbai, Calcutta, and Delhi. It is hardly surprising that the few successful reform efforts in the past half-century have bypassed the traditional universities and have established entirely new institutions, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology. The fact is that unless the traditional universities can be reformed and improved, Indian higher education will not be able to progress beyond the excellent periphery of the Indian Institutes of Technology and related mainly specialised institutions.

While many official reports have called for the reform of university and college affiliation, almost nothing has been accomplished in a half-century. Starting with the University Education Commission (Radhakrishnan Commission) in 1948–49 and proceeding to the 1964–66 Education Commission (Kothari Commission), numerous thoughtful recommendations for higher education reform were made, including proposals to foster research universities, "decouple" the colleges from the universities, and many others. A combination of the lack of political will, entrenched academic and at times political interests, a divided political system, and resource constraints have contributed to this gridlock (Jayaram 2007: 74–76).

Current government plans to build new universities do not address the perplexing problems of reform. Initiatives to establish new Indian Institutes of Technology, central universities, technological institutes, and other institutions also do not grapple with the problems of the existing universities, nor do they indicate how these new universities will improve upon the existing organisation or other practices of the existing institutions. Indeed, the beacons of excellence in Indian higher education are likely to continue to be outside the traditional universities. The reformers who established, for example, the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutes of Management, and other innovations all ignored the traditional universities and established new institutions without calling them universities.

China is well on the way to creating world-class research universities and has devoted major resources and considerable planning to them. Significant challenges remain—including building an effective academic culture, academic freedom and other issues—but a very promising start has been made. India remains far from creating globally competitive research universities.

The Academic Profession and Academic Culture

At the centre of any postsecondary institution stands the academic profession. Without well-educated and committed professors, no academic

institutions can be academically successful. China and India, in part because of the scale of their academic systems, face major challenges in developing and sustaining a professoriate capable of providing instruction and leadership. The large number of academics needed for these expanding systems of higher education is unprecedented. Providing training at the doctoral level for a substantial proportion of the academic staff will be difficult to accomplish. Creating and sustaining conditions for academics to do their best work and to retain the "best and brightest" in the profession is also a concern. Finally, establishing an "academic culture" that promotes meritocracy, honesty, and academic freedom is mandatory for a successful academic system.

More than 5,50,000 full-time academics are teaching in Indian colleges and universities and 12,00,000 in China. An additional 3,50,000 part-time instructors work in Chinese higher education and a small but growing number in India. The large majority of academics are teachers of undergraduate students and do little, if any, research. Most academics in both countries do not have a doctorate and some have earned only a bachelor's degree; only 9% have doctorates in China, although 70% hold doctorates in the research universities, and around 35% in India, again with a higher proportion of PhDs in research-oriented university departments. Teaching loads tend to be quite high for those exclusively teaching undergraduates. Conditions for academics in colleges and universities located in rural areas and less-developed regions compare unfavourably with urban institutions. On the other hand, the small minority of academics, probably under 3% of the total, who teach graduate (postgraduate) students and are appointed to research-oriented departments in the better universities, are much better off in terms of remuneration and working conditions. In India, only academics holding positions in university departments and in specialised research institutions are expected to do research. Most, if not all, of these academics have doctoral degrees, often from distinguished universities in the west (Chen 2003).

China and India face special problems because of the size, diversity, and organisation of their academic professions (Chen 2003; Jayaram 2003). Both academic systems have a long tradition of highly bureaucratic university management and major constraints on academic freedom. In the case of India, there was limited academic freedom and great deal of bureaucracy aimed at keeping academics, and students, under control prior to independence (Basu 1974). China has seen a great deal of societal disruption, including the decade-long Cultural Revolution that closed the entire academic system, and frequent policy changes that have affected the academic profession.

Academic freedom is a central issue in both countries, although India can claim a better environment in this area. In India, academic freedom is official policy throughout the academic system. The problem concerns local adherence to its norms. A combination of overweening administrative power, sensitivity to religious and ethnic sensibilities, and some political inference in academic matters affects academic freedom. Despite these constraints, scholars can in general publish without restriction in academic journals or in newspapers or other publications. Violations of academic freedom are more the exception than the rule.

The situation in China differs considerably, although conditions are improving (He 2002). Informal yet widely acknowledged restrictions on academic freedom exist in some fields. Academics, especially in the social sciences and some humanities fields, understand that some areas of research and interpretation are "off limits" and certain kinds of criticism may result in sanctions, including dismissal and on rare occasions prosecution. Academic journals, while providing more leeway than the popular media, exercise some controls over what can be published, and self-censorship is common. As Chinese universities seek to compete globally, academic freedom is becoming more recognised as a necessary part of a world-class university.

An effective academic culture must be free of corruption. Yet, some problems of corruption exist in both countries. In China, the most visible aspects of academic corruption are in the occasional reports of plagiarism and the misuse and at times falsification of data. In some less prestigious universities, there have been reports of bribery for admission or grades. When discovered, offenders are often humiliated and punished. Yet such corruption seems embedded in academe at least to some extent if one can judge from newspaper and internet reports. The problem in India is much more widespread and generic, involving some plagiarism and related misconduct. In addition, academic administrators and sometimes professors practise bribery in the admission of students, falsifying examination results, selling exam questions and answers, and other kinds of malfeasance. Academic corruption, while common, is more serious in some parts of India and in some institutions than it is in others. For example, the elite Indian Institutes of Technology, Indian Institutes of Management, and other top institutions have seen very few cases, while in states such as Bihar or Uttar Pradesh many problems have been reported.

In order to build an effective academic system, the academic profession must be adequately paid and enjoy adequate campus working conditions. In a recent international survey of academic salaries, China and

Country	Salary
Saudi Arabia	6,611
Canada	6,548
United States	5,816
Australia	4,795
New Zealand	4,490
United Kingdom	4,343
Germany	4,333
Japan	4,112
South Africa	4,076
France	3,905
Malaysia	3,107
Argenina	3,054
Colambia	2,826
India	1,547
China	1,182
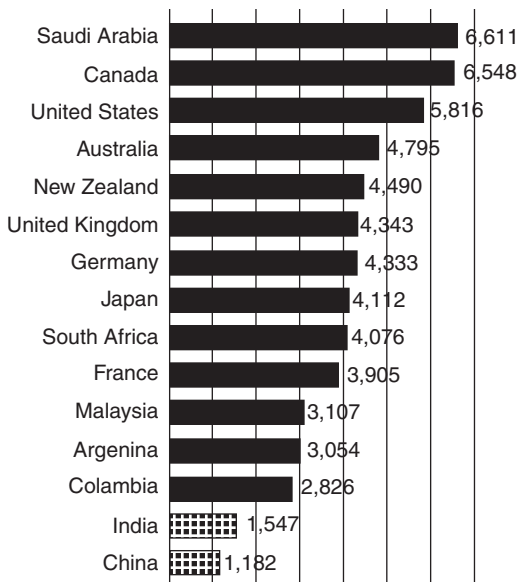
Figure 3. Average Academic Salaries, Selected Countries ($, 2008 Purchasing Power Parity)

Source: Rumbley, Pacheco and Altbach 2008.

India were at the bottom of a group of 15 countries (Rumbley, Pacheco and Altbach 2008) (Figure 3). At an average of $1,182 for China and $1,547 for India, salaries were 25% of us averages and modestly less for most western European salaries yet permitting academics in both countries to live in the middle class of their countries. These comparisons are made on the basis of 2008 purchasing power parity. Further, unlike in many countries, most Chinese and Indian academics acquire full-time appointments. Many were able to earn more income through additional allowances. It is noteworthy that Indian salaries are on average higher than those in China, despite India's lower GDP. Moreover, the Indian government has recently announced plans for a significant salary increase. However, the fact that academic salaries do not compare favourably with the remuneration of similarly educated professionals at home or with academics in the developed countries may mean that many of the best-qualified people choose not to work in universities. The profession may not be able to retain the "best and brightest" in many cases.

Building an academic culture and providing adequate salary and working conditions for the professoriate are crucial for the entire profession, especially important for the top of the academic hierarchy. Indeed, building competitive research universities requires a reasonably well-paid professoriate with working conditions at least somewhat comparable to global standards, since top academics are part of a global labour market (Rumbley, Pacheco, and Altbach 2008). China's top universities have a flexible remuneration policy that can pay top Chinese academics salaries significantly above local norms and in some cases permitting "star" professors to hold part-time appointments abroad. India has no such policies and, as a result, is unable in most cases to attract its best scholars to return home.

The common practice in both countries of hiring one's own graduates for teaching positions, while common in many countries, creates problems for building a productive and independent academic culture. The university's own graduates may not be the best possible candidates for positions, and they have been socialised into the culture of the institution and find it difficult to do their best creative work. They fit too easily into existing departmental and faculty hierarchies. China's top universities have recognised "inbreeding" as a challenge and have put rules into place to stop the practice, but most of the Chinese academic system still uses this hiring practice. Inbreeding is also frequent in India (Jayaram 2003). Undergraduate colleges affiliated to a university generally hire graduates of that university. In some colleges, applicants for academic jobs are expected to provide payment to persons hiring them or to the hiring institution—clearly a corrupt practice.

Both countries have elements of an effective academic culture in some of their top institutions as well as in other parts of the academic system. But the challenge remains to embed a transparent and competitive academic culture to reward merit in hiring and promoting academics up the ranks. Petty corruption persists at some institutions, as do overly bureaucratic controls, formal and informal limitations on academic freedom, the practice of inbreeding, and other problems. These issues hinder creating a world-class academic culture.

Access and Equity Challenges

The population of China exceeded 1.3 billion and that of India 1.1 billion in 2007 (World Bank 2008). One of the greatest challenges to higher education in both countries consists of providing access to the growing

segments of the population demanding post-secondary education. A related issue is providing equity to population groups under-represented in the student population. At present, India is still at the "elite" stage of access, with 10% of the age cohort entering higher education (Trow 2006). The government has recognised the need to expand access to 15% during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007–12) and to 21% by the end of the following plan, in 2017. This expansion would be the largest in India's history and will require a dramatic growth in institutions as well as expenditure. China, already at a 22% participation level, is approaching mass access. It builds from a higher base, but significant expansion will take place as well. In 2005, the minister of education indicated that the participation rate would be 40% by 2020 (Figure 4, p 47). Indeed, the majority of the world's enrolment growth in the coming two decades will take place in just these two countries (Kapur and Crowley 2008).

Both countries recognise the need to focus more on post-secondary education, and they have seen dramatic expansion in the past decade and plan on continued growth in the coming decades. A variety of strategies are evident, and they are similar in both countries. The private sector is a major source of "demand absorption." The countries have permitted the continuing expansion of private institutions, although as noted earlier both are ambivalent about the conditions under which the private sector should function, the role of for-profit institutions, and other topics. For India,
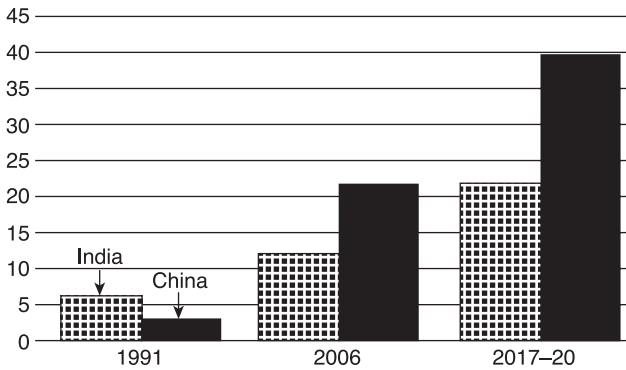
Figure 4. Higher Education Participation in China and India (gross enrolment ratio 1991–2006, official targets for 2017 and 2020) (%)

*Official targets

Source: World Bank 2008; Government of India; Government of China.

"unaided" private colleges and universities are the fastest-growing sector, and in China, a combination of *min ban* (private) institutions and semiprivate offshoots of public universities are absorbing much of the new demand for access.

Not the same issue as access, equity involves higher education for population groups that may be under-represented in the system and includes, depending on the country or region, gender and socio-economic inequalities, rural and urban disparities, and ethnic or other minority groups. The urban and rural divide, both in China and India is immense, with implications for access and equity. In common with many developing countries, a majority of the population lives in rural areas. Even with the dramatic urbanisation in both countries, a substantial majority of the population is still rural, where income, literacy, access to education at all levels, life expectancy, and quality of life measures are all lower than for the urban areas. Access to higher education is dramatically lower, and quality tends to be lower as well.

Equity is in many ways a more difficult challenge than higher education access. Historically, equity has been a major concern of Chinese and Indian government planners. Many of the top universities have regional quotas so that applicants from all over China can get access. In the past few decades, equity has become a less important priority than access. In higher education as in other aspects of the society and economy, the disparity between the affluent coastal areas and the vast interior is significant. Rates of access to higher education in western China are significantly lower than in the coastal provinces and the large cities, as is the overall quality of the universities. Fewer data are available concerning access rates for China's minority groups and disparities according to gender or social class. From the beginning of the People's Republic, China has devoted considerable attention to these inequalities by encouraging expansion of access in western China. In the 1980s, loan programmes were implemented to permit students from poor backgrounds to participate in higher education. However, major inequalities persist. It is possible that the continued prosperity in the high growth regions of the country may raise inequalities, although data are unavailable.

The most controversial issues in Indian higher education include the array of policies aimed at improving access and equity for tribal groups, lower castes, and dalits (a self-designation of the traditional "untouchable" or lower groups in the Hindu caste system). Policies relating to what in India is called "positive discrimination" are politically charged and often the subject of acrimonious debate, legal acrimony, and litigation. Since independence in 1947, positive discrimination, also called reservations, throughout

the public employment system and in higher education in India has meant that dalits and some additional lower castes (known as Other Backward Castes) and tribal groups have proportions of seats in colleges and universities, positions in the civil service, and some other sectors reserved for them. This means that post-secondary institutions are required to hire, and enrol, a fixed percentage of these groups—almost half of the total. While positive discrimination has been a policy of the Indian government for decades, a considerable debate is still under way about both the justification and the effectiveness of the policy. Positive discrimination has been claimed as largely ineffective in raising the status of the groups it is intended to help and a mistaken social policy in a meritocratic society (Mahajan 2007). At the same time, court orders have expanded the scope of the "reservation" system to institutions, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology, where it was not fully in place before. A 2008 government decision mandating that the Indian Institutes of Technology, seen as bastions of meritocracy, must hire professors according to the strictures of the positive discrimination laws has renewed debate about the policy in general.

In many parts of the world, despite years of policy innovation, equity remains a key dilemma and access still of concern for some social groups. For China and India, as well as other countries, access is in some ways the easiest problem to solve. Permitting the expansion of the private sector, various kinds of affirmative action programmes, building post-secondary institutions in remote areas, providing financial incentives to students from dis-advantaged groups, and other policies have helped to varying degrees. But inequality remains a characteristic of higher education systems, and China and India are no exceptions. Their challenges are greater in scale than those facing other countries only because of the large populations and the combination of disadvantages endemic in their societies.

Private Provision

Worldwide, private higher education is the fastest-growing segment of post-secondary education (Altbach 2005). China and India both have significant private higher education sectors, even though China's private higher education sector remains a relatively small part of total enrolments and number of institutions. About 43,00,000 students attend private post-secondary institutions—16,00,000 in private universities, 18,00,000 in second-tier colleges of public universities, and 8,70,000 in other kinds of institutions (China, Ministry of Education 2007). In addition, there is a large private

vocational sector, and many of the private institutions are not authorised to grant degrees. A small number call themselves universities, and a smaller proportion has been awarded the right by the Ministry of Education to offer university degrees. Some of the new private schools are non-profit entities, while others are owned by business enterprises, families, or other arrangements. While accurate statistics concerning the total number of private institutions in all categories—including many that are not authorised to offer degrees—are unavailable, the number is well over 1,000. Permission to establish private higher education institutions has occurred relatively recently, and most private institutions have been in existence for only a decade or two.

Semi-private colleges have also been established. Some Chinese universities, to earn extra income and meet local demand for access, have established private affiliated colleges that have a relationship with the sponsoring university. Classes are taught by regular university staff for the most part. Some problems involve the degrees offered by these affiliated institutions. Many students expected that regular university degrees would be offered, although the actual degrees were not from the sponsoring institution. Conditions of study vary in these affiliated colleges. In some cases, students sit in the same classrooms with regular students, while in others they attend in the evening. In still other cases, the affiliated colleges are entirely different buildings.

In general, the private sector has grown in response to the demand for access to higher education and an interest in some vocational courses that cannot be met by the existing universities. The regulations concerning earning profits from higher education institutions are not entirely clear, and many different arrangements, often far from transparent, seem to be in place. Government agencies try to maintain some quality and fiscal control over the private sector. However regulations change, and the number of institutions have been growing rapidly, problems of management, financial transparency, and quality assurance exist. Nonetheless, the private sector is expanding and is becoming more diversified as a few private universities seek to compete with some of the better Chinese universities. For the present, however, if a student has a choice of enrolling in a public or a private institution, he or she will consistently choose the public institution, not only because of the cost of tuition (much higher at the private schools) but because of prestige as well. A few private universities have partnerships with overseas institutions. This may change in the coming decades as the private sector develops and perhaps partners with overseas universities, but the future is far from clear for the private sector. It is now a visible part of

the Chinese higher education landscape and will likely expand to meet growing enrolment demand.

The situation in India is immensely more complicated (Gupta, Levy and Powar 2008). Technically speaking, most Indian undergraduate students study in private colleges; perhaps 95% of these institutions are managed by private agencies such as religious organisations, cultural agencies, philanthropic groups, and others. Many, however, receive significant funds from government sources. These colleges are called "aided" institutions. Other colleges may receive no funding from government. These include many medical colleges (medicine is an undergraduate subject in India). Almost all are affiliated to universities.

A small number of private universities have been approved by state or central government authorities to offer degrees. These institutions do not receive any government funding and rely on tuition and in some cases philanthropic donations for funding. In addition, there are private specialised post-secondary institutions, mainly business schools. Some have degree-awarding authority while others offer only certificates because they lack government degree-granting approval. Almost all are financed by tuition payments.

Several of the older private universities have achieved considerable respect. The Birla Institute of Technology and Science, established in the 1900s and upgraded to "deemed university" status in 1964, is one of the top institutions in the country. Manipal University, founded in 1953 as a medical school, now has 24 colleges and 80,000 students in many disciplines and branches in Nepal, Malaysia, Dubai, and the Caribbean. Several of India's large corporations are in the process of starting universities, among them Reliance Industries, Mahindra and Mahindra, and the Vedanta Group. They are stimulated, among other things, by a recognition that many of India's existing universities are of low quality.

The growth of the private sector in India has been dramatic. Currently, 43% of the institutions and 30% of student enrolments are in private unaided institutions (Agarwal 2009: 70). While accurate statistics are unavailable, the large majority of these institutions are for-profit or quasi for-profit, and many are family owned.

The expansion of the private sector has been facilitated by the complex and often dysfunctional regulatory framework for higher education in India. The state governments, along with central authorities, have the power to recognise colleges and universities. For example, in 2002, the state of Chhattisgarh, in a less-developed part of India, suddenly passed legislation for the recognition of private universities; 134 quickly applied

and 97 were approved. Most of these were not located within the state but were in all parts of India. Some other states also recognised new private institutions. The University Grants Commission, seeing this anarchic situation, stepped in with new regulations, and after considerable dispute, the Indian Supreme Court recognised the authority of the University Grants Commission over the state governments in 2004. This example illustrates the complexity and the lack of overall direction relating to aspects of higher education policymaking in India.

Financial and ethical lapses can be seen in some of the new private institutions. Enforcement of standards is lax and regulatory frameworks inadequate—leaving room for such problems as charging high fees for admission, a practice called "capitation fees" (substantial fees charged at the time of matriculation), tuition fees higher than those allowed by regulations, corrupt practices in admissions, hiring, and the award of degrees, and others. These issues have tarnished the reputation of the private sector (Gupta 2008).

Private higher education in China and India is expanding. It is already a significant part of the higher education system, and its expansion will continue for a simple reason: the public sector is simply unable to provide the financial resources needed to provide the access demanded by growing populations. It is likely that the private sector will continue to function mainly at the bottom of the academic hierarchy, will be largely vocational in nature, and, as the economists say, will be mainly "demand absorbing." Both countries face a significant challenge to create a stable and transparent regulatory framework that provides both ground rules for the private sector and procedures for quality assurance and financial accountability. Questions such as the role of the for-profit sector and whether foreign private providers can link with local private universities and colleges remain mainly unanswered. While a few relatively high-quality private institutions now exist in both countries, fully comprehensive private research universities in the American or Japanese models are unlikely in China or India. The cost of starting and sustaining such universities is just too high.

The Future

China and India are already major global forces in higher education (Altbach 2007). As they move toward international norms of access to higher education, China and India could together be expected to account for over half of the global increase in student numbers. This will mean a

dramatic expansion in the academic profession, as well as the need for more laboratory equipment and facilities, advanced computers, and other infrastructure. Some of the demand can be met internally, but it is likely that China and India will look abroad as well. Part of the expansion will be at the level of advanced graduate training. Both countries now have inadequate capacity for producing master's and doctoral degrees. The cost of adding facilities is high. Both countries will be required to provide significant additional financial support for higher education over the coming decades.

Part of the expansion will depend on the continued growth of the private sector and on distance education. The countries have yet to fully integrate the private higher education sector into the higher education system or to create appropriate regulatory and quality assurance frameworks for the private sector. Some ambivalence about the private sector continues. In the coming years the private sector must be integrated into the mainstream if expansion is to be fully accomplished.

China and India will play a major role in global higher education. These two countries are likely to continue to send large numbers of students abroad for advanced study and are likely to account for more than one-third of the total worldwide overseas student population. It is quite likely that large numbers of Chinese and Indian graduates will remain abroad although the proportions returning home will probably increase substantially given better opportunities for positions at home. Over the past several decades, about 80% of graduates from the two countries have not returned home (Agarwal 2009). That percentage is likely to drop substantially although the proportion of returning will depend on salaries and working conditions at home. China, especially, has been creating opportunities in its universities for foreign-trained graduates.

Both countries could increasingly become hosts for students from abroad. To attract international students, China is already initiating plans and achieving considerable success. Providing that higher education institutions are upgraded, the Chinese and Indian economies rise in the world economy and these countries are seen as academic centres, students from abroad will be attracted. The largest numbers could be expected come from east and south-east Asia in the case of China, and south Asia in the case of India.

China and India may turn into major markets for higher education initiatives from abroad. As of 2009, both countries are considering a philosophy concerning foreign educational providers and are implementing regulatory frameworks to permit foreign involvement. Expansion requirements and efforts to improve quality can both benefit from international

participation, although each country would need to develop a nationally beneficial policy framework for working with foreign providers. The issues are complex (see also McBumie and Ziguras 2009; Knight 2008), and it is as yet unclear how a possible implementation of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) might impact on national policies (OECD 2007a).

Will China and India emerge as "research superpowers" and develop world-class research universities in the coming decades? It is quite likely that China will have considerable success in building internationally competitive research universities. The universities developed with assistance from the 985 and 211 projects are making major progress. Continued development requires sustained support. A few globally competitive research universities do not prove that China will become a research superpower, but it will likely join the ranks of the major research-producing countries. Its top universities are likely to be among the key research institutions in the world in the coming two decades if current trends continue. It is much less likely that India will achieve this level of success. Its current top institutions, the Indian Institutes of Technology, and a few others, are too small and specialised to become world-class research universities, and current plans do not show that India is developing a realistic strategy. Despite the use of English as the main academic language and the existence in India of many extraordinarily well-trained and bright scholars and scientists, it seems unlikely that India will have internationally competitive research universities in the coming several decades.

Both countries show signs of making better use of their academic diasporas, as large numbers of often highly qualified Chinese and Indian researchers and scholars are working abroad. This key group can be mobilised to assist academic development and link with the international academic community.

While it is certain that China and India are two of the world's largest academic systems, it is less clear that these systems will be globally competitive. As noted, China has made considerable progress with its top institutions and India has illustrated with the Indian Institutes of Technology and a few other institutions that high standards are possible. Yet, the overall excellence and effectiveness of the systems themselves need improvement. The problem of quality, and the related issues of whether graduates are qualified for the labour market, remain in question. Generally, the overall standards tend to decline in an academic system that is expanding dramatically. It is rather unlikely that these countries can avoid that phenomenon. It seems that China and India will, at the least, not see significant reform in the overall academic quality of higher education. An effective

quality-assurance system can help to ensure standards, but neither country has such a system in place currently capable of overall supervision. The systems will probably become more stratified, with a small number of research universities at the top and very large numbers of fairly un-selective colleges and universities at the bottom.

A complex and diversified higher education system that includes some world-class universities is needed for the future economic development of China and India as both countries build more sophisticated economies and require larger numbers of highly educated personnel and research. Future expansion of numbers and institutions can be anticipated. Qualitative improvement is likely as well, but less assured. It is clear that higher education in China and India will undertake a significant impact both within these key countries and on the global higher education system.

Note

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Interview with Philip G. Altbach by Eldho Mathews

"Massification Has Unanticipated Consequences"

*E**dho Mathews: You are a pioneer US educationalist who has been closely watching Indian higher education system for almost half a century. What is your particular interest in being a researcher on Indian higher education system?***

Philip G. Altbach: For almost a half-century, I have found Indian society and politics—and education—endlessly fascinating. India's complexities and its potential for excellence deserve careful attention. I have greatly valued the colleagueship of Indian researchers and scholars over these years as well. I've been surprised that so few researchers from outside India—and for that matter within the country—have focused on higher education. After all, India is one of the largest and most important developing countries. Even in recent years as India's economy has developed, few have explored the role of higher education in India's development.

EM: How different is Indian higher education system today vis-à-vis what it was some four decades back? What is your evaluation of the current status of Indian higher education system from a global perspective?

PGA: This is a complicated question. Compared with many developing countries, India had a small but impressive higher education at the time of independence. Higher education, however, was not emphasized during the first decades of freedom, and neither quality nor quantity was emphasized.

Without question, India lags behind in the twenty-first century. None of India's universities can be found in the global rankings. Only the IITs are internationally well known. Indian researchers do outstanding work, but most of them are located outside of India. India also lags in access—with only 16 percent of the age group participating in postsecondary education.

If one looks at the structure and focus of the traditional universities and the colleges that are affiliated to them, not much has happened in the past four decades except for significant expansion.

EM: *What are the key trends, challenges, and concerns in global higher education today?*

PGA: I have written elsewhere that the central reality of late twentieth and twenty-first century higher education reality is massification—the transformation of higher education globally from a preserve of the elite to a mass phenomenon. This has been the driving force, and it remains the key challenge. Massification has led globally to an overall deterioration of standards, the rise of the private sector, increased vocationalization, and others. Massification has led to unprecedented social mobility and access for groups in the population who never were able to take advantage of postsecondary education. In countries, such as India, which are still at the cusp of massification, the challenges are immense—and India remains behind most of its main rivals in terms of access to higher education.

At the same time that access at the bottom of the higher education system is a huge challenge, there is also a need for creation of world-class universities at the top of the system to provide sophisticated education and research at the top for participation in the global economy. India has been more successful in participating in the global economy than it has in creating the higher education institutions to support this participation.

Thus, India faces quite serious challenges at the top and the bottom of its higher education system.

EM: *What are your views on the recent debates over "Americanization of higher education" or one-sided adaptation of US higher education model in different parts of the world?*

PGA: By and large, the reasons why the American higher education model is influential worldwide is because the US was the first country to achieve mass higher education and it built an academic system that has coped with massification—at the top and the bottom—with reasonable success. Thus, the US is seen as "best practice." At the same time, there are other approaches to higher education policy evident in, for example, western Europe that are worth considering more carefully.

EM: During the last few years India has been reforming its higher education system with a series of legislations. What are, in your opinion, needed to make Indian universities more competitive at global level?

PGA: If I had good answers to that question, I would win a Nobel Prize. Further, I think that Indians are the best sources for good ideas about how to improve society. Nonetheless, the following elements are no doubt needed to improve Indian higher education:

- Adequate funding. Higher education has always been starved of resources. India spends less than its rivals on higher education.
- Improve the traditional universities—the massive universities and their affiliated colleges are the albatross of Indian higher education.
- Better coordination between the central government and the states.
- Depoliticize higher education.
- Create an articulated higher education in which the various elements work together.
- Create a vocationally oriented community college system that works and is respected. India has failed many times to do this.

EM: One of your most interesting recent works makes a comparative assessment of the development of the higher education system in China and India. How would you compare the current status of Indian and Chinese higher education systems?

PGA: Unfortunately India lags way behind China in higher education. China has a much larger number of research universities—and their quality is better. China educates more of its young people—27 percent—than does India—16 percent. China spends more on higher education generally.

India has the advantage of English, which is quite significant.

EM: Where did you get inspiration for your pioneering analysis on central–peripheral relations in global higher education system? Can I suggest that you may have got inspiration from the World-systems perspective and Dependency approach? Do you agree with this, and if you do, to what do you attribute this interest?

PGA: My ideas came from several quite different sources in the 1960s. Perhaps the most important was simply observing how academic institutions and systems related to each other at different stages of development. I had the advantage of studying with Professor Edward Shils at the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago. He had a strong interest in India and wrote an important book on Indian intellectuals. He also wrote about center–periphery relations from a Weberian perspective. Like many students in the 1960s, I was also exposed to Marxian thinking and to dependency and world-systems. I was able to combine these intellectual strands, from quite different sides of the intellectual spectrum.

EM: Does the center–periphery theory related to higher education hold water in the current global situation?

PGA: I think that the concept still has a great deal of validity. The major "powers" in higher education remain in general as important as they were a half-century ago. The predominance of spending for R&D and in general for higher education remains in North America and western Europe. The role of English as the dominant language of science is if anything more powerful than it once was. The flows of international students and scholars are from the south to North American and western Europe.

There have been some important changes. The rise of China as an "academic power" is notable and may add another academic center to the traditional powerhouses. The impact of the Internet and information technology generally is another key factor. Many thought that the Internet would democratize knowledge, but it seems that the impact of the traditional centers remains strong. Ownership of knowledge products and communications multinationals remains largely in the traditional centers.

There is no reason why India, for example, could not become a knowledge superpower. The use of English, a large number of well-educated

people, and a reasonable scientific infrastructure are all positive factors. But India would need to invest a lot more in higher education and science—and to develop a strategy to build itself as a center.

EM: In India, majority of the recently established private universities and colleges focus on market-oriented courses. Can private institutions play an important role in the social development of a country? Do we need a right balance between private and public higher education? What are your thoughts on this issue?

PGA: Perhaps unfortunately, the private higher education sector will play an important role in higher education in India and throughout the developing world. The challenge for India and elsewhere is to ensure that "private higher education serves the public good." While not at all easy, this requires a strong regulatory framework as well as an understanding that the private sector is a legitimate part of higher education. This is particularly difficult since much of the private sector is "for profit" and may be more interested in profits than in quality education.

EM: Low GER (gross enrollment ration), regional disparities, low participation of women, minorities, dalits, and other vulnerable social groups, and so on are some of the major equity-related issues faced by Indian higher education today. How different countries deal with these kinds of issues?

PGA: Without question, India has the most rigorous program for inclusion of minorities, dalits, and other disadvantaged social groups in the world. Whether these programs are fully effective is another question. So also is the question of whether these programs benefit higher education as well as those for which they are intended. Other countries, including the United States, would benefit by studying the Indian experience. India too would benefit from studying interesting social inclusion efforts in Brazil, the United Kingdom, and other countries. What is clear from the international experience is that the problems of social inclusion are complex and far from easy to solve.

EM: Let us look back in time. In the late 1960s, Indian higher education system was the third largest in the world. During this period, you had stated in your book The Knowledge Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Distribution of Knowledge **that in terms of knowledge**

creation and distribution India stood between the peripheral position of many Third World nations and the metropolitan centers of the US, UK, and France. Four decades later, what do you think is the role of India in the present knowledge-based economy? What kinds of changes are necessary to make Indian higher education globally competitive?

PGA: Without question, India remains peripheral in the global knowledge network. Its production of articles, patents, and the other standard measures of scientific productivity remains small in the context of its expanding higher education system. While I do not know of any comprehensive research on this topic, I do not think that India is much better comparatively now than it was four decades ago. For India to flourish in the global knowledge system it would need to create effective research universities, provide adequate financial support for them, and ensure that the most able academics are evaluated and rewarded for their work.

EM: In the same book you clearly stated how the introduction of new technologies like reprography facilitated access to information. Four decades later, the Internet and digital technologies have been radically changing the world. What are the kinds of developments you see ahead?

PGA: We will see much greater use of the Internet for the delivery of education and degrees. This will be a real challenge for India, since many of these programs will be in English, and Indians may be inclined to register for foreign programs offered by for-profit multinational academic companies or Western universities. There Internet is already the key means of scholarly communication and here India has some advantages due to the widespread use of English. Yet, the Internet is mainly owned and controlled from outside of India.

EM: In which ways do you think a differentiated higher education system is necessary? What are the factors necessary to ensure a good research environment through the establishment of a differentiated system?

PGA: India will not succeed as a "higher education power" unless it has a clearly differentiated academic system, with a small number of

adequately funded research universities at the top, teaching-oriented universities and colleges in the middle, and vocationally oriented post-secondary institutions similar to community colleges at the bottom. It is important that the institutions be articulated so that students may transfer between them and it is just an important that each segment have a clear mission and be respected and adequate funded.

EM: One last question before we close: What are your thoughts and pre-dictions on internationalization of higher education? In your opin-ion, what are the key areas that India should focus on with regard to its internationalization strategy?

PGA: India has no viable internationalization strategy for higher education. To compete in the emerging world of international higher education, it requires an effective strategy and sufficient support. Internationaliza-ton will clearly continue to be a central force in higher education, with growing numbers of internationally mobile students and academics, growing numbers of branch campuses and institutional cross-border collaboration, and the involvement of the private sector. India is at present not well placed in any of these areas. Further, other countries are increasingly looking at India as a source of students and staff.

India's protracted debate about a legal framework for international involvement must at some point be concluded. In my view, simply opening the door to foreign institutions and initiatives is a mistake—at least without a very effective regulatory framework to control such involvement.

Afterword: India's Higher Education Challenges

Philip G. Altbach

The saga of Indian higher education since the 1960s is complex, variegated, and reflects the country's development over time. India's education development has, for much of this period, lagged behind economic and social development. Like India itself, higher education realities are contradictory. India, in 2012, has the world's third-largest higher education system in terms of student numbers, with 21.7 million students enrolled in postsecondary education, attending more than 33,000 colleges and 645 degree-awarding institutions, mostly universities, and 12,748 diploma granting institutions. It is estimated that more than half of the world's postsecondary institutions are located in India—many of the colleges are uneconomically small. Approximately 16 percent of the 18-to-22-year-old age cohort is in postsecondary education. Drop-out (wastage in Indian parlance) rates are high, with many of those who enter the system failing to complete a degree. Quality is generally poor—there are certainly islands of excellence, but the system overall is a sea of mediocrity.

India, like many developing countries, has been swamped by massification—the rapid expansion of higher education enrollments that is the result of an unstoppable demand by growing segments of the population for access. India's challenges have been magnified by increased demand for access, combined with overall population growth. In no country has rapid expansion been accompanied by improvement in overall quality, and in this respect India is no different than many other countries.

India had several advantages at the time of Independence in 1947, but was unable to capitalize on them. English was the near universal medium of

higher education, giving India immediate links to the outside world, access to scientific information, and textbooks. Although fairly small, India had developed a fairly mature higher education system, with several reputable universities and specialized institutions at the top, and a respectable number of undergraduate colleges, a few of which were of international standards. While access was limited to a small urban elite and most higher education institutions were located in metropolitan areas, colleges and universities could be found throughout India.

Though the system grew fairly rapidly throughout most of the post-Independence period, population growth and an expansion of primary and secondary education meant that higher education could not keep up with demand. As in almost all countries, overall quality declined.

Despite considerable rhetoric in the past few years about India's higher education "takeoff" and the link between higher education and recent economic growth, there is little evidence that economic success has had much effect on improvements in higher education. Indeed, N. Jayaram and I (Altbach and Jayaram, 2010) have argued that if higher education is not improved, India may lose the advantage of its "demographic dividend" of a large population of young people who could, if well educated, spearhead continuing economic growth.

It is worth examining some of the broad trends that characterize Indian higher education. These are presented in no special order of importance. They are, however, linked and constitute a pattern of development over time.

A Difficult History

Like much of the developing world, India experienced a long period of colonialism. British rule over much of the subcontinent lasted for several centuries—longer than the colonial experience of most other countries. British-style higher education dates back to 1823, when several colleges were founded. Universities were established at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in 1858—around the same time that higher education was expanded beyond Oxford and Cambridge in England (Kaur, 2003).

While the British were in general not avid supporters of higher education in India, they did not prevent its establishment. After a laissez-faire period, higher education was organized as part of colonial policy, ensuring that the language of instruction was English and that the organization and structure of academic institutions conformed to British patterns and policy. The British were more supportive of higher education in India than they were in their colonial possessions in Africa (Ashby, 1966). The colonial

authorities spent few resources on higher education, and the impetus for the modest expansion of higher education in India during colonial rule was from Indians. Indeed, there were efforts to keep enrollments small in order to prevent the emergence of a subversive intelligentsia or unemployed graduates. Both of these goals were at least in part failures, since educated Indians spearheaded the Independence movement. The British sought to ensure that the graduates of the colleges and universities were suited to serve the needs of the colonial administration and emerging Indian society and industry.

At the time of Independence, there were 19 universities and 695 colleges, with an overall enrollment of fewer than 270,000 students. By the standards of newly independent developing countries in the mid-twentieth century, India was well situated. It had a relatively comprehensive array of higher education institutions, although few were vocationally or scientifically oriented. The quality of this small system was relatively high. While serving only a tiny proportion of the age cohort—well under 1 percent—India had the basic structure of a higher education establishment on which to build.

Language: A Continuing Dilemma

At the time of Independence, the language of instruction in higher education throughout India was almost exclusively English. While there are no accurate statistics for English literacy in India, it was quite unlikely that even 5 percent of India were literate in English in 1950. Thus, the huge majority of Indians did not have access to higher education. There were fundamental disagreements among the founders of modern India about language policy. Mahatma Gandhi argued strongly for the use of Hindi as the national language. Jawaharlal Nehru was sympathetic to the continued use of English. Many political leaders in the south and in some other parts of the country were opposed to Hindi and, thus, favored English as a "link language" and emphasized the use of regional languages in education. India's federal constitution gave authority over education largely to the states, which had considerable power to decide on language issues. These post-Independence realities resulted in a hodgepodge of policies in different parts of the country.

Some of the states in the "Hindi belt" in north India stressed the use of Hindi, and the central government made some efforts to produce and translate textbooks into Hindi, for use in undergraduate education. Almost all of the universities and specialized research institutions, sponsored by the central

government, continued to use English as the language of instruction. The states varied considerably in language policy. Most southern states continued English as the main language for higher education, at all levels. Some permitted the use of regional languages. States in other parts of India varied in their policies. Certain ones used a combination of English and the regional language. In some cases, specific universities preferred to retain instruction in English despite the state policy. Thus, language policy and practice in higher education was, and remains, varied throughout the country.

Without any reliable statistics, it is likely that the use of the English language has increased in Indian higher education, especially in the more prestigious universities and colleges—and in the highly selective institutions, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology and the Indian Institutes of Management. Much of the private higher education sector functions in English as well. The research sector is entirely dominated by English, and most scholarly communication in journals and on the Internet takes place in English. While the language debate in Indian higher education has not entirely ended, English has emerged as the key language in Indian higher education. Its role, always strong, has increased in importance as globalization has affected the higher education sector in the twenty-first century.

The traditional role of English has given India significant advantages in global higher education. Professors and students can communicate easily with peers in other countries, and mobility is enhanced. Indian universities can more easily enroll international students. Indians may contribute directly to the global knowledge network (Altbach, 2007). Yet, there are some disadvantages as well. English is not the mother tongue of Indians, and it remains to some extent a foreign language. The large majority of Indians do not speak and are not literate in English—thus putting them at a significant disadvantage in the higher education sector and unable to gain access to the social and economic mobility that English-medium conveys in India. While there seems to be no accurate estimate of the proportion of Indians who speak English, 10 percent seems to be a realistic number. This constitutes more than 100 million English speakers—more than the populations of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada combined—but still a modest percentage of Indians.

The Sea of Mediocrity

Indian higher education can be characterized by a sea of mediocrity, in which some islands of excellence can be found. A large majority of Indian students attend the 174 universities and the 33,023 colleges affiliated to

them. While a few of the universities, most notably those without affiliated colleges, and some colleges offer high quality, most provide mediocre to poor quality of instruction. Graduates in some fields of study fail to find appropriate jobs, many students do not finish their degrees, and employers complain about the inadequate preparation of degree holders.

To some extent, a decline in quality at the bottom of the hierarchy of Indian higher education is an inevitable result of massification and can be found worldwide. Students with poorer academic qualifications are able to gain access to higher education. In India, the complex system of reservations policy for disenfranchised groups has exacerbated this problem—while at the same time providing opportunities that did not exist before. The existing modest admissions standards are relaxed for these groups, while little extra help is provided for students without adequate secondary school achievement, thus contributing to high drop-out rates.

Expansion has also brought many new types of institutions onto the postsecondary education landscape—mostly at the bottom of the system. Many of the "deemed universities" are institutions of modest quality—although some of the older ones are well-established. New private universities present a similarly mixed picture, with most of lesser quality. Thousands of "unfunded" undergraduate colleges in engineering, information technology, and other fields have emerged in the past several decades and are affiliated with universities and able to offer degrees. Again, the overall quality of these colleges is modest, and many are quasi-for-profit institutions.

The traditional universities and their affiliated colleges have proved resistant to reform. In terms of their structure, role, and governance these institutions have been virtually unchanged for a half-century, despite widespread recognition of their problems. Reforms have been proposed, such as permitting some of the best colleges to become independent of the universities and offer their own degrees, but implementation has been limited. The entrenched bureaucracy of the affiliating system remains the core of higher education—and until it is significantly improved or modified, essential improvement in Indian higher education will not be possible.

Islands of Excellence

Despite the immense problems of the Indian higher education system, a small sector of globally competitive, high-quality postsecondary institutions exists. It is significant that all of them are outside the established university structure. Planners were unwilling to entrust new and innovative ideas to the traditional universities. The best known of these institutions are the Indian Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management.

There are many others. These include the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Indian Statistical Institute, and others. At least one of the national universities supported by the central government, Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, is also held in high regard.

These institutions share several attributes. They are all public and funded by the central government. All are relatively small and are outside of the structure of the traditional universities. These institutions have a significant degree of autonomy that is somewhat unique in the Indian higher education system. They are all initiatives of the central government, with little or no involvement by the states. While none of these successful institutions are lavishly funded—indeed, by international standards they are all underfunded—they have achieved considerable success.

All of these successful innovations were able to attract professors committed to high standards of teaching and innovation—without paying exceptionally high salaries—showing that some Indian academics are attracted by new ideas and high standards.

The Failure of Planning

Indian higher education has not failed to create a "world-class" system because of a lack of ideas. At least a half-dozen high-level commissions have issued intelligent reports over the past 40 years, starting perhaps with the Radhakrishnan Commission Report in 1948, as recently with the National Knowledge Commission Report in 2007, and the Yashpal Committee Report in 2009. These reports have recommended many ideas for thoughtful reform, development, and improvement. Over time, elements of some of these reports have been implemented, but in no case at all have any been comprehensively applied. The Planning Commission's five-year plans generally paid little attention to higher education, although occasionally initiatives were outlined and funds provided. The current Twelfth Plan for the first time gives some comprehensive focus to higher education.

Although most of the funding and supervision of higher education is in the hands of the states, there is little evidence of planning or innovation at the state level. In general, the states have simply tried to keep up with the demand for expansion of higher education. A few states, such as Kerala, have had an overall policy framework for higher education—resulting, in that case, with the highest levels of enrollment in India and particularly in female participation. Generally, there has been no clear policy direction.

The University Grants Commission, responsible at the central level for funding, innovation and planning of higher education under the control of

the central government, has developed some small-scale programs in curriculum, teaching, and other areas but by and large has not played an active role in large scale innovation. The current proposal to establish a National Commission of Higher Education and Research will bring together a number of central government initiatives and provide a central focus for planning, research, and innovation.

As a result of divided control—lack of coordination among the different agencies with responsibility for higher education at the central and state levels, inadequate authority for implementation of change, and inadequate funding—it is fair to say that higher education planning has not been successful, despite a range of good proposals over the years.

The Necessity of Systems

Massification requires a higher education establishment, with institutions serving different purposes and missions that are organized logically to cater to different clienteles and meet various demands. The best organized ones, such as the renowned California public higher education system, articulates the different kinds of institutions, so that students can move from one type of college to another. In the California case, the public system has community colleges, four-year and master's degree universities, and research universities—such as the University of California, Berkeley which offers doctorates. Students may enter one type of school and, if the quality of their academic work permits, can transfer up to a different type of institution. Systems of this type hold costs at appropriate levels, provide access, and ensure that the various societal needs are met. Government authorities control the missions and budgets of the institutions at the various levels—preventing "mission creep" and ensuring that institutions will stay focused on their established mission.

India has never developed a clearly articulated academic system, at either the central or state levels, although informal systems have evolved over time. All of India's universities have a research mission; some are better able to engage in research than others. Few universities at the state level receive adequate budgets for research, and few have a research-oriented academic staff. The rapid expansion of undergraduate arts and sciences and also professional colleges has also taken place largely without planning.

The recent centrally supported initiative to establish state higher education councils is a move toward more rational higher policy and planning at the state level. However, only a small number of states, such as Kerala, have fully implemented councils and have appropriate coordinating bodies in place.

India requires, at both the state and central levels, higher education systems that are rationally organized and differentiated in order to ensure that the increasingly diverse needs of higher education can be rationally met.

Politics

Indian higher education, much to its detriment, is infused with politics, at all levels. Colleges are often established by political leaders as a patronage machine and a way of providing access and jobs for supporters. The location of universities is sometimes influenced by state or local politics. Sometimes, even national universities have been enmeshed in politics.

University and college elections are frequently politicized. National, regional, and local political machines are frequently engaged in campus politics. Student unions are often politicized. Academic decisions are determined more by political than academic considerations. Political intrigue and infighting may infuse campus life. In extreme cases, campus politics can turn violent, and disruption of normal academic life is not uncommon. More often than not, the politics is not ideological but rather regional or caste-based.

Universities and colleges, which employ considerable numbers of staff and offer access to a highly sought after commodity—an educational credential—are valuable political engines. Academic institutions are often local power centers and clearly seen as valuable sources of patronage.

A Pattern of Inadequate Investment

Higher education has never been adequately funded. In 2011–12 India spent a modest 1.22 percent of its gross domestic product on postsecondary education—a more modest investment than some other rapidly expanding economies and well below European levels of expenditure. From the beginning, emphasis was placed on meeting the demands of mass access and expansion rather than building up a meaningful high-quality university sector, and even financial support for mass access has been inadequate.

The divided responsibility for supporting higher education by the states and the central government was an additional detriment, since coordination was difficult. In any case, most of the responsibility fell to the states, many of which were unable to provide the needed support—and in any case were more concerned with basic literacy and primary and secondary education rather than higher education. Indeed, for much of India's

post-Independence history, the concern of policymakers at all levels was for literacy and basic education rather than higher education.

In the twenty-first century, with the beginning of the Indian economic transformation, higher education has received greater priority. The National Knowledge Commission's (2007) reports stressed the significance of the universities and encouraged both expansion of access and improvement in quality. Little has been done to implement the recommendations. Without adequate funding, higher education can neither expand appropriately nor improve in quality.

The Fall and Rise of the Guru

At the heart of any academic institutions is the professor. By international and particularly developing country standards, the Indian academic profession is relatively well off. While most Indian academics have full-time appointments, service conditions are poor in most private institutions, especially the private colleges. They have security of tenure. Salaries, when compared with other countries according to purchasing power parity measures, fall into the upper middle ranks of a 2012 study of academic salaries in 28 countries (Altbach et al., 2012). While Indian academics will not become rich with their salaries, they can generally live in a middle-class style, at least outside of the major metropolitan centers. This is in sharp contrast to many other countries, including China, where academic salaries must be supplemented by additional income.

Yet, the academic profession faces some serious problems (Jayaram, 2003). The differences in status, working conditions, and salaries are significant between the large majority of the academic profession who teach in undergraduate colleges and the small minority who hold appointments in university departments and teach postgraduate students. Yet, even college teachers can in general live in a middle-class style based on their academic salaries, due in large part to significant salary increases in the past few years.

The academic profession is characterized by high levels of bureaucracy and is bound by civil service regulations. Most colleges are hierarchical in structure and provide few opportunities for participation in college governance or decision making. College teachers, particularly, possess little autonomy and only modest control over what they teach—and teaching loads tend to be fairly high. It has been observed that college teachers have little more autonomy than high school teachers (Altbach, 1979). For the large majority of colleges that are affiliated to universities, control over many aspects of teaching, curriculum, and examinations is regulated by the university.

The small number of academics, with appointments in university departments, are expected to produce research and have modest teaching responsibilities and much greater autonomy. Indeed, almost all of the published research by Indian academics is produced by university academics. Salaries are also more favorable. University staff also supervise postgraduate students and, thus, play a key role in educating the next generation of the academic profession. Many university departments work closely with the colleges to organize curriculum, set and administer examinations, and carry out the other responsibilities of the affiliating system.

Indian academics are not evaluated for their work. The jobs depend mainly on longevity and rank. Few, if any, efforts evaluate productivity in teaching or research, and those whose performance is seen as marginal are allowed to continue. Salaries are also allocated by length of service and rank for the most part, and there is no way of rewarding good performance or punishing inadequate work. Where top quality is the norm, such as in the Indian Institutes of Technology, it is more the culture and tradition of the institution than any reward system that is responsible.

The Indian academic profession is in a somewhat paradoxical situation (Patel, 2012). Compared to academics in other developing countries, Indian postsecondary teachers are not badly off—either in terms of salary or working conditions. Yet, for the most part, the organization of the higher education system does not encourage the academics to do their best work.

An Increasingly Dominant Private Sector

India's higher education system has always been a curious, and perhaps internationally unique, combination of public and private institutions. Almost from the beginning, most undergraduate colleges were established by private interests and managed by private agencies such as philanthropic societies, religious groups, or others. Most of these private colleges received government funds and thus were "aided" institutions. The universities were all public institutions, for the most part established by the states.

This situation has dramatically changed in recent years (Agarwal, 2009). Most of the private colleges established in the past several decades are "unaided" and thus fully responsible for their own funding through tuition charges or other private sources of funds. Similarly, many of the "deemed" universities are also private institutions—receiving no government funds. Some of the unaided colleges and universities seem to be "for profit," although management and governance is often not very transparent. Most, although not all, are in the lower ranks of the academic hierarchy.

The unaided private colleges are affiliated to a university in their region, and it is increasingly difficult for the universities to effectively supervise the large numbers of colleges, particularly when the financial aspects of the institutions are not obvious.

As in many countries, massification has contributed to the rise of the private sector in higher education—the state has been unwilling or unable to provide funding for mass access, and the private sector has stepped into the void. Public control over the direction of the new private sector has often been lost, and quality has suffered as well. The Indian case is particularly complex, since the public-sector universities that provide affiliation to the new unaided private colleges are directly involved in legitimizing and supervising this new sector.

What Has India Done Right?

If one were searching for international "best practices" or "top ideas" in higher education, there is little if anything from India that would spring to mind. As this essay points out, India's contemporary higher education reality does not compare favorably with the most successful systems. When compared with the two other BRIC developing countries, Brazil and China, according to most measures India lags behind on most measures of higher education achievement.

At the same time, India has made significant progress in the context of post-Independence challenges. India's policymakers stressed literacy and primary and secondary education in the first half century of Independence and made significant progress in these areas, particularly taking into account continuing population growth. While postsecondary education did not receive the support it required, expansion was steady and access has been steadily widened. Students from rural areas, disadvantaged groups, and especially young people from dalit communities have all gained greater access to higher education.

While the quality of Indian higher education has, overall, probably declined over the past half century, it has not collapsed. The rigidities of the affiliating system and the bureaucratic arrangements have no doubt prevented the segment of the system from improving, but at the same time these systems have ensured stability in a system under continuing stress.

India has produced remarkable talent in the past half century. The problem is that much of this talent left the country and is highly successful overseas. The statistics concerning graduates from the Indian Institutes of Technology are remarkable—a very high proportion of each graduating

class leaves India and achieves remarkable accomplishments overseas. While a small number return to India, and a somewhat larger group, based overseas, works with Indian colleagues and companies. Yet, it is fair to say that the "brain drain" is still alive in the twenty-first century.

A quite small but visible and impressive group of postsecondary institutions has flourished in the otherwise inhospitable soil of Indian higher education. Indian Institutes of Technology, Indian Institutes of Management, and a group of specialized teaching and research universities were built around the edges of the established academic system. Further, a small number among the thousands of colleges affiliated to India's universities have achieved high levels of excellence in undergraduate teaching. These examples clearly show that it is possible to build world-class higher education in India—if the conditions for development are right.

There is no shortage of ideas for improving higher education in India. Various reports and commissions have pointed to a variety of ways forward. Small-scale experiments and innovative institutions have also proved successful. If these ideas and experiences could be used as templates for improvement, India may be able to move forward.

The Challenges Ahead

Given the realities of contemporary Indian higher education, it is not possible to be optimistic about a breakthrough in quality. It seems quite unlikely that any of India's existing universities will soon become world-class. Even if the Indian government were to, Chinese-style, identify a dozen or so existing institutions for massive investment and upgrading, significant reforms in management, governance, and in other areas would be required. It might be more successful to create entirely new institutions, without the constraints of existing universities. The establishment of the Indian Institutes of Technology shows that this can be successful, although in that case it was on a rather small scale. The example of the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology in Saudi Arabia shows that even lavish outlays of resources cannot overnight build a world-class institution. However, India does have the significant advantage of a diaspora that might be lured back for a worthy and realistic cause.

Due to the enormity of the challenges, the private sector will necessarily be a part of India's higher education future. But, so far, harnessing the private sector for the public good has been problematical. Yet, elements of solutions exist. Many of the traditional private nonprofit colleges provide excellent undergraduate education, as to some private postgraduate

professional colleges. A few of the new nonprofit universities seem quite committed to their educational mission.

The greatest challenge is, of course, continued expansion of the system to provide access. India in 2012 enrolls approximately 16 percent of the relevant age cohort—well under China's 26 percent and below the other BRIC countries. Thus, India will need to devote resources and attention to continued expansion of postsecondary education. The National Knowledge Commission noted that 1,500 more universities will be needed in India. It has been estimated that China and India will account for more than half of the world's enrollment growth between 2010 and 2050.

At the same time, India's increasingly sophisticated economy will need some colleges and universities of world-class standing—institutions that can compete with the best in the world if manpower needs for the future are to be fulfilled.

The structural, political, and economic problems pointed out here make it unlikely that expansion at the bottom of the system and excellence at the top can be provided.

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Epilogue: Higher Education in India—The Twelfth Plan and Beyond

Pawan Agarwal

As this volume of a rich collection of essays on Indian higher education was going for print, India's Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012–17) was being finalized. This essay provides a preview of the Plan. The Five-Year Plans of India, as those familiar with India know, state the goals, policies, instruments, and resources that guide the development process across sectors, including higher education.

Plan formulation in India is a key instrument in policy making and includes setting the agenda, writing the policy text, and developing a framework for its implementation and sometimes even its evaluation. Policy is created in the context of the larger public discourse. Its implementation is often not straightforward. In trying to implement policies, one often encounters complex organizational issues and resistance from those who do not want to discard existing practices.

A good policy process should align policy text with the public discourse, and build momentum for change leading to implementation of policies. This essay and this volume are expected to contribute to this alignment. This essay has two parts. The first part summarizes the key elements and reform agenda in the Plan for higher education from 2012 through 2017. The policy text was developed through an elaborate consultative process that sought to simultaneously inform and inspire the higher education community to act and bring about desired changes. The second part goes

beyond the Twelfth Plan and discusses the impact of three major trends relating to demography, globalization, and technology on India's higher education. The implications and effects of these changes are not fully known. But it is abundantly clear that these developments have transformative potential that could shape the future of the country's higher education sector and would be central to policy making in future.

Twelfth Plan Strategy and Initiatives

Recent Growth and Its Implications

In recent years, both the numbers of institutions of higher education in India and enrollment in them have grown dramatically. The gross enrollment ratio (GER) in higher education (measured on the 18–22 year age cohort) has increased from 15.2 percent in 2006–07 to 20.2 percent in 2011–12. This is expected to go up to over 25 percent by 2017 and reach 30 percent by 2020. This is an ambitious target even though it incorporates an expected slowdown in the growth rate. The expansion of enrollment in absolute terms over the past five years and projections for the next five years are shown in the chart below (Figure E1). This includes expansion in enrollment in open and distance learning (ODL) programs as well.

With this recent growth, Indian higher education has moved from "elite" to "mass" higher education (threshold of 15 percent GER) and is
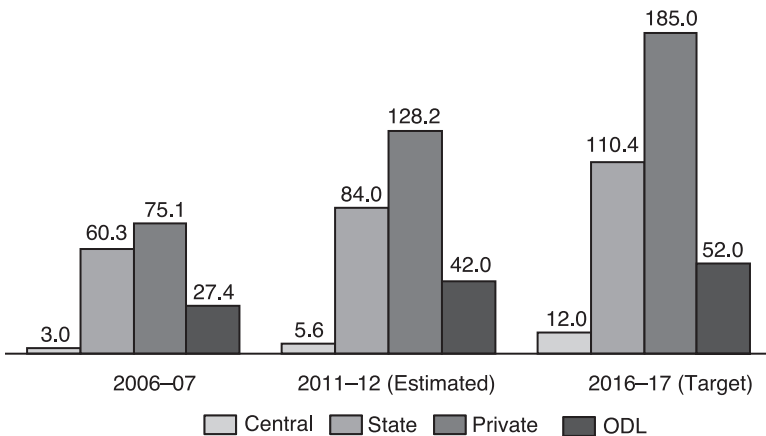
Figure E1: Enrollment Growth 2006–07 to 2016–17 (*in '00,000*)

Source: *Twelfth Five-Year Plan*, Planning Commission, Government of India.

now moving towards universal higher education (threshold of 50 percent GER). According to a seminal work done by Martin Trow in 1973, and revised in 2006, in the elite system, higher education shapes the mind and character of the ruling class and prepares them for elite roles in society, while mass higher education is more about transmission of skills and preparation of the graduates for a broader range of technical and economic roles in society. In universal higher education, the whole society adapts to rapid social and technological changes. Transition from one phase to another has consequences on the internal organization of the institutions of higher education and their relations with the larger society (Trow, 2006).

However, the situation in India, with wide interstate and rural–urban disparities, is somewhat complicated. Such transitions do not necessarily mean that forms and patterns of prior phases disappear completely. On the contrary, the experience so far suggests that the legacy of each phase survives in some institutions, while the system as a whole evolves to the next phase. So, as India moves to "mass" and now toward "universal" higher education, some elite and mass institutions would survive into the future. Some of them would get transformed, but such a change is unlikely to be sufficient to meet the emerging needs of universal higher education. It is essential that new institutions develop to lead the systemic change, so that the system as a whole can meet the new needs of universal higher education. This conceptual understanding of this transition from one phase to another is critical to craft appropriate strategies for expansion in future.

Globally, the transition from elite to universal higher education, along with emergence of new technologies and pressure from the forces of globalization, has required sweeping changes in higher education systems to create a greater diversity in the educational opportunities. This would require a reexamination of the design, organization, definition, and purpose of higher education. Taking these factors into consideration, the Twelfth Plan strives to create diverse education opportunities to cater to the growing number of students passing out of higher secondary classes on the one hand and the diverse needs of the economy and society on the other.

Rebalancing the Role of Government and Private Sector

The Twelfth Plan builds on the growth momentum of the Eleventh Plan and continues the process of broadening access initiated in the Eleventh Plan. However, the experience from the previous plan indicates that government must be increasingly strategic in its approach if such goals are to be met effectively. The proposed role of the government in the Twelfth Plan is to build

the foundation for further expansion, through singular focus on quality and diversification of education. This is because the response from the private sector as well as parents has been robust and it is likely that future growth can continue to rely upon private sector provision—with three caveats. First, there is a risk that inadequate quality could damage public confidence about the value of higher education, dampening student demand for further expansion. Second, rapid expansion also means that higher education will need to meet increasingly diverse needs of students as well as employers, with institutions becoming differentiated to offer a wider range of educational opportunities. Third, fee-based expansion could seriously undermine educational aspirations of students from poorer families, if no financial aid is offered.

On equity, the past efforts for expanded access for vulnerable groups have also provided the much needed first step for improvement in equity. However, it is already clear that in an increasingly sophisticated labor market, where employers demand specific skills and competencies rather than just degree credentials, mere access to existing education is not going to ensure student success. It is essential that higher education offers better quality education in diverse ways to build key skills and competencies which are both congruent and responsive to the employment ecosystem. The Twelfth Plan, therefore, focuses on finding a long-term solution that aims at developing diverse and high quality pathways to success in the higher education system itself. It will also provide a comprehensive package of student financial aid schemes so that all deserving students can have access to educational opportunities.

The Twelfth Plan proposes to make a strategic shift in the role of government, to define its role as equally supportive of both public and privately provided education, and to shift its emphasis to creating quality underpinning for diversity in higher education. The push for excellence is especially challenging because excellence is not achieved by mere provision of resources alone; it requires the development of quality leading institutions which are innovative enough to develop educational content and pedagogical best practices.

In order for the future expansion to meet the diverse needs of the nation, higher education institutions must also become differentiated in the education services they offer. It is essential that some multidisciplinary research universities develop, where new knowledge and educational content is constantly developed. Equally, it is important that effective short-cycle vocational education institutions become established to open pathways for entering students to other types of higher education institutions. It is essential that such diversity is underpinned by an emergence of leading institutions in each sphere.

A shift of focus to quality and diversity also means that past approaches in quality assurance would be increasingly inadequate. When the desired outcomes are not just specific knowledge in subject matters, but also in generic skills and competencies ranging from critical thinking to hands-on vocational skills, the quality of learning cannot be measured through simple national examinations; higher education institutions must develop their own quality assurance mechanisms to monitor and improve their own education. Institution building with clear role differentiation has to be the priority.

The Overall Agenda

The Twelfth Plan will continue the thrust on the "Triple Es"—expansion, equity, and excellence through: 10 million new seats, reduction of group inequalities in access, higher quality of teaching–learning in the average institution, and new research initiatives. These will be accomplished through a shift in paradigms on teaching, funding, governance, and research, greatly enhanced public spending and enhanced access of the private sector to government programs.

The targeted outcomes include scaling up capacity of existing institutions; consolidated, integrated, and effective equity-related schemes; learner-centric and learning-outcome based teaching; tight links between teaching and research; sensitivity to global trends in pedagogy and research; institutional differentiation and distinctiveness; and greater collaboration in teaching and research—across faculty, between faculty and doctoral students, within institutions, within a university system, across university systems and globally—through productive formal and informal alliances, networks, clusters, and consortia.

The Growth Agenda

The Eleventh Plan witnessed the beginning of "mass" higher education enabled by unprecedented growth not only in private provision, but also in government provision. Some concerns undoubtedly remain. First, despite the large growth in the number of institutions, their geographical spread remains highly skewed with large concentration of institutions of higher education in big cities and towns. This reduces access to better quality education for average students. Second, growth rates of undergraduates in basic sciences, skill-based courses and general education, and in master's and doctoral graduates in all fields remain low. Third, there are concerns on quality,

both on average and in each quality tier. Quality, further, tends to quickly deteriorate below the upper-tier.

Among the strategies envisaged, establishment of new institutions with significant government funding support will be considered mainly to reach out to unserved and underrepresented sections of society or uncovered geographic territories. While pursuing expansion, need for diversity in higher education provision has to be recognized from the points of view of both students and employers. Efforts must be made to encourage the establishment and emergence of globally competitive institutions with significant research competence. Teaching-focused institutions must offer a wide range of good quality education options, from liberal arts to professional and technical education. There must also be institutions offering credible short-cycle education providing skills development opportunities combined with remedial education. An innovative community college system would be introduced for the purpose.

To improve private institutions, which currently rely overwhelmingly on tuition fees, a two-pronged strategy is envisaged. First is to increase their sources of regular revenue through fee flexibility and academic support activities. Second is to provide them access to competitive public funds to improve quality through research and teaching initiatives, including participation in public collaborations.

The Equity Agenda

The Twelfth Plan will offer a sea change in funding for equity through an establishment of an integrated *Student Financial Aid Programme* addressing all tiers of society and education, and a loan guarantee program. The equity measures proposed in the plan will provide a differential response to each of the dimensions of inequalities, while consolidating a range of schemes, especially those which address intersection of more than one dimension.

A national initiative for quality higher education in Indian languages is envisaged. Without undermining the importance of English, this initiative would promote teaching-learning process through Indian languages as the medium of instruction and promote original research and publication in Indian languages in the colleges and universities.

A national initiative on inclusion of persons with disabilities is envisaged. It will provide support to individual students and faculty with disabilities, and support higher educational institutions and services to make them disabled-friendly. It will create curricula and provide support to enhance awareness, knowledge, and sensitivity about disability issues.

The Quality Agenda

To improve quality, the Twelfth Plan would revamp the institutional framework such that quality of an average institution is improved both through reforms within institutions as well as broader governance framework, which will be discussed in a later section. The main target of institutional reforms would be to change the classroom environment and the research or professional development environment in all institutions. Important components of the strategy to improve quality would include reforms in institutional organization, deepening academic reforms, recrafting undergraduate education, focusing on teachers and teaching, greater use of technology, internationalization, fostering social responsibility in higher education, promoting sports and wellness, interinstitutional collaboration and coordination, and strengthening accreditation. Quality improvement programs that span different fields of study in a holistic manner would also be taken up.

In institutional organizations, the key objective is to reform internal governance arrangements of existing institutions, particularly the affiliating university system. This is because only institutions with good internal governance can manage and ensure high quality education. A five-pronged strategy is envisaged: first, large, diverse and high-quality colleges would be converted into comprehensive universities; second, smaller colleges will be encouraged to form clusters that can perform as a single, comprehensive university. Third, some existing affiliated universities could be bifurcated or trifurcated into manageable units. Fourth, colleges desiring to scale up to leverage existing infrastructure and to offer new programs that will enable multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary education could be allowed to consolidate through merger under an autonomous framework. Fifth, the affiliated college system needs more efficient governance. For this, the affiliating university should revamp their college development councils and use technology effectively giving greater autonomy to colleges in all academic, administrative, and financial matters.

Under the academic reforms, all universities would be encouraged to shift from current annual examination system to choice-based credit semester system. They will also be facilitated to undertake curricula renewal on a continuing basis.

Undergraduate education should provide holistic education and give students opportunities for intellectual exploration, hands-on research, job skilling, experiential learning, creative thinking, leadership, ethics education, community service, and more. For this, undergraduate programs

have to be made flexible and modular, and multidisciplinary learning and research at the undergraduate level will be promoted.

Recognizing that teachers and teaching are central to the mission of higher education, teachers and teaching would receive special attention in the Twelfth Plan. Key strategies would include incorporating graduate students in instruction, departmental autonomy for faculty selection, and faculty confirmation only after a minimum of five years of probation based on rigorous peer review and student feedback. "Teaching and Learning Centres (TLCs)" will be established within the existing universities.

Faculty in large numbers would be sent for three to six months to the world's best universities to teach courses and undertake research. Institutional reforms would focus on healthy work-environment for faculty with basic minimum facilities and framework of accountability that is not overly restrictive. A "National Mission on Teachers and Teaching" will be launched. It will address teaching in a comprehensive manner and strengthen linkages between the school and higher education sectors.

The technical education quality improvement program will be extended to the next phase, wherein the focus would be on strengthening State Technological Universities, strengthening AICTE (All India Council for Technical Education) and scaling up sector-wide programs. Architecture and town planning will be part of this phase; and separate initiatives will be proposed for management education.

The Research Agenda

To improve research capacity, which is already on an upward trajectory, it is necessary to increase overall research funding for the university system, enable hiring globally, expand doctoral education, and develop strong linkages with industry and government institutions—all within a framework which emphasizes competition and collaboration for excellence. The strategic initiatives include competitive funding, accessible by both public and private institutions, for a variety of research related programs, and global research centers and institutional collaborations. Building on the success of the research-based Inter University Centres, their numbers and coverage would be enhanced.

All research initiatives will be consolidated under an *India Excellence Initiative*. This would include setting up of multidisciplinary research universities, establishing centers of excellence, and several focused national initiatives, including a national initiative for excellence in basic sciences, a national initiative for intellectual property rights, incubation and

entrepreneurship, and a national initiative for design and innovation. A *Council for Industry and Higher Education Collaboration* will be set up to promote industry-institutional collaboration in various domains.

The Governance Agenda

The governance of higher education will undergo a paradigm shift, in recognition of the growing size and complexity of the system. Government needs to play a sensitive and less intrusive role than it does at present since academic change is brought largely through rearranging incentives rather than through administrative fiat. In place of a uniform regulatory role in respect of all institutions, the government's role could be calibrated according to the type of institution involved. While the government could have a promotional and evaluative role for upper-tier institutions, it may play a steering role in mid-tier institutions, and should actively regulate lower-tier institutions. The governance structure should also enable institutions to increasingly differentiate themselves through course diversity, multidisciplinary programs and other approaches

There would be shift in policy away from central planning and control of higher education to a more decentralized approach for "institution building," where individual institutions are pushed to build capacity to self-regulate, govern, and innovate. The most critical thing in the Twelfth Plan would be to build the foundations of the system—to make it worthy and ready for expansion.

In the states it would be desirable for each state (except small states) to set up a state council for higher education for planned and coordinated development of higher education.

To achieve these goals, the central government now advocates a paradigm shift in governance from inspection-based processes to autonomy and accountability through independent third party validation, regulation by mandatory self-disclosures, and from subjective assessments to objective evaluations.

In the next few years, a new governance structure at the national level primarily comprising the National Commission for Higher Education and Research, National and State level Tribunals, and National Authority for Accreditation would be in place. Their effectiveness will be based on the following: (*i*) a keener understanding of the requirements of institutions of higher education, students, and recruiters; (*ii*) a lean and simple process for delivering support to institutions; (*iii*) engagement with the institutions in raising the bar on educational standards; (*iv*) helping institutions craft

their own change management processes; (*v*) managing the new reality of professional education, driving aspirations while the nation requires focus also on basic sciences and humanities and social sciences; (*vii*) focusing on reforms in undergraduate education that is terminal degree for most people; (*viii*) promoting excellence in both teaching and research at all levels, with an understanding that undergraduate students benefit when their teachers are also good researchers; and (*ix*) incubating and nurturing new institutions and new experiments in higher education.

During the Twelfth Plan period, it is critical that academic leadership in higher education develops sufficiently to guide institutional development and reforms. For this, an *Institute for Academic Leadership in Higher Education* could be colocated in an existing institution of higher education.

In recent times, the central government has taken several initiatives to foster institutional autonomy. All institutions would be provided absolute academic autonomy linked to their achieving academic excellence, fostering universal academic values, and nurturing professional academic ethos. Empirical evidence supports the view that better run institutions are highly autonomous, especially when autonomy over academic matters is handed over to faculty. Autonomy on financial, organizational, staffing, and operational dimensions would be based on appropriate internal systems of accountability. Given the potential positive contribution that the alumni can make in institutional growth, well-established institutions, with over 10 years in existence should have a fair representation of the alumni in the governing bodies.

In the Twelfth Plan, a centralized portal would be created to provide accurate and current information about institutions and courses to students and parents in such a way that helps them in decision-making on institutions and courses for admissions. This is in addition to a national-level database of all academic qualifications from secondary school certificate to university and professional certificates under a national academic depository.

The country should gradually move towards fewer admission tests that are conducted in a transparent and objective manner. Universities could however have their own admission criteria and use the results of the common admission tests either for short-listing the students or in combination with results of the qualification examinations. This would not only significantly reduce hardships of the students, lessen admission-related unfair practices, but also create the essential diversity in the way student merit can be recognized. This is essential for India with increasingly diverse economic opportunities.

The Funding Strategy

Overall, the country spent 1.12 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) on higher education in 2011–12. Almost an equivalent amount is spent by households (mostly as tuition fees) and the private sector (mostly as capital investment) taken together. The Twelfth Plan begins when the country is passing through serious financial difficulties, however, higher education would continue to receive greater support and the aim would be to raise public spending on higher education to 1.5 percent of the GDP during the Twelfth Plan.

The strategies to achieve the goals of the Twelfth Plan would reflect in the continuing shift of the role of government, in a calibrated way, from active control toward a steering and evaluative role. This is only possible through, first, granting greater autonomy and then holding institutions accountable and providing support based on benchmarking of success criteria. Recognizing the immensely larger need for finance in both public and private institutions, the government will commit considerably larger investment, but will use its funds strategically, in order to connect various funding streams to specific outcomes and desired impacts. Central funding would be done through a flagship program, namely, Rashtriya Uchcha Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA). This would have clear focus on "Triple Es", expansion, equity, and excellence, through academic and governance reforms.

In financing, block grants should replace line-item budgets. While the annual operating budget allocations should be norms-based and follow a fixed calendar, the plan allocations would be based on long-term (five years or more) strategic plans and annual funding would be linked to the milestones and performance against the outcomes under the strategic plans.

Finally, there would be greater focus on implementation in order to really deliver the promises of the plan. To overcome procedural bottlenecks, a system of empowered committees would be deployed wherever necessary. New structures and institutional mechanisms would also be created for co-ordination across ministries and agencies. There would be performance indicators against various goals that clearly identify what would be measured. Monitoring of achievement would not be confined to the flow of funds and their utilization but will also include evaluation of programs and initiatives for outcomes and impact. Independent evaluation wherever required would be done for this purpose.

In conclusion, it is imperative that during the Twelfth Plan period the country undertakes an overhaul of higher education and creates a robust,

quality-driven system that is accessible to all segments of society. This is essential not only to ensure the continued economic growth of the country, but it is also necessary for social cohesion and to meet the rising aspirations of the country's young people. Building such a system of higher education requires a shared understanding of the solutions, and an alignment of the efforts of various stakeholders in higher education to implement these solutions.

Major Developments Impacting Higher Education—The Indian Context

While the Twelfth Plan defines the framework for the growth of Indian higher education in the medium term, the physiognomy of the long-term future of Indian higher education has already been molded to a great extent by developments that have taken place over the past two decades and seem irreversible. These developments are strongly influenced and will continue to be influenced by changes in the external environment and derive from three phenomena that are accelerating beyond anyone's control: demographic change, globalization, and scientific and technological progress, particularly in new information and communication technologies. Each of these phenomena will have a significant impact on the future of higher education in the country.

India's Demographic Advantage

Current demographic trends with growing population of the young in India indicate a continued expansion of higher education in India with increasing enrollment of women. In many states particularly in urban areas, women will form the majority of the student population. The mix of the student population will be more varied, with greater numbers of older students (as trends elsewhere in the world also suggest), as well as those studying part-time. The number of international students will also rise. While the social base in higher education will continue to broaden, inequalities of educational opportunities between various social–economic groups will persist since current gaps are large and are not closing as rapidly as required. A recent Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) study has projected that if enrollment in higher education rises to 40 percent of the age cohort by 2030 (which is likely), India's

contribution of human capital to global economy would be six times than that of North America and 3.5 times than that of Europe (OECD, 2008).

While, the population of the young is huge in India and is continuing to rise, it is declining in the developed world and even in China. Thus, India can take advantage of its demographic dividend to meet the global demand for high-skill workers. A recent study estimates that developed economies and China will face a shortage of about 40 million high-skill workers by 2020. Based on current projections of college education, India is likely to see a surplus of 6 million educated workers by 2020. If India meets and exceeds these projected levels of higher education, it can capture a higher share of global knowledge-based work, for example by increasing its exports of knowledge-intensive goods and services (Dobbs et al., 2012).

In order to benefit from this demographic trend, India will need to significantly improve the quality of higher education, implying the need for higher investment to improve the quality of learning in its universities and colleges, in academic, professional and vocational education. Several studies have shown that college graduates in India lack adequate soft skills, higher order problem-solving abilities and creativity, and that the quality of tertiary institutions needs to be improved to address this gap. In order to significantly enhance quality to meet employment needs and global standards, the country needs to pump more money to upgrade existing facilities, leverage technology to remove bottlenecks in the system, foster research and innovation, and so on. If the country is not able expand access and quality to meet the rising aspirations of its young population, it will not be able to take advantage of its demographic dividend and cause youth disaffection with adverse social and political consequences.

A further caution is that India's population pyramid shows stabilizing trends with the number of those in lower-age cohorts of 14 years and younger remaining steady, even as total population grows due to the increasing population of those in or approaching their childbearing years. This means that, if India does not increase the quality of education immediately, it will lose its demographic dividend.

Higher Education, a Global Enterprise

Higher education drives and is driven by globalization. This is evident from the advent of global curricula, particularly in science, engineering, and business studies; increasing mobility of scholars, students, and faculty in different directions across national borders; and global operations of

institutions of higher education that first began with traditional research universities, and now several for-profits that offer practical, career-oriented degrees have large global operations. Cross-border partnerships in research and even teaching, and growing popularization of global academic ranking of universities are changing the context in which universities now view themselves.

Academic research is now increasingly global in its scope and scale, and is affected by both collaborative and competitive forces. Despite North America and Europe holding a clear advantage with regard to research, higher education in Asia is gradually increasing its global influence (OECD, 2009). Several countries, even those that in the past had little interest in academic excellence, are making bold attempts to create world-class universities and global or regional education hubs (Wildavsky, 2010). India has an opportunity to benefit from these developments by engaging its higher education system more closely with the rest of world.

Technology: Changing the Higher Education Landscape

The most profound change, however, is going to be through the impact of technology on higher education. Technology is now affecting the core function of higher education—teaching and learning. In this context, one wonders if Arthur C. Clarke's frequently quoted comment—"When it comes to technology, most people over-estimate it in the short-term and underestimate it in the long term"—might well be right. While what the management guru Peter Drucker said in 1997, "Thirty years from now the big university campuses will be relics. Universities won't survive," might not come true, new technologies are beginning to transform higher education in very a significant manner and have potential to transform the higher education landscape in a manner that is difficult to imagine (Bjarnason, 2006).

New technologies are not only better aligning the teaching–learning process to the way people learn but, along with new insights about how the brain works, are also creating a new community-driven classroom environment. User-generated, collaborative learning libraries through which participants worldwide can instruct and learn from each other are emerging. These networks will harness the innovative energies of a much larger group of insightful people than currently possible.

Young generation is learning and sharing information, ideas, and experiences on the Internet in open source learning spaces and social media

sites. Distributed and collaborative learning is preparing the workforce of the twenty-first century for the new economy that operates on the same set of principles. Students are enmeshed in webs of shared relationships, in ever more inclusive communities, that eventually extend to the entirety of the biosphere. Learning is not a private or an isolated experience, but a community experience. It is about engaging diverse others in more distributed and collaborative learning communities, both in virtual and real space. We often learn better when we teach than when we listen to a teacher. When people reason together, their combined experience is more likely to achieve the desired results than when people reason alone. Peer-to-peer learning shifts the focus from the lone self to the interdependent group. The role of students is transformed from passive recipients of knowledge to active participants in their own education (Rifken, 2011). Enduring learning communities are getting built every day, allowing students to transcend limitations of proximity, geography, time, and even language.

Hybrid learning environment would become quite common in perhaps less than a decade. From the current mode, where all students are taught the same thing on the same day in the same way, it would be possible to educate students in customized ways and create a new modular system facilitated by online user networks. A shift from teacher-led monolithic instruction to computer-based learning to student-centric learning is imminent. Technological platforms are being developed that would enable even non-professionals to create student-centric learning tools. These would enable students to create tutorial tools for each other, help parents to create tools for their children and other's children. It would also make it easy for teachers to create tools for their students and for other teachers (Christensen and Eyring, 2011). Technology is starting to transform the traditional role of the teacher—from an instruction-centered, front-of-the-classroom guru to a facilitative mentor who supports and catalyses the learning vectors individual students discover for themselves.

Much of the transformative potential of technology on higher education would be positive. New technologies and organizational innovations that these technologies enable, offer exciting opportunities to make learning intrinsically motivating, teaching professionally rewarding, and transform higher education to source of solutions and strength. This would drive the higher education system to be more affordable, accessible, and responsive. It is imperative for the Indian higher education to respond to these trends to raise the bar and close the gap in higher education access.

Thus, a singular impact of technology in higher education would help to erase many of the asymmetries that have been plaguing higher education

in India. Asymmetry of information availability is getting erased through broadband networks that are connecting education of higher learning, through learning devices that would be more easily and widely available, and through e-libraries that will be commonplace. Asymmetry of access is getting solved through making good quality education accessible to students across the country, both at their individual locations, as well as at the institutions of higher learning that they may be studying in. Asymmetry of quality will start getting dampened, as technology raises the bar of base-quality through many ways described earlier. The most impactful contribution of technology in higher education would therefore be perhaps through accelerating India faster than anticipated to universal higher education of adequate quality.

Conclusion

While it is clear that higher education is at the cusp of major changes and we see these changes occurring all around us, their long-term implications are not clearly known. In order to be future-ready, it is important to recognise these shifts, use the opportunities that they offer, and find fundamental and unconventional solutions (rather than symptomatic solutions) to the challenges that they pose. Such solutions would often take more time to effect, would demand greater efforts, and would require people to change their behaviors and value systems. The higher education plan proposed for the Twelfth Five-Year Plan aimed to represent such thinking and the objective of this epilogue is to provide a framework for further discussion at the national level. It is therefore hoped that this volume of essays on Indian higher education would enable this process of integrative thinking and applied creativity to be addressed to the issues of the country's higher education so that it can reach its full potential.

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Acknowledgments

I first met Professor Philip G. Altbach at Symbiosis in Pune way back in 2003. His interest and understanding of India's higher education were remarkable and clearly visible both from his public lecture and personal interactions and in the passion with which he has been contributing scholarly books and articles on Indian higher education over the last five decades. It was, however, two years later in 2005 that my continuing professional association with Professor Altbach began. I was a New Century Scholar on higher education from India under the Fulbright program, which Professor Altbach was leading as its Distinguished Scholar Leader. In course of this program over a year, I recognised his deep commitment to the cause of higher education worldwide and India always had a special place in his heart.

Professor Altbach was a Fulbright Research Professor in 1968, when he began writing about developments in the Indian higher education sector. Ever since, he has been a keen observer and an avid commentator on India's higher education sector. Over the years, I have immensely benefitted by reading Professor Altbach's works. I found that his writings held a mirror to us about our failings and made us aware of the challenges while giving us many clues about the available opportunities. I strongly felt that his writings could provide a firm underpinning for an informed discourse on contemporary Indian higher education which would be beneficial to researchers, policy makers and practitioners. And thus the idea of publishing this book was born.

When I drew Professor Altbach's attention to this idea, he was extremely enthusiastic. Over the past few months, he has been working relentlessly to bring out this volume. He has not only helped us in getting permissions for the reproduction of his works, but also wrote an original essay for this

volume and gave a detailed interview. This clearly shows his continuing commitment. I am deeply indebted to him for allowing me to bring together his valuable scholarly contributions on India to all those who are interested in India's higher education.

Professor Altbach has always believed in the power of constructive and scholarly dialogue in order to form his views. So, I felt that it might be useful to invite some eminent educationists to contribute short essays that reflect on Professor Altbach's work in this volume and connect it to the contemporary realities. Thus, I invited Fazal Rizvi, Narayana Jayaram, K. B. Powar, M. Anandakrishnan, K. N.Panikkar, Rafiq Dosani, and Arvind Radhakrishnan to contribute these essays. All of them were unusually quick to revert with their valuable contributions to this volume. This shows their high admiration for Professor Altbach and his work. I am extremely grateful to them for this.

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Eldho Mathews, my colleague at the Planning Commission, assisted me in coordinating this project with the publisher and in getting permission from the original publishers for reproduction of his work in this volume. I appreciate his hard work and thank him for sharing with me this passion to reach Professor Altbach's work to a larger academic community. I thank the original publishers for permitting Altbach's work in this volume. This has also been gratefully acknowledged separately.

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