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BOOK REVIEWS

Organisational Structure of Higher Education in Manipur

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Abstract

An organisation or institution set up in specific ways to accomplish the goals, and the structure of an organisation can help or hinder its progress toward accomplishing those goals in addition to other factors. Keeping this in mind, the present paper attempts to lcritically evaluate and summarise the changes in the structure of higher education in Manipur. To serve this purpose, various documents have been reviewed and analysed. This paper highlights the organisational structure of higher education in Manipur, especially the organisational structure of Manipur University when it was a State university and after upgraded to central university status.

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Introduction

Organisational structure is an institution's skeleton. Organisational structure refers to how individual and team work within an organisation, are coordinated and managed to achieve organisational goals and objectives. Organisational structure improves operational efficiency by providing clarity to employees at all levels of an institution. It is important to have an organisational structure in the higher education system to accomplish the goals of higher education.
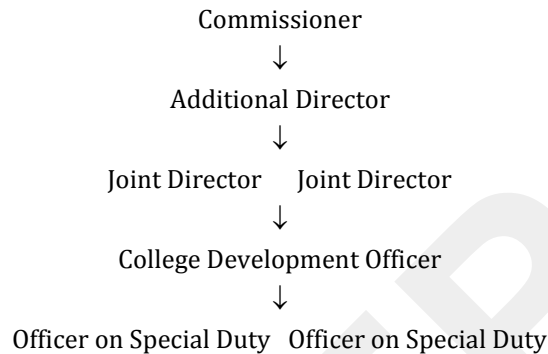
Higher education has been provided by colleges and universities in Manipur as done in other parts of India. These institutions are collectively known as institutions of higher education whether they are providing general, technical, vocational, professional education, etc. under different management and controlling agencies for ensuring quality education. The coming of higher education in Manipur may be traced back to the early 1970's with the attainment of statehood, and the number of college had increased enormously (Maimom, 2001). There were few higher educational institutions before 1970. The Centre for Post-Graduate Studies under Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi was also established in 1972. The emergence of higher educational institutions on large scale was from 1972 onwards, and the people of Manipur have been receiving higher education for four decades on a large scale (Maimom, 2001).

Organisational Structure of Higher Education in Manipur

The Department of Higher Education in Manipur functions under the aegis of the Ministry of Higher Education, Government of Manipur. The Department of Higher Education is under the control of Directorate of Education (U) in respect of administration and direction of higher education in Manipur. The Directorate of University and Higher Education is the nodal office of the State Government for higher education in Manipur. However, the academic control of higher education was under the purview of the Manipur University. The Directorate looks after the development of higher education in association with the Manipur University. The Directorate was headed by a Director (now Commissioner, Higher Education as ex-officio Director). In the matter of general administration, the Commissioner is assisted by the one Additional Director (U) as drawing and disbursing officer and the head of office, one Joint Director, one College Development Officer and two Officers on Special Duty dealing with general administration, students' welfare and the legal matters respectively in the matter of planning, education management, informative system and others.

The Directorate looks after the Government colleges directly and the Private-aided colleges indirectly. Regarding Private colleges, the involvement of the Directorate is limited to giving a no-objection certificate or otherwise at the time of establishment.

Organisational Flow Chart of the Directorate of Education (U), Government of Manipur

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Commissioner

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Additional Director

↓

Joint Director   Joint Director

↓

College Development Officer

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Officer on Special Duty   Officer on Special Duty

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The Directorate does not have jurisdiction over Technical, Medical and Fine Art colleges. The post of Director is a selection post by transfer or promotion from among Principals of Government Colleges with five years of regular service in the grade as per Recruitment Rules. There has been no Director's appointment since 1985. The post of other officers in the Directorate of University and Higher Education, that is, Additional Director, Joint Directors, etc, are also manned by transfer and posting of teachers from Government colleges. Under the Government's downsizing policy, one post of Additional Director has been abolished.

The Manipur University has full autonomy in academic matters of higher education. It prescribes and sets academic standards, determines academic calendar and conducts examinations. It also prescribes qualification for recruitment and career advancement of teachers in the colleges based on UGC guidelines. The Directorate of University and Higher Education is the nodal office of the State Government for higher education in Manipur. It looks after Government colleges imparting general education directly and Private-aided colleges indirectly. The Directorate's role is limited to issuing a no objection certificate to the Private colleges at the time of establishment. These colleges offer many Honours and General Courses at the Degree level. Many of these colleges also offer job-oriented Vocational Courses. The Government colleges, particularly in the hill Districts, are still retaining the higher secondary i.e., +2 courses though it should be a part of the school education system. It is also retained by 40 Private-aided and Private colleges. Apart from the Manipur University, the D.M. College of Science also offers studies leading to Master's Degree in Anthropology, Mathematics and Life Sciences. Post-graduate courses through the Indira Gandhi National Open University can be availed of by interested students. IGNOU has opened study centres for distance education at six colleges in Manipur.

Universities in Manipur

There are two universities in Manipur. They are the Central Agricultural University, Iroisemba, and the Manipur University, Canchipur, Imphal. The Central Agricultural

University was established in 1992, for the development of agriculture and the furtherance of the advancement of learning and prosecution of research in agriculture and allied sciences in the North-Eastern region. The University has seven campuses, including the College of Agriculture at Iroisemba, Imphal, Manipur. Manipur campus is the Head Quarter of Central Agricultural University, Iroisemba. The remaining six campuses are: College of Veterinary Science, Mizoram; College of Fishery Science, Tripura; College of Horticulture and Forestry, Arunachal Pradesh; College of Home Science, Tura, West Garo Hills, Meghalaya; College of Agricultural Engineering and Post-harvesting Technology, Sikkim; and College of Post-graduate Studies, Meghalaya, under ICAR–Research Complex, Barapani.

The Manipur University, Canchipur was established in the year 1980. It has three schools of studies, *viz:* School of Humanities, School of Social Sciences and School of Sciences when it was a state university. These schools of studies have twenty-three departments with full-fledged post-graduate teaching Departments till 2005. These twenty-three departments teach post-graduate courses leading to the award to Master's Degree in Arts, Science, Commerce, Computer Applications, Business Administration, as well as degrees of Master of Philosophy and Doctor of Philosophy, Post-graduate Diploma in Computer Applications, Post-graduate Diploma in Adult Continuing and Extension Education, and Bachelor of Library and Information Science.

All the three schools of studies had Dean appointed by Vice-Chancellor from amongst Professors/ Senior Fellows of the School for a period not exceeding three years, and she/he is eligible for reappointment. The Dean was the Head of the School of Studies and was responsible for the conduct and standard of teaching and research in the school. As per Annual Report 2012-13 of Manipur University, the University, after the upgradation to Central University, had six schools which were School of Humanities, School of Social Sciences, School of Life Sciences, School of Human and Environmental Sciences, School of Mathematical and Physical Sciences, and School of Medical Sciences.

Organisational Structure of Manipur University

Two organisational flow chart of Manipur University is given below. First one is the organisational structure of Manipur University when it was a State University, and second organisational flow chart of Manipur University is after the upgradation to Central University. There is some difference in the organisational structures of the University.

Organisational Flow Chart of Manipur University
(A State University)

Chancellor
↓
Vice-Chancellor
↓
Registrar
↓
Deputy Registrar   Deputy Registrar
↓
Assistant Registrars

Organisational Flow Chart of Manipur University
(A Central University)

Chancellor
↓
Vice-Chancellor
↓
Pro-Vice-Chancellor
↓
Registrar
↓
Deputy Registrar   Deputy Registrar
↓
Assistant Registrar   Assistant Registrar   Assistant Registrar
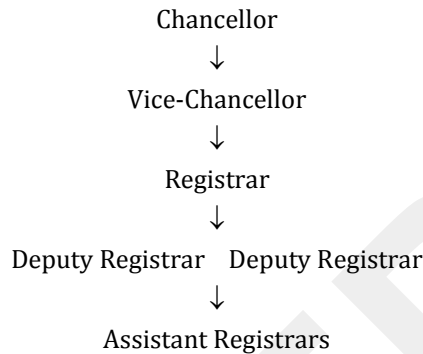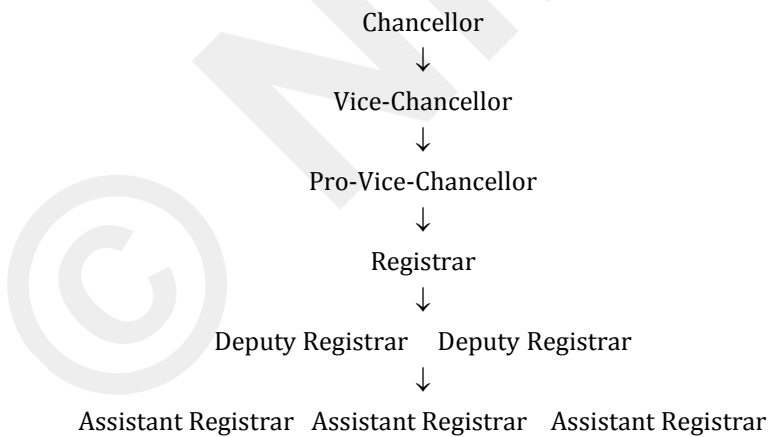
Upgradation of Manipur University to the Status of Central University

It has been a dream of the people of Manipur to make Manipur University a Central University. The then Hon'ble Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh had announced that the Manipur University would be upgraded to the status of a Central University, in the 9th

Convocation address of the University. An Ordinance of the Manipur University was promulgated on 13 October, 2005 by the President of India. The Manipur University Act, 2005 (No.54 of 2005) was passed by both the Houses of Parliament. The President gave his assent of the Manipur University Act, 2005 on the 29 December, 2005.

Objectives of the University

The primary objective of the University is to disseminate and advance knowledge by providing instructional and research facilities in such branches of learning as it may deem fit; to make provisions for integrated courses in humanities, natural and physical sciences, social sciences, forestry and other allied disciplines in the educational programmes of the University; to take appropriate measures for promoting innovations in teaching-learning process, interdisciplinary studies and research; to educate and train manpower for the development of the State of Manipur and to pay special attention to the improvement of the social and economic conditions and welfare of the people of the State for their intellectual, academic and cultural development.

Administrative Structure

The President of India is the Visitor of the University in the new administrative structure after upgradation to the Central University status. The Governor of the State of Manipur is the Chief Rector of the University. The Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the Deans of Schools of Studies, the Registrar, the Finance Officer, the Controller of Examinations, the Librarian and such other officers declared by the Statutes from time-to-time are the officers of the University. The structure and roles of the officers of the University is changed. Earlier, the Governor of Manipur was the ex-officio Chancellor and Chairman of the Senate of the University. The Vice-Chancellor as the principal executive and academic officer of the University is the Chairman of the Syndicate, Academic Council and various other statutory bodies of the University. Though the role and responsibility of Vice-Chancellor is not changed, and in new structure, VC is assisted by Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Now, the Chancellor is the Chairman of the Court and the Vice-Chancellor is the Chairman of the Executive Council, Academic Council and various other statutory bodies of the University. The Vice-Chancellor is assisted by the following officials in transacting the normal Academic and Administrative works of the University:

Administration

Registrar; Finance Officer; Controller of Examinations; Director, College Development Council; Librarian; Dean, School of Students' Welfare; University Engineer; Chief Consultant (Civil). The Registrar is the Secretary of the Court, Executive Council and Academic Council. The Registrar is assisted by Deputy Registrars and Assistant Registrars and other officers.

Academic

There were only three Deans in the State University structure and now there are six Deans. Dean, School of Humanities; Dean, School of Social Sciences; Dean, School of Life

Sciences; Dean, School of Human and Environmental Science; Dean, School of Mathematical & Physical Sciences; and Dean, School of Medical Sciences.

Authorities of the Manipur University

When Manipur University was a State University, the authorities of the University were the Senate, the Syndicate, the Academic Council, the Board of Studies, the Finance Committee, the College Development Council and the Planning Board. As Manipur University became a Central University, the Court which was earlier known as Senate, the Executive Council which was earlier known as Syndicate, the Academic Council, the College Development Council, the Board of Studies and the Finance Committee are the authorities of the University and such other authorities as may be declared by the Statutes will be the authorities of the University. In the new structure of decision-making bodies of the University, the Planning Board has been abolished.

The Court

The Court, which was earlier known as Senate, is the highest authority of the University. The first Court holds a term of three years during the transitional provisions. The Constitution of the Court and the term of office of its members were prescribed by the Statutes. Subject to the provisions of the Manipur University Act, 2005, the Court has the following powers and functions: to review, from time-to-time, the broad policies and programmes of the University and to suggest measures for the improvement and development of the University; to consider and pass resolutions on the annual report and the annual accounts of the University and the audit report on such accounts; to advise the Visitor in respect of any matter which may be referred to it for advice; and to perform such other functions as may be prescribed by the Statutes.

The Executive Council

The Executive Council was the principal executive body of the University. The first Executive Council, earlier known as Syndicate, holds a term of three years during the transitional provisions. Seven members of the Executive Council form a quorum for a meeting of the Executive Council. The Executive Council has the power of management and administration of the revenues and property of the University and the conducts all administrative affairs of the University not otherwise provided for.

The Academic Council

The Academic Council is the principal academic body of the University and, subject to the provisions of the Act, the Statutes and the Ordinances, co-ordinate and exercise general supervision over the academic policies of the University. And to give directions regarding methods of instruction, co-ordination of teaching among the colleges and the institutions, evaluation of research and improvement of the academic standards; to bring about and promote inter-school co-ordination and to establish or appoint such committees or boards as may be deemed necessary for the purpose; to consjjider matters of general academic

interest either on its own initiative, or on a reference by a School or the Executive Council, and to take appropriate action thereon; and to frame such regulations and rules consistent with the Statutes and the Ordinances regarding the academic functioning of the University, discipline, residence, admissions, award of fellowships and studentships, fees, concessions, corporate life and attendance. Nine members of the Academic Council form a quorum for a meeting of the Academic Council.

Planning Board

The Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman of the Planning Board and other members of the Board were appointed by the Chancellor and hold office for such period as the Chancellor may determine. The Planning Board had the right to advise the Syndicate and the Academic Council on any academic matter.

The Finance Committee

The Finance Committee deals with the preparation of budget estimate and Annual Accounts of the University to be placed before the Syndicate, and the Senate for approval. The annual accounts and financial estimate of the University, prepared by the Finance Officer, were laid before the Finance Committee for consideration and comments. Thereafter, submitted to the Syndicate for approval with or without amendments when it was a State University. The Vice-Chancellor presides over the meetings of the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee meets at least twice every year to examine the accounts and scrutinise proposals for expenditure.

The annual accounts and the financial estimates of the University, prepared by the Finance Officer, were laid before the Finance Committee for consideration and comments. Thereafter, it was submitted to the Executive Council for approval after the University was upgraded to Central University. All proposals relating to creation of posts and those items which have not been included in the budget were examined by the Finance Committee before these are considered by the Executive Council. The Finance Committee recommends limits for the total recurring expenditure and the total non-recurring expenditure for the year, based on the income and resource of the University (which, in the case of productive works, may include the proceeds of loans). Now, the Finance Committee meets at least thrice every year to examine the accounts and to scrutinise proposals for expenditure.

The Finance Committee consists of the following members

When the University was a State University, the Finance Committee consisted of members, namely: the Vice-Chancellor, ex-officio; the Secretary (Finance), Government of Manipur, ex-officio; one person, nominated by the Chancellor; three persons, who were not employees of the University or of any affiliated institution nominated by the Syndicate. The Finance Officer was the Secretary of the Finance Committee. Three members of the Finance Committee form the quorum. All members of the Finance Committee, other than ex-officio members, hold office for a term of three years. After upgradation to Central University, the Finance Committee members consist of the Vice-Chancellor; the Pro-Vice-Chancellor; three

persons to be nominated by the Executive Council, out of whom at least one should be a member of the Executive Council; and three persons to be nominated by the Visitor. Five members of the Finance Committee form the quorum for a meeting of the Finance Committee. All the members of the Finance Committee, other than ex-officio members, hold office for a term of three years.

There is a change in the structure of the Finance Committee after upgradation to Central University. It consists of some new members and the number of members in Finance Committee has also been increased. Three members form the quorum for a meeting of the Finance Committee but after upgrading to Central University status, five members form the quorum.

Committees for the Advanced Studies & Research

There are six Committees for Advanced Studies & Research in all the Schools of Studies. The Committee for Advance Studies & Research recommends scholars for admission to the Ph.D. Programme.

The Board of Studies

In the new structure, there are thirteen Boards of Studies. They are: Postgraduate Board of Studies of the School of Humanities, Postgraduate Board of Studies of the School of Social Sciences, Postgraduate Board of Studies of the School of Life Sciences, Postgraduate Board of Studies of the School of Human & Environmental Sciences, Postgraduate Board of Studies of the School of Mathematical & Physical Sciences, Board of Studies of the Medical Sciences (Pre-clinical), Board of Studies of the Medical Sciences (Para-clinical), Board of Studies of Medical Sciences (clinical), Undergraduate Board of Studies of the School of Humanities, Undergraduate Board of Studies of the School of Social Sciences, Undergraduate Board of Studies of the School of Life Sciences, Undergraduate Board of Studies of the School of Human & Environmental Sciences, Undergraduate Board of Studies of the School of Mathematical & Physical Sciences.

Each Department had a Board of Studies. Subject to the overall control and supervision of the Academic Council, the functions of a Board of Studies was to approve subjects for research for various degrees and other requirements of research degrees and to recommend to the concerned School Board in the manner prescribed by the Ordinances for courses of studies and appointment of examiners for courses, but excluding research Degrees; appointment of supervisors for research; and measures for the improvement of the standard of teaching and research: after the commencement of the Act 2005, be performed by the Department.

The Progress of University

One of the biggest progresses of Manipur University was the upgradation to the status of a Central University. Two Departments had been established in the year 2005 i.e., Department of Manipur Dance which has opened the Degree of M.A. in Manipur Dance, and Department of Journalism and Mass Communication which has opened one-year Post Graduate Diploma Course in Journalism and Communication. In the year 2005, the Manipur

University had also established Centre for Myanmar Studies (CMS), under the initiation of the University Grants Commission programme for Area Study Centres in Universities. It has been running a six-month certificate course on Myanmar language. The Department of Adult Continuing Education and Extension was opened in the University of Manipur in 1996 with 100 per cent financial assistance by the University Grants Commission; it has opened M.A. in Adult Continuing Education and Extension. It was a significant development of the Department for the year 2005. The Manipur University has made all-round progress in spite of certain difficulties, financial crunch and complete ban on recruitment by the State Government during the Eight Plan period.

Teaching Programme

As per Annual Report 2014-15 of Manipur University, there are six Schools which have different departments under each school, one constituent College, Manipur Institute of Technology and four Centres: Women Studies Centre, Centre for Myanmar Studies, Centre for Manipur Studies and Centre for Social Exclusion & Inclusive Policy. Those six schools are: School of Humanities, School of Social Sciences, School of Life Sciences, School of Human & Environmental Sciences, School of Mathematical & Physical Sciences and School of Medical Sciences. The School of Humanities has seven departments, School of Social Science has eleven, School of Life Sciences has three, School of Human and Environmental Sciences has five, School of Mathematical and Physical Sciences has five departments. Further, School of Medical Sciences has two Medical Institutes which are affiliated to Manipur University; they are Jawaharlal Nehru Institute of Medical Sciences and Regional Institute of Medical Sciences. Some new courses of studies have been offered, and diversification in courses of studies at the University has been effected.

In the previous structure, there were three Schools of Studies in the University. Now, there are six Schools of Studies with full-fledged Postgraduate teaching Departments under the Manipur University. The University has 584 faculty members in all the six Schools of Studies: School of Humanities has 56, School of Social Sciences 70, School of Human & Environmental Sciences 24, School of Life Sciences 37, School of Mathematical & Physical Sciences 44 and School of Medical Sciences 353 (Annual Report 2012-13, Manipur University).

The College Development Council

The College Development Council (CDC), Manipur University was set up in 1985 to ensure proper planning and integrated development of the affiliated colleges of the University. It monitors collegiate education in the State of Manipur. It liaises between the colleges, the Government of Manipur and the University. It has been functioning in the University as a policy-making, recommendatory and advisory body. The CDC, a statutory body, has been playing a vital role in giving a thrust to the development of college and collegiate (higher) education in the state in its endeavour to bridge the gap between the University and the colleges and the UGC. With the aim of providing and recording information related to faculty position, students' enrollment, subjects and courses provided etc, in different affiliated colleges under Manipur University, the Director CDC has been bringing out a college handbook entitled "College Statistics" since 1986-87.

It has been facilitating implementation of UGC's scheme and programmes intended to improve the standards of higher education. The Council deals with all the matters relating to the development of academic and physical facilities of the colleges like workload of teachers, establishment of new colleges/new courses or subjects in the colleges, etc. Further, it also deals with the matter relating to the upgradation to next higher class; renewal of permission and temporary affiliation; grant of permanent affiliation; implementation of UGC approved new courses in eligible colleges; collection and preparation of College Statistics for submission to the UGC as required by the UGC from time-to-time; recommendation of college proposals for Central financial assistance; circulation of UGC and other Central Agencies approved schemes, policy and programmes for implementation in the colleges; nomination of University representative to the Governing body, Construction Committee, Selection Committee of affiliated colleges. The Council inspects the affiliated colleges. The Council also liaises between the Government of Manipur, the University Grants Commission, the National Council of Technical Education, the Bar Council of India, the Medical Council of India and the colleges. The officials of various educational agencies of UGC, AICTE, NCTE, etc visit the University, and the Council arranges for meetings of the Principals with these officials.

The College Development Council is responsible for admitting colleges of the privileges of the University. Colleges and other Institutions situated within the jurisdiction of the University can be admitted to such privileges of the University as the Executive Council, and the College Development Council may decide on the following conditions: Every such College or Institution shall have a regularly constituted Governing Body, consisting of not more than fifteen persons approved by the Executive Council and, including among others, two teachers of the University to be nominated by the Executive Council and three representatives of the teaching staff of whom the Principal of the College or Institution shall be one. The procedure for appointment of members of the Governing Body and other matters affecting the management of a College or an Institution shall be prescribed by the Ordinances: Provided that the said condition shall not apply in the case of Colleges and Institutions maintained by Government which shall, however, have an Advisory Committee consisting of not more than fifteen persons which shall consist of among others, three teachers including the Principal of the College or Institution, and two teachers of the University nominated by the Executive Council; every such College or Institution shall satisfy the Executive Council and the College Development Council on the following matters:

- The suitability and adequacy of its accommodation and equipment for teaching;
- The qualifications and adequacy of its teaching staff and the conditions of their service;
- The arrangements for the residence, welfare, discipline and supervision of students;
- The adequacy of financial provision made for the continued maintenance of the College or Institution; and
- Such other matters as are essential for the maintenance of the standards of University education.

No College or Institution shall be admitted to any privileges of the University except on the recommendation of the Academic Council made after considering the report of a Committee of Inspection appointed for the purpose by the Academic Council. A College or an

Institution shall not, without the previous permission of the Executive Council, College Development Council and the Academic Council, suspend instruction in any subject or course of study which it is authorised to teach and teaches. Appointment to the teaching staff and Principals of Colleges or Institutions admitted to the privileges of the University shall be made in the manner prescribed by the Ordinances: Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to Colleges and Institutions maintained by the Government.

The College Development Council has taken proper steps for the development and progress of the colleges which are kept informed of the various programmes initiated by the UGC and University from time-to-time. The College Development Council has helped the eligible colleges in their preparation of proposals for financial assistance from the UGC; scrutinised and recommended the college proposals for UGC grants. The CDC assisted the University in granting permanent affiliation to deserving colleges and hereafter recommending their names to the UGC for inclusion under 12 (b) and 2 (f) provision of the UGC Act. The CDC has monitored the UGC programmes to be implemented by the affiliated colleges. Suggestions received from the colleges are considered at the appropriate forums of the University. The Council regularly holds meetings with the Principals of the colleges to acquaint them with various schemes and projects available for the development of the colleges, and arriving at collective decision on various important issues of higher education.

TABLE 1

Colleges Affiliated to Manipur University Accredited by NAAC

Sl. No.	Name of College	Category	Grade	Year of Accreditation
1.	Modern College, Porompat, Imphal	Government	B	2004-05
2.	D.M. College of Science, Imphal	Government	B	2006-07
3.	D.M. College of Arts, Imphal	Government	B++	2004-05
4.	G.P. Women's College, Imphal	Government	B	2006-07
5.	Imphal College, Imphal	Government	B	2010-11
6.	Oriental College, Imphal	Government	B	2010-11
7.	Manipur College, Imphal	Government	B	2007-08
8.	United College, Chandel	Government	B	2006-07
9.	Don Bosco College, Maram	Private	-	15 June 2009
10.	R. K. Sanatombi Devi College of Education, Imphal	Private	-	2007-08
11.	Moirang College, Moirang	Government	B+	2011-12
12.	S. Kula Women's College	Private	B	21 April 2012 to 20 April 2017
13.	M.B. College, Imphal	Government	-	5 July 2012 up to 4 July 2017

Source: Annual Report 2012-13, Manipur University

With the constant efforts of the College Development Council, the above colleges have been accredited under NAAC as on 31 March, 2013. So far, 13 colleges affiliated to Manipur University have been accredited under NAAC, Bangalore. Few colleges were under the process of accreditation. Both the Government and Private colleges were placed at B grades, only one Government college got B++ and another Government college got B+ grade.

Colleges in Manipur

The types of colleges which are in existence in Manipur are Government Colleges, Private Colleges, Permitted Private Colleges and Government-aided Colleges. There are thirty-two Government Colleges, twenty-four Private Colleges, eight Permitted Private Colleges and eight Government-aided Colleges. The Manipur University has an Ordinance on affiliation of colleges in Arts, Science and Commerce, 1986, which has general conditions of establishment of a new college, minimum accommodation which should be in the college, opening of new subjects in an existing college, screening of applications and steps for permission, admission of students in a new college, permission to start 1st year class in a college, submission of progress report, general conditions of affiliation, extension of affiliation and upgradation of affiliation, renewal of temporary affiliation, permanent affiliation, dissolution of an affiliated college, withdrawal of affiliation, affiliation fee rates are prescribed and rates of prescribed fees are revised from time-to-time. The College Development Council has prescribed a revised fee structure to be realised from the affiliated colleges or colleges to be affiliated to Manipur University with effect from academic session 2015-16.

All the seventy-two colleges which are affiliated to Manipur University, some are permanently affiliated and some are temporarily affiliated. Out of these seventy-two colleges, fifty-eight colleges are of general education, one is a medical college, three law colleges, four teachers' training colleges, four technical colleges, one physical and sports college and one fine arts college. Forty-two colleges are recognised under Section 2(f) and 12(b) of the UGC Act, 1956. Among these, twenty-eight are Government Colleges, six Government-aided Private Colleges and eight Private Colleges (College Statistics 2003 and Annual Report 2005, Manipur University).

TABLE 2

Classification of Colleges by the Year of Establishment

Sl.No.	Category	No. of Colleges
1.	1960 and before	08
2.	1961-70	13
3.	1971-80	14
4.	1981-90	25
5.	1991-2000	10
6.	2001-03	02
	Total	**72**

Source: College Statistics, Manipur University, 2003

The above table shows that before 1960 there were only eight colleges in the state. Since the establishment of State University, Manipur University witnessed a sudden rise in the number of affiliated colleges in Manipur during the years 1981 to 1990.

TABLE 3

District-wise Distribution of Colleges in Manipur

Sl.No.	Name of District	Number of Colleges
1.	Imphal West	21
2.	Imphal East	17
3.	Bishenpur	09
4.	Thoubal	09
5.	Chandel	03
6.	Churachandpur	05
7.	Ukhrul	01
8.	Senapati	06
9.	Tamenglong	01
	Total	72

Source: College Statistics 2008-09, Manipur University

The above table shows that most of the colleges were concentrated in Imphal East and Imphal West districts. Hill districts have very less number of colleges. Two hill districts - Ukhrul and Tamenglong - have only one college each.

TABLE 4

Classification of Colleges by the Strength of Students

Sl.No.	Category	Number of Colleges
1.	1001and above	09
2.	500-1000	11
3.	300-499	10
4.	200-299	12
5.	100-199	16
6.	Below100	13
	Total	**71**

Source: College Statistics, Manipur University, 2003

(Excluding Degree College of Physical Education and Sports, Yaralpat, enrolment of students – Nil)

TABLE 5

New Affiliation of Colleges to Manipur University

Sl. No.	Name of the College	District and Year of Establishment	Courses of Studies	Type of Affiliation
1.	Government Dance College	Imphal East District, 1954	Dance up to Graduate level	Permanent
2.	Institute of Cooperative Management	Imphal West District, 2004	Management Training/Course	Permanent
3.	College of Social Work	Imphal West District, 2008	Social Work	Temporary
4.	Institute of Rural Education	Wangjing, Thoubal District 2008	B.Ed.	Temporary
5.	Mt. Pisgah College	Senapati District 2010	B.A.	Temporary
6.	Jawaharlal Nehru Institute of Medical Science	Imphal East District 2010	M.B.B.S.	Temporary
7.	Kangleipak Medical and Nursing Institute	Imphal, 2008	B.Sc. Nursing	Temporary
8.	Asufi Christian College	Senapati District, 2011	B.A./B.Sc.	Temporary
9.	RDO College of Nursing	Imphal West, 2011	Nursing	Temporary
10.	College of Nursing, Medical Directorate	Imphal West, 2012	B.Sc. Nursing	Temporary
11.	CMC, College of Nursing	Imphal East, 2012	B.Sc. Nursing	Temporary
12.	Vishal Law Institute	Imphal East, 2012	Law (Integrated Course)	Permitted
13.	Th. Ibotombi Institute of Teacher Education & Training	Bishnupur District, 1997	B.Ed.	Temporary

Source: Annual Report 2012-13, Manipur University

Thirteen more colleges have been affiliated to Manipur University between the years 2004 and 2012. Technical colleges were also opened in Manipur during this period. Most of the colleges had temporary affiliation to Manipur University except one college with permitted affiliation and two with permanent affiliation. As of 2013, the total number of affiliated colleges to Manipur University were 84 (Annual Report, Manipur University 2013-14). There were 45 colleges which were affiliated to Manipur University and recognised under 2(f) & 12 (b) of the UGC Act, 1956. Only seven colleges which were affiliated to Manipur University were under Section 2 (f) of the UGC Act, 1956 (College Statistics 2008-09, Manipur University).

There are 84 affiliated colleges consisting of 33 permanently affiliated government colleges, 1 autonomous college, 1 constituent college, 29 permanently affiliated government-aided colleges, 4 permanently affiliated private colleges, 2 temporarily affiliated government colleges and 16 temporarily private affiliated colleges. There are 56 colleges which have

been recognised under Section 2(f) & 12(b) of the UGC Act, 1956 and got financial grants from UGC NERO and UGC Delhi for different projects (Annual Report 2014-15, Manipur University).

Courses Offered in the Colleges of Manipur

The Government, Private-aided and Private Colleges of Manipur offer courses leading to the award to Bachelor's Degree in Arts, Science, Commerce, other Professional and Technical courses. The colleges offer General and Honours courses at the Degree level. The University has also granted permission to the RIMS (Medical College), LMS Law College and DM College of Science to open post-graduate courses in M.S./M.D., LL.M. and M.Sc. in their respective colleges. There were thirty colleges affiliated to Manipur University in which vocational courses were introduced and opened various vocational courses from 1996 to 2003. The Manipur University has minimum requirements of infrastructure and general guidelines for introduction of the new scheme of studies and examinations for three-year degree course. Colleges affiliated to Manipur University have to follow this scheme of undergraduate education. Based on the UGC guidelines, the standard size of undergraduate classes in different courses have to be followed. The Manipur University Ordinances for undergraduate courses have incorporated the requirements.

Conclusion

The analysis of the organisational structure of higher education in Manipur depicts that the Directorate of Education (U) looks after the Government Colleges directly and the Private-aided Colleges indirectly. All the seventy-two colleges which were affiliated to Manipur University (State University) and the infrastructure development of the University were under the purview of the Directorate of Education (U). Due to the financial crunch, the University cannot developed much. The Manipur University was the only teaching-cum-affiliating State University in Manipur. So, all the colleges are affiliated to it and the University has full autonomy in academic matters. However, after the analysis of various decision-making bodies of the University, it is found that the representation from the affiliating colleges was low (Leisangthem, 2017). If the representation from colleges to various bodies of the University is increased then there will be good coordination between the University and the colleges. The functional relationship between the University, the affiliated colleges and the Directorate will be more effective.

The organisational structure of Manipur University has changed after upgradation to Central University status; the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor was included and the Planning Committee was abolished in the new structure. The three schools of studies in Manipur University were further bifurcated into six schools of studies. In the Manipur University Act, 2005, it had written the powers and functions of the Executive Council but the constitution is not written in it. The constitution of the court was also not mentioned in the Act and Statutes of the University. The powers and functions of the Academic Council were given in the Act and Statutes but it didn't mention the constitution of members. In the Act and Statutes only, the constitution of members of the Finance Committee was written in it. The constitution of members of various decision-making bodies in the university is very important to accomplish the goals of the University. The Planning Committee which was there when it

was a State University, but now it has been abolished. Structural changes in the University have not contributed much in the development of the University and its affiliated colleges. Although there have been some development in higher education after upgradation to Central University like additional departments, centres and new courses of studies have been introduced but the same has not been significant enough.

Despite increasing the staff to support the structural changes of higher education in the state, the government was implementing the downsizing policy. The number of affiliated colleges has been increased, and due to downsizing policy, the number of posts of officer has reduced in the Directorate, and CDC was also under-staffed. The increased number of colleges' needs supervision and various kinds of support at different academic and administrative levels but many administrative positions in the Directorate have been abolished as a part of downsizing policy of the Manipur government. The reduced number of administrative posts definitely hinders the functioning of existing and newly established colleges. Further, staff at CDC and the Directorate needs to be increased to enable the higher education system to function more effectively in Manipur.

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Higher Education and Public Goods[#]

Simon Marginson[*]

Abstract

The distinction between 'public' and 'private' in social policy has two principal meanings. In economic theory, Samuelson distinguishes non-market goods (public) that cannot be produced for profit, from market-based activity (private). This provides a basis for identifying the minimum necessary public expenditure, but does not effectively encompass collective goods, and leads to an under-estimation of the potential contributions of higher education and other social sectors. Alternately, public is often understood as referring to state ownership and/or control. For example, Dewey regards social transactions as 'public' when they have relational consequences for persons other than those directly engaged, and so become matters of state concern. This is more inclusive than Samuelson's definition, but without limit. Neither definition is fully comprehensive, each offers something, and each can be used to critically interrogate the other. Putting them together enables policy-makers and scholars to gain a fuller purchase on the public potentials of social policy. The article synthesises two approaches, applying the resulting analytical framework with four quadrants (civil society, social democracy, state quasi-market, commercial market) to higher education and research. An ambiguous and problematic public/private distinction is replaced by four contrasting zones of activity in which the social character of higher education in unambiguous. This new tool, the four-quadrant heuristic, provides policy-makers with superior analytical purchase.

Introduction

Ideas about 'public' and 'private' are central to thought and debate about higher education policy. But in national polities, and the international literature, there is little agreement about three elements. Social science is rarely as exact as we like to pretend it is - especially when its powerful intellectual machinery is applied in quantitative studies to complex and historically changing material. When the language of social theory or social science becomes implicated in the policy and political sphere and takes on normative elements, the potential for ambiguity is immediately heightened.

Yet we need notions of public and private because they do important work for us, and for the whole society. If we, the intellectuals, working in this domain are not to clarify those notions for government and public, we cannot expect the workings of government or the newspaper editorials to sort it out for everybody. It is our task to clarify public ideas.

At the outset, let me emphasise that the distinction between private and public is not the same as the distinction between individual and society. Any relationship between two or more people is 'social'. Many forms of social association remain in the private realm, however defined (Dewey, 1927). The public realm, however defined, includes individuals, their associations, and societies. At the same time, society and individual can scarcely be pulled apart, they are each inter-dependent and omnipresent, for all individuals are nested in social contexts. The individual only emerges in its materiality through social interaction. As, for example, Vygotsky showed in his studies of child development, the early individual is formed through communicative interaction with others (Vygotsky, 1978). It is impossible to imagine either individual or society without the other. We can more readily separate public and private, than we can separate individual and society.

Three questions about public good

There are three problems with our notions of public and private in higher education.

Where does the public/private line fall?

First, there is no consistent agreement about where the public/private line falls, and the implications for funding policy. There are two main concepts of public/private, in tension with each other, that are both active in public discourse and intellectual work.

- In one approach, which can be called the economic definition, and derives especially from Samuelson (1954), public/private is understood as a distinction between non-market forms of production and market forms of production.

- In the other approach, which can be called the juridical-political definition, public/private is understood as a distinction between state-owned (or perhaps state-controlled) higher education, or non-state-owned (or non-state-controlled) higher education.

Each of these definitions is useful. Each says something important. They overlap but are distinct. However, the economic and political definitions are often muddled up. Hence, it is widely assumed that the public/private distinction can be understood as a distinction between state and market. If higher education cannot or should not be produced in a market,

the state can or should produce it. Simple. But there is a lurking inconsistency here, because this takes the notion of 'public' from the juridical-political definition of public/private, and the notion of 'market' from the economic definition. Picking out part of each definition leads to incoherence. To define public/private as a state/market distinction does not work. States use markets to achieve some of their policy goals, so there can be state-owned or state-controlled market production. State-owned and or controlled market or market-like activity has been a principal aspect of mainstream policy-driven reform programmes in most countries in the last generation. Further, some higher education is both non-state and non-market in character, such as philanthropically financed education that is privately owned; and scholarship and research that takes place in the sphere of the home and family outside the strictly institutional framework, 'backyard production' in the economic sense. So a state/market distinction cannot cover all cases.

What are 'public goods'?

A second problem about public/private notion in higher education is that there is no common understanding of the nature of 'public goods', or what might constitute the combined 'public good' in higher education. We think we have a clearer understanding of what might be private goods in higher education, and the potential for economic market activity in which those private goods are produced and sold. Even there the notions are not simple, because higher education is a positional good (Hirsch, 1976) and education markets do not function like orthodox markets (Marginson, 1997, 2013; Chattopadhyay, 2012). Nevertheless, we can see some relevant private goods, such as the additional earnings and better employment rates associated with holding a degree. It is not always clear whether private rates of return to degrees are driven by the education, or by other factors such as family background or social networks, but we do have definitions and measures of these associated private goods. We do not have agreement on definitions and measures of the public goods contributed by higher education.

Not only do opinions about public goods differ from expert to expert, with the differences often being assumption-driven, they differ from country to country according to variations in the policy or political culture. We think we can measure private rates of return so as to compare them from country to country, and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2015) routinely does this. There is much less agreement on comparing the contribution of higher education to, say, inter-communal relations, or democracy, or common cultural literacy, notions that vary between countries.

There are special difficulties in dealing with the collective aspect of public goods, those outcomes of higher education which do not consist of individual benefits but are consumed jointly and affect the quality of relational society (Marginson, 2016b, Chapter 5) - for example, shared social and scientific literacy, combined productivity at work, the contribution of education to furthering tolerance or the combined capacity to deal with change and modernisation. It is difficult to measure these multiple collective qualities, often there are no money values to speak of, and the simple notion of aggregating the individual benefits and calling that the social benefits do not help when it comes to tracking relational goods. Arguably, because a clear-cut understanding of public goods in higher education is lacking, these public goods are under-provided and under-financed. These include the public

goods created in higher education that are global not national in character, in that, they flow readily across borders, including knowledge.

We are also unclear on whether the public goods created in universities and colleges are alternatives to the private goods, so that higher education produces either private goods or public goods, the relationship between them is zero-sum, and we can split the responsibility for funding accordingly; or the public and private goods are additive, positive-sum, both being advanced together, in which case the split of costs between state and household becomes more ambiguous and arbitrary.

What is the normative significance of 'public'?

A third problem lies in the normative significance of public goods in higher education. If we accept that public goods are under-recognised and probably under-financed and under-produced in higher education, does this matter? Are these goods 'good' in themselves and essential to our well being? Is this merely a technical discussion, or is there something important at stake? And alternately, if public goods are essentially about norms and values, doesn't this mean they have no technical social scientific content? Isn't this just a discussion about politics, impossibly politicised, isn't the idea of public good or private goods in higher education just a cloak for clothing the pursuit of our differing and conflicting agendas?

My tentative answer on the last is that it does matter, and it matters for both technical reasons - the public/private distinction if handled correctly can advance our understanding of the world we inhabit, and is something we can agree on technically, regardless of our normative standpoint - and it matters for normative political reasons. As often in social science, we need to better separate the normative and objective elements, if we are to both advance scientifically, clarify the basis of policy choices in this sector, and then make those choices. And this lecture attempts to separate the normative and objective elements.

Following this introduction, the lecture will begin with a new generic analytical approach to the definition of public and private goods, which will then be applied to higher education, and research in higher education. Not completely 'new': the article outlining this approach was first published online last year (Marginson, 2016a). The lecture will close with discussion of the comparative and global dimension: the problem of looking at public goods in higher education, and in research and knowledge, across countries, as well as just within the polity of one country. What is 'public' in higher education in some countries can be 'private' in others. My own current research lies with the cross-country problem.

Economic definition of public/private (non-market vs market)

Let's now look at the economic definition of public/private. As noted, this can be traced to an influential article published by Paul Samuelson (1954), 'The pure theory of public expenditure'. Simplifying, Samuelson defined public goods as non-market goods. They are socially necessary but unprofitable for businesses to produce in a market. They cannot be produced in a market because they are non-rivalrous and/or non-excludable.

Goods are non-rivalrous when they can be consumed by any number of people without being depleted, for example, knowledge of a mathematical theorem, which sustains its use value indefinitely on the basis of free access. Goods are non-excludable when the benefits cannot be confined to individual buyers, such as clean air regulation. Private goods are

neither non-rivalrous nor non-excludable. They can be produced, packaged and sold as individualised commodities in markets. Public goods and part-public goods require government funding or philanthropic support, because they cannot be profitably produced on an unsubsidised basis in a market. However, such public goods do not necessarily require full government financing and can be produced in either state or private institutions.

Knowledge is a classic public good (Stiglitz, 1999). The private property limitations placed on knowledge, in the form of patents and copyrights, are economically inefficient in that at the same cost of production a larger number of users could be satisfied than are satisfied under the patent regime. Because knowledge is a natural public good it flows freely. Intellectual Property-protected knowledge is readily reproduced in illegal forms. Commercial restrictions on knowledge dissemination do not work effectively.

As well as pure public goods there are also mixed goods, for example, when public externalities are generated in the process of producing private goods. Teaching has both a public and a private potential. For example, the high fee degree programme at Princeton is associated with private earnings and status benefits, but along with other degrees, it also contributes to the combined social-cultural literacy of the society; and education at Princeton, as elsewhere, may enhance the economic productivity of those working alongside the graduate as well as the graduate herself or himself. It is hard to think of pure private goods in higher education, private goods that do not create externalities at all.

TABLE 1

McMahon's (2009) estimates of the public and private benefits of college education in the United States: Average college graduate, 4.5 years of education (all values in 2007 $US)

Category of benefit (annual value)	$ USD (annual)	Notes
DIRECT SOCIAL EXTERNALITIES (PUBLIC GOODS)		Other positive social benefits (unquantified here) relate to higher tax receipts, social capital, and the dissemination of the outcomes of R&D. See the discussion in McMahon (2009).
Democratisation and political institutions	1830	
Human rights and civic institutions	2865	
Political stability	5813	
Community life expectancy	2308	
Reduced inequality (opportunity, less poverty, etc.)	3110	
Less crime	5647	
Reduced health costs and prison costs	544	
Environment (air and water, less deforestation)	5609	
Total social externalities	27,726	
PRIVATE NON-MARKET BENEFITS (PUBLIC GOODS)		Other positive non-market private effects (unquantified) related to job conditions and location amenities, better tastes, less obsolescence of skills due to better general education, greater well-being via enhanced income, etc. See McMahon (2009.)
Own health benefits	16,800	
Own longevity	2179	
Spouse's health	1917	
Child's health	4340	
Child's education and cognitive development	7892	
Management of fertility and lower family size	1551	
Better consumption and saving patterns	3401	
Total quantified private non-market benefits	38,080	
TOTAL BENEFITS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION		Direct social externalities constitute 29 per cent of the total benefits of higher education. But total externalities include indirect social benefits, contributions of externalities to the value generated in private earnings and private non-market benefits. Once this indirect element is included, externalities are 52 per cent of the average value of higher education
Net private earnings benefits p.a.	31,174	
Non-market private benefits p.a.	38,080	
Direct social benefits (direct externalities) p.a.	27,726	
Total annual benefits in all categories	96,980	

Source: McMahon, 2009

Walter MacMahon's book *Higher Learning Greater Good* (2009) does a good job of summarising the research on the value of different externalities created in higher education. The economic definition is especially useful in that it identifies the minimum necessary government action and financing to ensure that there is no market failure and the desired public goods are produced. McMahon's summative findings - based on drawing together the results of many separate studies of different externalities of higher education - are summarised in Table 1. You can see that according to McMahon, direct social externalities constitute 29 per cent of the total benefits of higher education. But the total externalities generated include indirect social benefits, the contributions of externalities to the value generated in private earnings and private non-market benefits. Once this indirect element is included, externalities are 52 per cent of the average value of higher education.

On the other hand, Samuelson's notion has drawbacks. It does not work well in identifying the larger collective public goods to which shadow prices cannot be readily applied. And arguably, the definition is ideologically loaded. Many would disagree that it is normal or desirable for goods to be produced in a market unless that is impossible. Markets often change the character of the product, and stratify value and distribution. They generate tendencies to concentration and monopoly, and the growth of consumption inequalities over time. The same bias is present in the language of the useful notion of 'externalities'. 'External' to what? The assumption here is that the core production is market production and the externalities or 'spillovers' arise as unintended consequences of the production of private goods. They are 'external' to, outside of, the real transaction which is the market transaction. But the so called 'externalities' might be a deliberate policy.

While the economic distinction implies that public or private is determined by the nature of the goods - naturally rivalrous and excludable or not - so we can put a neat financial value on the public component of the goods as McMahon has done, the reality is that, whether something is public or private, is often a matter of deliberate policy choice.

The economic public/private distinction in higher education

For example, while research, with some caveats, is a natural public good (as in the case of the mathematical theorem), teaching can be either a public or a private good. Student places in higher education can constitute either Samuelson private or public goods. Mostly, they are a variable mix of both, a mix that is variable from case to case. The public goods include individualised non-market benefits such as the learned knowledge which is non-excludable and non-rivalrous. Hence, MIT took the early decision to place its courseware on the internet free of charge. This reflected the natural public good character of knowledge and the learning function. However, whenever university places confer value in comparison with non- participation, there is rivalry; and in universities with a surplus of applications over places, participation is excludable and a market in tuition can be created. The value of such private goods is maximised in programmes offering students valuable positional opportunities to enter high income high status careers as in Law and Medicine in elite universities. Hence, MIT's open courseware decision did not undermine the private good benefits offered by its degree programmes.

There is also strong element of the normative in private and public goods, especially collective goods. Neoliberal economists tend to downplay market failure and the scope for collective goods. Social democrats and endogenous growth theorists talk up the potentials of

public goods and state investment. The technical economic definition does not eliminate the normative, it conceals it, it buries from sight the policy assumptions of the economist. And that retards our discussion and our understanding.

Juridical-political definition of public/private (state/non-state)

The Samuelson definition treats the state as outside the market economy, which is the essential site. The state is only brought into the picture when absolutely necessary. However, arguably, this is not a good description of how any society or any higher education system works. The state is more important than that; and it is better to bring political norms and assumptions into the picture explicitly, than to leave them buried inside the implicit assumptions of the economist. This brings the political definition of public/private into the picture. This is the distinction between matters seen as public in the sense that they are ultimately shaped by government and the political and policy processes, and matters seen as private and confined to the commercial market, the family or civil society.

John Dewey (1927) provides an explanation of the public/private boundary in the political sense, which is the distinction between matters of state, and other matters.

The line between public and private is to be drawn on the basis of the extent and scope of the consequences of acts which are so important as to need control, whether by inhibition or by promotion… The public consists of all those who are affected by the indirect consequences of transactions (Dewey, 1927, pp. 15-16).

Matters of state, political matters, arise when social transactions affect persons other than those directly involved in the transaction. We might call these 'relational' effects of the transaction. If enough people want it, these relational matters become taken up in political processes - in a democracy these are democratic processes - and resolved at the level of the state. The state may also act prior to being called upon to do so, by anticipating the relational consequences of a matter which is deemed to be political.

The approach I take here is drawn from political economy rather than economics. The state/non-state boundary is not amenable to a strictly economic analysis. But it matters in the real world. In Samuelson's economic sense, there is no difference between non-profit higher education at Harvard and non-profit higher education at the University of California (UC). But the UC campus has about ten times as many Pell grant students, students from low income families, as Harvard (Douglass, 2013, pp. 4-5; Wilton, 2014). This is because the UC has a public policy remit to advance social mobility and equity in higher education. So, the juridical-political boundary makes a difference to what is produced inside the higher education institution, and it often also has implications for the externalities.

It is important, though, not to confine the role of the state only to state-owned activity. The role of the state extends also to state-controlled activity. The politically 'public' element in higher owned education is not confined only to institutions or activities that are directly government provided or financed. 'Public' in the political sense refers to any matter taken by the state as a deliberative actor with policy goals. Matters that are public in the economic sense are usually public in this political sense too, but so are many other matters. Governments often use private and semi-public agencies to achieve their goals, for example, in some systems, private schools or colleges are quite closely regulated, almost like public schools and colleges. 'Public' includes the kind of state intervention to regulate economic markets and private firms that goes beyond simply providing a stable legal framework.

Moreover, higher education does not necessarily stop being 'public' in this political sense, when there is competition between institutions, and high tuition fees are charged. Most higher education is subject to at least some regulatory influence, it is politically public or semi-public. The exception is higher education institutions that are fully market deregulated and belongs in the private political sphere, along with other non-state commerce, the private family, and civil society.

FIGURE 1

**Combining the economic and political definitions
of public/private goods in higher education:
Four quadrants, four political economies of higher education**
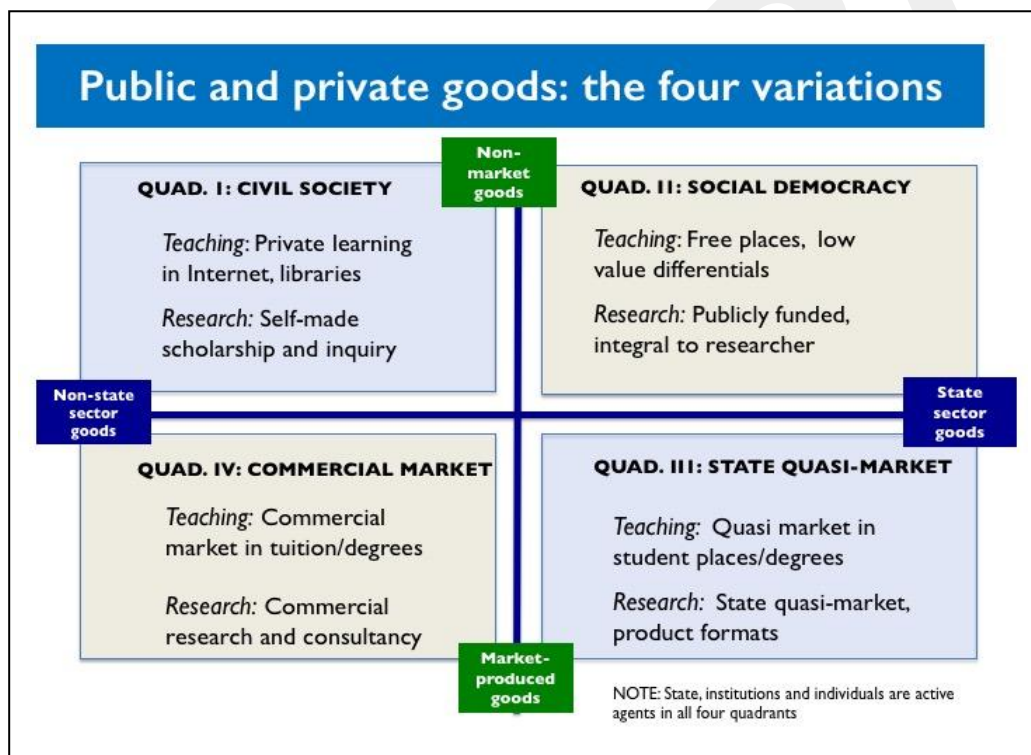
Source: Author

Thus the 'public' side of Figure 1 includes a range of activities, from the free places in social democratic style systems that are largely non-competitive, the Nordic model, to quasi-markets with relatively high fees of the UK type and corporate style research systems in which, bizarrely, knowledge production is modelled as a kind of competitive quasi-economy and the pre-capitalist status hierarchy which runs through the collaborative flows of knowledge becomes elevated to the main principle of this quasi-economy game.

Putting the two definitions (economic and political) together

So we have two definitions of public/private with different meanings. Both tell us something important. The *economic* definition based on the non-market/market distinction, subjects politically-defined public goods to tests of limited resources and costs. 'How publicly generous should higher education provision be?' it asks. The *political* definition of public/private, based on the state/non-state distinction, subjects economically-defined public and private goods to tests of values, norms, social relations and system design. 'Public and collective forms of provision can change the nature of the goods, for example, their social equity', it says. 'What kind of society do you want?' The response from the economic side is: 'To the extent your preferred social arrangement is subject to market failure, government finances it. Is it affordable?'

But two separate definitions create ambiguity and confusion. How can we adopt a coherent approach to public/private? By combing the two public/private definitions in a matrix (Please see Figure 1). This replaces the ambiguous two-way distinction between public and private higher education, with four distinct zones, four different political economies, in which higher education and research are practiced in contrasting ways.

It might be argued that the two definitions cannot be put together - that the Samuelson definition is procedural (arrange the public/private relationships correctly, with due regard for the market and the limited scope of the state, and the outcomes will be optimised) while the Dewey-an definition is consequentialist (the procedures that constitute public/private affairs should be judged according to the public value of the outcomes, the means are justified by the ends). Nevertheless, I feel comfortable with that philosophical heterogeneity. It seems to me that neither the procedural nor the consequentialist understanding of public/private is sufficient, while each can serve as a useful check on the other. Proceduralism without regard for ends may lead to outcomes that subtract from the collective welfare. Consequentialism, for the purpose of immediate ends, may erode rules and institutions whose maintenance serves us in the longer term. A hybrid formulation covers more ground than either philosophical position allows us to cover. Figure 1 is such a hybrid formulation. It is the only formulation so fare devised that encompasses both strands of the public/private discussion - and both economic and political systems of value, and both proceduralist and the consequentialist intent - in a comprehensive manner.

Quadrant 1 (Civil society) is a non-market private zone in which free teaching and research are practiced as end in themselves, at home or university, without government supervision or close institutional management. Much learning and discovery takes this form, more than is usually realised, precisely because it is unregulated. The state is not entirely absent in that it regulates civil conduct and the family in the legal sense.

In *Quadrant 2 (Social democracy),* production takes a non-market form - for example, the free student places or low fee places in most of Europe - while also being regulated directly by government. Much research activity is concentrated in Quadrant 2.

In *Quadrant 3 (State quasi-market),* government still shapes what happens in higher education, but it uses market-like forms to achieve its objectives, and encourages universities to operate as corporations - with significant tuition fees, systems organised on the basis of students as 'customers' not learners, competition between universities for funds, product-style research formats. In Quadrant 3, there is a tension between economic (private) and political (public), but all is 'public' in the political sense. This is the higher

education sector imagined not only by Milton Friedman (1962) but by global rankings (*e.g.* THE, 2017) - higher education as a managed product market. Marketisation reforms in many countries have pushed an increasing part of higher education activity into Quadrant 3, much more so than into the pure commercial market in Quadrant 4. Much of the change in Indian higher education in the last generation has consisted in bringing elements of higher education into this quadrant, with some higher education institutions more clearly positioned there than others.

In *Quadrant 4*, higher education becomes another commercial industry. Government regulates the market like it regulates all commerce, by providing a legal framework, but it does not intervene more closely. Courses in higher education that operate on the deregulated basis of full-price fees and an unlimited number of student places are in Quadrant 4, for example, the for-profit sector in the USA, international education un UK and Australian higher education, and fee-based programmes introduced in the Post-Soviet countries in the 1990s. However, in most systems, pure market forms in Quadrant 4 are overshadowed by the volume of activity in Quadrants 2 and 3. .In India, there is more activity in Quadrant 4 than in most other countries.

You can see that teaching, research and other activities in higher education differ in character, according to where they are on the diagram. We can put education and research into any of these quadrants and, when we do that, decision shapes their character in many ways. Real life higher education systems mix activity in all four Quadrants but the balance varies. Nordic and Central European systems are strong in Quadrant 2. The competitive Anglo-American systems are pulling ever more activity into the quasi-markets in Quadrant 3, and India is split between Quadrants 2, 3 and 4 in complex ways. The four Quadrants show there is nothing inevitable about inherited arrangements. To repeat the point, governments and societies can order their systems as they want.

The diagram also shows that there is great scope for producing public goods in higher education, through government leadership in Quadrants 2 and 3, civil and community-based organisation in Quadrant 1, or the self-regulating activity of higher education institutions themselves in all three of Quadrants 1, 2 and 3. The 'pure' public good Quadrant is Quadrant 2 where production is public in both the sense of non-market and the sense of state control. The pure private Quadrant is Quadrant 4.

Common goods

The fact that higher education is 'public' does not mean that in some way it is better or more desirable. Both public in the economic sense, and public in the political sense, can be associated with a very wide range of normative projects. Public goods in the economic sense can become captured by the most influential families, as in some highly selective universities in countries where tuition is free. Some public goods in the political sense might benefit powerful interests able to influence the state, or a state may use its power to create public goods to establish a globally aggressive military that creates public bads for the population of other countries, downstream.

However, there are some public goods - in one or both senses - that benefit populations broadly, help to build relational society (sociability), and sustain inclusive and rights-based human relations. I call these goods 'common goods'. They include higher education to the extent that it fosters an equitable framework of social opportunity, offers good quality mass

higher education, strengthens society in regions and provincial centres, and provides relational collective goods such as tolerance, cross-border international understanding and accessible knowledge. Equal social opportunity in and through higher education is the most important of such common goods (Marginson, 2016b).

The cross-country and global dimension

Now let's bring this theorisation of the public/private problem into the worldwide space. And that forces us to acknowledge two realities. First, as I stated earlier, public goods vary in character by country. Second, some private goods and public goods in higher education are produced in the absence of a state, in the global sphere of activity.

National variations

Public higher education varies by nation, by political culture and the character of the state; and by what might be called the educational culture, the nested relations between state, society, higher education institution and family. The public/private schemes of each of Samuelson and Dewey evolved within an Anglo-American political culture. Samuelson's distinction applies to a capitalist society with a limited liberal state, in which state and market are understood as zero-sum components of a national economy. Dewey's distinction is imagined in terms of a participatory polity, and works best when the state responds readily to democratic pressure and takes full responsibility for associational effects. Both can be applied in other contexts but with diminished purchase, and the risk of occluding key elements. Yet we know that concepts of the roles of government and universities, notions of university-government relations, and the 'social', 'community', individual/collective, and public good, vary between different traditions of higher education; for example, the Nordic, German, Russian, Latin American, Indian, Chinese and Japanese. Meanings of 'society', 'state', 'government', 'public' and 'private' are not uniform or fixed, but nationally and culturally nested. I think there are common elements, but they are not yet clearly identified.

There is no good reason to treat the Anglo-American approach to public/private as the norm, or a goal for other societies, still less as the sum of all possibility. All national-cultural traditions have the potential to contribute to the common pool of ideas about, and practices of, the relational dimension of higher education.

For example, national systems vary markedly in the extent to which they produce higher education as public or private goods in Samuelson's sense. The public/ private balance of costs can vary sharply in higher education systems similar in other respects (OECD 2014, pp. 260-276), including similar in the extent of participation, reflecting differing political assumptions and educational cultures. In more than half the OECD countries, state-dependent institutions charge domestic students less than USD $1500 per year. In the five Nordic countries, the Czech Republic and Turkey, public students pay no fees. Tuition fees in English-speaking systems are relatively high. The UK norm is £9000 per year. In Japan and Korea, private funding outweighs public funding by three to one. China may be heading towards this. In Russia, free places sit alongside low fee and high fee places.

By comparing different approaches to non-market activity and common political matters in higher education, more closely studying these national variations, this might lead to clear identification of both the common elements and the drivers of variation. This could

contribute to development of a common language of 'public' not based in one single national template. National comparison can also assist the evolution of a broader-based idea of global public goods in education and research. Currently, I am conducting an eight-country study of approaches to 'public' and 'public goods' in higher education - concepts, definitions, measures. The national studies include interviews in government and two universities. Case studies have been conducted already in Russia and Australia, in 2013. The next round of case studies will be UK, USA, France, Finland, China and Japan. It is also possible the work will be extended to Germany and Mexico. The research in the UK, France, China and Japan begins this year.

Global public goods

In the global sphere, only one of the two public/private distinctions is relevant. That is Samuelson's economic distinction. There is no formal political sphere at the global level, no global state. No doubt, this leads to under-recognition of the contribution of higher education - in producing global public goods, and under-provision.

According to the UNDP:

Global public goods are goods that have a significant element of non-rivalry and/or non-excludability and made broadly available across populations on a global scale. They affect more than one group of countries, are broadly available within countries, and are inter-generational; that is, they meet needs in the present generation without jeopardising future generations (Kaul, Grunberg and Stern, 1999, pp. 2-3).

One such global public good is research knowledge. However, nations differ in the extent to which they contribute to and benefit from global public goods that are carried by cross-border flows of knowledge, ideas and people and generated in education and research. For example, the content of global knowledge flows is linguistically and culturally dominated by certain countries, especially the United States.

This raises a question of 'whose public goods?' For faculty, whose first language is Spanish, having English as the single common global language is a public good in the sense that it facilitates the relational environment, but a public bad (a negative global public good) to the extent that it maginalises knowledge in the Spanish language at the global level, and devalues Spanish at home, for example, in local science communities. Net brain drain of research personnel to other countries is another global public bad, a negative cross-border externality. Cross-border mobility is often presented in the Atlantic world as a good thing in itself, but it is not that simple. We should distinguish neo-imperial notions of global public good from notions that are flatter in their normative character, such as the common interest in a sustainable ecology and stable climate.

Concluding points

In closing, let me briefly reiterate the five main points:

1. When observing, planning and improving the public and social-relational dimension of higher education we need to take both the market/non-market distinction, and the

non-state/state distinction, into account. Both are relevant, but they need to be arranged in coherent fashion.

2. To the extent that notions of public good are open to normatively-driven variation, so that concepts are attached to more than one set of political baggage; and more bluntly, the great resources of research universities can be captured by one or another powerful interest, or simply over-dominated by upper middle class families, the only mechanism we have for ensuring that those public goods are not so captured is the state. We can produce economic public goods in non-market civil society but non-market civil society is highly unequal. Hence, it is essential to add the juridical-political definition to the economic definition of 'public'. There is no guarantee that the state will be just and even coherent in distributional terms, but it is all we have, and at best, on a good day, it does augment the common good.

3. Third, and from a social democratic viewpoint, goods in higher education that advance individual rights and improve social bonds, such as social equality in access, and inter-ethnic or religious tolerance, and the effects of formal learning in building the agency and capability that underpins political democracy - what I have called common goods - have a special importance. Here, the Nordic higher education systems perform best. They also have very high participation rates, and good research systems in which no universities dominate, in the manner of Oxford and Cambridge in the UK, but world citation rates are very high.

4. Fourth, the definition of the state's role in higher education is specific to national history and national political cultures. The differing role of the state shapes national variation in recognition of and understandings of public goods, and in the associated practices. Inevitably, public goods in Indian higher education are, to some extent, different to those that are possible and actual in Germany, US or China. There are also significant variations within a diverse nation such as India. The extent to which we can devise a generic aspect to public goods in higher education is something than only be assessed on the basis of a larger number of national case studies.

5. Finally, global public goods in higher education are especially under-recognised, and they are also contested, culturally loaded, varying from on one hand, neo-imperial project, on the other hand, to global common goods. And as in spheres such as ecology, we need global political mechanisms to talk about and regulate those goods in higher education and research, including people flows and knowledge flows.

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NUEPA

Indigenous Knowledge and its Transformation[#]

Mrinal Miri[*]

Knowledge requires a knower. A knower can be an individual or a number of individuals or a collective. In the case, for instance, of scientific knowledge, the knower is the collective: the scientific community. In the case of "indigenous knowledge" - assuming that there is such a thing - the knower presumably is the collective indigenous people. So, if we are talking about indigenous knowledge, we must inevitably also talk about indigenous people. Obviously, globally speaking, "indigenous people" constitute a large class of human beings with multiple members. We may call each member an indigenous community, and it is quite likely that each indigenous community's knowledge is distinct from that of the others.

Who, then, are the indigenous people of our country? I shall mention three groups in relation to the issue of knowledge: (i) People who claim their origin in this country, have a written tradition and a wealth of textual material that covers vastly different areas of human life: knowledge, of course, what we now call the arts, including performing arts, health, politics, education, religion, and very importantly, the non-human world. I am, of course, referring to the tradition that the Aryans - for want of a better world have left for us. There may be a controversy about their being indigenous. If there is one, I shall ignore it; and, in any case, the third group of indigenous people I mention below may provide some mitigation to the controversy. I am also **not** excluding Dravidians with their equally rich written traditions. (ii) People who have originated in this country, because there is neither anecdotal nor historical evidence of having their origins anywhere other than within the boundaries of this country. They comprise most of what we call our tribal communities. They do not have written traditions, but are the owners of marvellously rich oral traditions. These are complex traditions of thinking, imagining and doing in the context of human life - reflections on man's temporality, his/her well-being, his/her relation with other human beings and the non-human world, the rights and wrongs of things, collective affirmation of life and its beauty, *e.g.* music, dance and so on. Knowledge, of course, is an essential ingredient of these traditions.   (iii) The third group consists again of small communities - mostly, in our official vocabulary, tribal communities - who have at various times in the ancient past come to this country from distant lands, established themselves here and belonged here for scores of centuries. They, like the other groups of tribal communities, have rich oral traditions -

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traditions of thinking, knowing, imagining and doing. These traditions must be considered as indigenous as those of the other two groups.

But indigenous as opposed to **what?** One suggestion might be: knowledge originating in people from outside the country. But, of course, there must be indigenous knowledge in countries other than our own. This cannot therefore be the contrast we are looking for. The proper contrast would in effect be knowledge that knows no geographical boundaries, even perhaps, no temporal boundaries: universal global knowledge; - the shining example of which is the modern scientific knowledge originating in the west. There might be a question about a kind of 'knowledge' that "knows **no temporal** boundaries". As we all know and are repeatedly told, scientific knowledge is 'open', *i.e.*, it is open to question, revision and even rejection in the future. There is no final report on a piece of scientific research. This only means that scientific knowledge, in spite of its claim to unrivalled superiority, is bound by the contingencies of time (change). Only kind of 'knowledge' which will then have a claim to transcend the bounds of time will be 'knowledge' that is itself **atemporal.** The most likely example of such knowledge will, I suppose, be mystical knowledge - knowledge that is beyond spatial and temporal boundaries; and, therefore, ineffable, because to articulate it is necessarily to temporalise, therefore, distort it. "Whereof one cannot speak thereof one must be silent!" Ludwig Wittgenstein's famous last words in *"Tractatus Logico Philosophicus" (1921, Kegan Paul Hart Court edition in English)*

Both 'indigenous knowledge' and scientific knowledge seem to share the quality of temporal limitation of knowledge: what is valid at one point of time may be shown to be invalid at another point of time.[1] But indigenous knowledge is location specific while scientific knowledge is universal. There then seems to be at least two varieties of knowledge: the indigenous variety and the trans-indigenous modern variety of global knowledge. The question to ask, therefore, is; are there different varieties of knowledge; or, is knowledge really one and universal? It is an important question to ask, because if we are thinking of the possibility of 'indigenous knowledge' as **knowledge** at all, then we must face up to the question of whether we can think of it at all as a **distinct** mode of knowledge. If this is an impossibility, if knowledge is one and universal, then our task would be limited to showing that what is claimed as indigenous knowledge is either a curious non-epistemic practice among indigenous people or that it indeed shows genuine aspirations for knowledge but falls woefully short of it. The indigenous knowledge we talk about is either not knowledge at all, or, it is 'knowledge' mistakenly so called. To have a justified claim to 'knowledge' in the correct sense of the term, it must be reducible to the modern universal variety of knowledge. If such reduction proves impossible, then 'indigenous knowledge' will turn out to be an extremely dubious category.

 But is knowledge one and universal? This is the claim of western modernity. The founding philosopher of western modernity was Immanuel Kant. Kant argued with wonderful intricacy that knowledge as pursuit of truth can be of only one kind, and the principles on which knowledge is founded are the ones that are implicit in modern scientific enquiry (Newton). Rationality is the instrument or mechanism which enables us to pursue knowledge. Rational procedure must therefore also be universally valid. The claim of

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[1] There might still be an element of truth in the claim that scientific knowledge is atemporal; although scientific knowledge at a given time may be revised at a later time, what cannot be revised is the idea of scientific rationality itself; this idea is assumed to be timelessly valid.

universality for knowledge and rationality implies that they are independent of the contingencies of geographical boundaries. What is knowledge in one place is knowledge everywhere whatever other human differences there may be from place to place.

These fundamentals of modernity have been very seriously questioned by post-modernity about which we have all heard. There are, in the post-modern perspective, different kinds of knowledge and correspondingly different kinds of rationality, different kinds of logic and even different kinds of truth. The different kinds of knowledge sustain different kinds of discourses: the scientific discourse, the gender discourse, the feminist discourse, the colonial discourse, the nationalist discourse, the *brahmanical* discourse, the *dalit* discourse and so on. It would seem that in the post-modern perspective, the arena of knowledge is split into self-enclosed areas of discourse - each with its own criteria of truth and falsehood, validity and invalidity. But there is, however, a pervasive, clinging idea, running across the diversity of discourses, that what is crucial in the entire knowledge enterprise is the **genesis** of knowledge: what psychological and socio-historical contingencies give rise to knowledge rather than what knowledge is in itself. And the driving force of the genesis of knowledge is **power**. Something like the core of this idea is to be found in some of the pregnant aphoristic sayings of Nietzsche, the great, somewhat unsung German philosopher of the 19th century.[2]

However, the power idea can be carried too far, and carried to the extreme; there is a very short and effective way to dismiss it. And this is as follows: If all knowledge is a function of power, then what about the knowledge that knowledge is a function of power? Is it also determined by power? If so, we shall have to ask the same question over again *ad infinitum;* and, therefore, we shall never know what knowledge is; if not there is at least some knowledge which is not a function of power.

I do think this is correct. But the post-modern use of the idea of power is extraordinarily complex and subtle, and an argument against it will require a matching degree of complexity and subtlety which it would not be proper to go into here, even if I was capable of doing so.

Let me be content with just asserting that knowledge is not a unitary concept; there is a plurality of knowledge. And plurality is not a function of power, in however subtle a manner. My contrary contention is that it is primarily the outcome of deep agreements about things within communities, within cultures - distinct ways of being human: agreements within communities and disagreements between communities; different communities have lived, with mutual respect, but irreconcilable differences and disagreements among them; and this, I contend, is the source of plurality.

Let me take a simple example of how agreement is crucial to knowledge. Take our knowledge that something, x, is red. Supposing there was among us irreconcilable disagreement about 'x is red', and that no agreement whatever was achievable. There would then be no concept of red and nothing answering to the description 'red'. Consequently 'x is red' could not possibly be a piece of knowledge. Agreement can be of different levels, and of different degrees of depth; it can be a tacit assumption underlying a practice for example giving a lecture - here there is not one assumption but several *e.g.* that there are institutions like the NUEPA, that there are specific activities which count as lectures within such institutions, that there are limits to duration of lectures, that lectures must have an audience

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[2] See Fricdrich Nietzsche, On the Genealogy of Morals, The Gay Science, Beyond Good and Evil (1987, Leipzig, Verlag Van C.G. Naumann (German)

and, of course, a person giving the lecture and so on. What counts as knowledge that belongs to a community as a whole is deep - not easily assailable - agreement about what is to count as true or false, right or wrong, and good or bad; all these values are intrinsically interlinked.

I would like to reinforce this point via a consideration of the idea of a 'practice' - an idea that has been much in use in recent debates in philosophy.

1. a culture is an organic unity of different practices; a practice is not just any human activity;

2. a practice is a form of rule governed human activity - e.g. agriculture, chess, gardening, music, healing, education;

3. essential to a practice: a good or excellence internal to it, and a good external. Take healing: excellence specific to it achieved only through serious engagement with the practice; other goods achieved such as wealth, fame not specific or internal; can be achieved by any other means; criteria of internal excellence are embedded in the practice itself.

4. It is in the nature of a practice that the pursuit of a good internal to it requires the exercise of virtues such as, honesty, justice, courage and so on. Take the game of football: to cheat in football is to defeat the very purpose of pursuit of excellence in football (honesty). Also, one must be capable of giving others their due; recognising and acknowledging excellence achieved by others and putting one's own achievement in perspective (justice). One must be prepared to put one's limbs at risk (courage). What is true of football is true of other practices as well.

5. a practice is embedded in its history and tradition. Standards of excellence are set frequently by historical reference, e.g. healing, agriculture, education, music, dance, other forms of creative activity, hunting, weaving and so on.

6. I would like to think of a culture as an internally or organically connected network of practices. Human life would be recognisably different if it were not organised in terms of practices in the sense we have indicated.

7. a practice derives its authenticity and validity from its place among the network of practices that constitute the community; from its sense of stable belonging among other practices. Also, a practice may crucially derive its strength from particular sensibilities and sensory powers that a community might have developed from its distinct and intimate interaction with nature - tsunami, hunting and something like a sixth sense for herbs. (Think of the timely steps taken by some of the tribes of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands to escape the fury of the tsunami of 2004. Not a single person belonging to the tribes came to any harm, while hundreds among neighbouring non-tribal population perished in the ravaging floods).

8. It is the community's language that weaves the practices together in a network of significations and meanings. Language is the frame of the community's culture and tradition. It holds them together.

The traditional practices of a community constitute its culture. The culture, as it were, encapsulates[3] the practices, and what makes the encapsulation possible is the network of agreements at different levels, different degrees of depths, that permeate the life of the community. Also, it is important to realise that some practices are tied relatively loosely to the whole than the others. Thus, a game (*e.g.* football, or even cricket) - with its rules can be transported without much loss of meaning into another culture, but not a practice of healing, nor a practice of education, nor a practice relating to the epistemic enterprises of the community.

When an indigenous practice which includes indigenous knowledge is taken out of the context of its original home, and made to serve much wider needs in a modern context, it may radically change its character. It has to be institutionalised in an unrecognisably different way, and turned into a profession with its own set of modern skills. So a Ministry of Ayush, with Ayush healing centres across the country, "experts" from the community pressed into the service of the profession - large scale skill development, setting up of health centres and bureaucratic order to sustain the new institution. A method of authentication and validation must be devised to satisfy the modern mind. The end product - and this is my serious contention - is neither an indigenous practice nor is it an instance of indigenous knowledge. It may indeed make a positive difference to the State's healthcare activities, and, through this, its economy, via its commercialisation aided by contemporary packaging and advertising techniques. It may quite interestingly also serve a political end by being turned into an instrument for carrying a political message of respect for small traditions. But to claim it as revival and restoration of traditional practice and knowledge would be somewhat self-deceptive.

The best that can be said of it is that it is an assimilation[4], and therefore, transformation of an indigenous practice and knowledge. Perhaps, given the powerful economic, political and technological contingencies of modern life, this may be the only viable option left to us of dealing with indigenous practices - moreover an option which may have a degree of ethical acceptability insofar as it can lead to products with a traditional veneer but in a modern 'incarnation' - products that can have multiple beneficial use in today's daily life. But the more basic and larger questions need still to be debated.

I shall content myself with raising just one of these basic questions: if indigenous knowledge is, as we have indicated, an autonomous variety of knowledge embedded in deep specific agreements constituting a community, how is an authentic access to it from outside the bounds of these agreements, from the perspective of another community and culture possible at all? It may be thought that, if knowledge is non-unitary and genuinely plural concept, and comes in bounded boxes of agreements, criteria of validity and truth, no authentic access can be possible. I think the proper response to this is: the genuinely plural does not come in sealed enclosures as the box analogy might suggest. To begin with there is **one human kind** in spite of there being profoundly different ways of being human; there are very deep similarities - just as there are differences - in the contingencies that sustain different cultures. Also, quite unsurprisingly, there are basic emotions and feelings that

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3   I borrow this word from the British philosopher and historian Collingwood who used it in connection with the historian's problem of 'reenacting' a past action. (R G Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (oxford University, Clarandar, paperbacks 1978).

4   To assimilate something is to see it as similar and, thence, quickly to think of it as the same.

human beings share. Human beings are self-conscious creatures endowed with the capacity to wield language in which these emotions and feelings are necessarily articulated. The articulations and their ramifications as embodied in their practices vary from culture to culture, and it is these that determine the bounds of meaning of a particular culture. But there is nothing in this to suggest that articulations of one culture are inaccessible to another. One must, however, always remind oneself that the project of understanding an alien culture, or the culture and its practices of a different time is strewn with difficulties - not the least among them is the difficulty caused by one's inability, as it were, to parenthesise one's own background and one's own time: a difficulty that pervades most of our efforts to address the reality of vastly different ways of being human. A comprehensive understanding of and access to indigenous knowledge must coincide with a comprehensive merger with the practices of which it is an organic part. This will be something like an anthropologist's effort to fully understand an alien culture resulting in her going entirely 'native'. To go 'native' is also necessarily to shed one's own original perspective altogether. But going native is only a notional option - almost impossible to exercise in this terribly messy world of our time. The best we can do is to bracket away - self-consciously and to the extent possible - our own perspective, and reconstruct with much sensitivity the time and the space we are investigating putting together the intricate and subtle contingencies of the time and the place to yield the original meanings, even if only partly, of the object of our investigation. And this is an immensely difficult and arduous task - a task requiring a capacity for self-transcendence and openness to the other that is only rarely achieved.

There are other issues which I do not wish to go into here; but I have, I think, said enough for us to see the importance of a reflection on the difference between using 'indigenous knowledge' for our own purpose - *which may be a totally acceptable activity from some ethical and epistemic point of view* - **and** gaining authentic insight into indigenous knowledge as it really is. But perhaps we should 'take heart' from the following verse from Pindar, the great ancient Greek poet of the 5th century BC.

> Take to heart what may be learned from Oedipus:
> If someone with a sharp axe
> hacks off the boughs of a great oak tree,
> and spoils its handsome shape;
> although its fruit has failed, yet it can give an account of itself
> if it comes later to winter fire,
> or if it rests on the pillars of some palace
> and does a sad task among foreign walls,
> when there is nothing left in the place it came from.[5]

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[5] Quoted and translated by Bernard Williams in *Shame and Necessity* , University of California Press 2008, p 167.

Interaction of Micropolitics and Education Quality in Rural Karnataka

Pradeep Ramavath J[*]

Abstract

The aim of the study is to uncover the interactional patterns between 'micro-politics' and 'education quality' in two rural schools of Karnataka, India. The patterns thus obtained are used to critique existing policies relating to 'quality frameworks' for rural schools as envisaged in *The Right to Education Act of 2009* through mission mode programme for universalisation called *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*. This ethnographical exploration used micro-political perspective on schools as descriptive and analytical lens to understand the manifestation of quality parameters at the village level. Study through the analysis of 'quality' and 'micro-political' interactional pattern signals at the stabilisation of *'systemic inefficiency equilibrium'* of rural schooling system which has been strategically crafted through existing educational bureaucracy, caste hierarchies and *brahminical* value systems. Strategies related to enhancing the (e)quality seems to be conceived in a vacuum, disconnected, unreal to the underprivileged, disadvantaged communities in rural educational settings. Thus, the paper brings out the inadequacies in quality frameworks of *Right to Education Act* in ensuring effective participation to positively influence the long-term growth of the children in rural society.

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Introduction

Formal schooling provisions enshrined through various provisions in our Constitution envisions for realisation of country's demographic dividend and makes provision for social justice to the historically disadvantaged communities through its *'Public'* and *'Private'* schooling system. Formal entry of elementary education into the list of fundamental civic right is at present seems only a symbolic gesture of the state (Kumar, K., & Sarangapani, P. M. 2004). Thus, during the process of policy implementation, interacting structures and actors have been discounted to express their desires, needs, understanding, knowledge, and wisdom. Local communities residing in the periphery and interiors have been silently excluded from expressing their idea of education and quality. This process has significantly de-linked the aspirations of the stakeholders with the macro-policy objectives.

On the other hand, in India, we have varied consensus on the aspect of education quality (Dhankar, R. 2010). For some, it is quality provisioning for school such as timely availability of funds, teachers, infrastructural facilities, school management by local community, socio-economic-political, cultural factors and, for others, it is only learner's cognitive achievement in the schooling system. Most of the macro-studies (Lee, J and Barro, R.J. 2001, Banerjee, A. and Kremer, M. 2002, ASER 2009, 2010, 2011, Bishop, J. 1989, Banerjee *et.al.,* 2003) conducted at the national level incorporating multi-stakeholder partners such as state, market, civil society organisations, transnational networks focused only on establishing whether there is positive, strong and significant causal relationship between educational expenditure and outcomes at the aggregate levels. Dependent variables that were taken as proxies for school quantity in most studies were: test scores, repetition, dropout, completion rates, and enrolment ratios at the primary and, sometimes, at the secondary level. The studies generally aim to establish the extent to which increases in school resources - usually measured as People Teacher Ratios (PTRs), expenditure per pupil, proportion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or average teacher salaries - enhance educational outcomes.

Parallel to the macro-paradigm, micro-studies in education also borrowed modern economic approaches to investigating the determinants of educational outcomes and developed well-established techniques from other economic applications to investigate into the issues of quality. The idea being there is a determinate relationship between inputs to production process, and the outputs that subsequently emerge. However, the application of production function analysis to education is somewhat hazardous; also, using language to portray education through 'input' and 'output' approach is not very helpful as it obscures the key issues of assessing quality (Winch, C. 2010). For instance, there has been lot of stress on schooling inputs such as creation of physical infrastructure, community participation, teacher trainings *vis-a-vis* increased learning outcomes without a sequential understanding of socio, political contexts where such benchmarks have been set aside. Hence, in parallel with the economic tradition a different empirical approach to study schools and classrooms began to emerge. Micro-politics of education and schooling is one such framework, tradition that tries to uncover the hidden, untold, underworld of school, which influences education quality significantly. Micro-politics[1] is defined as the "dynamics of interaction between and

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[1] Alternative names - Interpersonal Politics, School Site Politics, Power Relations, and Small Organisational Politics.

among several stakeholders in negotiating and bargaining power to control and exercise authority over available educational resources to produce given set of educational outcomes and quality of education in schools." At the micro-level, education quality is defined with respect to: (i) Process indicators such as enabling and facilitating management and pedagogic practices, teacher and student engagement, effective utilisation of school and community resources -both material and human resources. (ii) Pupils' performance based on achievement tests. In both macro- and micro-indicators, efficacy and equity assumed centrality.

Micropolitics and Education Quality: Towards an Interactionist Framework

Realities encircling education clearly warns us that, every narrative on quality is political, but every politics surrounding it is simultaneously a macro-politics and micro-politics (Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F.1993). Researchers have drawn a distinction between these two types of politics in schools. The term micro-politics refers to the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organisations. Cooperative and conflictive processes are integral components of micro-politics. Macro-politics refers to how power is used and decision-making is conducted at the district, state, and federal levels. Macro-politics is generally considered to exist outside of the school, but researchers have noted that micro-and-macro-politics may exist at any level of school systems depending on the circumstances (Blase, J. 2002).

TABLE 1

DIFFERENTIATING MACRO- AND- MICRO-POLITICS

Macro-politics	*Micro-politics*
- *Subject:* State, Nation, Corporation, Transnational State (IMF, WE, WTO)	- *Subject:* Individual, Citizen, Community, School, Classroom, People and other life forms
- *Realm:* Sovereignty, Population, Territory, Security, Law, Resources, Trade, Property, etc.	- *Realm:* Body, Learning, Teaching, Sense of Self, Identity, Gender, Domestic/ Public, Sexuality, Food, Aesthetic, Education, Health, etc.

In essence, denying of "politics" in educational decision-making deliberately ignores and suppresses the realities of educational change processes both at micro-and-macro-levels. Micro-level competitions for deriving 'power' and 'authority' in the educational decisions become matter of curiosity in educational planning processes. Educational planning in developing countries need to focus on political, administrative decisions, and must take into account the clash between traditional and modern systems of education and socialisation (Rowley,1971). The dominance of one interest group over others and efforts to derive

power, authority, and control are assumed to affect the quality in longer run. Micro-politics provides a conceptual frame for the analysis of both the processes and outcomes of school reform focused on improving quality.

Innaccone (1975) is one of the founders of special interest group in politics of education coined the phrase, the micro-politics of education. This new domain in educational politics was largely studied from an organisational perspective. Major focus in micro-political research in education was on finding out the behaviours of stakeholders in education system through a psycho-sociological analysis of educational processes and concurrent political actions, at the local level, its impact on the administrative processes and teaching-learning processes. This was a tradition largely emended in qualitative research approach and ethnographical methodologies. Hence, more emphasis was on processes and its interpretation through constructivist approaches. Least priority was provided to find out causal relationship between the variables.

Studies designed to investigate the political relationships among parents, administrators, teachers, students, staff, representatives in local bodies, community, state and policy reforms initiated by the state is valuable and fill the research gap in the terrain of micro-politics (Blasé, 2005). Given the evolutionary nature of educational programmes such as *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA),* there is lack of clarity on roles and responsibilities of stakeholders involved. Political lobbying, negotiation, are integral part of dynamic programme implementation processes, thus having impact over quality of education at the local level. Overlapping roles and co-option are very common issues shaping the micro-political climate and influencing the quality on a long run. These complex dynamics of interaction between micro-politics and quality of school education (refers to both quality outcomes and processes) is rarely studied phenomenon in rural context. RTE 2009 has naively defined quality[2] from a supply side perspective, and thus providing opportunity for studying education quality not beyond the bureaucratic interpretations.

Present study actually probed and investigated the dynamics of power, autonomy, and control of inputs and its impact on the processes and outcomes through the micro-political framework. The micro-political framework took into consideration of both consensual-cooperative and conflictive-adversarial micro-political processes prevalent in the education system at the district and sub-district levels. Study was aimed to:

a. Examine the existence of micro-politics in rural school systems.
b. Explore nature of micro-political relationships between the stakeholders.
c. Construct the definition of education quality from the knowledge, attitudes, and perspectives of actors, institutions and organisations in the rural education system.
d. Build an understanding on interactional patterns between micro-politics and education quality in different rural contexts.

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[2] Chapter III in the duties of appropriate government and local authorities, 9(4) ensures for the good quality of elementary education conforming to the standards and norms specified in the schedule; sections 19 & 25 mention about some of the norms and standards relating to number of teachers, building standards, number of instructional days of school, working hours per week for teachers, library facilities, play materials and games facilities at the school.

Design and Methodology

The study uses the theoretical frameworks of 'symbolic interactionism' as research design, and thus the findings are majorly dependent on the interpretations derived from the interactions between 'micro-political climate'(established by the actors, institutions, networks and objects) with the concomitant processes associated with 'education quality' derived through a process of 'social constructivism'. Theoretical and empirical construction of 'micro-politics' and 'education quality' as distinct but interrelated, dependent phenomenon have been achieved though emergent, flexible research design embedded in interactionist, constructivist traditions. A hybrid analytical framework was constructed to evolve theoretical and empirical construction of micro-political and quality perceptions from the associated stakeholders.

Social constructivism is a sociological concept of acquaintance that relates the general philosophical constructivism into social settings, wherein groups construct knowledge for one another, collaboratively creating a small culture of shared objects with shared meanings. Social constructivism sustains human development as socially located and knowledge need to be constructed through interaction with other networking human elements in a system. The concept has a long history in sociological and philosophical thought, but the term has been coined by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann with their book *The Social Construction of Reality* (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Based on an amalgamation of Alfred Schutz' Sociology of Knowledge and Durkheim's notion of institution, they advance a theory that targets at responding the question of how personal meaning becomes a social fact. The concept uses George Herbert Mead's Ideas of Socialisation and Interaction and, in this respect, some aspects look like ideas in Russian cultural psychology, wherein groups construct knowledge for one another, collaboratively creating a "small" culture of shared artefacts with shared meanings. When one is immersed within a culture of this sort, one is learning all the time about how to be a part of that culture on many levels. It is emphasised that culture plays a large role in the cognitive development of a person. Its origins are largely attributed to Lev Vygotsky.

In the present study, attempts were carried out to construct the contextual meanings of education quality and micro-politics through constructivist methods. Both of these concepts were defined in the initial stages as separate and distinct attributes. This was achieved through the review of literature pertaining to the issues and challenges of educational quality and micro-politics in international and national contexts. Further interpretation of associated meanings in these two competing concepts through continuous interactions in field sites was carried out. In the second stage of the research comprehensive and nuanced definitional understanding of 'micro-politics' and 'education quality' was arrived using social constructivism.

In the final stage, micro-political interactions between key actors (such as teachers, students, parents, community members, *Panchayat* members, cluster resource person, village leaders, educational administrators, teacher union representatives), and organisations (such as schools, *Panchayats*, school management committees, cluster resource centres, block resource centres, block education office, district education office, teacher unions, parent councils, etc) role in influencing education quality was analysed through interacationist methodologies. Interactionism is a theoretical perspective that

derives social processes (such as conflict, cooperation, identity formation) from human interaction. Interactionist methods namely; unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, covert participant observation, overt participant observation, and analysing historical, public and personal documents by content analysis. Symbolic interactionism was used as theoretical framework in which human beings interpret each other's gestures and act on the basis of meaning yielded by interpretation (Blumer, 1969). Finally, a detailed force field analysis of the driving forces (positive forces) and restraining forces (negative forces), relating to education quality was done using existing interactional patterns. Force field analysis provides a framework for looking at the factors (forces) that influence a situation, originally social situations. It looks at forces that are either driving movement toward a goal (helping forces) or blocking movement toward a goal (hindering forces). The principle, developed by Kurt Lewin (1943), is a significant contribution to the fields of social science, psychology, social psychology, organisational development, process management, and change management. The idea is to capture the hidden dynamics, implicit micro-political processes in rural context of two selected villages in Karnataka, which have a significant bearing on the education quality.

The schools were selected from two educational blocks (*taluka*) through purposive sampling methodology. 'Extreme-case sampling'[3] method was applied to select the blocks. *Channapatna* in *Ramanagara* district, and *Sidlaghatta* in *Chikkaballapur* district in the state of Karnataka were chosen based on the Educational Development Index (EDI)[4] for the year 2012-13. Study was carried over a period of one year (2013-14) understanding the context, nature, pattern of interactions between 'educational quality' and 'micro-politics' at the village and school levels. After the selection of educational blocks based on EDI, initial selection of schools was based on the criteria such as performance of the school with respect to outcome indicators - enrolment, retention, and learning levels. These selections had good predisposition with the opinions expressed by the educational functionaries working at cluster and block levels. These predispositions were related to the perception of educational functionaries, their identification and judging capability of the schools as 'Good Schools', 'Bad Schools', 'Medium-performing Schools', etc. Even though on the official documents (school records, report cards), all the schools in the educational cluster showed more or less similar educational characteristics. One school in each educational cluster which fared better in terms of enrolment rates, learning outcomes and designated as 'better performing school' as compared to rest of the schools in the given educational cluster were selected for the study (Please refer Table-2) .

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[3] Identifying the extremes or poles of some characteristic and then selecting cases representing these extremes for an in-depth examination

[4] Education Development Index is composite index comprising of access, infrastructure, teachers and outcome indicators prepared by Karnataka Education Department in order to facilitate the process of educational planning in the state.

TABLE 2

Sample Villages and Selection Criteria

Level	Selection Criteria	Samples	
Taluk	EDI	Channapatna (67th Rank)	Shidlaghatta (127th Rank)
Cluster	Perceptions of the CRPs and BEO	Myalanayakanahalli	Tummanahalli
Panchayat	Administrative	Mailalli	Kannesara
Village (School)	Achievement tests, perceptions of CRPs	Mailalli	Kannesara

After selecting two schools, it was decided to spend a complete academic year *i.e.* 2013-14 in these two schools to understand the micro-political activities which might have some influence on high achievement levels of the children and also demarcate from rest of the schools as 'Good Schools'. The central idea was to map the pattern of concurrent contributory *'micro-political'* processes and activities, which might demarcate these two schools from the rest of the schools in the selected educational clusters. Micro-political processes were mapped with respect to school as a unit of analysis; corresponding notions of *quality* have been gathered through a process of continued field immersion. A variety and tools were used as per the contextual need. Hence, the study followed a 'mixed methodological' regime in selection of tools. Most of the tools used in the field were 'emergent' like open-ended questionnaire, unstructured interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), observation of classroom and school processes, conducting of standard achievement tests, personal interviews, content analysis of school records, reports, texts, personal in-depth interviews.

Analysis and Reflections

Education quality has different meaning to different groups; it is about the completion of physical and financial targets in time for head teacher, cluster resource person, and educational bureaucracy, completion of syllabus for school teachers. However, when it comes to issues of quality for their own children it is about the higher order critical thinking, English knowledge, computer awareness, etc. When the question of explaining the factors influencing the quality of education in their schools, the teachers in their responses have come out with diverse set of responses. These factors and components were mainly with their own perceptions, inputs, vision to create better quality outcomes from the present education system. Inputs for better quality included, *inter alia,* academic, pedagogic practices, management skills , community partnerships, training and capacity development of teachers, embedding leadership skills, ensuring good quality of infrastructure, technology deployment etc., (Please refer Table-3)

TABLE 3

Meaning of Quality of Education and Influencing Factors

Sl. No.	Factors	Percentage Responses
1	Three R's (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic)	91%
2	Community Participation	82%
3	Training & Capacity Development	50.50%
4	Leadership Development	44%
5	Universalisation	42%
7	Teamwork	13.00%
8	Good Management	24%
9	Feedback	3.70%
10	Time Management & Communication Skills	3.70%
11	Technology Deployment	1.1.%
12	Improving the Curriculum and Pedagogy	60%
13	Extra-Curricular Activities	35%
14	Others - Decrease in corruption - Recognise the importance of teaching as profession - More professional ethics	4.10%

a. Micro-politics of Infrastructure and Facilities

Basic physical facilities, necessary in schools as identified by SSA are classrooms, toilets, drinking water, playground, usable blackboard, seating facilities for the children (SSA, 2011). It is assumed that, these non-living elements, facilities play important role in improving experiences of teaching–learning subtleties and consequently overall school quality. There are some research evidences; those link the availability of permanent classrooms, textbooks, desks, libraries, and running water with the take up, progress of primary education and quality (Heneveld & Craig, 1996). We also find that often in India the 'school building' is regarded by stakeholders and many commentators as the most important ingredient after the teacher (Michael, W. 2007).

School quality attributed no significant correlation between the existences of infrastructure facility with the learning levels; but has shown positive association between the presences of quality infrastructure with the students' wellbeing. Most of these attempts seem to physicalise the spaces and living world of the schools. The current RTE Act of 2009

has just acted as state's physicalising apparatus focusing primarily on quantum of infrastructural facility need to be present in the school premises. It prescribes certain number of essential facilities to be present and proscribes such educational establishments which do not follow its prescriptions. In practice, these prescriptions by the RTE legislation negates the human elements of caring, bothering, loving, liking, feeling and bargaining. It never provided a space for imagination through local wisdom and sensitivities. Instead of providing life to physicalities, RTE seems to have taken out the living aspirations of the infrastructural facilities. A typical examples being presence of toilets, ramps, compound walls and their corresponding dysfunctionalities in the rural schools. These facilities internalise the inefficacies through complex immanence of human necessities rooted in their local socio, economic and cultural contexts. Thus, mere imposition through the toothless legislation of RTE would have void and null effect on these obligating physicalities.

Local community in *Mailalli* and *Kannesara* have used the school infrastructural facilities to penetrate the caste, political and religious identities through the *'space bargaining'* process. This bargaining process usually carried out through the formal spaces provided by state in the form of birthday celebrations of the national heroes and religious icons. SDMCs, local caste groups, *Panchayat* authorities are the bargaining agents - where the interplay of caste, religious identities are clearly visible on the prominently visible physical spaces (such as school walls) and written documents (such as SDMC proceedings). School teachers feel such processes as unnecessary but these bargaining processes are 'necessary evils' for their survival at the schools. Thus, the caste, religious-politics of school walls seemed more prominent than what positive effect the school infrastructure brought on the educational development of the student community.

This signalling of school infrastructure, learning environment in school premises as a space for identity (politics), bargaining for political clout without any positive association for students learning seems to be negative outcome but has positive bearing for local politicians to carry forward their 'micro-political' agendas over a long gestation period. Above case studies from the selected school sites further demonstrate how the caste, religious and political hierarchies of the society are being reproduced through the physical spaces of the schools through the 'objectified state'.[5] Feudal forces in the village actually control the decisions relating to any infrastructural decisions; teachers, SDMCs are at the mercy of 'patronage' network of dominant castes. School facilities become reliable forum to build such 'dominating networks' at the village level, though these dominating networks and religious infrastructural facilities would not have any positive association with the education of the children.

b. Panchayat and Link Politics

Panchayat politics and its effect on schools seem to have a distinct orientation toward material benefits, and its elected leaders are the media for channelling the material benefits for themselves rather being altruists (Narain and Pande, 1972). Politics under PR for schools

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[5] As described by Bourdieu (1986), Objectified state refers to the cultural capital at the community levels in the form of cultural goods such as pictures, paintings and physical spaces which are trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, ideologies and problematics.

is treated as a case of "link politics" built on vertical alliances that serve as the proverbial hyphen that joins and buckle that fastens the state level and rural local politicians. If one were to treat this development as legitimate, one should also accept as its logical corollary the entry of political parties in the area of local politics (Narain and Pande, 1972).

TABLE 4

Allocation of Money from CAC-GP

	Year	On Civic Amenities in Kannesara GP (Health Educational Facilities)	On School Education	GHPS Kannesar-a	On Civic Amenities in Mailalli GP (Health Educational Facilities)	On School Education	GHPS Mailalli
1	2004-2005	28000	14500		15000	8600	2000
2	2006-2007	49000	35550	3400	18800	10000	1700
3	2007-2008	35000	27000	3490	19800	15000	6000
4	2008-2009	23000	16000	6370	21000	13145	3400
5	2009-2010	21000	18000	6700	26000	17273	5800
6	2010-2011	27000	25000	5600	18990	16990	4500
7	2011-2012	20000	19000	6760	21000	14237	3900
8	2012-2013	39700	35000	2300	23000	19832	7800
9	2013-2014	35000	28000	11000	46000	39000	8400
	Total Amount Spent in 9 Years	277700	218050	51220	209590	154077	43500
	Average Money Spent in 9 Years	30855.5556	24227.7	5691.1111	23287.7778	17119.7	4833.333

Source: Book of Accounts for Standing Committees

From the Table-4, it is evident that, *Kannesara* School received an average of 18% of total allocation from the CAC, and *Mailalli* received an average 20% of its share every year. In both the GPs, more than 70% (78% for *Kannesara* and 73% for *Mailalli*) of the money from the CAC was spent on school education, indicating health component received very less priority in both the villages. In both the *Panchayat*, the *Panchayat* Development Officers (PDOs) inform about the erratic allocation on money on the issues relating Civic Amenities;

most of the funds utilised for these purposes come from the state government through the *Zilla Panchayat,* and around 30% of the money will be pooled from the local revenue collection. From the assessment of school head teacher in *Kannesara,* it would have been a sufficient grant for them to maintain the repair and small maintenance activities through the CAC funding; but he complained of non-receipt and invisibility of the money at the operational level. Most of the spending is only on papers and in bills. SDMC members do not ask *Panchayat* for any accountability in this regard and CAC do not send any intimation about the release of the money.

As per the Section 55 of *Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act of 1993,* the decisions at the Panchayat meeting shall be displayed within three days from the date of the meeting on the notice board of the *Grama Panchayat;* along with the details of the members' names voting respectively for or against the resolutions passed in the meeting. However, during the course of field immersion, only *Mailalli Panchayat* used to display such information rarely; the *Kannesara* PDO always complained of problem with the printing machines to display such proceedings on the notice board; though he used to circulate the proceedings to all the members. He declined to display any information to the public through the notice board and had not sent any intimation whatsoever to the school head teacher. On the contrary, in *Mailalli,* the HT was informed about the repair and construction works undertaken by the *Panchayat* in school premises.

This lack of accountability could be attributed to the factor about the co-option of the members in SDMC through the GP members. In addition, influential political leaders of the village selected most of the members of GP and SDMC. These political leaders are close associates of *Gram Panchayat* members and MLAs. None in both the villages, remembers about election conducted in GP for the position of CAC or for the position SDMC memberships.

During the group discussions, head teacher blamed GP, community for distancing itself from the school activities and, on the other end, SDMC members blamed head teacher for keeping them away and uninformed about the school matters. However, on *Panchayat* account books, SDMC records the routing of money for the construction purposes have been shown. PDO in *Kannesara* informed that the attendance of the SDMC members is through proxy signatures. Most of the GP and SDMC members in these villages are illiterate and hence not interested in reading the meeting proceedings or any notices. An analysis of participation of *Dalits* in the decisions related to school infrastructure and other facilities of *Kannamanagala* and *Mailalli* yielded a 'Matrix of Domination' as shown in Table-5, demonstrating 'Caste' as an important contextual factor in deciding the educational outcomes.

TABLE 5

PARTICIPATION AND TYPES OF TALKS IN SCHOOL DECISION-MAKING WITH RESPECT TO INFRASTRUCTURE (ADOPTED FROM BALL, 1987)

	Forms of Participation	*Response Opposition*	*Strategies of Control*
Authoritarian	**Prevents access to voice** Ex- Particularly prevents the participation of parents of scheduled caste children in schooling activities	**Stifle** Ex- Frequent insults in the schools by the upper castes	**Insulation, concealment and secrecy**
Managerial	**Formal committees, meetings and working parties** Ex- Teacher weekly staff meetings, SDMCs meetings, *Gram Sabhas*	**Channel and delay** Ex- Coordinated decisions of delaying the works due to discretionary powers provided to them in SDMC bye laws	**Structuring, planning, control of agendas time and context** Ex- Setting meeting agendas, writing of meeting minutes, discussions and voting on the subject
Interpersonal	**Informal chats and personal consultation and lobbying** Ex- Biases towards the teachers of same age, gender and caste	**Fragment and compromise**	**Private performance of persuasion** Ex- Praising each other during CRP, BRP visits
Adversarial	Ex- Public meetings and open debate	**Confrontation**	**Public performances of persuasion**

c. Micro-Management versus Micro-Marketing

The teachers in Kannesara School had no mentors or senior teachers to induct them into the process of teaching. They experimented on their own to get inducted into the system. They faced the challenges outside the classrooms of bringing the children into the classrooms. Even though they had support from community members, they spent lot of time in making the relations with the children, community, and other stakeholders. Even though teachers work on a collaborative mode, they do not get adequate support from the HT and

other functionaries in the system. There are many drop-out children from the marginalised communities, particularly *Dalits,* the reasons from them being excluded are not related only to the livelihood and poverty issues. There are micro-level practices in the schools, which need to be introspected by the teachers, community, and HT. The micro-management practices of HT has repercussions on all teachers who were forced to carry out tasks, which might not help students in the school. These micro-management strategies have brought good amount of narcissism in to the school system. On the other hand, the local private schools market their schools through intimate 'micro-marketing strategies' and sell their schools to the community. Hence, the micro-marketing strategies practiced in the private schools have a countering effect on the government schools. Thus, pulling out the children from government school catchment to shift to the private schools. Even though the teachers have good practices and collaboration strategies, they fail to negotiate with the political economy in retaining the catchment of their school.

d. Micro-politics of Curriculum and Teaching-Learning Material

Learning systems in rural schools are dominated by the 'Textbook Culture' (Krishna Kumar, 1988). Textbooks have taken the centrestage of Indian curriculum and teaching methodologies. In this process, they impose hegemony on the community by discarding the local learning systems. The entire standard quality assessment framework tends to measure the impact of textbook culture in schools. They invariably ask questions from the textbooks to validate the children knowledge and understanding on the parameters of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The curricular change supposedly aimed at indigenisation in post-colonial educational policy, resulted in *Brahminisation* as a key defining feature (p vi, NCF 2005).

An analysis of textbooks from Class I to Class V covering subjects such as Kannada, English, Social Science, and Environmental Science in the selected schools has demonstrated the following issues:

-      There are around 644 pictures of the human beings in all these texts and 508 (around 79%) pictures depicting the gender disparity in the society. This gender disparity is shown repeatedly and holds the patriarchal societal sentiments in the minds of school children. Most of the pictures relating to woman are related to domestic work.

-      In Class V textbook, there is mention of 54 temples, 5 mosques, and 2 pictures of church without a detailed description of these images except the glorification and rituals, which are carried out in these religious places.

-      The description of rural life is prominently pronounced through the context of livelihoods such as basket-making, farming, etc., and urban life as described through portrayal of white-collared clean jobs.

These stereotypic descriptions of the school texts and their deliberations by the teachers had significant impact over the mind-sets of the children. Their behaviour inside and outside the schools is affirmed hegemonic thoughts imposed by the texts mediated by the teachers. In total, 120 classroom observations have demonstrated the patriarchal, *Brahminical* indoctrination in the minds of the child to be obedient to the *Brahminical* value systems.

However, GHPS in *Kannesara* tried to break this mould of hierarchical knowledge creation and dissemination. They started thinking about the:

a.   Creative ideas to integrate some innovative methodologies to teach the syllabus prescribed by the state; and

b. Alternate learning methods to integrate the creativity of their fellow teachers and create supportive learning spaces in the school.

Block Education Officer (BEO) Hanumanthappa once during his visit to this school observed these works and encouraged teachers Sreedhar and Dhanraj to carry out more such innovations. He started speaking in different teacher forums about these two teachers and began demanding for such creativity in the work of teachers. This was the starting point of problems for these two teachers as many teachers in the neighbouring schools criticised this initiative as waste of time and school hours. Both of them never gave up and further built a colourful magazine *Shaamanti (*2011, 2012, 2013, 2014) which was written by the students to share their own experiences: experiences of their interactions with the society, their observation of the environment, their learnings of maths, science, etc., The idea was to create the spaces for children to write their own texts , share, read and participate in the self-learning processes.

"….education is not only providing knowledge within the four walls of the classroom, it is a continuous engagement of the children with its community and surrounding. To realise the potential of the child, teacher plays very important role. In many instances, the hidden talents of the children do not emerge. This is due to pressure from the education system to memorise a specific type of knowledge. Education sector should thus have to have more sensitivity, and nurture the creativity among the children. ….In a small village of *Kannesara,* teachers in GHPS and Sneha youth group are doing a marvellous task of organising the school development activities, integrating the curriculum with the children's experiences and they are bringing children textbook titled *Shaamanti.* This is really encouraging and it should become a role model for all of us who are working in education sector."

A.Devaprakash
Director - Primary Education, CPI Bangalore
p 4, Preface to Shaamanti-3 (2012)

It has been observed during the fieldwork that; the teachers are busy delivering what has been prescribed to them from the higher authorities. They do not have any say in the curriculum which they transact; neither they are so much creative and talented to redesign the curriculum as per the local requirements. Even if they attempt some innovations (like children textbooks in *Kannesara*), they are not encouraged; instead they have been heavily criticised and discouraged. Short semesters with vast coverage of syllabus put the learning of the children at a greater risk.

e. Politics of Street Bureaucracy

The dynamics of interaction between teachers and functionaries such as CRPs in negotiating and bargaining power to control and exercise authority over available educational resources to produce given set of educational outcomes depends on several contextual factors. These contextual factors are not only completely separate from standard quality procedures set by the educational bureaucracy; but also they are integral part of the system. The 'Street Level Bureaucracy' (Lipsky, 1969) has no control over any of these processes, though certain forms of participation and types of talk in school system would

help them in arriving at certain strategies of control (Ball, 1987). These strategies of control, in fact, demolish the innovations practiced by the teachers in the local contexts. Control strategies in the local situations have been assimilated through the positional power and social capital gathered by the educational functionaries. Even though the executive orders from the higher authorities act as currency to scare the teachers to perform the proxy tasks of educational administration, social and cultural capital plays a significant role. This is further hardened when educational practice sites such as CRC is utilised as mediator of electoral politics. In addition, there is a clear evidence of assertion of power through the intersection of identities of being affiliated to upper caste hegemony. This power politics further aggravates for being male, having the situational and positional favours.

Cluster resource person comes to these schools not as an academic support functionary but as a 'departmental postman' with an authority to pressure; force the head teacher to provide the data and information. He uses techniques of 'scaring the teachers through executive orders and through names of higher officials'. He always comes in a hurried fashion, with a bunch of newer data formats, and he hardly listens to what teachers have to say.

His conversations start with…"you have to complete the report of the enrolment drives by 15-06-2013", "fill these sheets and details regarding new enrolments", "books have arrived; go and collect the textbooks", "send copy of all bills to CRC by this week."

Head teacher in *Mailalli* says, "Most of his visits and discussions happen not even inside the school premises. He will be sitting in his *'Pushpakavimaana'* (motor bike) on the middle of the road and dictating the things to us. Now, he is not coming to our village also, he functions through 'mobile phone'. Yes, this mobile CRP has become real mobile CRP. Earlier, we missed his visits; now we miss his 'missed calls'. His ritualistic visits do not have any kind of academic significance for the teaching and student community."

HTs and teachers do not show any respect towards these CRPs as they just work on the currency of *'fear for the orders'.* Weekly teachers' meetings in Cluster Resource Centre (CRC) just end up in a follow-up of his visits. Rarely do they also do some sharing in CRC on awards, prizes won by the students during some competitions. Most of the time, it has been observed that CRC meetings have been structured to discuss the problems of confrontation between community, SDMC and teachers or else they will discuss about what syllabus they have completed till then, local holidays, funds for TLMs. They do not have time and space to discuss either on any specific topic neither they intend to arrive at any solution to the problems they face at the school site.

Thus teachers and HTs call these weekly CRC meetings as *'Chow Chow Bath'* meetings; with mix of everything in it and nothing specific in it. Prior to *Lok Sabha* polls, this platform was used for election campaign by sponsoring food, cold drinks, and gifts by the political parties. Local teachers' union mediated the process; thus most of the time teachers act as 'mediating actors/ brokers' between the political parties and larger teaching community. These interactions through mobile phones, ritualistic visits, no academic interactions at weekly CRC meetings are symptoms of 'top down policy implementation' where only great expectation set is to send the reports and bills on time. These types of top down policy implementation strategies are endemic to local level administrative and political bargaining. thus making school system to act *as "Street level service provider"* (Lipsky, 1969) which operate in a strategic network designed to connect the educated slaves performing mandatory rituals in the *Brahminical* social order.

Opinion of the teachers and HTs have some weightage and currency only if they belong to dominant castes *(Okkaliga and Lingayath*), upper castes *(Brahmins, Achari's*), etc., Hence, caste identity has due weightage in teachers' identity at the cluster and school levels. Teachers like Dhanraj, Sreedhar even though have some innovations, new practices, etc., to be discussed with the fellow teachers do not get a chance as they belong to *'Holeya'* community. Even teachers like Vidhyalakshmi and Chayadevi also do not get chance to express their ideas as their identity being 'women'. These types of 'intellectual untouchability' at the school and CRC levels could be seen as reproduction of socio-cultural inequalities (Bourdieu, 1977) embedded in the feudal schooling system.

CRP in Thummanahalli, Chandru points out that, HTs like Manjappa have become more administrative authorities than becoming academic leader in the school. His school day begins at 8.30 am by getting vegetables and catching bus to reach *Kannesara* school and ends his day around 5-5.30 pm updating records and planning for the next day. Though one can categorise HT's work into annual, monthly and daily, etc., Manjappa cannot perform his work in a systematic way, rather he mixes everything.

Thus CRP Chandru smiles and says, "work of Manjappa and his team could be listed under the title……time constraint or utilisation of time for unmanageable activities…..ha ha ha" he giggles and showed me the exhaustive Quality Monitoring Tools (QMTs) received form the department.

He further says ".… Now we have to be prepared for the completion of QMT during second cluster level consultation meeting. These formats are very detailed and humanly not possible to compile each detail asked. I don't understand how one can monitor the quality using these formats. By the time we finish the first round of data collection; rather than reflecting on the data collected, we get busy in collecting one more set of data or information asked by the department. .…now we also need to get busy with the school and family survey work….."

f. Pseudo Decentralised Structures

Systematic co-option efforts to create parallel institutions in 'decentralised governance framework' with the establishment of school development and monitoring committees by the centralised executive order is an unintended effort by educational bureaucracy to delink *Panchayats* from mandated Constitutional responsibility. Unplanned fund disbursal by *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* and recent confusions created by 'Right to Education Act of 2009' on the roles and responsibilities of individuals, authorities, institutions, etc., are seen as some of the common reasons for dysfunctioning of school development and monitoring committees in most part of Karnataka. However, critical appraisal of this committee using institutional ethnography in *Mailalli* has helped to probe more on the ability of this *'pseudo decentralised structure'* in performing the roles and responsibilities prescribed to them beyond the educational bureaucracy. However, exhorting reluctant community members to take active interest in educational needs of their children's demands for a holistic and long-term strategy. The efforts taken by the local NGOs, community members in consultation with the teachers' are worth replicating, but this cannot be substitute for *Panchayats*.

Sub-optimal and short-term solutions such as formation of SDMCs without situating them in a larger societal context are a serious mistake committed by educational bureaucracy; however, situational strengthening of the SDMCs in place of *Panchayats* makes

them supplementary structures. Present SDMC structure in *Mailalli* does not owe its existence with larger PRI governance mechanism; on the other hand, PRIs see these SDMCs as agglomeration of voiceless parent community. SDMCs are puppets in the hands of head teacher and other higher level of educational bureaucracy. They are created as symbolic institutions representing democratic principles in school governance mechanism and help educational administrative machineries to spend resources channelised by SSA. The impact made by SDMCs is a larger question to be addressed but, the mere existence of these improperly conceived pseudo-participatory structures are problematic to the educational system, as they do not indicate any sustainable structural affiliations. Rather they are situational leadership, momentary community-driven strategies.

The influence of teacher associations in affecting educational outcomes is an important discourse at the district and sub-district levels. Qualitative enquiry into the functioning of primary school teachers association in Channapatna and Shidlaghatta *taluks* demonstrated the existence of 'neo-corporate' strategies at meso levels. Karnataka State Primary School Teachers Association (KSPSTA) is the largest 'organised interest group' of primary school teachers at the *taluk* and district levels which influences the routine administration practices and, in turn, shapes the extra educational politics at the school and sub-district levels. Its actions have a larger inclination towards personal wellbeing at the cost of systemic educational goals and quality. It is largely grappled with the issues of individual wellbeing of teachers such as, time-bound increment in pay scale, transfer, posting, promotion, training and vacation-related issues. Its ability to impact policy implementation processes and influencing curricular areas are hardly evident in its actions even after explicit mention of such novel intentions in its constitution byelaw document of the association.

Conclusion

On the one hand, study demonstrated the existence of multiple innovative pedagogic, democratic practices, which are local, driven by the collaborative school leadership practices. On the other hand, study discusses the delink of micro-innovative practices with existing 'top down' quality governance mechanisms. The study through the analysis of 'quality' and 'micro-political' interactional pattern signals at the stabilisation of *'systemic inefficiency equilibrium'* in rural school system which has been strategically crafted through existing educational bureaucracy which is completely feudal; school, village level institutional networks which are dominated by caste identities, and school texts which strew only *Brahminical* values in the minds of the school community. Thus, the teachers need to be capacitated to work and teach in the highly politicised world of school, village, and classroom, keeping all the positive and negative micro-political behaviours into consideration. Thus, timely in-depth orientation on micro-political behaviours need to be provided. This has to start on an immediate basis in order to realise the Constitutional vision of education being a social change agent. The emancipatory power of education is embedded in such micro-initiations. Teachers should empathise with all the stakeholder like - teachers, students, community members, SDMC members to understand the micro-political strategies, which will help them to enhance the quality of services in their school on a sustainable manner.

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Understanding Beginning Teachers' Classroom Related Problems and Their Ways of Dealing with Them

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Summary

Introduction

Classrooms are multidimensional universes. Beginning teachers face several challenges while dealing with a web of classroom related problems in their initial years of teaching.

Objectives

1. To explore beginning teachers' classroom related problems in their first year of teaching.
2. To study the ways and means by which they handle their classroom related problems.
3. To study how the interaction and collaboration among beginning and experienced teachers enables them to handle their classroom related problems.
4. To study beginning teachers' perceptions regarding the effectiveness of pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher education programmes in enabling them to tackle their classroom related problems.

Research Design

Qualitative Research Approach was employed to explore beginning teachers' classroom related problems and their ways of dealing with them.

Data Collection

Data was collected from 30 beginning teachers (25 government school teachers and 5 public school teachers), experienced teachers, faculty incharges, principals and vice-principals.

Data Analysis

Thematic and constant comparative method of analysis was used.

Conclusion

Beginning teachers were facing various classroom related problems such as teaching-learning problems, assessment related problems, problems related to classroom organisation and management, problems related to teacher-student relationships, dealing with parents, planning concerns, administrative problems, adjustment related problems and the problems related to teaching environment. They were handling their classroom related problems with individual efforts, institutional support, training and support from others.

Implications

Educational implications of study are for beginning teachers, experienced teachers, faculty incharges, principals, vice-principals, teacher education programmes and policy-makers.

Gender and Disability
— A Review of the Educational Policies in Post-Independent India

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Introduction

Gender equality has long been a major goal at global space. Since the 1970s, various directives have laid the foundation of equal treatment and equal opportunities in public domain. However, despite the existence of comprehensive legislative frameworks, gender equality is yet to be achieved. While disabled women and girls form the majority of students in most countries, they still earn less and lower rates than disabled men and non-disabled women. With regard to education and training, gender differences persist in both attainments.

The nature of gender and disability inequalities in education has changed profoundly over the recent decades and, with regard to attainment in particular, has become more complex. Apart from the injustice inherent in all gender stereotyping, gender differences in education can also negatively affect social inclusion. For example, disabled women and girls remain a minority in public sphere, but, on the other hand, evidence shows that disabled men and non-disabled women are more likely to be amongst the superior in public sphere. These two examples illustrate that gender differences in education must be taken into account when developing policies and strategies to improve educational outcomes.

Review of Related Literature

In common usage, the terms impairment, disability and handicap are tended to be used interchangeably. However, according to the authorities in this area, these terms can have different conations in different cultural contexts (United Nations, 1964). Disabled women face a triple disadvantage as women, as disabled and as disabled women (Edmonds, 2005). There was a study by (Rao, 2002) about relationship between disabled women and girls and the disability and women's movements and state policies. The study of Maqbool, S. (2003) discussing on the status of disabled women and girls in South Asian countries, Maqbool emphasis that government of these countries ratified important UN human rights instruments for disabled women and girls but these documents have not yet been implemented. They still face inequality in opportunities and are excluded from the national development efforts. Focusing on the education of disabled women and girls, it is further observed that the main reason for the backwardness of disabled girls, especially in rural areas, is the lack of educational facilities. In urban areas too, their access to education is limited.

Objectives of the Study

- To find out the participation of disabled women and girls in the disability and women's movements.
- To find out the double jeopardy (as woman/girl, and disabled) of disabled women and girls.
- To review the Indian educational policies for disabled women and girls.

Research Questions

- How the participation of disabled women and girls in the disability and women's movements?
- How the double jeopardy (as woman/girl, and disabled) of disabled women and girls?
- How the Indian educational policies include the disabled women and girls?

Methodology

The study is qualitative in nature. In this, the study seeks to explore the educational policy frames that are not addressed on the issue of double jeopardy of those women and girls who are suffering from disability. The study is an exploratory research. It allows the researcher to familiarise with the problem or concept to be studied and generates relevant research questions to be explored in detail.

Data Sources

The study uses only secondary data. The secondary data was collected in the form of published and unpublished sources. The published sources in the form of government's reports, books, e-Books, journals, e-Journals, etc., accessed through the concerned web sites.

The study was mainly focused on gender analysis. It tried to understand the relationships between men and women, their access to resources, activities and the constraints faced by them. Gender analysis also provides the information on gender and its relationship with race, ethnicity, culture, class, age, disability, and/or other status, which helps to understand the different patterns of involvement, behaviour and activities of women and men who are the patterns in the economic, social and legal structures in the society.

Major Findings of the Study

The study is exploratory in nature and focused mainly on the participation of disabled women and girls in the disability and women's movements; double jeopardy (as woman/girl, and disabled) of disabled women and girls and reviewed the Indian educational policies for disabled women and girls. The brief summary of the findings are presented as under:

Gender and Disability: As a Category of Analysis

The third-wave feminism was initiated in the 1990s; different policies and strategies have been proposed to stimulate change in the climate and ethos of societies and in education practices with respect to gender and disabilities issues. While many of these were small-scale and piecemeal, taken together with supporting legislation and reforms, they have had considerable impact. It could be argued that these strategies and initiatives, often focusing on disabled female educational disadvantage, have significantly altered gender patterns in education over the last years in many countries. Nevertheless, gender inequality

is still an issue today, although it cannot be regarded any longer as a problem which concerns only disabled women and girls. The merit of recent discussions on gender and disability is that the focus has shifted from one which, primarily, questions the stereotyping of disabled women and girls to one which also questions the concept of masculinity.

The study shows that disabled and non-disabled women and girls are politically active across the public sphere; the study tried to draw out some of the issues that disabled women and girls related to facing in daily lives and tried to focus to building process of disabled women's movements. Disability and women's movement across the public sphere has shown that disabled women and girls were excluded and their rights addressed in an indistinct and limited manner, for the reason that disability and women's movement is unable to provide appropriate space for disabled women and girls. This task has been vigorous for establishing disabled women's movements. Any disabled women's movement has to grow from that one base, from our diversity as women, from the variety and creativity of our widely differing lives, through the embodied changes we face and from the responses and reactions of both those who work with us and those who resist the changes we seek. The constituencies on which we build, and the coalitions we form, will be vital to our movement's futures as will be our politics, in guiding the choices we make. The future is impossible to predict. We can see curiosity whether we are coming to a time when the notion of living with firmly fixed identities will begin to open out, as we become more fluid in ourselves, more inclusive in our campaigning. Our lives as disabled women can grow as, stronger in ourselves, we look to strengthen coalitions with a diversity of others, groups that can open up new spaces-with those campaigning around climate change; those who address militarisation; those working to end violence against women; with those who struggle for sexual rights and sexual health. We need to recognise the impact of these and of much else upon the lives of women, already disabled and potentially disabled in the time to come.

Certainly, we look to a time of prevalent recognition of the place of disabled people, disabled women, in our world - wherever our inclusion in all that happens around us comes with the acknowledgement of us all as fully-embodied women, vulnerable and strong, ever changing, working in solidarity alongside others, towards our dreams in a world where we may all potentially embellishment. As Maseko, S. (2010) says, *"I think the most effective movements are those that acknowledge and encourage diversity and celebrate difference and yet are able to work together towards one particular goal. ...movements are crucial and I think that movement-building is key to the realisation of human rights for all groups."*

Gender and Disability: Intersectionality of Disadvantage

In other section of debate and its conclusion, analysis and interpretation related to the double jeopardy (as woman/girl, and disabled) of disabled women and girls. This study has been exploring ways to address the lives of disabled women and girls and the effects of this double discrimination. The role of this section is to highlight procedures that can potentially respond to these issues. Analysing up-to-date evidence on disabilities of women and girls, especially given the speed of change in gender relations in recent times has been viewed as undesirable for disabled women and girls. Thus, government, local authorities and schools are each expected to collate and analyse performance data, such as patterns of under-achievement, other patterns where gender differences occur (e.g. drop-out, exclusions or truancy), pupils at risk and also to identify additional factors contributing to gender

difference. In general, it shows that there are not many initiatives in place to address disabled women and girls related patterns in achievement. This might be because the relationship between cause and effect is complex in this context since attainment is influenced by a series of factors. Interestingly, many countries have developed measures targeted at disabled women and girls groups with low social status. Although these initiatives taken alone might not be sufficient to tackle all forms of under-achievement, they are nevertheless crucial.

The results of both international and national surveys show women the largest group in the global disability population, and they have been historically subject to discrimination both on grounds of their disability and gender. Thus, the interplay between gender, disability, social class and cultural background affects behaviour and consequently pupil performance. Finally, attempting to transform the negative impact of certain society sub-cultures and poor attitudes to societies which are based upon the idea of normality might also be contributing positively towards gender equality. Strategies include encouraging more mature behaviour and attitudes towards society, and facilitating a societal culture where (disabled women and girls) pupils can achieve opportunities without fear of ridicule or disruptive behaviour.

Certainly, the support of pupils is vigorous to the promotion of gender equality in societies. Gender equality has been found to be enhanced by pupils' involvement in the general work related to disabled women and girls, participation in specific gender projects and help in developing a more equity-orientated societal culture. It is also important to create spaces and opportunities where less privileged groups have a voice and representation. This is particularly important because-as already pointed out in *"due to numerous societal standards, they continue to be left out of the decision-making processes. This reality is specifically true of women with disabilities in the cultures where the role of wife and mother is considered as a primary role for a female."* (Feika, I.)

Educational Policies in Post-Independent India with respect to Disabled Women and Girls: A Review

This study shows that the education of disabled children in India has been largely framed by the liberalism paradigm. This paradigm undermines the issue of difference (especially, this paradigm ignores the issue of gender and disability). It is based upon the idea of normality, based upon white, male, abled people, European, etc. Normality ignores the contextual condition of particular groups and led to exclusion. There is no space for exercising particular roles in the society. We know the fact that there are various kinds of disability and different theories of disability as well. Education system in India is unable to provide appropriate space for gender as well as disability. It is true that there are certain policies for gender education and disability, but separate. Even the policy frames undermine the issue of double jeopardy those females who are suffering from disability.

The review of Indian educational policies for disabled women and girls has shown that challenging existing gender roles and stereotypes in policy frames is not an easy task either for legislators or experts in the field. However, as pointed out in a recent review on gender and disability (especially, disabled women and girls) in education policy, the attitudes of legislators or experts in the field to gender and disability issues are often conservative and

reproduce traditional gender stereotyped ideas and expectations. Mostly the National Policy on Education carried the fundamental issue of equality centre-stage but does not concern how to uphold issue of different. Therefore, all education policies should have a core module on analyse comprehensive and layered way. Legislators or experts in the field should be assessed in their equality practices during pre-service and in-service education policies. There are, of course, many more measures to promote equality in disability zone. Not all of them may be equally important everywhere, depending largely on the state policies. Evidently any strategy or measure being piloted or adopted in this field needs to be monitored and evaluated regularly and adapted according to the changing circumstances. Looking at the comparative overview of policy concerns identified and measures taken, we can see that in India lack an overall strategy and implementation plans which would form part of an effective gender equality policy.

Education is a powerful instrument in changing attitudes and behaviour. Education policies, therefore, play an important role in fostering equal chances for everyone and in combating stereotypes; administration has a duty to provide all children with the opportunity to discover their own identity, strengths and interests regardless of traditional gender expectations. Thus, the study highlights that both gender and disability (especially, disabled women and girls) are related to complex and multilayer problems. So, approaching such concerns also tackles various approaches and takes it through a different perspective.

Book Reviews

Putting Higher Education to Work : Skills and research for Growth in East Asia, World Bank East Asia and Pacific Regional Report (2012), The World Bank, Washington DC

Smooth transition of educated youth to the world of work and the role that a quality and responsive Higher Education (HE) sector can play in achieving it is a major concern for economies across the globe. Investment in education to develop human capital and its contribution to economic development and growth is evidenced in literature by many authors (Becker 1964; Hanushek and Kimko 2000; Krueger and Lindahl 2000; Hanushek and Woessmann 2007; Kingdon and Soderbom 2007; Chadha 2004, Mathur 1990). The new wave of linking 'education to work' resultant from the emerging labour market needs, evidences of higher salaries and better quality jobs with rising 'skills hierarchy' from the primary to the tertiary levels has further substantiated the significance of Higher Education for sustaining growth in a highly competitive environment.

The book brought out by the World Bank is the first in the series on East Asia and Pacific Regional Reports. It is a comprehensive documentation of how the Higher Education systems are working in the East Asian economies in the light of the new needs of the labour market and a competitive world environment. Beginning with the theoretical and empirical underpinning of how investments in Higher Education can contribute towards improving productivity and growth, it has been argued that a highly educated and skilled manpower with capabilities and competencies to conduct research and innovate can be propellants of sustained growth. However, the shortage of such human resource has been termed as a key vulnerability to obtain high growth in low and middle income East Asian countries. It is also emphasised that a good quality Higher Education can help reduce this vulnerability.

The whole document is divided into six chapters that define the conceptual framework within which the challenge can be tackled. Chapter one is devoted to analytically understanding the economic landscape of the major East Asian countries. These have been divided into three income groups for ease of comparison. The chapter makes an additional classification by dividing them into three technology clusters based on the skill and high tech intensity of their products and exports. The resultant metrics has been used as a proxy to assess the level of innovation and technological capacity of different countries to move up the value chain. In the backdrop of this income-technology metrics, the following chapter describes and makes a comparative analysis of tertiary education scenario, skills, research and innovation by using multitude of indicators. It highlights the issues of quality *versus* quantity, equity, low research output and poor graduate employability as major challenges being faced in all the three country groups but more acutely in the lower two clusters.

Chapter three progresses to highlight a five-fold disconnect between the Higher Education institutions (HEIs) and its major actors - the employers (for the right skills); the companies (as research users); the research institutions (for building connect with

teaching); other HEIs and training providers and earlier (school) education (for building continuum). The disconnect, though all pervasive, varies in intensity across different clusters of countries. Thus, a differential region specific strategy is proposed to be adopted in the three groups of nations depending upon their income technology and HE metrics. The following three chapters draw from the three major causes identified as being responsible for these disconnects. They are low capacity, poor information and weak incentives. The public policy has then been suggested to be constructed on the three pillars of finance, governance and connectivity. The first pillar has been deemed to be adequate financing to correct for externalities and market failures, equity, quality, STEM and research, prioritising financing, performance based funding and plugging efficiency gaps. The second pillar stands on increased autonomy and accountability to all types of HEIs, with well aligned substantive and procedural autonomy. The third insists on stewardship of HEIs for enabling stronger linkages with the private sector, the industry sector and the domestic as well as international HE system. The major policy takeaway is the rationale provided for public intervention in Higher Education around all the three pillars particularly in developing countries.

The report indeed is extremely informative and provides for delightful reading through its colourful illustrations, real life examples and systematic analytical presentation. It would serve as a great resource to all learners, practitioners and policy-makers as well as a personal asset.

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RAO, Nitya, (ed.), (2016): *Disciplinary Dialogues on Social Change: Gender, Early Childhood and Theatre*, New Delhi: Academic Foundation*,* ISBN: 13:972-93-327-0348-3 (Hard Cover), Pp. 303, Price: Rs 1195.

Feminists are, in a very real sense, naturally friendly towards interdisciplinarity. They are more comfortable with the difference, keenly interested in diversity and open to dialogue. Instead of so-called masculine over emphasis upon rationality and ensuing desire to discipline and control through hierarchy, women accord greater importance to relationality, advocate a transformative process of interaction beyond disciplinary boundaries and tend to go for ethics of care and concern. Feminism thus opens up new horizon of transformative avenues, new ways of making sense of life experience.

The book under review is an eloquent testimony to the features of feminism outlined above. "The biggest problem in our institutions of higher education," as it contends, "is that of hierarchy, especially of disciplines" (p.61). The book is an anthology of nine papers presented in a workshop on "Education for Social Change" by experts from diverse domains, from different walks of life. The papers are well-organised in two sections devoted to early childhood care and to gender and theatre respectively. They are preceded by a brilliantly written foreword by M. S. Swaminathan, the editorial introduction by Nitya Rao and a

chronological story in the form of an interview with Mina Swaminathan (MS) by Indu Agnihotri. The book, as a whole' emerges not only as a celebration of MS's pioneering works on early childhood, gender issues and creative communication from interdisciplinary perspectives, but also as an anthology of excellently researched papers from contributors in their respective domains. It has aptly been titled and subtitled as *Disciplinary Dialogues on Social Change: Gender, Early Childhood and Theatre*.

In her paper, "Supportive ECCE Practices for Optimal Brain Development," Adarsh Sharma adopts a cell-to-society approach in understanding brain development and learning process, and their mutualism. The human brain in its early years is marked by plasticity, curious interest in variety and spectacular development. But this also makes 'the growing brain of young child more vulnerable to adversity and deprivation' (68). Sharma ably argues that genetic and epigenetic, biological and social factors must be taken into account for an adequate understanding of the complex phenomenon of child development. Recent scientific researches into the structural and functional aspects of brain and the indispensability of congenial psycho-social environment in this regard have entrusted the grown-ups with 'an added responsibility' (88) of caring children for their all-round development.

Rekha Sharma Sen's paper, "Literacy in Pre-primary and Class 1" focuses on reading and writing as introduced to early graders in a trilingual environment of English-Hindi-Urdu. She carried out a research on the reading-writing competence of several groups of children belonging to the two chosen classes across the three languages. Her findings are striking. Notably, for instance, socio-cultural milieu constitutes the background of the teaching-learning environment so much so that 'the classroom itself creates the socio-cultural context for learning' (126) where a teacher has a vital role to play in creating corresponding ethos. Departing sharply from the dominant paradigm, Sharma Sen contends that a child's learning to read and write must not be conceptualised as an incremental process of knowing how to decode certain given signs and sounds. Children, in natural course, learn through constructive engagement with their world. They actually 'interact socially with adults in reading and writing situations' (96), and participate in making head or tail of things around. This 'meaning-making perspective' has to be supported and sustained by appropriate 'philosophies', particularly because the prevailing paradigm refuses to view 'the child as sense-maker' (97-99). The paper correctly emphasises the need to develop conceptual frameworks conducive to the integration of cognitive, effective and volitional aspects of learning right from the primary stage.

Archana Mehendale penetratingly reviews the "Right to Childcare in India." She begins with MS's thought-provoking phraseology 'Who cares' concerning quality childcare and interprets it not only literally but also points out the inherent irony and issues involved in it. The travesty of the situation is that the 'childcare work is simply not recognised and valued by society and also the state' (136). The patriarchal gender relations, failure to recognise a woman's multiple roles and negative agenda towards child rights have rightly been identified as main reasons behind the problem. Mehendale suggests a broad way forward based on the three normative functions, 'respect, protect and fulfil' (148) needed to be made obligatory on the part of the state.

Rajlakshmi Sriram's paper, "Harnessing Fathering Potentials to Ensure Child Well-being" directly addresses a key issue of gender relation – father's uneven and inadequate participation in child well-being. The potential benefits of involved fathering are many for

either sex, and it is also essential for creating a child-friendly society. All this has been empirically demonstrated in the paper across varied contexts and circumstances. The logic behind advocating harnessing the fathering potentials has basically been the feminist one. Though sex is biologically given, 'gender is more a socially constructed phenomenon,' so we need 'to bring about change in gender role socialisation' (152-53).

"The second section is explicitly written from a feminist perspective," says the Editor (25). The section opens with Hanne M. de Bruin's paper "Gender @ Crossroad" which looks into the reception and spin-offs, impact and challenges ahead in women's entry into *Kattaikkuttu*, a form of Tamil theatre. As *Kattaikkuttu* is a physically demanding ritual theatre, it has been regarded men's prerogative by tradition. Women's entry into it turned out fairly innovative and groundbreaking. Yet woman artiste's reception in society as a professional performer has never been smooth and unchallenged due to manifold stigma. However, what has been envisioned to articulate and achieve through it is, in fact, 'a long-term process with a closer collaboration between arts and the formal educational along with gender-equity practiced as an integral part of the curriculum' (200).

A. Mangai's "Staging Feminist Consciousness" documents the work done by 'Voicing Silence' over a couple of decades since its inception in 1992 as a theatre group with three major concerns: 'Gender, Culture and Social Activism'(205-6). It is an attempt to give voice to the voiceless subaltern through theatre which has itself been on the margins in our formal educational system despite having great potentials as a mode of creative communication. With any effort to give voice to voiceless, politics inevitably comes into play. Mangai rightly argues for the need 'to rethink politics as pedagogy,' and goes to show how theatre does constitute 'one of the crucial contexts in and through which feminist political ideas are played out' (205).

"Lok Doot: The People's Messenger – Gender Awareness Through Theatre" by Jolly Rohtagi and MS represents an innovative medium of introducing gender issues at the grassroots level and communicating the intended message sensibly. The medium is a visual book which combines text with pictures beautifully. It is said that a picture is worth thousand words. Compared to words, visuals are better messengers to convey messages and meanings. This piece is creatively well set to go beyond the academic essay pattern and to reach people 'whose visual literacy goes far beyond their formal literacy' (226).

The lone male contributor to the volume is Amit Mitra whose "Patriarchs and Dhakans: Exploring Gendered Socialisation in Dungarpur" interrogates the deep-rooted romantic notion of greater gender equality amongst India's tribes. In his study of the Bhils of Dungarpur district of Rajasthan, Mitra finds clear evidence of gender inequality and discrimination against girls/ women in birth, health and education. This is a crucial counter-example to challenge the myths of greater gender equality, and of more working space and feminine freedom available amongst tribal communities. Arguably, what is required in such cases is 'a holistic analysis of the gender situation, including the role of ideologies is crucial for interventions to bring greater gender equality' (273).

Finally, Nitya Rao's "Mothers, Daughters and Well-being: Contentment and Conflict amongst the Santals" is based on her long-term ethnographic engagement with the Santals of Dumka district of Jharkhand. She looks into the patriarchal inheritance practices concerning property and identity prevailing among Santals, and shows how they intensify dilemmas and contradictions in social relationships, particularly in the mother-daughter interface, *vis-à-vis*

collective well-being. In fact, normative values and expectations associated with motherhood very much constrains the Santal recognition of female agency and voice. Rao poignantly puts the crux of the matter in general: "Mothering is a significant life experience for women and often they tend to choose this identity over others. Living up to the identity of a mother is however not easy, as the cases here demonstrate and often involve lives of struggle and hardships, of compromise and acceptance, of abuse and even rejection" (297). At the close, Rao does not forget to take note of 'the difference in the way these [Santal] women define their rights and identities in contrast to the urban, middle class feminist movement in India' (298).

I have found *Disciplinary Dialogues on Social Change* quite enthralling to read and it has all the potentials to become a must read across the intellectual spectrum regardless of one's disciplinary affinities and affiliations. In an agenda-setting style, the book adopts interdisciplinary approach to deal with the highly complex problems of early childhood education, gender justice in socialisation and theatre as a medium of creative communication. It puts forward a good many well-researched strategies for social transformation as well. The book is wide-ranging in its concerns, quite interesting in style and richly resourceful for generalists as well as specialists, scholars and students, researchers and curriculum developers, administrators and policy-makers.

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SWAN , Jenna Gillett and COPPOCK , Vicki (eds.): **Children's Rights, Educational Research and the UNCRC: Past, Present and Future**

The volume, *Children's Rights, Educational Research and the UNCRC: past, present and future*, is the result of a round-table within Network 25 (...), on how the UNCRC has informed educational research internationally. The round-table was inspired by the theme of the European Conference on Education Research (ECER) in 2014, which was, "the past, present and future of education research". It therefore claims that the seven papers that are included in the volume "critically engage with the context, relevance and implications of child rights, education research and the CRC, internationally" (:10).

The first thing that stands out after reading the book, is that while the set of papers that form the volume are excellent pieces of scholarship and provide critical insights into various aspects of child rights, especially as related to the CRC, they are not representative internationally. Hence, its claim that they engage with the issues – "context, relevance and implications" – *internationally* would be incorrect. They are based only on a very small sample of country experiences, i.e., Australia, UK, Sweden, Finland and Portugal. In other words, all of Asia, Africa and the Americas are completely excluded from their analysis, and much of Europe as well. This sets severe limits not just to its international relevance but also to the relevance and implications for most of the world, as the excluded sections house the majority of children worldwide. It would be proper therefore to foreground claims of

international relevance with the caveat that the analysis applies only to a subset of the child population - that too one that lives in the most privileged part of the world. The fact that even in these countries the import of CRC is yet to be fully understood and even less translated into practice is worthy of pause, but if seen in the larger context of the rest of the world, it would be a cause for far greater alarm – a point worth making in a book of this sort.

Secondly, in line with the above point, it is hard to escape a sense that the volume is trying hard to preserve the sanctity, as it were, of the CRC, in spite of evidence from the ground throwing up important questions about the practicability of implementing several Articles within the convention. It is also hard to miss the fact that even in its "inspirational" aspect the CRC is speaking to countries and contexts that are far more aligned to a social and cultural paradigm drawn from methodological individualism that accompanies the neo-liberal economic development model that most of these countries have espoused. This fact is alluded to in chapter one where the author makes the observation that the shift from provision and protection to "participation" in the conception of child rights itself reflects the move within these societies to more "individualistic" modes of living. However, the fact that even in this subset of societies, there continues to exist tension between responsibilities of adults and adult systems (family/school/state) and child rights as articulated by autonomy/voice/participation of children, says a lot for the validity of the CRC in its current form.

Thirdly, even though the papers are inspired by and claim to inform debates on education research; in fact, there is very little in the papers on the nature, quality or future of research on education and, far more, on the implications of CRC on the manner in which education is practised. The research cited in the papers is also related to particular kinds of school reforms – those that deal in some way with the CRC - rather than the much wider area of educational research. It would be fair to say then that the papers deal with children's rights in education, rather than with educational research. Most education research, in fact, has little to do with child rights, leave alone CRC and its implications. In fact, there is much to be said in terms of the past, present and future of education research but this book is not where one would learn about that.

Having said this, however, the papers are in themselves well researched and thought-provoking. In particular it is encouraging to see the critical lens applied to the CRC from a wide angle that includes both the "theoretical" as well as "nebulous" nature of the CRC. Even though all writers have acknowledged the fact that as an "inspirational" document, it has great worth; in practice it has not been as successfully translated in public dissemination strategies or pedagogies and classroom practices across the world. Nevertheless the debates that have been sparked off – and represented in this volume – are all important. Those in themselves make both the CRC and the research around it worthwhile and thus contribute to the evolutionary nature of the concept and its translation in theory, research and practice. In that respect, the papers represent a range of issues – from conceptual questions of what exactly we understand by children's rights (Chapter 6) and specifically the evolving rights related to voice, participation (Chapter 2; Chapter 3; Chapter 4) and privacy (Chapter 6), to how child rights are impacted by changes in the economy (Chapter 5) or changes in political paradigms or "tropes" (Chapter 1), and finally, to the need to understand child rights in the context of rapid technological change, especially the digital revolution (Chapter 7). The links with education are made in each of these contexts.

The book is a mix of papers based on country experiences (Finland, Sweden, Australia, UK, Portugal), within which different aspects of child rights are problematised and their implications explored for education reforms linked to the CRC. Each chapter reflects on the theoretical aspects of specific Articles of the CRC as well, particularly of Articles 12, 16, 17 and 23.

The first chapter by John l'Anson sets the stage by providing a historical perspective on how the concept has been informed by the major "tropes" as he calls them, and the tensions that have arisen in translating the ontologies, that arise, into practice. Thus, he highlights a broad range of questions that have grown up such as the binary of culture *vs* nature: whose voice is heard in situations of social and economic inequality; the negotiation of space between adulthood and childhood; the dissonance caused by relying on measurable "indicators" of accountability despite their ethical limitations; even the role of advocacy *vs* the role of critique as far as child rights are concerned. The complex terrain covered by the issues and the challenges faced in translating them have created, in the author's opinion, a "new theoretical vibrancy and inventiveness", making research in child rights and its implications not yet settled, but "anticipatory" – a running theme in the volume.

In chapter two, by Louise Gwenneth Phillips, she looks at the public discourse on children's rights historically, before mapping the major actions that have taken place since 1989 to promote the CRC. She notes in particular the "gaps", "missed opportunities" and "possible explanations" (:39) for the neglect in the promotion of the CRC. The major steps examined in the paper are the UNICEF child-friendly schools of Thailand, the UNICEF rights respecting schools in the UK and Canada, and the World Programme for Human Rights Education. The paper is largely critical of these initiatives in being more theoretical in approach and lacking in sufficient capacity building of the personnel involved. The authors also reflect on the difference between the two UNICEF initiatives, currently posing the question: "is 'child- friendly' a diminutive of 'rights respecting' perhaps unwittingly continuing global north paternalism?"

Nina Thelander, in chapter three, takes on the issue of human rights education, examining it in terms of (i) knowledge and skills; (ii) values, attitudes and behaviour; and (iii) action to defend and promote human rights.

Chapter four by Reetta Niemi, Kristiina Kumpulainen and Lasse Lipponen is about converting the CRC's mandate of pupil participation in the classroom in pedagogical practice, as viewed from the Finnish experience. The authors draw on empirical data from an action research initiative conducted in one primary classroom community in Helsinki, consisting of 24 students and one teacher. The authors begin by discussing 3 projects of child participation (diamond ranking; building wings meetings and narrative learning) and go on to show how these have been reflected in the Finnish national curriculum and in the actual practices in a classroom. On the basis of the case study presented, it appears that using the above-mentioned methods in curriculum design, it is possible to enhance pupil participation and hence implement Article 12 of the CRC in the classroom. However, the sample size is extremely small and from a part of the world, which is perhaps miles ahead in thinking about child rights and education. It would be useful to have similar action research exercises conducted in other countries or other settings to learn about the challenges faced in implementing CRC in classrooms.

Chapter five by Joana Lucio and Fernando Ilidio, discusses the issue of children's rights in the context of social and economic cutbacks as witnessed in Portugal after 2011. This is done by assessing pre-service teacher perceptions about their role and that of their schools in enhancing children's civic and political development. Through a discussion of the impact of austerity measures, the authors also address issues in the sociology of childhood as it relates to the curtailment of children's rights and their ability to participate. The chapter highlights the influence of household anxieties and other aspects of economic hardship in children and their participation in school. This chapter presents the most striking indictment of the theoretical thrust of the CRC and its impracticability especially in "fragile" economies, where notions of citizenship, especially for children, also tend to become "fragile", under economic stress.

Chapter six by Gordon Tait and Mallihai Tambyah explores the complex area of children's right to privacy (Article 16 of the CRC), placing it in historical and social contexts. In particular this chapter examines the notions of privacy in the age of increased surveillance and data collection that have become par for the course in response to concerns of children's safety and public liabilities associated with it. In so doing they point to an inherent contradiction in the two developments – increased surveillance impinging on the right to privacy. The paper also highlights the fact that since this right is hard to define it is difficult to legislate it. Hence, they pose the question: if the right to privacy is a right without a remedy, is there any point in having the right at all? In fact, this question applies to many social and economic rights that are hard to litigate, and have given rise to questions of their legal legitimacy. However, as in the other chapters, the authors take an optimistic view stating that, "irrespective of the conceptual and legal shortcomings of children's privacy', Article 16 puts the issue squarely on the table and forces other social and governmental interventions… to factor it into their calculation" (:121).

In chapter seven by Jenna Gillett-Swan and Vicki Coppock, the authors look at the manner in which technology has shaped social interactions especially of children and the opportunities that lie therein for actualising participatory methods but also the challenges presented from an ethical point of view. The widespread use of social media, increasingly the source of information, for children and youth can be a platform for dissemination about child rights, but is equally a predatory space especially in terms of misuse of information, infringement of privacy and uncensored information becoming available to under-age children. Here too, as in other aspects of child rights dealing with issues of autonomy and agency of children, protectionism *versus* excessive paternalism are as yet unsettled questions.

The whole the book is well worth a read and recommended for everyone concerned with the direction in which thinking about child rights and its use in education is progressing, especially in the western world. The fact that it has implications in the global south as well is worthy of further research.

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