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Education for Profit, Education for Freedom"

Martha C. Nussbaum*

History has come to a stage when the moral man, the complete man, is more and more giving way, almost without knowing it, to make room for the commercial man, the man of limited purpose. This process, aided by the wonderful progress in science, is assuming gigantic proportion and power, causing the upset of man's moral balance, obscuring his human side under the shadow of soul-less organization.

Rabindranath Tagore (1917, p. 20)

Achievement comes to denote the sort of thing that well-planned machine can do better than a human being can, and the main effect of education, the achieving of a life of rich significance, drops by the wayside.

John Dewey (1915, p. 22)

The Education Crisis

I begin with four examples, which illustrate, in different ways, a profound crisis in education that faces us today. All illustrate the crisis in both education and citizenship to which the great Indian writer and educator Rabindranath Tagore had referred to, a crisis that was already profound in his lifetime and that has become still more profound in our time.

a) In the fall of 2006, the United States Department of Education's Commission on the Future of Higher Education, headed by the Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings, released its report on the state of higher education in the nation. (US Department of Education 2006)'. This report focuses entirely on education for national economic gain, for profitability in the global market. It concerns itself with perceived deficiencies in science, technology, and engineering - not the

" Edited version of the Opening Plenary Address, Association of American Colleges and Universities, Washington DC (January 24, 2008), First Annual Seymour J. Fox Memorial Lecture, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (December 16, 2007), and Special Lecture, Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata (20 November 2007).

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[1] A valuable counter-report to this is LEAP-AACU (2007). I am largely in agreement with whose recommendations (not surprisingly, in that I participated in drafting it).

basic scientific research in these areas, but only highly applied learning - learning that can quickly generate profit-making strategies. The humanities, the arts, and critical thinking, so important for decent global citizenship, are sadly absent, and the suggestion of the report is that it would be perfectly all right if these abilities were allowed to wither away, in favour of more useful disciplines.

b) In March 2006, Harvard's President Lawrence Summers (now ex-President) travelled to India to host a three-day event called "Harvard in India". Summers is well known in America for his denigration of the humanities and for opposition to the study of ethical reasoning, which he sought to remove entirely from the undergraduate core curriculum. His aim was to consistently build up the proportion of the curriculum devoted to science and technology. "Harvard in India" was no different. The programme had a number of notable features: no Indian academic was included on the programme; Harvard charged more than $ 100 per person who wanted to attend, something that put it out of reach for local academics. Instead, leading Indian businessmen were amply represented on the programme (and I mean men - only one woman, an American medical researcher was on the programme at all). The message delivered by Summers to the Prime Minister and other assembled dignitaries was that Harvard was happy to help India in its effort to develop its technology sector, and thus to capture a larger share of the global market. The educational emphasis was not even on creative, basic science: it was on science for short-term profit in industry.

c) In November 2005, I go across the Midway to the Laboratory School, the school where John Dewey conducted his path-breaking experiments in democratic education reform. The teachers were having a retreat, and I was asked to addtess them on the topic of education for democratic citizenship, something that I undertook with some trepidation because I am sure they all knew so much more about this topic than I do. As I defended the legacy of Dewey, focusing particularly on the sympathetic imagination, and introduced them to the proximate writings of Tagore (who conducted pioneering education reform at the same time in a similar spirit), I discovered that I was not where I thought I was, the safe home of Dewey's ideas. I was on a battleground, where teachers who still take pride in stimulating children to question, criticize, and imagine, were an embattled minority, increasingly suppressed by other teachers, and especially by wealthy parents, intent on testable results of a technical nature that will help produce financial success. When I presented what I thought of as a very banal version of Dewey's vision, there was deep emotion, as if I had mentioned something precious that is being snatched away.

d) Finally, last year, I was invited by a great university in my own country; let's call it Y, to speak at a symposium celebrating a major anniversary. I was asked to speak, as part of a symposium, on "The Future of Liberal Education". A few months before the date of the event itself (February 2006), I was told by the Vice-Provost that the nature of the occasion had been changed, and that there

> would be no longer a symposium on the future of liberal education. I was, therefore, urged to give a single lecture on whatever topic I liked. When I arrived on the campus, I asked for the reasons behind the change. From a helpful and nicely talkative junior administrator, I learnt that the President of Y had decided that a symposium on liberal education would not "make a splash", so he has decided to replace it with a symposium on the latest achievements in science and technology. My lecture, a tiny wavelet that was no longer a part of a large "splash", dwelt on the great importance of the arts and humanities for a decent public culture, both critical and sympathetic, able to transcend suspicion and fear of the different. But of course at this point, with no public symposium, I was as if preaching to the converted, an audience of humanities faculty and students.

Not to belabour the obvious, there are hundreds of stories like these, and new ones arrive every day in the US, in Europe, in India, and no doubt, in other parts of the world. When education is discussed in the US presidential campaign, it is discussed in low-level utilitarian terms: how can we produce technically trained people who can hold onto "our" share of the global market. (On October 30, 2007, in a televised Democratic candidates' debate in the US, one candidate did mention the importance of the arts as a source of creativity, but he was one who has absolutely no chance of winning, absolutely nobody picked up on his remark, and I'm sure his unfashionable utterance further sealed his doom[2].

Given that economic growth is so eagerly sought by all nations, too few questions have been posed in India as in the US, about the direction of education, and with it, of democratic society. With the rush to profitability in the global market, values precious for the future of democracy, especially in an era of religious anxiety, are in danger of getting lost.

The profit motive suggests to most concerned politicians that science and technology are of crucial importance for the future health of their nations. We should have no objection to good scientific and technical education, and I do not suggest that nations should stop trying to improve in this regard. My concern is that other abilities, equally crucial, are at risk of getting lost in the competitive flurry, abilities that are crucial to the health of any democracy internally, and to the creation of a decent world culture and a robust type of global citizenship, capable of constructively addressing the world's most pressing problems. These abilities are associated with the humanities and the arts: the ability to think critically; the ability to transcend local loyalties and to approach world problems as a "citizen of the world"; and, finally the ability to imagine sympathetically the predicament of another person.

I shall take my argument by pursuing the contrast that my examples have already suggested between an education for profit-making and an education for a more inclusive type of citizenship. Let me introduce this contrast via a contrast, familiar in discussions of global justice and global citizenship, between two conceptions of development: the old

[2] It was Bill Richardson of New Mexico.

narrow conception of economic development, and the richer more inclusive notion of "human development". Throughout 1 shall allude to examples from India, since that is where most of my development work has been conducted, and I recently published a book on religious tensions and democracy in India that devoted a good deal of consideration to education'.

Education and 'Human Development'

We hear, these days, a good deal of talk about •"human development" and the fostering of "human capabilities'"[4]. Of course I've been part of that movement, and I applaud the broadening of its focus to encompass broader human ends. I am concerned, however, to see that the analysis of education used, even by the best practitioners of the human approach, tends to focus on basic marketable skills and neglects the humanistic abilities of critical thinking and imagining, so crucial if education is really to promote human development, rather than merely economic growth and individual acquisition. So, let's reflect first in a highly general way, about what an education for human development would not look like, and how it would differ from an education for economic enrichment.

The old model of development, the one that has long been found inadequate by development practitioners who are concerned with ethical issues of inclusion and equality, says that the goal of development is economic growth - never mind about distribution and.social equality, never mind about the pre-conditions of stable democracy, never mind about the improvement of other aspects of a human being's equality of life that are not well linked to economic growth. As I say, this model of development has by now been rejected by a large proportion of serious development thinkers, but it continues to dominate a lot of policy making, especially policies influenced by the US. The World Bank made some commendable progress, under James Wolfensohn, in recognizing a richer conception of development, but things then slipped badly, and the International Monetary Fund never made the sort of progress that the Bank did under Wolfensohn. In the context of this paradigm of what it is for a nation to develop, what is on everyone's lips is the need for an education that promotes national development in terms of economic growth. Such an education has recently been outlined by the Spellings Commission Report of the US Department of Education, focusing on higher education. It

[3] Chapters 7 and 8 in Nussbaum (2006) are devoted to an analysis of educational issues.

[4] The "human development" approach to the measurement of quality of life is embodied in the annual *Human Development Reports* published since 1990 by the United National Development Programme in New York; the *Journal of Human Development* publishes much related material. That journal in turn, has a close working relationship with the Human Development and Capability Association, now five years old, whose members include approximately 700 scholars and policy makers from about 60 countries, and which hold annual meetings to debate the future of the approach and to develop it further. (Amartya Sen and I have been the first two Presidents of this Association). My own work on human development capabilities can be found in Nussbaum (1990, 2006) and numerous articles, particularly Nussbaum (2003). The relationship of this approach to constitutional law is developed in Nussbaum (2007).

is also being implemented by many European nations, as they give high marks to technical universities and impose increasingly draconian cuts on the humanities; and it is very central to discussion in India today, as to most developing nations who are trying to grab a larger share of the global market.

What sort of education does the old model of development suggest? Education for economic enrichment needs basic skills, literacy and numeracy. It also needs some people to have more advanced skills in computer science and technology, although equal access is not terribly important: a nation can grow very nicely while the rural poor remain illiterate and without basic computer resources, as recent events in many Indian states show. In states such as Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, we have seen the creation of increased GNP per capita through the education of a technical elite who make the state attractive to foreign investors. The results of this enrichment do not trickle down to improve the health and well-being of the rural poor, and there is no reason to think that enrichment requires educating them adequately. That was always the first and most basic problem with the GNP/capital paradigm of development. It neglects distribution, and can give high marks to nations or states that contain alarming inequalities. This is very true of education. Given the nature of the information economy, nations can increase their GNP without worrying too much about the distribution of education, so long as they create a competent tech and business elite.

After that, education for enrichment perhaps needs a very rudimentary familiarity with history on the part of the people who are going to get past elementary education in the first place, and who are likely to be a relatively small elite. But care must be taken lest the historical and economic narrative lead to any serious critical thinking about class, about whether foreign investment is really good for the rural poor, about whether democracy can survive when such huge inequalities in basic life-chances obtain. So critical thinking would not be a very important part of education for economic enrichment, and it has not been in states that have pursued this goal relentlessly, such as the Western Indian state of Gujarat, well known for its combination of technological sophistication with docility and groupthink. The student's freedom of mind is dangerous, if what is wanted is a group of technically trained docile technicians to carry out the plans of elites who are aiming at foreign investment and technological development. Critical thinking will then be discouraged - as it has so long been discouraged in the public schools of Gujarat.

History, I said, might be essential. But enrichment educators will not want a history that focuses on injustices of class, caste, gender, and ethno-religious membership, because that will prompt critical thinking about the present. Nor will such educators want any serious consideration of the rise of nationalism, of the damages done by nationalist ideals, and of the way in which the moral imagination too often becomes numbed under the sway of technical mastery - all themes developed with scathing pessimism by Rabindranath Tagore (1950) in *Nationalism,* lectures delivered during the First World War, and themes whose centrality is all the more apparent in our own time. So the version of history that will be presented will present national ambition as a great good,

and will downplay issues of poverty and inequality. Once again, real-life examples of this sort of education are easv to find.

In fact, one of the most graphic examples of this disquietering feature of an "India Shining" type of education, if I may call it that (using the recent campaign slogan of the BJP, the Indian party that combined a focus on economic growth and foreign investment with support for religious polarization and even violence) is the portrayal of the Human Development approach itself in the textbooks published during the ascendency of the BJP by the National Council for Educational Research and Training (and now, fortunately, retired by the post-2004 government)[5]. Although these details about Indian public schools may seem a bit remote, I am sure that the work of Yuli Tamir on textbooks and history in recent years has created awareness of the significance of such apparently small things, and I think it's often easier to talk about distant examples and the general lessons they yield, rather than plunging into the waters of local politics.

I was initially delighted to discover that the Class X social science book, *Contemporary India,* (NCERT, 2003) had a chapter on the Human Development approach, as an alternative to approaches to development that focus on economic growth alone. India has indeed been particularly energetic in implementing this approach. Moreover, it was initiated by Amartya Sen, an Indian citizen. So, it was not surprising that it would be mentioned in a schoolbook for Indian children. It was, however, highly disconcerting to find three large errors in the brief account.

First, it is claimed that (according to the approach) human development and not economic development is the ultimate goal, but that "The importance of economic growth among all contributory factors of development is paramount" (NCERT, 2003, p. 141). Sen in fact, however, argues through careful empirical studies that economic growth contributes little or nothing to the improvement of education and health care, two of the main goals of the human development approach. He recommends that each separate goal be given a separate analysis to see what in fact does promote it (See Dreze and Sen. 2002). The BJP's support for leaders, such as Andhra Pradesh's Chief Minster Chandrababu Naidu, who promoted a "shining" state through foreign investment while doing nothing about the condition of the rural poor, speaks through this sentence, a nearly slanderous deformation of what Sen and I actually argue.

Second, it is asserted that the approach analyzes development "in context of an average individual" (Dreze and Sen, 2002), whereas the approach, as practiced, insists on disaggregating the population into discrete segments, not resting content with the GNP approach's focus on an average person, but instead focusing particular attention on people and groups that might be thought to enjoy a particularly low quality of life, such a women and the rural poor. (Once again, the ideology of "India Shining" shows its colours: promote a glorious average, and we don't need to think about those at the bottom.)

[5] I discuss these textbooks in detail in Nussbaum (2006), Chapter 8.

Third and worst, the whole discussion is introduced by the claim, "In social development, whatever benefit an individual derives is only as a collective being." This is an idea that Sen and I reject, insisting that *each and every individual person* is an end, and that it is ethically wrong to present development in terms of the well-being of collectivities (Nussbaum, 1990, Chapter 1). We stress that even a community, such as the family, in which intense love and loyalty putatively obtain, may be the site of great inequalities of opportunity. So it is crucial to ask not just how the household is doing, but how *each and every person is doing"* This error, too, seems more an ideological than a mistake, since it expresses the communitarian ethos of the Hindu right, as against the idea of human rights.

These errors already look highly ideological, an attempt to make the influential Human Development Approach look as if it supports BJP economic policies. Many other questionable statements in the books are even more flagrantly political, distorting history to prevent thought from focusing on poverty and inequality. 'Ancient India' by Makhan Lai (NCERT, 2002a) toes the orthodox RSS line: early Hindu India was a wonderful place, with no big problems. The introductory chapter ends with a long citation from British historian A. L. Basham, who wrote a book called 'The Wonder That was India': "[I]n no other part of the ancient world were the relations of man and man, and of man and the state, so fair and humane...No. other ancient lawgiver proclaimed such noble ideals of fair play in battle as did Manu. In all her history of warfare Hindu India has few tales to tell of cities put to the sword or of the massacre of noncombatants. To us the most striking feature of ancient Indian civilization is its humanity." (This romanticizing account of early India omits, as many historians have noted, issues of caste and class oppression, the misery of the poor, and, very conspicuously, the situation of women. The laws of Manu are in fact infamous for their extremely harsh and restrictive treatment of women, who are not permitted to do anything independently, even in their own homes, and who are seen as essentially intemperate and immoral, in constant need of male control. The rest of the book follows the Basham plan, wondering at India, but alerting the student to none of its problems. Similarly, the volume devoted to medieval history completely omits mention of the *dalits* and their situation (NCERT, 2002b)[7]. It also fails to mention important women's issues, such as Akbar's harsh disapproval of *sati* and his prohibition of child marriage, an entrenched Hindu custom by that time. It is hardly surprising that the books contained yet other distortions, portraying religious minorities as dangerous and as linked to terrorism.

We now notice something quite interesting: education for national enrichment converges conveniently with the sort of ideological education favoured by the Hindu right, who are hardly unique in the world in linking right-wing ideology to a gung-ho development of science and technology. It sometimes looks as if there is a tension

[6] A particularly influential statement of this position is in Sen (1990). Another valuable development on this theme is Agarwal (1997).

[7] I note that this volume is, in some respects, an exemption in the series, being of higher intellectual and literary quality than the others.

between two aims of the BJP: the aim to promote economic growth through foreign investment, and the aim to promote ethnic purity. Certainly, it seems as if one could favour the programme of "India Shining" (meaning economic growth) without sympathizing with its dark militant side. (So too, in the US, it once seemed that one could favour the Republican Party's economic ideology without favouring its darker politics of ideological extremism and fear.)

However, education for enrichment needs docile students, students who don't think critically, and particularly students who have learned to ignore systematically the inequalities that are fostered by a policy based on economic growth alone. And the idea that we must learn to ignore such inequalities in history dovetails very nicely with the Hindu right's aim to produce an account of the past in which all Hindus were happy and peaceful in the Indus valley, and to suppress the work of historians who emphasize class and gender issue[8]. Education for enrichment likes the fantasy of a happy life in the Indus valley, because it permits the mind to be lulled, as it follows the goal of national economic enrichment. As Tagore (1932, p. 141) said, "Man is building his cage, fast developing his parasitism on the monster Thing, which he allows to envelop him on all sides". And this shrinking of the human allows the mind to become so small, the conscience so blind, that it is willing to follow all sorts of bad projects, with no twinge of pity or moral responsibility.

I have spoken about critical thinking and about the role of history. What about the arts and literature, so often valued by progressive democratic educators? An education for enrichment will, first of all, have contempt for these parts of a child's training, because they don't lead to enrichment. For this reason, all over the world, programmes in arts and the humanities, at all levels, are being cut away in favour of the cultivation of the technical. Indian parents take pride in a child who gains admission to the Institutes of Technology and Management. They feel ashamed of a child who studies literature, or philosophy, or who wants to paint or dance or sing. But educators for enrichment will do more than ignore the arts: they will fear them. For a cultivated and developed, sympathy is a particularly dangerous enemy of obtuseness, and moral obtuseness is necessary to carry out programmes of enrichment that ignore inequality. As Tagore said, aggressive nationalism needs to blunt the moral conscience, so it needs people who don't recognize the individual, who speak group-speak, who behave and see the world like docile bureaucrats. Art is the great enemy of that obtuseness, and artists are never the reliable servants of any ideology, even a basically good one - they always ask the imagination to move beyond its usual confines, to see the world in new ways. So, educators for enrichment will campaign against the humanities and arts as ingredients of basic education. This assault is currently taking place, all over the world.

[8] For a detailed account of these people, see Nussbaum (2006), Chapter 7.

Education for Human Development

Now let me turn to education for human development. Let me just stipulate for the purposes of this paper the capabilities on which human development focuses: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, the development of senses, imagination, and thought, the development of practical reason, emotional health, the opportunity to participate in meaningful and respectful relationships with others, both personal and political, the opportunity to have a good relationship with the environment and the world of nature, the chance to play and enjoy recreational activities, and, finally, some specific types of control over property and one's working conditions.

Education for human development is a very broad idea and includes many types of cultivation, pertinent to a student's personal self-development. **It** is not simply about citizenship, even when citizenship is broadly understood. In what follows, however, I shall focus on the goal of producing decent world citizens who can understand the global problems to which this and other theories of justice respond and who have the practical competence and the motivational incentives to do something about those problems. How, then, would we produce such citizens?

An education for developing humans as responsible global citizens has a twofold purpose. Firstly, it must promote the human development of its students; and secondly, it must promote the students' understanding of the goals of human development for all, as goals inherent in the very idea of a decent minimally just society - in such a way that when they are empowered to make political choices, they will foster these capabilities for all, not only for themselves. So, in my version, such an education will begin from the idea of equal respect for all human beings and equal entitlement for all to a range of central human opportunities, not just in one's own nation, but everywhere in the world. It thus has a profound egalitarian and critical component from the start. (Here I think my) own enterprise is critically tougher than other versions of a capability approach[9]. So education will promote the enrichment of the student's own senses, imagination, thought, and practical reason, for example, it will also promote a vision of humanity according to which all human beings are entitled to that kind of development on a basis of equality. What sort of education would we want to promote such goals?

Before we can design a scheme for education, we need to understand the problems we face on the way to making students responsible democratic citizens who might possibly implement a human development agenda. What is it about human life that makes it so hard to sustain egalitarian democracy institutions, and so easy to lapse into hierarchies of various types - or, even worse, projects of violent group animosity, as a powerful group attempts to establish its supremacy? Whatever these forces are, it is ultimately against these that true education for human development must fight; so it must, as I put it following Gandhi, engage with the clash of civilizations within each person, as respect for others contends against narcissistic aggression.

[9] Sen's use of the approach, for example, is merely comparative. He does not identify specific benchmarks that would be necessary for minimal justice.

The internal clash can be found in all modern societies, in different forms, since all imbibe struggle over inclusion and equality, whether the precise locus of these struggles is in debates about immigration, or in the accommodation of religious, racial, and ethnic minorities, or sex equality, or affirmative action. In all societies, too, there are forces in the human personality that militate against mutual recognition and reciprocity, as well as forces of compassion and respect that give egalitarian democracy strong support. Particular social and political structures, however, make a big difference to the outcome of these struggles.

Any account of human bad behaviour has two aspects: the structural/institutional, and the individual-psychological. There is by now a large body of psychological research showing that the average human beings will engage in bad behaviour in certain types of situations. Stanley Milgram showed that experimental subjects have a high level of deference to authority; most people in his often-repeated experiments were willing to administer a very painful and dangerous level of electric shock to another person, so long as the superintending scientist told them that what they were doing was all right, even when the other person was screaming in pain (which, of course, was faked for the sake of the experiment)[10]. Solomon Asch, earlier, showed that experimental subjects were willing to go against the clear evidence of their senses when all the other people around them were making off-target sensory judgments. His very rigorous and off-confirmed research shows the unusual subservience of normal human beings to peer pressure. Both Milgram's work and Asch have been used effectively by Christopher Browning to illustrate the behaviour of young Germans in a police battalion that murdered Jews during the Nazi era (Browning, 1930). So great was the influence of both peer pressure and authority on these young men, he shows, that the ones who couldn't bring themselves to shoot Jews felt ashamed of their weakness.

Still other research demonstrates that apparently normal people are willing to engage in behaviour that humiliates and stigmatizes if their situation is set up in a certain way, casting them in a dominant role and telling them that the others are their inferiors. One particularly chilling example involves school children whose teacher informs them that children with blue eyes are superior to children with dark eyes. Hierarchical and cruel behaviour ensues. The teacher then informs the children that a mistake has been made; it is actually the brown-eyed children who are superior, the blue eyed inferior. The hierarchical and cruel behaviour simply reverses itself; the brown-eyed children seem to have learned nothing from the pain of discrimination". Perhaps the most famous experiment of this type is Philip Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment, in which he found that subjects randomly cast in the roles of prison guard and prisoner began to behave differently almost right away. The prisoners became passive and depressed, the guards used their power to humiliate and stigmatize. I believe that this experiment was badly designed in a number of ways, and is thus less than conclusive. For example,

[10] For a concise summary of Milgram's and Asch's research, see Zimbardo (2007), pp. 260-75.
" Reported in Zimbardo (2007).

/imbardo gave elaborate instruction that their goal should be to induce feelings of alienation and despair in the prisoners'[12]. Nonetheless, his findings are at least highly suggestive, and when combined with the large amount of other data, corroborate the idea that people who are not individually pathological can behave very badly to others when their situation has been badly designed.

So, we have to look at two things: the individual, and the situation. Situations are not the only thing that matters, for research does find individual difference, and it also is plausibly interpreted as showing the influence of widely shared human psychological tendencies. So we ultimately need to do what Gandhi did and look deeply into the psychology of the individual, asking what we can do to help compassion and empathy win the clash over fear and hate. But situations matter too, and imperfect will no doubt act much worse when placed in structures of certain types.

What are those types? Research suggests several things[13]. First, people behave badly when they are not held personally accountable. People act much worse under shelter of anonymity, as parts of a faceless mass, than they do when they are watched and made accountable as individuals. (Anyone who has ever violated the speed limit, and then slowed down on seeing a police car in the rear-view mirror, will know how pervasive this phenomenon is). Second, people behave badly when nobody raises a critical voice. Asch's subject went along with the erroneous judgment when all the other people whom they took to be fellow experimental subjects (and who were really working for the experimenter) concurred in error; but if even one other person said something different, they were freed to follow their own perception and judgment. Third, people behave badly when the human beings over whom they have power are dehumanized and de-individualized. In a wide range of situations, people behave much worse when the "other" is portrayed as like an animal, or as bearing only a number rather than a name.

Situations are important. We must also, however, look beneath situations to gain some understanding of the forces in the human personality that make a decent citizenship such a rare attainment. Gandhi understood this problem at a very deep level. About the specific nature of the struggle to be waged, however, Gandhi did not give us very good guidance, since he suggested that difficulties to be overcome derive, in their essence, from the bodily appetites and require, for their overcoming, the successful repression or even extinction of those appetites. My own view of the "class within" (developed in two books about the emotions and the development of the personality) is rather different, and I develop it further in writing about religious violence in India *(see* Nussbaum, 2001; Chapter 4; 2004). (My account owes a large debt to ancient Greek and Roman thought about the emotions and to the profound inquiries of the Stoic philosophers, particularly into the problem of political anger and hatred, as well as to modern work on the emotions in the object-relations tradition of psychoanalysis).

[12] See Nussbaum (2007b) for a review of Zimbardo (2007).
[13] Again, my summary is based on a wide range of research described in Zimbardo (2007).

Understanding what the "clash within" is all about, I argue, requires thinking about human beings' problematic relationship to our mortality and finitude, our persistent desire to transcend conditions that are painfui for any intelligent being to accept. The earliest experiences of a human infant contain a jolting alternation between blissful completeness, in which the whole world seems to revolve around its needs, and an agonizing awareness of helplessness, when good things do not arrive at the desired moment and the infant can do nothing to ensure their arrival. Human beings have a level of physical helplessness, unknown elsewhere in the animal kingdom - combined with a very high level of cognitive sophistication. (We know now, for example, that even a baby one week old can tell the difference between the smell of its own mother's milk and milk from another mother).

So, infants are increasingly aware of what is happening to them, but they can't do anything about it. The expectation of being attended to constantly - the "infantile omnipotence" so well captured in Freud's phrase "His Majesty the baby" - is joined to the anxiety, and the shame, of knowing that one is not in fact omnipotent, but utterly powerless. Out of this anxiety and shame emerges an urgent desire for completeness and fullness that never completely departs however much the child learns that it is but one part of a world of finite needy beings. And this desire to transcend the shame of incompleteness leads to much instability and moral danger. In writing about the role of shame and disgust in the process of group-formation and social intolerance, I have argued that the type of social bad behaviour with which I am most concerned in this paper can be traced to child's early pain at the fact that it is imperfect, unable to achieve the blissful completeness, that in certain moments, it is encouraged to expect. This pain leads to shame and revulsion at the signs of one's own imperfection. And then, what most concerns me here is that, shame and revulsion, in turn, are all too often projected outwards onto subordinate groups who can conveniently symbolize the problematic aspects of bodily humanity, those from which people would like to distance themselves (see Nussbaum 2004, Chapter 2).[14]

The other side of the internal clash - and 1 think Gandhi got it brilliantly right[15] - is the child's growing capacity for compassionate concern, for seeing another person as an end and" not a mere means. . One of the easiest ways to regain lost omnipotence is to make slaves of others, and young children initially do conceive of the other humans in their lives as mere means to their own satisfaction. But as time goes on, if all goes well, they feel gratitude and love toward the separate beings who support their needs, and they thus come to feel guilt about their own aggression and real concern for the well-being of another person. As concern develops, it leads to an increasing wish to control one's own aggression: the child recognizes that its parents are not its slaves, but separate beings with rights to lives of their own. Such recognitions are typically unstable, since human life is a chancy business and we all feel anxieties that lead us to want more control, including

[14] My psychological account owes much to the concepts and arguments of Donald Winnicott.
[15] As famously as did Winnicott.

control over other people. But a good development in the family, and a good education later on, can make a child feel genuine compassion for the needs of others, and can lead it to see them as people with rights equal to its own.

The outcome of the internal clash is greatly affected not just by situational structures, but also by external political events which may make the personalities of citizens more or less secure. In writing recently about religious tensions in the United States, I have documented the way in which specific periods of political and economic insecurity lead to increasing antipathy, and even at times violence, toward religious minorities who seem to threaten cherished stabilities (Nussbaum, 2008). Such insecurities make it particularly easy to demonize strangers or foreigners, and of course, that tendency is greatly augmented when the group of strangers is plausibly seen as direct threat to the security of the nation. Educators cannot alter such events; they can, however, go to work on the pathological response to them, hoping to produce a more balanced reaction.

Three Abilities

Now that we have a sense of the terrain on which education works, we can say some things quite tentative and incomplete, but still radical in the present world culture, concerning the abilities that a good education will cultivate.

Three values, I would argue, are particularly crucial to decent global citizenship. (Interestingly, these three capacities are stressed in the Western tradition, particularly in Stoic writings about liberal education).[16] The first is the capacity for Socratic self-criticism and critical thought about one's own traditions. As Socrates argues, democracy needs citizens who can think for themselves rather than deferring to authority, who can reason together about their choices rather than simply trade claims and counter-claims.

Critical thinking is particularly crucial for good citizenship in a society that needs to come to grips with the presence of people who differ by ethnicity, caste, and religion. We will only have a chance at an adequate dialogue across cultural boundaries if young citizens know how to engage in dialogue and deliberation in the first place. And they will only know how to do that if they learn how to examine themselves and to think about the reasons why they are inclined to support one thing rather than another - rather than, as so often happens, seeing political debate as simply a way of boasting, or getting an advantage for their own side. When politicians bring simplistic propaganda their way, as politicians in every country have a way of doing, young people will only have a hope of preserving independence and holding the politicians accountable if they knovy how to think critically about what they hear, testing its logic and its concepts and imagining alternatives to it.

Students exposed to instruction in critical thinking learn, at the same time, a new attitude to those who disagree with them. Consider the case of Billy Tucker, a nineteen year old student in a business college who was required to take a series of "liberal arts"

[16] See Nussbaum (1997) for a discussion on Socrates and Stocs, particularly Seneca's letter on liberal education *(Moral Epistle 88).*

course, including one in philosophy (Nussbaum, 1997). Interestingly enough, his instructor, Krishna Mallick, was an Indian-American originally from Kolkata, familiar with Tagore's educational ideal and a fine practitioner of it. Students in her class began by learning about the life and death of Socrates. Tucker was strangely moved by that man who would give up life itself for the pursuit of the argument. Then they learned a little formal logic, and Tucker was delighted to find that he got a high score on a test in that. He had never before thought he could do well in something abstract and intellectual. Next they analyzed political speeches and editorials, looking for logical flaws. Finally, in the last phase of the course, they did research for debates on issues of the day. Tucker was surprised to discover that he was being asked to argue against the death penalty, although he actually favoured it. He had never understood, he said that one could produce arguments for a position one does not hold oneself. He told me that this experience gave him a new attitude to political discussion; that now he was more inclined to respect the opposing position, and to be curious about the arguments on both sides, and what the two sides might share rather than seeing the discussion as simply a way of making boasts and assertions. We can see how this humanizes the political "other", making the mind see that opposing form as a rational being who may share at least some thought with one's own group.

The idea that one will take responsibility for one's own reasoning, and exchange ideas with others in an atmosphere of mutual respect for reason, is essential to the peaceful resolution of differences, both within a nation and in a world increasingly polarized by ethnic and religious conflict. Tucker was already a high school graduate, but it is possible, and essential, to encourage critical thinking from the very beginning of a child's education. Indeed, it has often been done. It is one of the hallmarks of modern progressing education, from Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Maria Montessori in Europe to Rabindranath Tagore in India, to Bronoson Alcott in nineteenth century America.

Critical thinking is a discipline that can be taught as part of a school curriculum, but it will not be well taught unless it informs the entire spirit of a school's pedagogy. Each child must be treated as an individual whose powers contribute to classroom discussion. If one really respects critical thinking, then one respects the voice of the child in the planning of the curriculum itself, and the activities of the day. In Tagore's school, for example, students were encouraged to deliberate about decisions that governed their daily life and to take the initiative in organizing meetings. Syllabi describe the school, repeatedly, as a self-governing community in which children are encouraged to seek intellectual self-reliance and freedom. In one syllabus, he cites: "The mind will receive its impressions... by full freedom given for inquiry and experience and at the same time will be stimulated to think for itself. Our mind does not gain true freedom by acquiring materials for knowledge and possessing other people's ideas but by forming its own standards of judgment and producing its own thoughts." Accounts of his practice report that he repeatedly put problems before the students and elicited answers from them by questioning, in Socratic fashion. Another device Tagore used to stimulate Socratic questioning was role-playing as children were invited to step outside their own point of

view and inhabit that of another person's. This gave them the freedom to experiment with other intellectual positions and to understand them from within. John Dewey had a very similar pedagogical idea, connecting it to the health and indeed the very possibility of democracy.

Let us now consider the relevance of this ability to the current state of modern pluralistic democracies surrounded by a powerful global marketplace. First of all, we can report that, even if. we were just aiming at economic success, leading corporate executives understand very well the importance of creating a corporate culture in which critical voices are not silenced, a culture of both individuality and accountability. Leading business educators to whom I've spoken to in the US, say that they trace some of our biggest disasters - the failures of certain phases of the NASA space shuttle programme, the even more disastrous failure of Enron and WorldCom - to a culture of yes-people, where critical ideas were never articulated.

But our goal, I've said, is not simply enrichment. So let us now turn to political culture. As I've said, human beings are prone to be subservient to both authority and peer pressure; to prevent atrocities we need to counteract these tendencies, producing a culture of individual dissent. Asch found that when even one person in his study group stood up for the truth, others followed, so that one critical voice can have large consequences. By emphasizing each person's active voice, we also promote a culture of accountability. When people see their ideas as their own responsibility, they are more likely, to see their deeds too as their own responsibility. That was essentially the point Tagore made in *Nationalism,* when he insisted that the bureaucratization of social life and the relentless machine-like character of modern states had deadened people's moral imaginations, leading them to acquiesce in atrocities with no twinge of conscience. Independence of thought, he added, is crucial if the world is not to be led headlong toward destruction. In his lecture in Japan in 1917, he speaks of a "gradual suicide through shrinkage of the soul," observing that people more and more permit themselves to be used as parts in a giant machine, to carry out the projects of national power. Only a robustly critical public culture could possibly stop this baneful trend.

The second key ability of the modern democratic citizen, I would argue, is the ability to see oneself as a member of a heterogeneous nation, and world, understanding something of the history and character of the diverse groups that inhabit it. Knowledge is no guarantee of good behaviour, but ignorance is a virtual guarantee of bad behaviour. Simple cultural and religious stereotypes abound in our world, for example the facile equation of Islam with terrorism. The first way to begin combating these is to make sure that from a very early age students learn a different relation to the world. They should gradually come to understand both the differences that make understanding difficult between groups and nations and the shared human needs and interests that make understating essential, if common problems are to be solved.

This understanding of the world will promote human development only if it is itself infused by searching critical thinking, thinking that focuses on differences of power and opportunity. History will be taught with an eye to thinking critically about these

differences. At the same time, the traditions and religions of major groups in one's own culture, and in the world, will be taught with a view to promoting respect for fellow world citizens as equals, and equally entitled to social and economic opportunity.

In curricular terms, these ideas suggest that all young citizens should learn the rudiments of world history and should get a rich and non-stereotypical understanding of the major world religions, and then learn how to inquire in more depth into at least one unfamiliar tradition, in this way acquiring tools that can later be used elsewhere. At the same time, they ought to learn about the major traditions, majority and minority, within their own nation, focusing on an understanding of how differences of religion, race, and gender have been associated with differential life-opportunities. All, finally, should learn at least one foreign language well, seeing that another group of intelligent human beings has cut up the world differently, that all translation is interpretation, gives a young person an essential lesson in cultural humility.

An especially delicate task in this domain is that of understanding difference internal to one's own nation. An adequate education for living in a pluralistic democracy must be a multicultural education, by which I mean one that acquaints students with some fundamentals about the histories and cultures of the many different groups with whom they share laws and institutions. These should include religious, ethnic, social and gender-based groups. Language learning, history, economics, and political science all play a role in pursuing this understanding, in different ways at different levels.

The third ability of the citizen closely related to the first two, is what I would call the narrative imagination (Nussbaum, 1993, Chapter 3). This means the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions, wishes and desires that someone so placed might have. The cultivation of sympathy has been a key part of the best modern ideas of progressive education, in both Western and non-Western nations. As I've observed, the moral imagination, always under siege from fear and narcissism, is apt to become obtuse, if not energetically refined and cultivated through the development of sympathy and concern. Learning to see another human being not as a thing but as a full person is not an automatic achievement; it must be promoted by an education that refines the ability to think about what the inner life of another may be like - and also to understand why one can never fully grasp that inner world, why any person is always, to a certain extent, dark to any other.

Instruction in literature and the arts can cultivate sympathy in many ways, through engagement with many different works of literature, music, fine art, and dance. I think Tagore was ahead of the West in his focus on music and dance, which we in the US cultivate only intermittently. But thought needs to be given to what the student's particular blind spots are likely to be, and texts should be chosen in consequence. For all societies at all times have their particular blind spots, groups within their culture and also groups abroad that are especially likely to be dealt with ignorantly and obtusely. Works of art can be chosen to promote criticism of this obtuseness, and a more adequate vision of the unseen. Ralph Ellison, in a later essay about his great novel *Invisible Man,* wrote

that a novel, such as his, could be "a raft of perception, hope, and entertainment" on which American culture could 'negotiate the snags and whirlpools" that stand between us and our democratic ideal. His novel, of course, takes the "inner eyes" of the white reader as its theme and its target. The hero is invisible to white society, but he tells us that this invisibility is an imaginative and educational failing on their part, not a biological accident on his part. Through the imagination we are able to have a kind of insight into the experience of another group or person that it is very difficult to attain in daily life - particularly when our world has constructed sharp separations between groups, and suspicions that make any encounter difficult. For Tagore, a particular cultural blind spot was the agency and intelligence of women, and his instruction, in consequence, insisted on giving women expressive leading roles *{see* Sen, 1999).

So we need to cultivate our students' "inner eyes," and this means carefully crafted instruction in the arts and humanities, which will bring students into contact with issues of gender, race, ethnicity, and cross-cultural experience and understanding. This artistic instruction can and should be linked to the "citizen of the world" instruction, since works of art are frequently an invaluable way to beginning to understand the achievements and sufferings of a culture different from one's own.

There is a further point to be made about what the arts do for the spectator. Tagore knew, and as radical artists have often emphasized. The arts, by generating pleasure in connection with acts of subversion and cultural criticism, produce an endurable and even attractive dialogue with the prejudices of the past, rather than one fraught with fear and defensiveness. That is what Ellison meant by calling *Invisible Man* "a raft of perception, hope, and entertainment". Entertainment is crucial to the ability of the arts to offer perception and hope. It's not just the experience of the performer, then that is so important for democracy, it's the way in which performance offers a venue for exploring difficult issues without crippling anxiety.

In short, children need to learn that sympathetic receptivity is not unmanly, and that manliness does not mean not weeping, not sharing the grief of the hungry or the battered. This learning cannot be promoted by a confrontational approach that says, "Drop your old images of manliness". It can only be promoted by a culture that is receptive in both curricular content and pedagogical style, in which it is not too bold to say, the capacities for love and compassion infuse the entirety of the educational endeavour.

Democratic Education on the Ropes

How are the abilities of citizenship doing in the world today? Very poerly, I fear. Education of the type I recommend is doing reasonably well in the **plac»Vnere** I first studied it, namely, the liberal arts portion of US college and university curricula. Indeed, it is this part of the curriculum, in institutions such as my own, that particularly attracts philanthropic support, as rich people remember with pleasure the time when they read books that they loved, and pursued issues open-endedly.

Outside the US, many nations whose university curricula do not include a liberal arts component are now striving to build one, since they acknowledge its importance in

crafting a public response to the problems of pluralism, fear and suspicion their societies face. I've been involved in such discussions in the Netherlands, in Sweden, in India, in Germany, in Italy, and in Bangladesh. Whether reform in this direction wiil occur, however is hard to say, but liberal education has high financial and pedagogical cost. Teaching of the sort I recommend needs small classes, or at least sections, where students get copious feedback on frequent writing assignments. European professors are not used to this idea, and would at present be horrible at it if they did try to do it, since they are not trained as teachers in the way that US graduate students are, and come to expect the holding a chair means not having to grade undergraduate writing assignments. Even graduate students are often treated with distance and disdain. Even when faculty are keen on the liberal arts model, bureaucrats are unwilling to believe that it is necessary to support the number of faculty positions required to make it really work.

Another problem that European and Asian universities have is that new disciplines of particular importance for good democratic citizenship have no secure place in the structure of undergraduate education. Women's studies, the study of race and ethnicity, Judaic studies, Islamic studies - all these are likely to be marginalized, catering only to the student who already knows a lot about the areas and who wants to focus on it. In the liberal arts system by contrast, such new disciplines can provide courses that ail undergraduates are required to take, and can also enrich the required liberal arts offerings in other disciplines, such as literature and history. Where there are no such requirements, the new disciplines remain marginal.

So the universities of the world have great merits, but also great problems. By contrast, the abilities of citizenship are doing very poorly, in every nation, in the most crucial years of children's lives, the years known as 'K through 12'. Here the demands of the global market have made everyone focus on scientific and technical proficiency as the key abilities, and the humanities and the arts are increasingly perceived as useless frills, which we can prune away to make sure our nation (whether it be India or the US) remains competitive, that they are the focus of national discussion, they are recast as technical abilities themselves to be tested by quantitative multiple-choice examinations, and the imaginative and critical abilities that lie at their core are typically left aside. In the US, national testing (under the "No Child Left Behind" Act) has already made things worse, as national testing usually does. At least my first and third abilities are not testable by quantitative multiple choice exams, and the second is very poorly tested in such ways. (Moreover, nobody bothers to try to test it even in that way). Whether a nations is aspiring to a greater share of the market, like India, or struggling to protect jobs, like the US, the imagination and the critical faculties look like useless paraphernalia, and people even have increasing contempt for them. Across the board, the curriculum is being stripped of its humanistic elements, and the pedagogy of rote learning rules the roost.

What will we have, if these trends continue? Nations of technically trained people, who don't know how to criticize authority, useful profit-makers with obtuse imaginations. As Tagore observed, a suicide of the soul. What could be more frightening than that? Indeed, if you look to Gujarat, which has for a particularly long time gone

down this road, with no critical thinking in the public schools and concerted focus on technical ability, one can see clearly how a band of docile engineers can be welded into a murderous force to enact the most horrendously racist and anti-democratic policies (Nussbaum, 2006, Chapters 1 and 9). And yet, how can we possibly avoid going down this road?

Democracies have great rational and imaginative powers. They also are prone to some serious flaws in reasoning, to parochialism, hate, sloppiness, selfishness. Education based mainly on profitability in the global market magnifies these deficiencies, producing a greedy obtuseness and a technically trained docility that threatens the very life of democracy itself, and that certainly impedes the creation of a decent world culture. If the real clash of civilizations is, as I believe, a clash within the individual soul as greed and narcissism contend against respect and love, all modern societies are rapidly losing the battle, as they feed the forces that lead to violence and dehumanization and fail to feed the forces that lead to cultures of equality and respect. If we do not insist on the crucial importance of the humanities and the arts, they will drop away, because they don't make money. They only do what is much more precious than that, make a world that is worth living in, people who are able to see other human beings as equals, and nations that are able to overcome fear and suspicion in favour of sympathetic and reasoned debate.

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Quality Assurance in Higher Education
Exploring an Omni-Systemic Approach with a Focus on Distance Learning[#]

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Abstract

Education-massification, technology-explosion and knowledge-globalization are the three most prominent factors that will dominate the debate on quality assurance and future educational development. The parameters of mass-based approaches, technology-based improvisations and knowledge-based programmings are bound to influence every educational mode and methodology. Quality assurance, in any case, will determine the central aim of every system of education whether conventional or non-conventional, such as distance learning. In this context, the system of open and distance learning is found'to strengthen the quality and demand because of the high expectations it generates, such as; it serves the rapidly growing need of accessibility to higher education; it stimulates cross-national educational interaction, leading to greater flexibility of programmes and courses; and it inspires students to study at a distance, motivates them for self-directed learning while earning, and prepares them for productive professionalism in a global economy.

The open and distance learning mode of higher education generates a number of quality-related questions: How to ensure quality of the educational paradigms used by the open universities and several other distance-learning institutions? What is the credibility level of their educational standards and standing? How to determine the worth and suitability of their educational policies and provisions in terms of the national needs? Are the educational programmes, pedagogies and processes of these institutions academically flexible, professionally productive and operationally viable? Performance, credibility and accountability of various educational agencies are some of the additional challenges created by the current wave of educational multinationalization, forcing both education-managers and education-providers to ensure quality-teaching, quality-learning and quality-management, Indeed, the education scenario, on the whole, calls for a systematic and systemic quality assurance approach. Exploration of an Omni-Systemic Approach for quality assurance in higher education is the central theme of this sequel with a focus on the progressively growing phenomenon of distance learning.

" Some of the issues discussed in this paper are drawn from Madan (2007).

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Introduction

A system of education stands or falls by the quality of its teaching/learning process, by the standard of its educational programmes/courses, and by the level of its institutional performances/ services. Education seekers need an educational system that has in-built quality, credibility and competency. Education providers expect the system to be productive, perfect and proficient. Education managers aspire to make it efficient, effective and ethical. To meet such needs, expectations and aspirations, an educational system will have to evolve some comprehensive quality assurance procedures. It will have to vigorously pursue whether it can adopt a systemic approach for quality assurance. If yes, what can be the shape and structure of such an approach? What can be its systemic perceptions, paradigms and perspectives? An in-depth pursuit for quality assurance in higher education, therefore, will have to be perceived in terms of a comprehensive and systemic approach, embracing all levels and forms of post-school education. Related systemic aspects will have to be identified and analyzed. Quality loaded aims and themes will have to be conceptualized. Hypotheses and perspectives of quality assurance will have 'to be perceived in a comprehensive manner. Accordingly, strategic paradigms will have to be designed and directed towards the accomplishment of the aspired quality goals.

An overview of the relevant scholarly editorials, research papers and reviews published in various esteemed journals on quality Assurance in higher education during the last few years, indicates that higher education everywhere is getting edgy due to shortage of qualified and skilled manpower. The developing world, in this context, has to resolve some of its systemic problems concerning specific issues of quality assurance, such as progressive mass-education, desperate pursuits of higher education linked with employment, and appropriate utilization of modem technology. The developed countries are faced with the demographic shift, caused partly by their aging and retiring workforce, and partly by the lack of interest in their younger generation to pursue academic and professional careers in higher education. The scenario indicates that the next few years will significantly push demand for dexterous human force equipped with professional competence and academic excellence. Almost, every sector, whether educational or corporate in the developed world, is likely to go vacant, seeking skilled job takers in terms of both quantity and quality. According to some recent studies, it is estimated that availability of qualified and skilled workforce in the developed countries is likely to decline at least by 10% in the very near future. This includes among others the educators, doctors, researchers, engineers, technologists and professionals. The number is expected to rise to 30% very soon due to the retirement of their in-service staff currently ranging in the age group of 60-65 years. How to harness an ideal resource pool in the developing countries to fill the void caused by the aging and retiring workforce in the developed world? How to bridge the gap between what is required by the developed world, and what is available from the developing countries in terms of academic excellence and professional dexterity?

Higher education (Smith: 1993) in most of the developing countries is related to the policy issues of large and rapidly growing populations that are mainly rural based; continuous migration of people from small towns and villages to big cities for education and employment; the compelling trends towards greater urbanization; a huge unmet demand for vocational training at all levels; the inability of the conventional educational systems to provide access for all; lack of productive educational programmes mainly because of insufficient qualified educators; outdated curricula and course contents; and inadequate provision of educational opportunities to the poorer and weaker sections of societies especially from the rural areas. As a result, these countries have to invest in unconventional approaches to meet the enormous needs of education. Some of them have adopted the distance education modes and paradigms most of which are operating with some basic deficiencies such as: inadequate resources and infrastructure bases; destabilized planning and deficient educational development; inefficient and unreliable communication system; limited access for the distance learners to the communication technologies; lack of qualified educators, skilled media professionals and efficient administrative personnel; and instinctive resistance of many educators and administrators to the newer philosophies of innovating educational paradigms, pedagogies and processes.

During the last few decades, there has been an exponential expansion of the system of open and distance learning all over the world. To-date, there are several mega-open universities located almost in all the continents. Several national level open universities and various types of distance learning institutions - single mode, dual mode and mixed models, have sprung up in various countries, such as UK, Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Venezuela, India, Thailand, China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Spain, France and South Africa among others. Some of the open universities have earned world-wide reputation such as the UKOU (United Kingdom Open University) of the UK, IGNOU (Indira Gandhi National Open University) of India, STOU (Sukhotai Thamathirat Open University) of Thailand, and Universidad de Abierta of Venezuela (South America). India alone counts for more than **a** hundred institutions of distance learning, **a** national-level mega open university and several state level open universities operating over one thousand regional/study centres. The number is rapidly increasing due to huge increase in the enrolment of the learners. There are, at present, more than four dozen accredited institutions of the UKOU with at least one dozen of them in overseas, according to the latest report of the Quality Assurance Agency of the UK (The Times Higher Supplement, October 14, 2005). The commitment to open and distance learning is strong not only in the UK and India, but the scenario also indicates an equal upward surge in South-East Asia, Africa, South America, the Pacific and elsewhere in the world.

Till nineties in the last century, the focus of distance learning was to provide access and equity of higher education for the vast majority of people who were unable to avail of the educational opportunities offered by the conventional mode. Since 1990, the focus has shifted to the utility and effectiveness of distance learning. The attention of educationists and policy makers in the third and the current phase beginning with the new

century- is directed towards improvement of quality and standards of education. Quality pursuits in higher education, particularly in its distance learning mode, are getting more complex and crucial. Education-massification has created a deep crisis of educational performances, accountability and credibility. Technology-explosion has intensified the worry about the inevitable innovations that ought to be brought into the educational paradigms, pedagogies and processes. Knowledge-globalization has generated a grave concern about the productivity and parity of the educational programmes and courses. Credibility of the institutions in terms of their performances is getting eroded because of their vulnerable capacity to meet the formidable challenges of education-massification, technology-explosion and knowledge-globalization. Indeed, higher education in general and its distance learning mode in particular, all over the world, is faced with a tremendous quality crisis on one hand, and quality challenge on the other which can be overcome by the omni-systemic approach envisioned in this paper.

Indeed, a very strong demand for quality assurance in higher education with a systemic and holistic perspective prevails not only in a developing country like India but also in the developed world of Europe, America and Australia. Even in the USA, according to a recent survey report (The Times Higher Supplement, October 14, 2005), by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California (Los Angels), more than 40 percent of the US academics in universities feel the need and relevance of some comprehensive and systemic quality assurance mechanism. This paper, therefore, envisages technology-based systemic transformation, quality-based systemic evaluation and axiology-based systemic functioning which together constitute what may be termed as an 'Omni-Systemic Approach' for total quality assurance in higher education. The three dominant factors of education-massification, technology-explosion and knowledge-globalization are forcing the convergence of the two mega-systems of higher education, namely the Conventional Education System (CES) and the Distance Education System (DES), leading to the emergence of an Omni-Tech Education System (OTES) (Madan: 2002). The sequel expounds on this inevitable educational transformation as an inbuilt technology based systemic paradigm of quality education. Further, it presents a three-phased systemic evaluation mechanism to assess quality, credibility and accountability of an educational system in terms of paradigmatic evaluation, academic evaluation (programme evaluation, pedagogy evaluation, process evaluation) and performance-evaluation. The mechanism is expected to be useful to the progressively growing phenomenon of an open university system like that of the IGNOU, UKOU and STOU among several others. The paper finally enunciates an axiological basis (UNESCO Report, 1990) for quality management, quality service and quality-leadership essential for an effective and efficient functioning of an educational system.

Issues and Challenges

Higher education everywhere has been under scrutiny in view of the apprehensions and concerns about its quality and standard. Several education commissions and committees at various levels are periodically set up in every country to review its system of

education. Indeed, higher education in each and every country, whether developed or developing, is faced with several quality related issues and challenges, some of which are enumerated below.

Access, funding, equity and expansion are some of the common issues (Gellert, 1993) across the European higher education system. Some of the most pertinent issues (Zubber-Skerrit and Ryan, 1994), confronted by the European universities are related to the psychological and organizational problems including staff development in the specific context of quality in postgraduate education. A book review (Lindsay, 2005) describes European higher education as drifting rudderless. It reveals a depressing snapshot of the state of contemporary universities in Europe, lacking clear goals but clinging to brave slogans, such as 'the pursuit of excellence'. Another book (Brown, 2004) highlights the crucial issues of trust and accountability; innovation and change; professional development and academic excellence; and management and leadership. It suggests a higher education audit commission as a remedy linked with accountability and improvement. A latest scholarly work (Tapper & Palfreyman, 2005) on massification of higher education has brought into limelight the issues of access and equity in the context of quality assurance across a number of European countries of the world summarized as under:

- One of the objectives of the British expansion of higher education is to bridge the 'social gap' in entry to the educational institutions and to focus on the 'skills deficit/ in the knowledge economy. This expansion has changed the overall social character of the British undergraduate population but its benefit is yet to reach all the social groups equally.
- The French educational expansion has grown seven times than what it was in sixties. Massification of higher education in France is a unique blend of institutions where, alongside its overcrowded universities, there are elitist educational centers that retain a carefully selective meritocracy. The French system encompasses two parallel but entirely different streams of higher education one for the mediocre and the other for the meritorious. This generates socio-economic disparity with unacceptable implications.
- Higher education in The Netherlands follows a dual system that allows a student choice where open access and selection go side by side. The Netherlands is aspiring to become one of the leading European economies during the next few years by producing adequate and highly educated workforce for which quality assurance remains a central issue as well as a potential challenge.
- The Nordic countries, namely Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden with somewhat similar educational system, have come up to the level of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) average output and standards both in qualitative and quantitative terms. The Nordic education expansion is essentially state run and supply driven. Even though a well-defined policy of providing access and equity of educational opportunities is on the track, yet inequality persists due to socio-economic disparities. Nordic higher education

expansion is primarily driven by the interplay of three factors: state policy, individual demands and the market needs, the last two factors being more dominant for the increased access, generating the quality aspirations. How to optimize access with quality? This is the central educational issue in the Nordic countries.

- Access to higher education in Poland has increased dramatically since the collapse of the communist regime. Poland's quick transition from state-driven education for the elites to the democratized mass higher education has caused certain concerns, the most serious concern being that of the lack of financial resources for providing access to quality-based higher education. How is the Polish system of higher education going to meet this challenge?
- Germany is worried over the low success rate of the students in the international educational achievement evaluation. It is facing a dilemma as to how to steer the good old German tradition to a more Anglo-American direction while retaining the best of both the systems. At the same time, Germany is confronted with the problem on how to raise its average participation rate of 36% in higher education which is below the OECD average rate of 44%, particularly when the German universities are confronted with twin challenges of over-crowding and underfunding. Access and equity of educational opportunity have not been achieved in tune with quality aspired levels. Universities being ineffective and mediocre, the students' drop-out rate is nearly 30% which is higher than the earlier average drop-out rate of 22%. How to ensure the students employment prospects in industry, trade and commerce? This is the most crucial issue in Germany.
- Due to the impact of education-massification, the Italian higher education system suffers from the poor quality of teaching, in particular. A high intake in the universities in Italy has resulted into higher drop-out rates of 60%, while education is not found to be oriented towards employment and market needs. The question being raised in the Italian educational sector is: What is the purpose of providing free access to university education when the average success rate of students in acquiring their degree is lower than the expected rate?

The American higher education system, which is considered to be the largest and claimed to be the best in the world, has been facing troubled times because of the growing gap (Kerr, 1994) between the resources and the educational aspirations of global competitiveness. It has been confronted with the issues (Altbach, 1995) of financial cut-backs, decreased enrolment, professional uncertainties, economic recession and confusion about the quality-based educational goals. Some of the most formidable challenges include: funding, equity for minority students, curriculum revisions, quality assessment, academic accountability and institutional evaluation, including evaluation of the educational/ university administrators. Another book (Miller, 1999) highlights some fundamental issues of morality, ranging from lapses in professional ethics in highly competitive research fields to disturbing evidence of substance abuse on institutional

campuses and educational values posing a challenge to educational functioning and management. An alarming scenario, however, is presented in (Altbach et al, 1999) with a vision on the themes that are broadly conceived and focused on some of the quality aspects of American higher education in relation to academic freedom, educational leadership and functional environment including role of the federal government in the light of the changing social, political and economic situation. In this context, a number of questions are being debated (Thelin, 2004). How did the American higher education become so large and diverse? How does religion play a role in its systemic framework? Why does it have such a strong private education sector? Why do the American universities and colleges have the particular governance structure - notably the key role of the president being different from that of the academic governing structures of universities elsewhere in the world?

Australia and other neighbouring countries of the Pacific region have been faced with the crucial challenge of providing access and equity in higher education to some of their most disadvantaged communities, namely Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders; women; people with non-English speaking backgrounds; persons afflicted with disabilities; people from rural and geographically isolated area; and those who are socially and economically backward. Fund contraction is forcing some of the Australian universities to maximize output with minimum input, with more importance to teaching partly at the cost of research development. The focus seems to be more on utility and productivity of higher education in terms of acquiring professional skills and employment rather than on intellectual enhancement through academic and research pursuits.

Higher education in each and every country, whether developed or developing, is confronted with the challenges of education-massification, technology explosion and knowledge globalization. While the developed countries of the world will need to have education with greater flexibility, higher productivity and wider equity, the educational needs of the developing countries are divergent and more demanding. Most of the developing nations have to do the twin task of keeping optimum pace with the latest advancements of modern technology on one hand, and on the other, they have to develop educational programmes which are work-related, employment-oriented and need-based to meet the requirements of their modern industrial sectors, and unidentified economic sectors. This adversely affects their educational ability and quality. India alone counts for hundreds of universities and thousands of colleges under the conventional mode of education, besides a large number of institutions of technologies and professional training. More than a hundred institutions of distance learning, several state open universities and a national level open university have been set up during the last three decades. According to the IGNOlTs handbook (2003), there has been a phenomenal growth of distance learning in India with student enrolment increasing from 9% in 1985 to 22% till 2003 of the total enrolment in higher education. The current growth rate of 16% in distance learning is four times more than that of its corresponding increase in the conventional mode of education. It is continuously generating a pressure on the

concerned educational agencies to address the issues of quality, credibility and performance,

A common challenge before developing countries is the continuous influx of people from rural areas to urban cities in search of work, employment and higher education. The gap between the rich and the poor, especially between the urban rich and rural poor, is continuously getting wider day by day despite several rural development and poverty eradication schemes. The educational development achieved so far has upgraded the socio-economic standards of only the urban elite, the middle class and the rural rich, that too in acquiring the glamorous luxuries of modern life-styles. Most of the educational development activities are concentrated in the already congested and choked urban areas, having negligible impact on the living conditions of the poor labourers, unskilled workers, and the landless farmers. Although, most of the developing countries are trying to build an appropriate infrastructure for educational development of the poor and the deprived sections of their people for which huge funds are earmarked every year for the identified schemes, yet the progress is seemingly far from satisfactory. This is mostly due to lack of suitable systematic and systemic educational approaches integrated with quality assurance paradigms. Inadequate provision of vocation-based quality education in the rural sector has counteracted all the developmental steps in most of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and South America.

Several educational centres all over the world are badly affected by the political and ethnical conflicts. These centres are dominated by unacademic activities of the semitized unions of students, teachers and others who derive their strength from their respective political bosses and cult-based mafias. Education is treated as a process of stuffing the minds of the students with bookish knowledge, forcing them to vomit the same out in the examination halls, and return empty headed. Increasing number of persons are seeking education not for learning but acquiring the means to gratify their desires and glorify their social status. This has badly affected the quality and standards of education at all levels. The universities and colleges have turned into centres of unhealthy environment and corruption. There is total absence of objective and academic leadership in the educational institutions. Education is not treated as a priority for the social upliftment. It has almost ceased to function as a vital human factor. Drugs and liquors have invaded the campuses. The students have lost the direction of learning. As long as degrees can be bought or sold, numerical marks or alphabetical grades have their heyday, happiness gets equated with material success, till then, life-giving human values will remain unhonoured. This is a tremendous social challenge for several countries of the world, both developing and so called developed.

There is no uniformity in educational programmes and their course-structures across various educational systems. Irrelevant courses and syllabi, over-crowded class-rooms, de-motivating teaching-learning pedagogies and sub-standard evaluation procedures have all combined to make educational institutions as centres of commercial transactions. The mushroom growth of institutions have turned centres of educational excellence into those of mediocre mass production units. Several educational institutions have become trading

centres with regard to their educational programmes, course-structures, entrance and graduation criteria without any accountability so far as providing quality-based educational services to the students are concerned. All this is happening under the guise of sloganised academic freedom and institutional autonomy. No doubt, some reputed institutions do produce top calibre professionals, like doctors, engineers, managers, bureaucrats, executives, scientists, academicians, and teachers. Indeed, such professionals constitute the backbone of development of every country. Therefore, greater emphasis will have to be constantly laid on programmes related to these professions. Yet, equally needed are the skilled workers, technicians, nurses, and computer operators to assist these top-level professionals to enable them do their jobs effectively and efficiently. In fact, trained and qualified persons with vocational competence are required in all spheres of development, including administration, health, education, engineering, technology, agriculture, industries and business sectors. The educational institutions do not offer the much desired work-based or application-oriented quality educational programmes, and continue offering traditional system of working (not work-based) education. As a result, there is a big gap between what is being produced, and what is needed by the society. Some of the state-owned educational institutions and autonomous organizations live in their own worlds without being accountable to the society. They have no interaction with the trade, industry or technology for providing their students to respond to emerging employment opportunities. This is yet another educational challenge to the educational planners and managers world over.

The unbalanced expansion of higher education has diverted most of the efforts and resources to some undesirable educational activities. Several unproductive programmes have been launched, and inexpedient institutions have been set up to serve vested interests in the name of national development. Their net contribution to the socio-economic development of the society is questionable. The IGNOU of India, like several other distance learning institutions of the world, can justify its status as a mega-university (Daniel: 1996), particularly after having been declared as a centre of excellence in distance learning by the Commonwealth of Learning (Canada). An appropriate systemic-level evaluation of its performance and achievements is yet to be made to justify its claim to such a lofty credential. Same is the case with several other universities and institutions, particularly in the field of distance learning whose achievement is assessed only on the basis of huge students' enrolment. A large number of educational universities cannot be expected to generate resources beyond a certain limit. As such, there should be no wastage of funds on unproductive educational programmes, and on institutions that serve the vested interests. Can the developing countries of the world, which are already faced with serious economic hardships and riddled with terrorism, afford to spend money on unproductive education? No genuine desire or concrete evidence is visible to avoid wastage, improve productivity and provide purposeful education.

Higher education all over the world will have to overcome the quality crisis by ensuring education-seekers' keenness to acquire knowledge and competence, educators' conviction to contribute to its growth and development, and the education-providers'

commitment for its functioning and management. Each country has to identify the qualitv challenges in its own way and take appropriate steps to meet them effectively. The quality challenges in higher education need to be examined in relation to some of the following systemic problems among others:

- The first fundamental problem exists at the level of an appropriate paradigmatic approach which has been lacking in respect of the developmental and professional perspectives. A substantial component of higher education, particularly in the field of professional training, having employment potential in consonance with the societal requirements, is becoming highly expensive and commercial, that too at the cost of quality. The bulk of the areas of technology, engineering, management, public administration, medical and health-related training schemes and such other professional fields are substantially and continuously getting dominated by commercial considerations without quality concerns. The professional training programmes in the high profile areas of medicines, engineering, technology and management are being invaded by unbridled commercialization of education at the cost of providing appropriate quality-based educational training.
- The second basic problem relates to various unproductive educational programmes which are launched instead of strengthening work-based education and the vocational training programmes, particularly for the rural population and other needy and deprived sections of the society. Curricula and examinations have been sufficiently watered down to demand less and less from both educators and learners.
- The third serious problem has been in treating universities and colleges as centres for extension of knowledge, and not developing them as creators of knowledge and employment. The emphasis has been on using the teaching and research positions as ladders of promotion, and not as the primary avenues for utilization and development of new knowledge and research. Quality norms and standards have not been set in tune with the innovative pursuits of knowledge, technology and research.
- The fourth critical problem is with regard to the governance of universities and colleges. The institutional syndicates, management boards and the governing bodies are dominated by legislatures, moneyed people, and other influential persons who have nothing to do with academic proficiency and professional competencies. Most of the dedicated teachers are demoralized due to unethical attitudes and bureaucratic rigidities. Even the educational leadership in many situations ceases to carry the required moral authority since most of the higher positions are filled up by persons of inadequate competence due to political or personal considerations and faulty mode of appointments and promotion. This discourages those who are talented and can contribute to knowledge and teaching, and who would have otherwise entered in larger numbers in the area of education. Moreover, education and research are being treated as avenues for

money-making and vulgar display of false glamour and status. This phenomenon de motivates the research scholars and academics to dissipate their talents in the desired spheres of knowledge and innovation. The benefits of intensely specialized pursuits are thus lost. No recognition is attached to the genuine contributions and innovations, and no encouragement is given to the creators of new knowledge and ideas.

- The fifth crucial problem concerns student enrolment and examination. Caste-based, cult-based, region-based, and religion-based, and not economic-based reservations for entry to the educational institutions at the cost of merit have weakened the educational system in a country like India and deteriorated in both quality and efficiency. The basic concept of a university as an ideal centre for the creation of knowledge has tended to become simply the breeding centre for material exploitations. It is being used as a convenient haven for serving the politicalistic and vested interests.
- The sixth typical problem is that despite the burden of high salaries on the national exchequer, many teachers in colleges and universities do not do justice to the cause of academic and professional culture. At the same time, unrecognized and multinational institutions have proliferated. Surprisingly, teachers, who do not regularly teach their classes in their own colleges and universities, are very punctual in attending these unrecognized institutions for earning more money and, hence are more serious about their private work. There exists virtually a parallel private shopping system for teaching and training along with the government funded system of universities and colleges. The authorities are aware of this but are unable to check this malpractice in the education sector.
- The seventh major problem is related to the increasing outflow of a good number of students from developing countries who often seek higher education at the cost of the national exchequer, and who eventually get settled in the developed countries of Europe, Australia, USA and Canada for better quality of life. This, no doubt, brings reputation to the institutes they receive education and training from but for the country of their origin, this is wholesale brain drain. No nation has been able to successfully check this outflows. As a result, the availability of competencies and skills is falling behind the soaring demand for quality professionals in the developing world.
- The eighth paradoxical problem is that despite a large number of trained professionals coming out from the specialized and technical institutes, only a few have the dexterity required in today's rapidly advancing technological world. This leads to an apparent paradox. The 9% annual growth for the last decade in the professional institutions all over India (claimed to be producing more than seven million graduates every year), is good enough to supply the booming job markets at home and abroad. Lack of initiatives by the faculties and incentives by the policy makers for the genuine merit are together contributing to the skill-deficit which is hitting hard and denting quality development.

- The ninth but not the last problem is that of the deterioration of value-system in respect of universities and educational institutions. Though in terms of numbers, the expansion has been phenomenal, yet there has been corresponding deterioration not only in the quality of education imparted but also in the moral conduct of the teachers, students and educational administrators. A number of functional problems emerge due to lack of ethics-based professionalism, and morality-based academic culture in the educational institutions and organizations.

Trends and Pursuits

Various educational organizations, government departments, funding agencies and the society, in general all over the world, are concerned about the quality and standards of higher education. As goals of education are getting complex and multipurpose, the worry about its quality and credibility is also increasing. Various world bodies, like UNESCO, COL (Commonwealth of Learning) and the ICDE (International Council for Distance Education) have expressed an urgent need for quality assurance in higher education, particularly with regard to its latest mode of open and distance learning. Several European, Asian, Australian, American and Canadian educational agencies are vigorously exploring ways and means to incorporate quality assurance in their respective systems of education. Some of the (European Commission Report, 1990) European countries viz. Belgium, France, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, and Sweden have already launched a number of quality assurance schemes across their respective education systems. Several scholarly publications (Hill, 1993) and editorials in various prominent journals have focused on the mode of designing quality evaluation procedures such as external-evaluation, internal-review and the outcome assessment.

Quality assurance in UK got initiated through its Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC) for assessing the quality of teaching and learning process; for production and publication of quality assessment reports; and for taking quality into account for funding of the educational institutions. The areas identified for this purpose are: aims and curricula; academic management and quality control; resources and staff development; and nature of students intake and support systems. Accordingly, universities in the UK take up appropriate corrective measures for quality maintenance and quality enhancement in their institutional framework. The HEQC, through its Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), carries out reviews at the institutional and subject levels to monitor quality and standards of higher education. An Academic Audit Unit (AAU) set up by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors (CVP) of the UK universities and Principals of various colleges (Clark, 1993) expected to review the universities' mechanisms for monitoring and promoting the academic standards; to comment on the extent to which procedures in place in individual universities reflect best practice in maintaining quality and are applied in practice; to identify and recommend to universities good practice with regard to the maintenance of academic standards at a national level; to keep under review nationally the role of the external examiner system; and to report to the CVP via their respective Management Boards. The quality assurance mechanism in the UK is equally focused on

the quality assessment of educational programmes and teaching. The A A U is considered to be an integral component of a continuing process of evaluation that seeks to improve instructional methods and educational programmes, requiring the universities to consider and review their own mechanisms for promoting and monitoring academic standards. The procedure adopted by the A A U includes providing universities with 'Notes for the Guidance of Auditors' which outline the basic concepts of the AAU's work. It also includes 'an extensive list of questions designed to be used by the audit team members. Quality Assurance in the U.K., thus, is mainly encouraged through the operationalization of the A A U and the Q A A which together help in promoting a quality agenda within the British universities.

In France, three levels of quality control are in evidence: Centralized Administrative Control, Market Control, and the Comite National d'Evaluation. Centralized Administrative Control is performed by the French Ministry of Education, responsible to ensure quality education. The Ministry concerns itself with the appointment and promotion of teaching and administrative staff, the universities' budgets, and the regulation of accreditation. Market Control is exercised by the increasing partnership of the universities with outside partners in the private sectors. The partners can exert pressure on universities to offer courses of a specific standard. The Comite Nationals Evaluation (CNE) is separate from the civil service bureaucracy of the Ministry, but is nonetheless tied to the government. It comprises of members' chosen from the academic and scientific community. It has a permanent staff and complete autonomy. It reports directly to the president and parliament. Its function is to report on the research and teaching at the universities. The CNE has no regulatory authority but its main task is to collect and examine data, to perform qualitative assessment and through that function provide a quality assurance mechanism. As an independent body, the CNE is free to ask questions, make recommendations, and publish findings. Such a committee is considered to be advantageous for two reasons: First, it makes it possible to see the institution's policy orientation more clearly to identify its strengths and weaknesses, and to bring about desirable reforms. Secondly, it helps in persuading external authorities to take account of specific problems of the institution, difficulties faced by the students and the constraints being encountered by the academic community as a result of inadequate staffing or lack of resources and other reasons. The CNE is expected to provide the needed stimulus for institutional self-review to encourage continued evaluation and revision of academic programmes.

In the United States, the internal structures (Hodges, 1993) of the university system are somewhat conducive to creating a proactive mechanism for quality evaluation. Many recommendations by external boards run across the academic beliefs and values concerning institutional autonomy, faculty prerogatives in curriculum and instruction, and the market pressures. Faculty incentives, rewards, and personal recognitions are tied to the improved classroom performance and curriculum development. Quality assurance is expected to be achieved within individual programmes in a university as a process of internal review rather than attained as a response to external evaluation. American quality

pursuits are focused on the faculty's involvement in the development, adoption, and administration of the procedures to be used in quality assessment. The purpose of quality assessment is three-fold: educational outcomes defined in ways that make good sense to teachers and students; instructional and learning outcomes assessed by means that are creditable and fair; and the results (outcomes) of assessment usefully and wisely utilized into the improvement of both teaching and learning. Outcome assessments are undertaken mostly as research or evaluation studies of the institutions' programmes. These outcome assessments are conducted both by the external review committees, and professional agencies. Institutions' responses to these assessments are an important aspect of quality assurance. Also, the institutions continually seek information from both graduating students and potential employers, and respond productively to use the information to design better programmes. Thus, the quality assurance system in the USA applies the three pronged approach (Herman, 1987), namely external evaluation, internal review and outcome assessment, which together constitute an integral part of its overall educational evaluation policy.

Australia claims to have comprehensive quality assurance mechanisms embedded in its education system at the government and institutional level as well as through professional peak bodies. The chief aim of the Australian education system is to enhance the intellectual, cultural and socio-economic development of the education seekers. The starting point is the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF) which ensures that only accredited qualifications are delivered. While vocational and technical education institutions are accredited by various states and territory governments, Australia's universities are self-accrediting and operate within a framework of autonomy and accountability. In a competitive world, Australians universities ensure that their courses meet the most recent demands for knowledge and skills. Many institutions are also members of professional bodies or councils that have their own codes of conduct. These codes set standards for academic and support services for international students. The arrangements provide international students with quality assurance and high levels of ongoing support. The peak bodies include; The Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (A VCC) for higher education and Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA), an independent national quality assurance body, that audits the key activities of teaching, learning, research and management in Australian universities. In case of vocational and technical education, the National Training Quality Council (NTQC) monitors and provides advice on quality assurance in vocational education and training system and at the same time ensures that the system provides quality training that is relevant to industry.

Canada, in its the quality assurance approach, lays more emphasis on improving communication within the institutions, on research for good teaching, and on the educational needs of the weaker and disadvantaged groups of people. The Canadian system of higher education (Pocklington & Tupper, 2002) through academic agenda of each Canadian University is driven by research on the assumption that research is essential for good teaching, and that researchers are the only academics who are truly

qualified to teach. However, there is no evidence to support this claim that good teaching flows directly and only from research.

In India, the University Grant Commission (UGC), being the highest funding authority for country's higher education, has initiated the quality assurance procedures though its National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC). The system of external committees or advisory panels seems to blur the line between quality assurance and quality control. • Quality Assurance (Madan, 1995) as such is a continual process undertaken by most of the educational institutions in India. Many institutions of higher education in India have internal (indirect) review of their own programmes in order to prepare themselves to respond to the external evaluation.

The Open and Distance Education System (ODES) has become a global phenomenon. Several institutions and organizations are adopting the open and distance learning approach to meet their educational requirements. The ODES, however, is under cloud since its credibility is under doubt. Despite several multi-facet and justifiable achievements attributed to its performance, the system is yet to stand the test of quality scrutiny. The mega-open universities and several other top level institutions of open and distance learning are generally found to be boasting about their achievements (Daniel: 1996) in higher education in terms of huge student enrolment, and a variety of educational programmes and courses while claiming better accessibility, higher productivity and greater flexibility through equity and range of curriculum designs. The evidential basis for these self-proclaimed assertions needs to be ascertained by means of some appropriate system-level educational evaluation procedures. The mega-open universities, in particular trumpeting a glowing picture of their claimed educational excellence, call for quality evaluation of their systemic-paradigms to establish their reputation and credibility in the education world. This is possible only when evaluation of open and distance learning is envisioned and sketched at a systemic level.

The avalanche of educational globalization is pressing the need to evolve strategies and devise procedures to evaluate as to how far the ODES has been successful in offering a quality education characterized by distance teaching through self-learning course materials, supplementary academic support to ensure the independent/interactive blend of learning, and the vast delivery system through its management and administration. The quality crisis invariably attributed to the mode of open and distance learning, may have something to do with the distant relationships between educators and learners or simply with the very system that may not be working efficiently, and hence stumbles from one functional disaster to another. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the system is put to systemic quality scrutiny and evaluation.

Quality assurance in open and distance learning, a genuinely relevant and most desirable concern, has been the main theme of several conferences in the past few years. Having emerged as a primary issue for distance learning in the 1990s, quality became one of the central themes of the World Congress of the ICDE 1995 held at Birmingham, UK. A number of presentations in this conference and the publications elsewhere indicate the quality assurance steps that are underway in various distance learning institutions. The

literature (Calder, 1994) on quality evaluation in distance learning typically revolves around those components of its system that are unique to its approach. Three such areas that have received substantial attention are: Programme Development, Production of Course Materials, and Delivery of Distance Education to Learners. The UKOU's efforts for quality assurance in its approach are focused not only on programme-development, production and delivery of course materials, but also on staff development and training, and feed back from learners. The Institute of Educational Technology (UKOU) monitors the perceptions of students and provides the feed back to various faculties and divisions to determine not only how well they are doing but also suggest as to how best they can do and what to plan for the future.

The Open University of Israel expects the external experts to submit a proposal for a new course. They must also submit sample materials which meet the desired structure and format at an instructional self-study text. The Australian University of Central Queensland follows a material development approach that moves from 'client needs' (organization and students) to learning needs. It identifies relevant stages inherent in the process of course development: analysis, specifications, standards, and development of learning materials. The quality assurance mechanisms are used at each stage of this process in addition to feedback between the stages. The Open Learning Institute (OLI) of Hong Kong follows an integrated quality evaluation mechanism pursued through two complementary approaches, external and internal. The IGNOU of India initiated the process of quality evaluation of its programmes, courses and students* process in 1993 but it is yet to evolve and adopt a systemic quality assurance approach. Quality Assurance, indeed, is expected to be continuous, integrative and central to the ODES.

Perceptions and Hypotheses

Several fundamental questions (Simpsons, 1993) are raised about the meaning and purpose of quality assurance in higher education. Accordingly, interpretations are invariably given about the perception and purpose of quality in higher education. Quality assurance, in the commercial sense, is described as a deal whereby a consumer or the concerned party is made confident that the prescribed standards are being maintained. In this way, quality assurance is treated as a process comprising of three parameters, namely: quality production, quality maintenance, and quality management. This definition is more relevant in the context of an industrial enterprise, and to apply this definition directly to higher education, it is often suggested that simply replacing the term 'enterprise' with 'university' will serve the purpose. However, such an interpretation may not be fully appreciated for an educational system which takes quality assurance as a self-conscious effort generated by the community of education seekers, educators and education providers, each contributing to and striving for sustained systemic improvement. No mode of quality assurance in education will work effectively unless it is related to its systemic perspective, institutional effectivity and educational productivity.

What really constitutes quality in education is based on the concerns and priorities of the educators, education providers, professional bodies, education seekers, and funding

agencies. The quality defining elements (Green and Harvey, 1993) relevant to education, in general, are: "inputs to teaching and learning; the courses/programmes of study; the teaching-learning process itself; outputs in terms of the number and merit of the graduates; standards achieved by the individual institution; and the functional level of educational management". While sketching the convergence of the three basic parameters of quality assurance in education (quality teaching, quality learning and quality management) through externally monitored continuous quality improvement, and while analyzing the relationship between standards and quality of education, a transformational notion of quality (Harvey and Knight, 1996) has been stressed with a focus on innovation of the relevant educational system based on an overview of the prevalent educational approaches. In this context, (Harvey, 2001) three sets of thematic issues have been raised:

- *"Has external quality review had its day? Does the bureaucratization of quality mean that it is no longer flexible? Does everyone know how to play the 'game' and therefore does it show anything? Should approaches be more directed to internal quality improvement and external 'useful' information?*
- *Has control of quality been usurped by the market and by information technology? Does the scramble for students mean that only lip service is paid to quality and standards? Can anything be done to control quality in the internet age? Will the world-wide market in higher education mean that only the best will survive?*
- *Does the development of mass education necessarily mean the end of quality? Can standards of achievement be maintained in a mass system? Can standards of service be maintained with declining unit of resource? Is there a need to fundamentally change the nature of higher education in an era of mass higher education"*

Accountability and improvement are generally considered to be other two important parameters of quality assurance in higher education. Quality improvement, however, is preferred while accountability is shuddered by all, including the academics in particular. Several interlinked questions (Harvey, 2002), in this connection, are raised: Is quality in higher education about transformation? What constitutes a high quality learning process? To what extent, is there a need to re-conceptualize how higher education engages with access, employability and funding issues? How the (extreme) quality evaluation be transformed to help improve the quality of the experience and of the learning? What has been the transformative impact of the external quality monitoring (audit, assessment, evaluation, accreditation)? Based on such thematic issues and questions among several others, a few quality concepts and approaches are prevalent across the world which includes quality audit, quality enhancement, quality control, programme evaluation, external evaluation, accreditation, quality standardization and benchmarking among several other procedures.

Various issues and questions raised- in respect of quality assurance in higher education are essentially related to some of the key issues of quality assurance, such as the meaning and purpose of quality assurance, the roles of the relevant elements

responsible for quality assurance, quality evaluation to be used as one of the pre-requisites for funding, and a genuine commitment for quality assurance in the total process of education, research and training. While these questions and issues are central to every mode of education, the quality perceptions, however, need not revolve only around the quality evaluation of its sectional aspects but ought to be focused on the totality of its system. If the discussion on quality is dominated only by the compartmentalized evaluation of the components of teaching and/or learning, it provides an impoverished view of education what to say about the quality itself. Quality assurance should essentially be centred around the very phenomenon of education and its overall paradigm as it is perceived, pursued and practised. For this, it is essential to adopt a systemic perception of the term' quality, by including in its scope the whole range of activities inherent in the paradigm, pedagogy and process of education. Most of the research work in the literature on higher education addresses quality from a limited framework or with reference to a particular aspect. The tendency of focusing quality assurance solely on isolated components without a systemic perspective means that onlv some aspects of education are to be scrutinized and assured while others would remain overlooked. There is, therefore, a need to adopt a holistic vision of quality in education, including that of the learners' aspirations, educators' mind-set, and the providers' expectations.

The Dearing Committee of the UK (National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education) has disapproved subject-by-subject quality assessment/ inspection (Geoffrey, 1999) because of the alleged institutional manipulations. It strongly stressed the relevance of a systemic approach to be geared to meeting the national needs, aspirations and goals of quality assurance. Piecemeal or sectional or compartmentalized educational evaluation will not and cannot lead by itself to the achievement of the desired quality aims, the most it can lead to, is short to medium term bureaucratic procedural compliance. Quality assurance, thus, needs to be an integrative process for which it is necessary to include in it, a variety of significant constituents of the system of education, and to consider its multiple and interrelated components. Description of quality assurance, as it is expressed in the relevant literature, seems to indicate that the concept of quality in education should encompass quality-teaching, quality-learning and quality-management. In this sense, quality assurance needs to be envisioned as a systemic process for achieving, maintaining and enhancing appropriate standards of higher education and distance learning.

A systemic and holistic quality assurance approach can create a culture of educational excellence. It calls for an ideal and comprehensive perception of quality principles espoused in the ASHE- ERIC Higher Education Report (Freed, et al, 1997), such as, vision, mission and outcomes (a clear sense of purpose and focus), systemic paradigm (interactive and inter-dependent actions and processes); leadership dexterity (fundamental to the organization's culture and philosophy); systematic individual development (continuous skills training and career planning); decisions based on facts (dependence on appropriate information); delegation of decision-making (involving those who can do the work); collaboration (involving those with a stake in the outcome);

planning for change (embracing innovation as a daily priority); and supportive management (providing the sources needed to implement the principles). Such an approach clearly makes out a case why it is necessary to develop a systemic quality culture, and to ensure how it can be inculcated in the higher education setting. The UKOU, which responded partially to adopt this approach, is yet to evolve a comprehensive and systemic approach for quality assurance in its mode of open and distance learning.

Quality assurance is highly crucial for the ODES in particular, since it is primarily learner-based and closely linked to the goals of mass education. It is more demanding partly because it has to deal not only with a huge number of students but also has to cater to the needs of a wide variety of students which include among others the learners who are home/remote based, employed/ unemployed, rural/ urban based; and partly because of the large number and flexible variety of programmes/courses that are developed, produced and delivered under this mode. Indeed, quality achievement in distance learning is challenging not only because of the varied nature of the learners and their experiences, but also because of several other contextual peculiarities.

A number of studies that have been undertaken in this direction so far highlight the need and relevance of initiating a comprehensive approach for quality assurance in distance education. Not much work to-date seems to have been done on exploring a systemic paradigm of quality assurance except for a few limited attempts pertaining to isolated forms of evaluational or empirical studies. Unfortunately, most of the existing distance learning institutions tend to portray quality assurance procedures as separate and isolated attempts rather than adopting integrated quality assurance procedures. Quality assurance in distance learning, in any case, has to be given high priority and it has to evolve a systemic approach. The distance education providers will need to think critically about the choice of methods and techniques that can be integrated into all facets of its paradigmatic activity. An overview of institutional models of distance learning would indicate that while they are all committed to quality, their approaches and methods for assurance are vacuous in content and intent because of some rigid functional constraints and restrictions in their implementation. Most often, the distance learning institutions adopt an half-hearted approach as their efforts seem to be issue-specific. A systemic approach is, therefore, highly desirable for quality assurance in distance learning. In this context, the classic work (Calder, 1994) on programme evaluation and quality stimulates exploration of a comprehensive and systemic approach for quality assurance in open and distance learning.

Perception of quality in an educational system varies according to the basic thrust of its paradigm. In the conventional system, it is defined in terms of teaching, while in the case of open and distance education, it is visualized in terms of learning. Nevertheless, in the context of the ensuing systemic pursuit, quality ought to be defined in a comprehensive manner in relation to the teaching mode, the learning experience, and the functional process, respectively interpreted as quality-teaching, quality-learning and quality-management. Quality-teaching is to be treated as a pedagogic mechanism to

ensure learners' intensive involvement with the study materials and their interactive participation with counselors/mentors/ tutors who can identify their goals, sort out their difficulties with the learning styles, and strengthen their commitment with the system which is capable of responding to their needs. Quality-learning is to be interpreted as an experience to ensure that the learners, after finishing their studies, are able to acquire a reasonable level of academic or professional competence and intellectual satisfaction within their chosen areas of study. Quality-management ought to be linked with quality-service and quality-leadership for which the human personality plays a dominant role.

Indeed, the relevant elements, answerable and responsible for achieving goals of quality-teaching, quality-learning and quality-management are: the faculties at the central office who are directly involved with curriculum development, and who set standards for themselves at the very outset which they hope to achieve; the learners who will decide during and after the completion of the course whether their experience has been of genuine worth and benefit; other academics (tutors/counsellors) who directly or indirectly strengthen the academic and mentoring support; the educational planners and providers who are responsible for management and organization of educational services; and the rest of the academic world who formally or informally can contribute to the quality development of the system through their expertise and experience elsewhere in higher education. Thus, at a general conceptual level, quality assurance in higher education needs to be a continuous process that is proactive rather than being only a reactive phenomenon, and that is integrative through involvement of all constituents and components of the system. Indeed, a comprehensive approach for quality assurance needs to be evolved in respect of its purpose, priority and propriety. External evaluation, internal review and outcome assessment are considered as the in-built components of quality assurance in higher education. Quality pursuits have to be equally driven by the commitment to establish systemic credibility, institutional accountability and educational performance.

The three most dominant factors of education-massification, technology-advancement and knowledge-globalization are forcing the need for ensuring quality, accountability and credibility through clear and comprehensive procedures. This, unfortunately, is being evaded even though at great peril by higher education in general, and its distance learning mode in particular. Quality assurance, in the current scenario, has become a fundamental necessity for the success and survival of every system of education whether conventional or distance. It is essentially throwing a formidable challenge to the Open and Distance Education System (ODES), which claims to have achieved tremendous success in providing wider accessibility, higher productivity and greater flexibility in its educational framework. The system has to be equally responsive to quality aspirations in its educational performances for which it has to be adaptable to change and innovation for improvement. The procedures for its quality assessment, its control, its maintenance and its cross-checking, will have to be unambiguous, functional and implicit in the basic framework of its approach. Appropriate standards and norms of quality measurement will have to be designed. To meet this crucial challenge

successfully and effectively, a systemic perception of quality assurance will have to be visualized in explicit, extensive and exhaustive terms. Based on the issues and challenges highlighted earlier in this paper, three systemic issues need to be explored in the context of quality assurance in higher education (Harvey, 1999) in general and. in its distance learning mode, in particular:

- Current trends indicate that higher education in the twenty-first century will be improvised by information technology and will be global. It will be integrated into continuous (lifelong) education in the institutes, in the workplaces and in the homes. Technology-based educational transformation is inevitable. Indeed, quality is going .to be highly crucial for every system of education, whether conventional, distance or any other mode. How is technology-based systemic transformation going to help in upgrading the standard and quality of higher education?
- The ODES, considered to be the latest form of higher education of the twentieth century, has been gaining lot of interest over the last few decades. It will further innovate in the new century because the context within which it may operate, will change significantly although its main emphasis will continue to be on higher productivity, greater flexibility and wider accessibility. There will be large number of distance education providers. Higher education will be more open, more transparent and more user-determined. This phenomenon of educational expansion is bound to intensify the demand for quality evaluation of its programmes, pedagogies and processes. What can be the most feasible systemic-evaluation paradigm for quality assurance in higher education in general, and the ODES in particular?
- Educational management has become the central concern of every mode of higher education. Higher education is likely to be treated as a hybrid system comprising of three major structures: academic, industrial and developmental. Institutional management will have to be conducive to these structures to achieve the desired quality goals and objectives. Standards and levels of education will take into account the need for systemic functioning. What can be the most suitable measures for ensuring quality is the overall systemic functioning of higher education, particularly in the context of its performance, accountability, and credibility?

Education-Massification, Technology-Explosion and Knowledge-Globalization have brought a systemic shift both in the educational paradigm and pedagogy. Massification of education has changed the educational focus from academic pursuits to professional propensities. Rapid strides of technology have altered the concept of space and time. Globalization of knowledge has created an easier and faster access through information network and electronic communication. This is a developmental phenomenon for which a systemic approach for quality assurance in higher education will need to focus on three systemic themes corresponding to the aforesaid three systemic issues:

- An appropriate use of information technology for systemic transformation of higher education with a view to provide not only the need-based education and training to the deprived sections of the society, women and the rural poor; but also to make a study of the crucial parameters leading to conceptualization of in-built quality- based educational paradigms, pedagogies and processes.
- An objective analysis of the educational provisions and paradigms in meeting the quality challenge, and designing a framework for a comprehensive systemic-evaluation in terms of the parameters of paradigmatic-evaluation, programme-evaluation, pedagogy-evaluation, process-evaluation and performance-evaluation for quality, accountability and credibility.
- An introspection of institutional functioning in the context of educational service, quality management and leadership dexterity with a view to find feasible and effective ways of functional harmony in meeting the challenges created by prevalent educational environment and the ongoing wave of educational multinationalization.

The proposed systemic approach for quality assurance in higher education is envisaged on the basis of some of the following hypotheses related to the systemic thtmes:

- Three major factors are bound to be of serious concern for the education world today: the paradigmatic shape of higher education, the role of multi-media technology in its pedagogy, and the functional pattern of its educational process. A debate is expected to continue vigorously, and a growing number of contributions are likely to be made about the form and structure of higher education in the new century. Various educational parameters, in this context, will have to be considered seriously for a transformed higher education system. Accordingly, appropriate structure changes will have to be perceived in view of the phenomenon of education-massification, knowledge-globalization and technology-advancement. Four key parameters (Harvey, 1996) are identifiable for future higher education: the need and demand for lifelong learning; the requirements of learners for alternative types and modes of educational provision; the impact of new technology, and the changing boundaries of the educational patterns. These parameters are bound to influence the shape and structure of future higher education, which will ultimately lead it to a federal system, namely an Omni-Tech Education System (Madan, 2002), embracing all levels and modes of post-school education whether conventional or open, formal or non- formal, distance or non-distance. Quality is bound to become the central focus of every educational system or its eventual transformed paradigms. This is one of the most fundamental hypotheses of designing a systemic approach for quality assurance in higher education.
- Several developed countries of Europe, Asia, Australia and America have already launched their educational programmes through the internet. The use of internet for course delivery and examination is expanding rapidly in most of the other

developed and developing countries of the world. Dimensions of the educational challenges in the global perspective are going to be divergent and more demanding. Most of the developing nations have to do the twin task of keeping an optimum pace with the rapid advancement of modem technology on one hand, and on the other, they have to redesign their work-related, employment-oriented and need-based educational programmes to meet the requirements of their modern industrial sectors, and unidentified economic sectors. The ODES embedded with technology-based approach provides an answer to meet these challenges for which a few questions need to be addressed. These are: What can be the role of the ODES to meet the educational demands and challenges? How can the ODES contribute to the much desired harmonious educational development related to economic, intellectual and social aspects of life? What can be the approach and process of the ODES, particularly in the fast changing technological environment? How the frenetically advancing avalanche of modern technology can be tamed to the advantage of ODES to serve the cause of quality education? Exploration of such questions among others leading to systemic evaluation of the ODES in terms of its paradigmatic evaluation, academic evaluation and performance evaluation is the second most relevant hypothesis of a systemic quality approach.

- As goals of education are getting complex and multipurpose, the worry about its quality by all, including even the educators themselves, education providers and education seekers, is increasing rapidly. Criticism of the standards and levels of educational functioning is generating demands for quality-management. Urge for the effectivity of the educational process, and the need for efficiency in the educational services is underlining the requirement of a reliable and acceptable form of systemic and systematic functioning. The fundamental rationale behind the purpose of systemic functioning is that the educational decisions must be based on valid evaluation reports, that these reports must be accurate, and that the responsibility of gathering, processing and preparing these evaluation reports lies with the educators and the education managers. An educational institution must shoulder this responsibility in terms of educational performances and services. It is, therefore, desirable to deal with such aspects of systemic-functioning in a wider perspective of quality management, quality service and quality leadership. The question, however, in this context is whether an educational system can design a process of self-regulation, self-evaluation and self-improvement that meets the required systemic-functioning perspectives in terms of needs, expectations and aspirations. To explore this crucial hypothesis in higher education, the envisaged Omni-Systemic approach is expected to be centred around establishing a close linkage of systemic evaluation with performance indicators, accountability and credibility in the specific context of ODES, but equally relevant to the Conventional Education System (CES) prevalent everywhere in the world.

- Due to the systemic shifts and technological impacts, educational management is bound to undergo a few operational innovations and structural renovations. Needs of higher productivity, wider accessibility and greater flexibility in education are expected to redefine the roles of management and leadership. Human personality (Sharma, 2001) is poised to become a major player in the field of higher education. Educational administration is destined to herald appropriate strategies for students' services and institutional functioning. The UNESCO (1995) report calls for a global system that would link education with technology, technology with quality and quality with axiology. Development does not mean merely the industrial progress, professional dexterity and material prosperity. Human progress ought to be gauged through the quality of life firmly planted in human values. This calls for a value-based educational environment (Macfarlane, 2004) grounded in axiology for an effective move from information technology to transformation technology. What is transformation technology? What are its attributes? How does it generate a value-based functional environment for effective and eternal quality insurance? Not information technology alone but transformation technology also is equally important for systemic functioning. Surfing only the internet will not suffice. Searching the internet is equally essential for generating functional ethics. Both internet-surfing and internet-searching are desirable for quality-based systemic-functioning. Quality assurance through spiritual management (Hawley, 1995) is yet another underlying hypothesis of the functional aspect of higher education.

Perspectives and Paradigms

Education, research and training are the three basic domains of an educational system, whether conventional or distance, formal or non-formal. An overview of educational scenario strongly suggests a three-dimensional strategy, based on the thinking behind the quality assurance ideas and their applicability to the fields of education, training and research, namely: transforming and innovating the education paradigms with an appropriate use of the emerging technological advancements; adoption of the feasible procedures of educational evaluation for maintenance and improvement of educational standards; and adherence to functional proprieties and moral principles in management and leadership. Based on this overview, along with a close scrutiny of the systemic ailments afflicting higher education, and an evaluational survey of the ongoing quality pursuits that are underway, it can be conclusively established that ***'educare'***, *aimed at the harmonious development of the human society, is central to quality assurance. Ontology-based educational paradigm, epistemology-based academic programming and axiology-based functional process are the three foundational avenues of the philosophy of 'educare'. Accordingly, systemic-transformation, systemic-evaluation and systemic-functioning are the three corresponding systemic features which together constitute what may be termed as the Omni-Systemic Approach for ensuring total quality in education.*

Three related systemic perspectives ought to be kept in view based on the aforesaid systemic themes and hypotheses.

Educational transformation is a dynamic phenomenon. Its continuous innovation is a key to quality improvement. The pace of educational growth and development may be categorized into three phases, each identified with a millennium. The first phase of educational development up to the first millennium, generally termed as the Ancient Educational System (AES), was primarily based on religion and philosophy aimed at the moral and spiritual development of the human society. Its gradual transition paved the way for the European Educational System (EES) during the early part of the second millennium. This led to the second phase of educational transformation with a major focus on science and technology aimed at both mental and material development. Identified with the second millennium, it came to be known as the Conventional Educational System (CES) after the emergence of the Distance Education System (DES) during the later part of the twentieth century. The third millennium, symbolized with the latest phase of the educational transformation, is destined to be a comprehensive blend of the AES, CES and DES. It will integrate higher education with changing technology, forcing the convergence of the two mega systems of higher education, namely: Conventional Education System and the Distance Education System wedded with modem information technology leading to the emergence of an Omni-Tech Education System (OTES) (Madan, 2002) heralding an innovative transformation of higher education. It is bound to evolve as a new concept leading to the latest system of education in the new millennium. An exposition of this inevitable Omni-Tech Approach embedded with the desired quality education in terms of quality teaching, quality learning and quality mentoring, is based on the transformational perspective summed as under:

> ***"An*** *educational approach is expected to provide knowledge whereby what is unheard becomes heard, what is unknown becomes known, and what is un learnt becomes learnt. Conventional Education Approach is direct and place-based, whereas Distance Education Approach is indirect and pace-based. The Omni-Tech Education Approach is not only place-based and pace-based but is also technology-based. It is both direct and indirect. It enables the learners to learn what is unlearnt, to reach what is unreachable, to comprehend what is incomprehensible, and to access what is inaccessible. It is more productive, highly flexible and embedded with better quality ".*

A system of education must stand the test of quality scrutiny for which systemic evaluation has to be evolved within its main framework. This unfortunately is not the case with most of the distance learning institutions whether dual or open university models. Indeed, it is far from satisfactory in the conventional system since its procedures for assessment of educational quality do not seem to be sustainable. An open debate is continuously going on how to evolve the process of quality evaluation in higher education, more so in the specific context of distance learning. Various studies, that have been undertaken so far in this area, generally pertain to the sectional or compartmentalized educational evaluation. A unified and comprehensive systemic

quality evaluation approach is, therefore, highly desirable for which self-evaluation, self-regulation and self-improvement need to be some of the in-built parameters. The prime question, however, in this context is: Whether an educational system can evolve a systemic-evaluation paradigm to meet the quality needs, expectations and aspirations? If so, what can be the shape and structure of such a paradigm? Evaluation of a systemic-evaluation paradigm for the ODES, in tune with its central framework, is based on the evaluational perspective briefed as under:

> *"Qualitv assurance in higher education ought to be centred around the very phenomenon of its basic approach as it is perceived, pursued and practised. Systemic-evaluation, envisaged as the central component of the envisioned Omni-Systemic Approach, should encompass evaluation of its systemic paradigms, its educational programmes/courses, its teaching-learning mentoring pedagogies, its functional processes, and its over-all performances. It must evolve a mechanism of institutional accountability and system's credibility ".*

Requirement of educational standards and performances will have to take into account the need for quality-service, quality-management and quality-leadership along with the aspirations of quality-teaching, quality-learning and quality-mentoring. Multinationalization of higher education is going to generate a competitive environment both for education managers and education providers in addition to the formidable challenges of education-massification, technology explosion and knowledge globalization. What can be the suitable measures for ensuring quality in the overall functioning of an educational system? This vital issue is related to educational management, functional environment and holistic harmony based on the functional perspective described as under:

> *"The key questions of educational management are no longer the issues of task and structure; production and delivery; and administration and finances but are the systemic concern of quality, credibility and accountability. The usual agenda of institutional management, namely coordination, communication and collaboration will remain as critical as ever. Equally crucial are the parameters of its quality leadership and effective functioning. Impelled by technology utilization, induced by knowledge globalization, and infused by academic excellence, systemic functioning of higher education needs a culture that stresses convergence in place of conflict, collaboration in place of chaos, and coordination in place of confrontation, with emphasis on the three fundamental axioms of quality education: educational excellence, professional dexterity and functional harmony".*

The envisioned structural framework of the Omni-Systemic Approach for quality assurance in higher education is centred on three-dimensional systemic features, namely Systemic-Transformation, Systemic-Evaluation and Systemic-Functioning, each focused on three corresponding paradigmatic themes linked with their respective operational parameters presented in the table on Omni-Systemic Model.

TABLE
Omni-Systcmic Model

Systemic Features	*Paradigmatic Themes*		*Operational Parameters*	
Systemic-transformation	Omni-Tech paradigm	Technology-based patterns	Transformation hypotheses	Omni-Tech perspectives
	Omni-Tech paradigm	Teaching pedagogy	Learning pedagogy	Mentoring pedagogy
	Omni-Tech paradigm	Systemic research	Systemic training	Systemic development
Systemic evaluation	Paradigmatic evaluation	Foundational evaluation	Developmental evaluation	Functional evaluation
	Academic evaluation	Programme evaluation	Pedagogic evaluation	Process evaluation
	Performance evaluation	Performance indicators	Educational accountability	Institutional credibility
Systemic functioning	Quality management	Institutional structure	Educational planning	Management paradigm
	Functional environment	Academic atmosphere	Professional culture	Leadership dexterity
	Holistic harmony	Technology for education	Education for spirituality	Spirituality axiology

Systemic Transformation

Higher education in the new millennium (Scott. 2000) is getting transformed ('re-formed and reformed-) as a result of the emerging trends and challenges. The emerging indicators suggest that great many innovations are going to take place in the future educational development. However, the changing educational trends, pushed by the unbridled avalanche of educational multinationalization and the rapid advancement of information technology, are bound to generate a quality crisis in education on one hand, and pose a quality challenge on the other. One of the ways to face this rising quality challenge and overcome the emerging quality crisis in higher education is to bring technology-based systemic transformation in the form of the Omni-Tech Approach (Madan, 2002). This can be done by harnessing the huge potential of information technology, and by optimizing the tremendous capacity of distance learning based on a study of the changing educational patterns, pedagogical perceptions and developmental processes. Appropriate and objective changes can be incorporated to innovate its educational paradigms, pedagogies and processes. The technology-based perspectives and transformation hypotheses of higher education are leading to the emerging Omni-Tech Paradigm for quality-education. The corresponding pedagogic perceptions, the relevant pedagogic parameters, and the desirable pedagogic designing can be visualized as the basis for the innovative Omni-Tech Pedagogy. The related Omni-Tech Process in the context of

research pursuits, professional perspectives and developmental prospects can be evolved to strengthen quality assurance.

Omni-Tech Paradigm: The last phase of the twentieth century saw a tremendous growth of the distance education mode. It provided an impetus to access, flexibility and equity of knowledge and learning. Its quality in terms of productivity, however, remains doubtful due to low performance in providing effective learning materials, adequate academic support and efficient student services. This growing erosion of its credibility ought to be checked and reversed for which it is essential to bring technology-based transformation in its approach. A debate is expected to continue vigorously, and a growing number of contributions is expected on the likely form and structure of future education. Some of the new forms and shapes are being given various names, such as Virtual Education, Virtual University, International Education/University, Global Education/University, Omni-Varsity and so on. A systematic and comprehensive form of educational transformation is highly desirable for quality education based on the technology-based patterns and innovative educational trends, leading to the envisaged technology-based distance education mode, rephrased as the Omni-Tech Paradigm of higher education.

Omni-Tech Pedagogy: One of the most crucial challenges which an education system has to face is that of the quality of its teaching-learning pedagogy, firstly, as it is ideally perceived by the system itself, and secondly, as it actually happens within the system. This, in turn, raises questions about learning needs of the learners, utility of the educational programmes, quality of teaching, effectivity of the learning experience, and efficiency of the academic support to effect the ongoing improvement. These questions are closely linked to the pedagogical aspect of education which is generally concerned with the quality of teaching-learning-mentoring pedagogies. The fundamental assumption about the educational pedagogy is that there is someone to seek education (to learn), and there is someone to impart education (to teach), and the dexterity of instructional communication between the two ensures that this pedagogy of learning-teaching does take place effectively. Educational pedagogy literally means a sequentially progressive process of both teaching and learning. Pedagogic perceptions vary in accordance with the central focus of an educational system. The CES, being primarily teaching-based, follows teaching-pedagogy which means step-by-step instructional art/science of imparting learning and knowledge. The DES is essentially learning-based. Its pedagogy offers a learning package of acquiring knowledge and skill through step-by-step self-directed methodology. The Omni-Tech Pedagogy envisages a comprehensive blend of teaching-pedagogy, learning-pedagogy and mentoring-pedagogy. Mentoring-pedagogy means a gradual but progressive mode of providing educational guidance/counseling for strengthening self-learning, induced-learning and interactive-learning. Thus, teaching-pedagogy, learning-pedagogy and mentoring-pedagogy, the three-in-one phenomenon named as the triune, forms the foundational perception of the Omni-Tech Pedagogy.

Omni-Tech Process: Education, Training and Research are organically linked with each other, each having an essential role to play in the overall educational development.

Each component helps in acquiring new knowledge, professional dexterity and scholarly ideas in various educational areas. The distinctive character of the quality pursuits involves greater responsibilities in undertaking activities related to education, training and research in an homogeneous manner. The preparation of high quality technology-based distance learning materials demands that the educators are fully conversant with the latest developments in their respective fields. For this, there is a clearly perceived need in undertaking research studies in the changes and developments arising from the advances in open and distance learning, in educational technology, and in harnessing the latest information technology to upgrade the quality of education and training. Research in higher education is central to its systemic development. It is highly crucial for academic excellence, professional competence and knowledge advancement. What can be the role of the research pursuits in the context of systemic transformation for quality assurance in higher education? Just as it is the great people who build a nation, in a similar manner, it is the competent professionals who bring the national development. Developmental perspectives and skilled manpower together can meet the challenges of higher education posed by the technological advancements, global competition and population variations. The Omni-Jech Process, therefore, will have to be perceived in terms of the research pursuits, technology-based training and competency-based development.

Systemic Evaluation

Educational cohesion is forcing adoption of comprehensive quality evaluation patterns and procedures. The increasing focus on professionalization of education is generating demand for innovative skills. The exponential growth of knowledge along with the impact of information technology is putting a tremendous pressure on the efficiency of educational services. Increased quality concerns of education are reinforcing the need for evaluation of educational paradigms, programmes, pedagogies, processes and performances. The emerging quality challenge before the open universities and several other top level institutions of distance learning calls for quality evaluation of their system to establish their credibility in the education world. This is possible only if evaluation of open and distance learning is envisioned and sketched at a systemic level. Generally, programme evaluation, pedagogic evaluation and process evaluation together constitute what may be termed as Academic Evaluation for the conventional system. But for a non-conventional system like that of the ODES, the term academic evaluation needs to be augmented by the dimensions of Paradigmatic Evaluation and Performance Evaluation culminating into a three-phased Systemic-Evaluation model for the ODES becoming equally applicable to the CES.

Paradigmatic Evaluation in distance learning is expected to deal with the evaluation of the parameters of its foundational, developmental, and functional aspects in terms of its related goals of accessibility, productivity and flexibility of educational provision; programme designing, course development and academic support; planning, research and

development; staff training, faculty improvement and career mobility for the academics and support staff; and performance, accountability and credibility.

Academic Evaluation is central to the systemic-quality pursuits in higher education. A few trends in this direction are emerging in developing countries with realization that the universities and several institutions of higher education must be subjected to academic evaluation for quality assurance. Academic evaluation in distance learning is an increasing phenomenon. The evaluation areas generally identified for this purpose are: educational programmes and courses; teaching-learning pedagogies; the process of academic support and services among others, which together constitute what may be termed as academic valuation. The quality framework envisaged under academic evaluation ought to be a three-tier procedure: quality scrutiny of courses and curricula, quality assessment of the teaching-learning-mentoring pedagogies, and quality audit of the outcomes. The quality assurance procedures are largely designed to co-ordinate quality assessment schemes; quality scrutiny through peer-review; quality maintenance by periodic surveys; and quality comparison of educational programmes/courses at various levels by external evaluation.

The cardinal principle of academic evaluation (Madan, 1996) in higher education asserts that it has to begin from within the system itself rather than entirely imposed from outside. It is only through rigorous self-evaluation procedures that the institutions of open learning like the 1GNOU or the UKOU among several others, can find satisfaction in achieving their quality education goals. It is imperative to design an operational mechanism of academic evaluation in terms of programme evaluation, pedagogy evaluation and process evaluation, applicable not only to an open university system of IGNOU or that of the UKOU, but equally valid for the dual mode of distance learning or even the conventional system itself with appropriate modification suitable to their modus operandi. Programme evaluation is expected to explore some feasible quality evaluation methods suitable for the educational programmes and courses. Pedagogic evaluation is designed to assess the teaching-learning methodologies and analyze both inter-dependent and interactive pedagogic evaluation approaches. Process evaluation is supposed to look into the mode of learners' evaluation (examinations) and student services with a view to formulate the strategies for making academic support more responsive to learners' needs and aspirations.

Performance Evaluation in a system of education is expected to ensure quality not only through evaluation of its educational paradigms, programmes, pedagogies and processes but also in a wider systemic perspective of its performance, accountability and credibility. The systemic evaluation in all the three constituents of higher education, namely education, training and research, through paradigmatic evaluation and academic evaluation will remain incomplete unless the mode of performance indicators is also evolved in its overall approach. Accountability is gradually emerging as an assertive requirement of any educational policy or system. Social awareness about the institutional credibility is making those in the higher echelons of educational hierarchy to be more

intensely responsible and accountable. This can be accomplished through the mappings of performance indicators, educational accountability and institutional credibility.

Systemic Functioning

Several issues concerning functional morality, professional ethics and educational values have been raised in (Miller, 1999), and elsewhere in several other educational publications related to the management and administration of universities and colleges. Due to lack of emphasis on moral values in the functional management of higher education, quality has become causality. An appropriate and a convincing case (Macfarlane, 2004) has been built for an educational approach that stresses core values based on ethics, virtues and morality. The changing needs of productivity, accessibility and flexibility in education are expected to redefine the shape and structure of educational management. With educational administration poised to become a major player, every educational system will have to take appropriate steps for generating conducive functional environment for quality management. In this context, it is necessary to explore new roles and responsibilities for generating professionalism and academic atmosphere. This calls for a value-based educational culture focused on holistic harmony for an effective and efficient systemic functioning. One of the latest UNESCO reports asserts an educational approach that would link education with technology, technology with quality and quality with axiology. All these aspects of systemic functioning quality related management, functional environment and holistic harmony, are crucial to the envisaged svstemic quality approach.

Quality Management in education means quality in terms of meeting the needs of the students that the educational institution serves, improving the institutional performances and upgrading its systemic functioning. Appropriate utilization of information technology is essential for strengthening the quality of educational management. It has got to be made conducive to the educational structures in operation. Both CES and DES generally operate two structures: academic structure and administrative structure. The ODES is currently being treated as a system comprising academic structure, industrial structure and administrative structure. An appropriate study of various systemic shapes, their management structures and their operational framework for organization and administration of higher (distance) education need to be instituted. Also a few remedial steps need to be undertaken for quality management with emphasis on providing efficient and effective educational services focused on the operational framework that is ideally suitable for an open university system.

Functional Environment of an educational institution is not only linked with the task and structure of its educational management but is equally concerned with its academic and administrative culture. Usual issues of planning, provision and productivity, will always remain central for any educational system. Also, will remain crucial its concerns for the educational paradigms, pedagogies and processes. Management (Hawley, 1995) of an educational institution, however, does not mean merely the ambitious designing of its educational programmes, huge enrolment of learners and bureaucratization of its

organizational work. It is equally important that its functioning is effectively gauged through an overall academic atmosphere, professional culture and leadership dexterity which directly affects its educational performances and services. How are various educational units functioning? What is their professional culture? Are they tuning themselves to the changing ways of educational management? How do the academics and other staff conduct themselves, and yet keep their attitudes firmly planted in functional ethics? How can the functioning of an educational institution be made professionally-oriented, particularly that of an open university? What type of educational leadership is desirable in the educational institutions to provide quality management and efficient educational service? These, among several other questions, constitute the core of functional environment of an educational institution focused on how to generate an academic atmosphere, professionalism and the vision of quality leadership essential for effective functioning of an educational system.

Holistic Harmony lies in the axiology-based functional approach (Saraf, 1993) which goes beyond the usual management issues straight into the new paradigms, and into the new ways of thinking about the current environment that is dominating the education world. Progressive scientific development, digressive rationality and aggressive materialism, have been vigorously asserting that many of the lasting human needs have nothing to do with the eternal human values. Indeed, science and socialism both propounded that all sorts of values - social, educational, and moral - could be established without any reference to the philosophy of spirituality and idealism. No doubt, the dawn of new century is identified with the emergence of a global society immersed in the phenomenal advancement of technology. Yet, at the same time, it has brought home the fact that neither science nor socialism, nor even materialism, as such, was fully equipped to fulfill the fundamental human need of holistic harmony. Paradoxically enough, the outgoing century that saw tremendous development in all branches of science and technology, also witnessed the powerful revival of spiritual philosophy. Unfortunately, the essential ingredient of ethical and moral values are continuously being destroyed, directly or indirectly, by the increasing scientific progress, glaring technological advancements and regressive socialist outlook. The new millennium, however, is marked not only with the arrival of technology but also with the revival of spirituality, essential for the survival of universality. It is going to be the confluence of education, technology and spirituality. Technology strengthens education, education inspires spirituality, and spirituality motivates axiology essential for holistic harmony. It calls for a radical shift from information technology to transformation axiology. A systemic and systematic spectrum of education grounded in both axiology and technology is considered to be the only way out to bring functional harmony in the management and administration of educational institutions. The advent of modem technology is the super-high way to professional dexterity. Global knowledge is the super-speciality platform for educational dissemination. Holistic harmony is bound to provide the superb guiding path for future educational horizons through the invisible linkage of technology with spirituality, spirituality with axiology, and axiology with harmony.

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Rate of Return to Higher Education in India

A Case Study of Graduates of University ofMumbai

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Abstract

The subject of returns to higher education has acquired greater significance in the wake of reforms in higher education. The larger backdrop is the rationale of the application of cost-benefit analysis, within the human capital theory framework, to funding of education in the developing countries. This paper takes a fresh look at the Rate-of-Return approach by providing estimates of average returns to graduates as well as by making a critical review of the approach.

We have made a quantitative analysis of the Rate-of-Return approach within the confines of certain macro level assumptions about the economy and about lifetime earnings of the sample units. Both, private and social, group-wise short and long-term rates of return are estimated for graduates in our sample. Our effort is to make a comparative cost-benefit analysis of graduates, separately by region, gender, faculty and socio-economic background.

Introduction

The question of returns to higher education, within the human capital theory framework, has been a subject of considerable debate[1]. Since the 1990s, returns to education have acquired greater significance as indicators in policy documents of countries to guide reforms in education. The emphasis in several World Bank policy working papers on financing of education, particularly in the developing world (Psacharopoulos et al, 1986; World Bank, 1994), has been on recovering the public cost of higher education from the users and expansion of private institutions. The rationale is application of cost-benefit analysis.

The economic rationale finds reflection in the discussion paper on -Government Subsidies in India', based on a research study by the National Institute of Public Finance

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' This debate has been covered in greater detail in the doctoral thesis (Paranjape, 2005)

and Policy (NIPFP),[2] issued by the Ministry of Finance in May 1997. This paper categorised all education, other than the elementary education, as a "non-merit" service and reflected the dominant policy of economic reforms initiated in India in 1991. The emphasis shifted from removal of disparities and widening access of women and backward class students at each stage of education (Government of India, 1986), to withdrawal of subsidies and privatisation of education beyond elementary stage. In sharp contrast to the above perception are the findings that payoff to higher education is rising worldwide as a result of shift towards knowledge based production processes (Camoy, 2007).

In the Indian context, several studies were conducted to estimate returns to education. Most of the studies by Indian economists are narrowed to some sections of the population such as urban males. The first estimation of disaggregate returns by gender, social group, level of education and income-group, was done by Jandhyala Tilak (1987). This study revealed that returns accrued differently to different groups viz. women, backward classes etc. with the same level of education. These findings are confirmed by some recent regional studies (Inamdar, 1997). These studies have established the useful role of the rate-of-return approach in assessing the distribution of educational burden on different groups.

This paper takes a fresh look at the rate-of-return approach by providing estimates of average returns to graduates. Our effort is to make a comparative cost- benefit analysis of graduates, separately by region, gender, faculty and socio-economic background.

Methodology

Survey Design and Sampling Frame

The sample survey was conducted during 2001-02, as a part of my doctoral study (Paranjape, 2005), in districts under the jurisdiction of University of Mumbai viz. Mumbai, Thane, Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg, among persons who graduated 3-4 years prior to the start of this study. A stratified two-stage sample design was adopted. Using a two-way stratification (districts versus faculty) and the proportional allocation method, a sample of 16 colleges was selected from 217 Colleges of Arts, Science, Commerce, Education, Technology and Management, affiliated to the University of Mumbai as on 31st December, 1995, as first stage units (FSUs). Next, a sample of 763 graduates (sample units) was selected from graduates from the FSUs who graduated in their first attempt in the years 1998 (General Education) and 1999 (Education, Technology and Management).

Details of the research design can be seen in Paranjape (2007). Primary data was collected by administering a structured questionnaire to the sample units. For most part of

[2] In the latest report by NIPFP (Government of India, 2004); in a more elaborate classification of services, higher education is included in the category of "Merit II" services. This does not promise much change, as the additional allocation for education in the Budget of 2005 has been for elementary education alone.

the analysis, the variables were treated as categorical. The district-wise distribution of graduates was further classified into Metropolitan, Town and Rural regions. The areas in Mumbai and the highly urbanized areas in Thane district such as Thane city to Kalyan, were included in the Metro region. Town included the semi-urban areas in Thane district and districts of Raigad and Ratnagiri. The Shahpur taluka, a predominantly tribal area in Thane district, was included in the rural region. Table 1 shows the college-based spatial distribution of sample units.

TABLE 1
Distribution of Sample Units

District	*Region*			*Total*
	Metro	*Town*	*Rural*	
Mumbai	403	0	0	403 (52.8)
Thane (U)	95	58	0	153 (20.1)
Thane(R)	0	0	52	52 (6.8)
Raigad	0	84	0	84 (11.0)
Ratnagiri	0	71	0	71 (9.3)
Total	498	213	52	763 (100.0)

Calculations of Returns

The marginal rate of return, using cost-benefit analysis, between two successive levels of education is the internal rate of return (1RR) that equalizes stream of discounted marginal benefits to the stream of discounted costs at a given point in time. The average rate of return (r) can also be determined by the formula (Tilak, 1994):

$$\sum \frac{Bt}{} = \sum \frac{Ct}{}$$

B, and *C,* represent respectively, benefits and cost per person per annum (p.a.) at age /.

Initially, in sub-section A, average internal rates of return are determined seven years from joining higher education and ignoring the opportunity cost of foregone earnings. To estimate marginal rates of return to graduation over higher secondary, in sub-section B, an estimate of foregone earnings was taken. In literature, the *private rates* are based on privately accruing benefits and privately incurred expenses. The benefits include

earnings after tax. There is a practice to include foregone earnings as an indirect or opportunity cost in the private cost. For the *social rates,* the benefits are earnings before tax. The social cost at any age t is sum total of private cost and institutional cost.

Inputs to Rate-of-Return Calculations

The variables relating to various cost components and earnings are measured at the ordinal level. For the purpose of calculations in this section, each code is sealed into the average of the corresponding interval. A brief description of the various inputs will follow the underlying assumptions given below:

(a) There is negligible change in the market prices of the incomes during the period since completion of graduation to the time of our study.
(b) The market price of cost of education, private and institutional, remains constant over the length of higher education.
(c) Incomes beyond 2001-02 are expected to grow at the same rate as per capita state domestic product of Maharashtra.
(d) A11 graduates in the labour force start looking for work after completing their graduation and the additional course.
(e) The effective period of the study of graduates, since they joined graduation, is taken as 6.67 years'; as period about 4 months is of no benefit-no cost, spent waiting for results or new course to begin.

Benefits and Costs

The benefits correspond to present emoluments[3]. The upper limit to earnings interval has been taken as Rs. 14000, based on findings from the survey. The length of benefits is computed as service length, obtained by deducting years of education and unemployment period from 6.67 years. The average service length values have a downward bias, as the data does not inform whether or not a sample unit was economically active while pursuing the additional course. For the academic year and financial year to overlap, it is presumed that all educational costs are incurred at the beginning of the financial year.

A) *Direct Costs* - Only the direct costs and not the foregone earnings have been considered.

1) *Private Cost:* This cost is obtained as sum total of three components: total course fee (all-fees), i.e. fees for graduation and additional courses, fees for private coaching

[3] This estimate is obtained from the results of those sample units who, at the time of the sample survey, were working in their first jobs.
[4] In case of sample units who were economically not active but had worked in the past, their past income was considered.

(tuition-fee) and incidental expenses. The First two are estimated from primary data[5]. The latter component is based on estimates of private expenditure on education by Indian households, provided by the 52nd round (1995-96) of NSSO (Tilak, 2001). As per the results of this survey, total fees and fees for private coaching make up 60 percent of the total private expenditure and the rest are incidental expenses. We have excluded 3% cost of uniform from the total.

TABLE 2

Average Annual Private Expenditure per Student by Level of Education

(Maharashtra **1995-96)**

(In Rupees)

	Primary	*Middle*	*Secondary/ Higher Sec.*	*Above Higher Sec.*	*All*
Rural	266	493	976	1717	519
Urban	1056	1262	2017	4414	1658
All	540	819	1483	3518	996
All-India	501	915	1577	2923	904
Fee Exemption*	76	71	57	14	

Source: Tilak, 2001

Note: * Percentage of students exempted from tuition fee.

The cycle of higher education as "years" is obtained as sum total of normal duration of graduation and duration of additional course. The sum of all-fees and tuition-fee is stored for each sample unit as "Total Cost" and is treated as 60% of the total private cost (Pvt. Cost) of higher education. Annual Pvt. Cost is average Private cost over "years". Since the sample comprised graduates who passed the final year examination in their first attempt, wastage due to failure has been ignored. The average values of various inputs are shown in Table 3.

Our estimates of annual private cost are higher than the "NSSO estimates for Maharashtra as given in Table 2. This happens because the NSSO estimates cover all tertiary education beyond higher secondary during 1995-96. This includes all types of diploma and certificate courses, whereas, our data pertains to private cost incurred during 1995-2001. for graduation and additional courses, some of which are conducted on unaided basis or by privately run institutions. Besides, the fee structure varies across universities in the state.

[5] The official fee-structure as prevalent in the University prior to 2003 has been considered, including concessions given to socially and economically backward students. In case of professional courses, distinction is made between fees for merit and payment seats as indicated by concerned sample unit. A detailed section on 'Cost of Education' is given in the thesis.

TABLE 3
Inputs to Rate of Return Calculations

Category	*Years*	*Un-employment Period (Years)*	*Service Length* (Present) (Years)*	*Total Cost (Rs.)*	*Annual Private Cost" (Rs.)*	*Annual Benefits (Rs.)*
Male	4.11	0.71	1.85	23938	9707	64884
Female	3.84	0.71	2.12	17785	7719	50616
Metro	4.05	0.64	1.98	23852	9816	66276
Non-Metro	3.82	0.88	1.97	14212	6201	37452
Engineering	4.14	0.54	1.99	63258	25466	102097
Non-Engg	3.96	0.74	1.97	16792	7075	53118
Non-BC	3.99	0.65	2.03	22611	9445	61824
BC	3.92	1.02	1.73	14003	5954	46392
No job change	4.10	0.83	1.84	25466	10352	66792
All	3.97	0.71	1.99	20702	8691	58908

* Total service length is equal to at least present service length
# The total cost over 'years', excluding incidental expenses.
** Average Private Cost (including incidental expenses) per 'year'.

2) Institutional Cost:

i). Maharashtra government's total annual expenses on salary and non-salary grants provided to all Arts, Science and Commerce colleges in Mumbai division, stood at Rs 1197.7 million in 1999-2000[c]. With 214792 students enrolled in these colleges, the estimated average annual expenditure per student in 1999-2000 was Rs. 5576. Incidentally, though the revised pay scales of teaching and non-teaching staff in colleges became applicable with effect from January 1996, the grants, on the revised basis, were disbursed only in 1999¬2000. Hence, as per our assumption (b), we can presume that the institutional cost per student for general higher education for the sample units was not significantly different from the above figure.

ii). In case of engineering faculty, only 2 out of 27 colleges in 1995-96 received government grants. The average cost of education per engineering faculty student in 1996-97 was about Rs. 15000. For non-grant colleges, the government incurred expenses only for the SC/ST students enrolled in the merit seats. Thus, it can safely be presume that in case of engineering faculty, the government incurred expenditure only for about 20% of students.

[c] Information provided by the Joint Director for Higher Education, Mumbai Division.

iii). For courses pursued after or in addition to graduation, the government incurs the institutional cost only in case of aided degree courses, such as B. Ed.. Post-graduation and Law. Hence, for the period beyond graduation, the relevant proportion of average annual institutional cost has been included.

3) Social Cost: The social cost is obtained as the sum total of private cost and institutional cost. The present average earnings of the sample units are out of the tax bracket. Hence, the only difference in the calculation of private and social rates of return is in the cost factor.

B) *Foregone Earnings* The estimated foregone earning of a sample unit were Rs. 2000. This figure is an average of estimates derived from a small survey of undergraduates in a project funded by the University of Mumbai (Paranjape, 1997) and from an Employers' survey conducted as part of the doctoral study.

The future earnings are projected assuming the average growth rate of the per capita state income, that was 3% p.a. during 1993-94 to 2000-01 (Government of Maharashtra, 2003). The rates of return have been calculated after including foregone earnings in the annual private cost.

Illustrative calculations of private and social rates of return are given in the thesis.

Conceptual Framework

Concept of Returns to Education

This concept was popularised by the human capital theorists with the objective of projecting the significance of investments in education, which empirically attracted returns "in the neighborhood of returns to non-human capital" (Schultz, 1968). The first systematic estimates of rates of returns, an application of marginal productivity theory, came from empirical studies of Becker (Becker, 1975). The skewness in income distributions was attributed to the differences in productivity, which resulted from skewed distribution of schooling (Chiswick, 1970; Mincer, 1979). The income skewness found empirical relation to rate-of-return and years of schooling. It was argued that formal education is one of the activities that improve human capabilities to adjust to changes in job-opportunities associated with economic growth. Another view point regarded both education and labour market experience as important factors in determining earnings.

Since the path-breaking work of Becker, several studies on estimates of returns have been done across the world, most of which concentrate on private and social returns to different levels of education, viz. Primary, Secondary and Higher. The empirical results were periodically chronicled and reviewed (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2002). Some common patterns are seen in these studies. The private returns to higher education, on an average, are significantly higher than the social returns. Another finding of these studies is that the private and social rates of return to higher education are lower than those for elementary and secondary education, leading to proposals that resources be reallocated

from the former to the latter. The rates are higher at lower levels of economic development. Women receive higher returns than men at secondary level.

World Bank Experience

It was argued in a review of the World Bank's operational and policy analysis experience (World Bank, 1994) that heavy dependence of higher education on government funding in an era of fiscal constraints is leading to a worldwide crisis. This study suggested reforms in higher education, starting with not giving priority claim for higher education on any incremental public resources made available for education, specifically for those countries which yet have not achieved appropriate access to primary and secondary levels. The use of social rates of return is advocated when taking decisions on relative allocation of funds.

Ayesha Vawda et al have statistically analysed the relationship between cost-benefit/cost-effectiveness (CB/CE) analysis and outcomes of the World Bank education projects (Vawda et al, 1999). Their study reveals the historical development of the idea in the World Bank to use CB/CE analysis in lending for education projects. Lending policy of the World Bank established in early 60s was focused on vocational and technical education and teacher education with greater emphasis on building infrastructure. The first loan was to Tunisia in 1962, to build secondary school.

Although recommendations to use cost-benefit analysis for education project evaluation started in 1967, the use of cost-benefit analysis as part of staff appraisal to justify lending for education projects was very limited until early 1990s. The prevailing view since 1992 has been that analysis of an education project should include CB/CE analysis based on rates of return, to decide whether the project merits investment. The project returns may be estimated as additional earnings or reduced drop-outs or increased cost recovery through shift of expenditure from the public to the private sector, freeing the scarce public resources "for other high priority social investments" (emphasis added).

Average Rates of Return

Short-Term Returns Considering Direct Costs

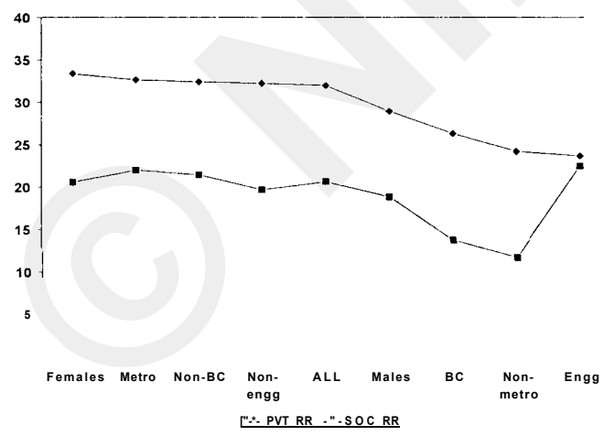
The private and social rates of return are tabulated for various groups in Table 4. Figure 1 is a line-plot of these values. A fact clearly revealed from comparison of the figures in the above table is that the private and social rates of return do not consistently capture the significant regional, gender, faculty and social group based variations in the private cost and benefits. For instance, the private rate of return for the BC category is the same as that for non-BC and Metro groups. This happens because of lower costs for the former and higher earnings for the latter. The same is true in case of social returns for females and Metro region.

TABLE 4
Short-Term Average Returns to Education, by **Group (%)**

Group	*PVTRR*	*SOC RR*
Male	30.7	19.1
Female	36.8	21.6
Metro	33.6	21.8
Non-Metro	31.0	13.8
Non-BC	33.9	21.9
BC	33.7	15.8
Non- Engineering	37.2	21.5
Engineering	17.9	14.8
First Job	29.2	18.3
All	34.4	21.2

RR - Rate of Return as at the time of survey.

FIGURE 1
Group-Wise Short-Term Average Returns (%)



RR - Rate of Return as at the time of survey.

Long-Term Returns Considering Foregone Earnings

The rates for all groups remain negative until 10 years from joining graduation, which is around an age of 27 years. Thereafter, they start rising and stabilize after the age of 45 years, when the overall private rate of return and social rate of return are. respectively. 15% and 14%.

It is not a good statistical exercise to use the overall estimate of foregone earnings for calculating returns in the manner outlined above, for more disparate categories based on region and socio-economic groups. Therefore, a relatively more homogeneous group of Metro region has been considered. The estimated long-term rates are as shown in Table 5. Figure 2 is a graphic plot for Metro region, obtained in a manner similar to that of Figure 1.

The near convergence of the private and social rates at around age of 45 years and above is strikingly evident. Also, the differences are lower in the higher per capita income groups.

TABLE 5

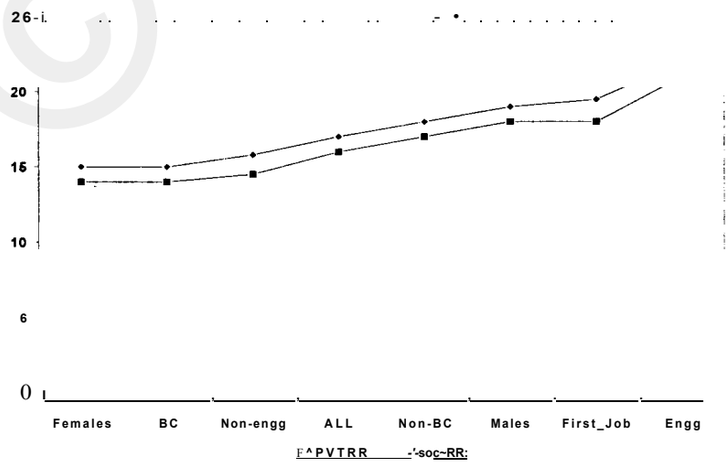
Long-Term Average Returns for Metro Region (%)

Group	*PVTRR*	*SOCRR*
Males	19.0	18.0
Females	15.0	14.0
Non-BC	18.0	17.0
BC	15.0	14.0
Engineering	22.0	21.0
Non- Engineering	15.8	14.5
First Job	19.5	18.0
All	17.0	16.0

RR - Rate of Return as at the time of survey.

FIGURE 2

Long-Term Average Returns for Metro Region (%)



Trends in Rates of Return

The estimated rates of return for our data reveal the following trends: -

- The short-term rates of return, seven years from joining graduation, followed the classic macro level pattern of higher private rates of return for lower income groups in case of gender and faculty based groups of sample units. The same, however, was not observed in case of regional and social groups.
- This lack of consistency occurs because, though the cost of education and present income for females and non-engineering sample units are significantly lower than their respective counterparts, their unemployment period is not so as seen in Table 3[7]. On the other hand, in case of BC and non-Metro groups, the unemployment period is significantly higher than their respective counterparts.
- When an estimate of foregone earnings is included in the total private cost and future incomes are projected at the same rate as average rate of growth of state per capita income, both private and social long-term rates remain negative in the early years i.e. until the age of about 27/28 years.
- The projected income differentials lead to a stabilization of rates at around the age of 45 years. The private and social rates for different groups, at this stage, do not differ by more than one percent. This pattern is also contrary to the macro level results of other researchers obtained from cross-sectional data across the world, where the private returns to higher education, on an average, are significantly higher than the social returns.

Critical Review of Rate of Return Approach

We place our observations as summarised in section III within the boundaries of a critical appraisal of this methodology, as evident from the literature. The available data, as chronicled and reviewed by several researchers, despite revealing some broad trends, exhibits lack of comparability. This is attributed to selection of non-representative samples (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2002) which are very often firm-based or urban centered or include sectors where salary structures are rigid.

One common critique of rate-of-return approach is its inability to account for heterogeneity of the background of students. One of the basic methodological limitations of the rate-of-return estimate is the use of present average earnings of cross-section of population for education levels attained in the past (Vaizey, 1962). This is an unavoidable option due to lack of longitqdinal time-series data on earnings. The major arguments from critics of the rate-of-return approach come in the conceptual framework (Hammer, 1996; Majumdar, 1984; Panchmukhi, 2001; Shaffer, 1961; Varghese, 2001; Weisbrod, 1962). It is maintained that:

[7]The statistical significance has been tested using Gamma, a Proportional Reduction Error (PRE) based measure.

a) The rate of return analysis fails to capture externalities. As a result, the real social rate, which is never calculated, would be private rate plus externalities,
b) The marginal rates of return at various schooling levels are not comparable, since education is a series of steps and investment to schooling is sequential.
c) The investments in education are in heterogeneous domains, by suppliers or education providing institutions and by aspirants or education seeking individuals. The empirical exercises have by and large ignored estimation of returns to suppliers or education.
d) The relation of returns, particularly social returns, with the state of aggregate unemployment and inequality of opportunities is ignored. Some of the positive productivity effects of an investment in education may be held back by employers and not reflected in increased earnings.

Conclusion

The significant findings and observations of this paper are:

- The short-term private and social rates, though based on the more reliable current data, do not consistently capture the heterogeneity of the employability of graduates. The unemployment period lowers the rates for non-metro and BC groups.
- The long-term rates, based on estimated foregone earnings and projected future earnings, do not follow the classic macro level patterns. However, they display more consistency as compared to short-term rates.

In the present phase of macro-economic development, where job structures are undergoing dramatic changes, very little can be predicted about the long-term progression of earnings. Moreover, this study shows that regional unevenness and disparities in gender and social background have major impact on returns, especially in the context of unemployment period. Coupled with these limitations is the fact that there is near absence of studies on returns to firms and suppliers of education.

In this scenario, there is a greater need, as never before, to desist from making policy prescriptions for sectoral allocation of resources in education on the basis of a single macro level indicator, viz. average rate of return to individuals. A rational policy formulation on allocation of resources to education in general and higher education in particular, needs to take into account totality of results from comprehensive studies on returns to individuals, firms/establishments and suppliers of education.

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RESEARCH NOTES/COMMUNICATIONS

An Alternate Perspective on Higher Education

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After having almost neglected the profession of teaching for a quarter century, the Centre did something radical in the early years of 70s of the last century. The scales of pay were drastically revised in Central universities and the states were offered an 80 percent subsidy as against the usual 50 percent for a period of 5 years in order to upgrade the scales of pay. In the process, it created a crisis the like of which had not been encountered till then. That crisis has been with us in one form or another for about three decades now.

It came to a head in 1987 when the report of the Fourth Pay Commission came under consideration by the UGC. The issue was whether what became applicable to university and college teachers in the early 70s would continue to be applicable to them even after the recommendations of the new Pay Commission. As may be recalled, this entire controversy made the all India body of teachers call for an all India and indefinite strike. It lasted about a month and was wound up when the decision to continue with the status quo was taken.

The basic significance of this decision in the early 70s lay in the fact that the scales of pay for teachers which had been first revised somewhat radically when that decision was taken would remain equally applicable both to university and college teachers. In other words, the issue posed was: would there be a distinction between postgraduate and undergraduate teaching or would it stay unchanged? The approximate number in these two categories of teachers was around 200000 plus. It had move up from 150000 in the 70s by another 50-60000.

Even when this decision was being made in the first round, some stray voices of protest opposed it on the ground that to blur the distinction between postgraduate and undergraduate teaching was academically indefensible. But the then Prime Minister in consultation with the Education Minister, had come to the conclusion that teachers at this level had to be co-opted into the emerging middle class in order to ensure that certain steps had been taken. Those were taken and certain predictable consequences followed.

An important part of the Central decision was that the new salary scales were equated with Class I Officers of the Government of India. So far, most teachers were regarded as, comparatively speaking, low class employees. Therefore, this decision was important for the 1,50,000 teachers who were in position at that time. This was the language that the

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bureaucrats understood. Secondly, the teachers welcomed it because it improved the status of their dealings with the government and the society and put it. to some extent at least, on the same plane as a number of other well regarded employees.

Another factor that may be noted is that even though the revised pav scales created a wide gap between those at the college and the higher secondary school, the issue was not given even passing attention. It took almost a decade for the salary scales at the higher secondary level to be brought in line with what was being done at the college level.

It would not be out of place to dilate on another important dimension of the problem. The new scales did not take into account what was happening both below and above this category of university and college teachers. The new decision eventually covered a number of other parallel categories of appointments. For instance, not all those recruited for research had been taken into consideration, at least to start with. It was only later that those engaged in research came to be included under the same category as the general run of teachers. Quite a substantial number of scientists working in the CSIR and several other research organizations answered this description. Several other adjustments were made, each with reference to the 1973 decision of the Central cabinet.

This was such a radical departure from what had been happening so far that there was hardly a state where the new scales were introduced without some kind of confrontation with the state government. More than anyone else, it was the politicians in power who were not in favour of the teachers being given such high salaries. The details might vary from state to state but the overall picture was as described above. Even then, two states (Kerala and J&K) continued to plough their lonely furrow. All others fell in line with what the Centre had laid down for its own employees.

This entire process had taken several years to take the shape that it eventually did. It was only in the early 80s that most states fell in line with the Central pattern. It took time but the teachers and other researchers won the battle for parity with those placed in the Class I category of employees. No wonder the all India body known as AIFUCTO (All India Federation of University and College Teaching Organizations) became uncommonly strong in the bargain. So much so that, as stated already, it went to the extent of calling an all India and indefinite strike. The battle was, however, won in the manner described already. After that, the battle had to be fought again to some extent a dozen years later, when the recommendations of the new Pay Commission report were to be implemented. But this time, there was hardly any hassle about it.

Each time when the matter had to be considered afresh, the UGC appointed a committee of its own. Regardless of what the committee said, the decision taken in the ultimate analysis was in accordance with what was done by the government for its employees. In other words, the UGC-appointed committee was more or less mainly a show of independent decision making and no more. In the end the decision taken was as had been worked out by the government for its own employees.

There was one point of difference between what happened in the late 90s and what had happened in the late 80s. Earlier, most politicians did not accept the proposition that the pay scales for teachers at this level should be libera! as they were now. In other

words, their attitude had now become liberal. To be more specific, during those two decade, their attitude underwent a change of outlook.

When the matter was under discussion in the late 90s, there was a change of government and the NDA came to power. It was still pending for a final decision before the government. Before long, the new government adopted the same helpful attitude as had been adopted earlier. In the state of West Bengal, to repeat, the teacher leadership was hardly distinguishable from the government in power. Almost the same thing could be said in respect of the Centre. The BJP Minister for Education was as committed as anyone of his predecessors.

Most of what has been said above is .public knowledge. Two things however happened over the decades to make the situation more and more untenable. The first one was that at no stage was an overall view taken of the salaries that were to be given to teaching as a profession. In order to be fair and constructive, an overall view of salary scales at different levels of teaching had to be taken. Unless the overall view was taken, the situation would continue to be unsettled and that is precisely what has been happening. Apart from various other things, it had created bottlenecks of various kinds.

Two, partly because this overall view was not taken, and also partly because the overall funding was not adequate, state after state, a new situation arose. Teachers were appointed on an ad hoc or temporary basis. Sometime, they were engaged on a regular but temporary basis and sometime on some other off-the-cuff mode of appointment. Whatever be the details, 25-30 percent of the jobs were not filled on a regular basis with the result that there developed an unmistakable imbalance between those who were engaged on a regular basis and others who worked on ad hoc basis.

This in turn led to two negative outcomes. One, it created legitimate discontent on the part of those who felt that they could have been appointed on a regular basis but were given an irregular job. Most of them felt that they were discriminated against. Secondly, even more than the colleges, it is the universities which suffered. This is when viewed from a long range point of view. Since qualified teachers were not appointed on a regular basis, an academic backlog developed. There is hardly a university which can be described today as adequately staffed. This in turn is leading to a situation where young lecturers are available at the junior level but the middle and senior level jobs go unfilled. That this will eventually become a serious impediment in the way of further expansion does not have to be gone into in detail.

Apart from these obvious impediments, yet another problem in respect of the overall role and significance for professional education arose with the passage of time. Because of the immense difficulty of getting admission into these professional colleges, various related issues arose at the university level. One by one, each one of these issues came to be referred to the courts. For a whole decade, decisions came to be given by the courts but in driblets. As and when one issue was resolved, another arose and there was confusion most of the time. To go no more into these details, two major judgments were given by the Supreme Court in the early 90s and then again a decade later. These stabilized the situation somewhat.

These <o judgments about professional education, particularly those applicable to the sector of engineering, came to be largely governed by court decisions instead of by university legislation. This need not have happened but for the iack of clear thinking on the part of the policy makers. As part of the evolving situation, the private sector has now come to claim a share in professional education in a big way. The various professional councils, like the UGC, the AICTE, the Medical Council of India etc. have been marginalized to some extent and decision making is becoming more and more market oriented.

When decisions regarding the new scales of pay have to be made, it would be both naive and unwise to presume that the situation today is what it was during the earlier decades. To put it more precisely, new decisions should be taken in such a way that the system gets better rationalized. Equally important is the need to improve our quality of performance so that the decisions taken bring about a situation where Indian universities start moving in a direction where, in another five years, they can draw abreast of the universities in developed countries and, in another five years, they begin to be taken seriously. The situation today is that hardly any Indian university is internationally comparable. This is something that cannot be overlooked or disregarded.

To come back to the earlier statement that the situation is not what it used to be, it is time to ask: what are the main changes that have taken? Today, the system is not small in size or coverage as it used to be. In engineering, for example, the system has expanded 30-40 times. In certain states, Tamil Nadu for instance, seats are going abegging. As if to underline the point further, according to more than one foreign estimates, no more than 25 percent of those who pass out are regarded as employable.

This situation need not have arisen only if the concerned professional body, the AICTE, had asserted itself even marginally. By judiciously regulating expansion of seats in accordance with the needs of the market, it could have played a constructive role. By failing to do so, it has created a situation where the market pressures have come to play more decisive role rather than expand capacity in a regulated way.

To describe the existing situation as even mildly satisfactory would be to stretch the point. What happened in respect of engineering has almost got repeated in respect of management courses. If it has not happened in the case of medical courses in the same manner, it is for the obvious reason that such a college has to have a hospital attached to it. That makes it difficult to juggle with things beyond a point. The last couple of decades have witnessed a good deal of unplanned expansion, considerable decline in the standards of performance with the result that the private sector in professional education has developed a certain order of its own.

What has been the impact of these developments upon what may, loosely speaking, be described as mainstream university education? Three decades ago (when the pay scales were first revised upwards in a notable way), the university system constituted the mainstream. Today, it is large in quantitative terms. In terms of focus, emphasis on skill formation and range of performance, professional education is attracting the bulk of funds, teaching talent, the quality of students and all that goes with it. What we are left

with are substandard teaching institutions, poor quality of performance, and thinly-spread talent over the rest of the university system. Without reversing this process of inexorable intellectual decline, the future looks more discouraging than encouraging.

The real problem is not the entry of the private sector into professional education. To some extent, it has already carved out some legitimate space for itself. In course of time, it will do so more even though the market mechanism might not be the best way of how academic decisions should be taken. Sooner or later, it could play an assertive role. That is the experience in several other countries.

The real problem is dilution in the quality of the teaching profession. During the last four decades, this process has created a situation where talent is becoming more and more scarce and the quality of performance has tended to become less and less satisfactory. In any case, more talent is going into professional education. There is nothing wrong with that. It had to happen and will continue to happen. The real problem is that the mainstream system is not performing well.

There are two complications here. One is the relative unavailability of talent at the teaching level. The long-term solution to this problem is to ensure more and more talented students coming upto the university system. Because of the poor standards of functioning at the higher secondary level and the scarcity of talent at that level, once professional education having claimed its share, what gets left is far from satisfactory.

This leads to the second complication. Because of the traditional structure of the mainstream university system, the structure of things has remained almost the same as it was before 1947. More precisely, the structure of the mainstream education has not been recast. Today the number of colleges is approximately 20,000. In one respect, this is more than what the existing system can manage. In another respect, this mode of management is neither academically thorough nor comprehensive enough.

The Knowledge Commission has expressed itself in favour of a higher proportion of students receiving university education. There is some weight in what it has recommended. However, what this commission has not done is to define the word 'university'. In terms of the usage of this term in other countries, they regard the university as much more academically challenging than what is done at the university level in our country.

To be more specific, students who pass out from the higher secondary schools are not always competent enough to pursue a university course. In comparative terms, a considerable proportion of these students does not meet the university requirements. For the most part, what is transacted in the first year and part of the second year at the undergraduate level is generally covered at the school level in most developed countries. That India aspires to be a developed country goes without saying. It is in this respect that parity between undergraduate and postgraduate teachers is creating problems. I have analysed this issue in some detail in my article 'The Law of Academic Deficit.'

The correct solution to adopt would be to divide the school studen's into two streams. One important stream should be for the acquisition of skills of all kinds. The Americans cater to this demand in their two-year colleges. The British also have their own version of

the solution. We in India have not chosen to opt for this kind of arrangement. An additional problem is the time taken to acquire competence in the use of English language. By now, English has come to be used more and more widely and quite a high proportion of students coming from relatively less developed areas lack this skill.

To come back to the main argument, parity between undergraduate and postgraduate teaching which was conceded in 1973, has led to a situation where we cannot expand beyond a point. The logic of the affiliating system makes it easy for more and more colleges to get recognized without much difficulty. If we have to get out of the academic mess in which we find out ourselves, *the affiliating system has to go and an independent system of recognition will have to be worked out.* One cannot continue to live with the existing system. It will have to change before long.

It is not possible to discuss here the details of the new system. One thing should, however, be clear by now. In respect of higher education, we are broadly speaking at that stage of growth where the economic policy of the country stood in 1991. Had some of the radical decisions not been taken then, the country would not have entered the phase of development into she has functioned since then.

Almost everything in the existing academic system needs to be charged. The existing bureaucratic controls have to go. The inflexible way the salary scales are now laid down and implemented, the system of automatic promotions, the way in which institute are recognized and so on, are examples of what will have to go. Even the kind of control exercised by the professional agencies which function like the arms of the government will have to go.

This is not to suggest that everything must be privatized. That is not necessary, nor advisable. There is a role for the government as a law maker, a pace setter, a provider of funds, and a judge of whether what was laid down is being implemented or not. Above all, we need specialized bodies like the NAAC in every professional field. Governance is to be ensured through a thorough review of every activity having bearing on standards of performance. Even funding needs to be linked to how an individual or an institution is performing.

All this will be so upsetting for those who are committed to the status quo that anyone talking in these terms is likely to be described as 'mad'. To be more precise, we need to formulate issues like the following:

a) Should there be fixed scales of pay for everybody or should there be broad guidelines like nobody shall be paid below a certain minimum and so on?
b) Should all appointments be till the fixed age of retirement or can there be a certain percentage of appointments which are for a specified period or on contract or as per some other mechanism?

There is a host of questions that could be raised and need to be raised. For example, can somebody who does not qualify in the formal sense be appointed to a teaching post? If so, for how long? Without compromising law and procedures, it should be possible to work out mechanisms which produce good results and yet do not create administrative or

social difficulties. The main thing to do is to create a system, where the focus is on achievement and outcome and not only on rules and procedures.

To talk in this vein is to swim against the current. For three decades, the A1FUCTO has taken a position which is not only implicitly but also explicitly in favour of parity between undergraduate and postgraduate teaching. While some of the other aspects are occasionally referred to, the basic commitment of AIFUCTO is to ensure parity between the two categories of teachers. If one may say so, this is the one-point agenda of AIFUCTO and to talk of anything else is to run the risk of being irrelevant.

As already stated, in West Bengal the teacher leadership and the CPM leadership are almost the same thing. This fact did not prevent the NDA minister for education at the centre from being equally enthusiastic about what the AIFUCTO asked for. It would not be wrong to say that for the bulk of the teachers, parity between the two categories of teachers is the "be-all and end-all" of what they stand for. They fear that if this parity is disturbed, it will mean the end of whatever has been achieved during the last few decades. In almost each affiliating university, whether directly or indirectly, it is the organized teachers' body which sets the agenda and determines the nature of decision making. In private, several vice-chancellors concede this point but in public they prefer not to say anything about it. If most of them cannot lead the university in their own way, they only have a secondary role, which today most of them are obliged to play.

The AIFUCTO leadership recognizes the existence of a certain uneasy feeling amongst the University-appointed teachers who wish to be rated somewhat differently. But most of them do not choose to press their point except casually, and the AIFUCTO as a result manages to stay in control of things with the help of the 80 percent or so of the undergraduate teachers. In the early 70s of the last century when the scales were introduced, the proportion of postgraduate teachers was about 20 percent. This continues to be so. However, the total number of teachers has risen from 150000 to almost half a million by now.

Not only has the number of teachers increased as evident from the figures quoted above, another equally significant development is that much of the postgraduate teaching now is done in undergraduate colleges than in university-run departments. I have given considerable data on this issue in my book on the UGC. In certain states like Tamil Nadu, almost three-fourths of the colleges run postgraduate courses. Even the minimum requirements laid down by the UGC are not complied with and the UGC also remains silent and unconcerned when the rules laid down in accordance with its directives are ignored in practice.

To put it somewhat provocatively, *the country has allowed itself to be so ill-managed educationally that the dilution of academic standards was not only unavoidable, it also get built into the system.* What is being suggested now should have been implemented decades ago; in 1987, to be more precise. It was at that time that the AIFUCTO went on an all India and indefinite strike. While settling the issue as it was settled, the Centre allowed itself to be bullied. Once bullied, it has been bullied again and again, and in a variety of ways.

Today when the new Pay Commission is yet to report, the UGC has appointed a committee to do its part of the job as in the past. What it does may not be all that relevant. By the time decisions have to be made, the AIFUCTO pressure would be so overwhelming that, at the end of the day, the Centre will most likely not have the required assertion to take a bold and decisive stand.

The fact of the matter is that the issue is now political. It has almost ceased to be academic. The crisis of higher education that India is confronted with is not so easy to resolve. Two negative dimensions of what is happening may be identified here. One is the growing exodus of bright and ambitious Indian students to other countries, notably the USA, UK, Australia and a few others. India does not figure almost anywhere. The internal functioning of each university is organized in such a way that no one expects a more demanding level of performance. Currently, it is pegged at a low and undemanding level of functioning.

Does it mean that we will continue to act against academic expedients and submit to bullying which has been witnessed over the last few decades? Or shall the country take a stand which reverses the trends of development of the preceding few decades? The answer to this question is not academic, it is political. The basic issue is that the country needs to have the courage to lay down the correct policy and confront those who choose to challenge it. Otherwise, it is not difficult to visualize emerging picture during the next few years.

It is possible to delink the two categories of teachers in such a way that there is not too much of dislocation. Details cannot be gone into here but it is possible to do something of that kind. Secondly, apart from other things, a detailed look has to be given to a number of related issues, for instance, the salary structure of the teaching community as a whole from the primary level onwards so that the sting of what may have to be done is seen in its perspective and made acceptable.

The UGC-appointed committee cannot look into all these issues. Quite a few recommendations by this committee have to be taken in such a way that the affiliating system is demolished once for all. We adopted this system in 1857 on the model of London University. London abandoned this system in 1858, only a year later, and it has not been the worse for it. Why need we imagine that we will be the worse for this change? As a matter of fact, there is much more to be said about this issue. But it is not possible to say all those things for the simple reason that, to repeat the issue is more political than academic.

Should the Centre decide to remodel the system, there would be bitter and prolonged opposition. But that is not a reason enough to keep on acting against ourselves. Once each institution is made responsible for itself, the situation will undergo a total change in a manner which most people find it difficult to visualize today. When every other country in the world (apart from Pakistan and Bangladesh) has a different system of educational functioning, why should India hesitate to do the same thing.

When the XI five-year plan has set apart almost one-fifth of its total education budget for higher education, it does not mean that the existing structure requires no change.

Nothing has been said on the subject so far. The policy makers are unclear about what would be done and the overall situation is far from settled. The Knowledge Commission, sad to say, has failed to grapple with the issue.

It is, however, clear that to expand the existing structure of education would amount to wasting a good proportion of what is proposed to be spent on higher education. Basic changes are called for. That does not mean tinkering with issues here and there. What is required is to recast the structures proposed above. In this connection, two things may be said. One is the role of the existing professional bodies. Whatever they might have achieved or failed to achieve in the past, they are almost at the end of their tether now. Some basic changes in their composition and functioning will have to be made. Unless that is done, we will continue to drift and waste a major portion of what is provided. Secondly, at the state level, things cannot continue to be what they were till 1947, or almost so. There has been expansion of operations but no real restructuring of any kind. More than anything else, there is undisguised reluctance to delegate power. Unless something is done in that direction, there will be no real progress.

But how can the Centre make the states change their mode of thinking and accept the need to decentralize? It can be done provided, to say it again, the focus is not on rules and procedures but on outcome and performance. That is why the kind of evaluation and assessment the NAAC is doing needs to be expanded, refined and made much more thorough and effective than what we see today. Nothing will improve things so much as linking performance with funds.

In a sense, that was the philosophy behind the establishment of the UGC. But, before long, the UGC became a wing of the government. So much so that when it came to developing a system of assessment of the institutions under its control, it was afraid of doing the job itself. Instead, it created a separate body for that purpose. To an extent, it regulates that body even now and that is the farthest it could go. Not repeating mistakes once made is also a form of self-education. Is somebody prepared to learn this lesson?

If the foregoing line of argument is ignored and not acted upon, either of the two consequences will follow. One, about 50 percent of the extra funding being provided is likely to be go waste, though nothing can be said with certainty. Secondly, there will be no solution to the basic problem of higher education unless the self destructive impact of the affiliating system is done away with. *Every other solution which is being advocated will not solve the basic problem which is why this system has to go.* Whether it goes now or a little later is a matter of detail. It is not in vogue anywhere except in the Indian subcontinent. By doing away with it, only the first crucial step towards regeneration of higher education will have been taken.

It cannot be presumed that all problems will be solved after that. Were that so, quite a few countries which are lagging behind today would have drawn abreast of the developed countries. Other factors also matter, but cannot be gone into here. Several of the things that require to be done have been mentioned earlier. Perhaps more has to be said on the subject. Some of the obvious things that require to be done are summarized below:

a) The Indian state (this includes both the Centre and the states) determines and controls almost the entire range of decision making in education. This is what used to happen when the British ruled the subcontinent. There is no reason why it should continue even now. With increasing funds available now, the room for corruption has increased. The expansion in the number of 'deemed to be universities' is a case in point.

b) Even as it is, the private sector has come to play a fairly significant role. Everything it does is not right or up to the mark. A small proportion of it, say 10¬ 20 percent, needs to be tamed, indeed recast and put on the right lines. Most of the time this sector is motivated by the profit motive.

A considerable proportion of private initiative is well motivated however. As and when it goes astray, steps can be taken to regulate it in a constructive and creative way. Quite a few countries have done this successfully. There is no reason why India cannot do so.

c) The real and crucial thing to do is to empower the academics in the right way.

The inadequacy of the present teacher leadership is evident from one distressing fact. With half a million persons backing it, they have not been able to bring out even one successful periodical to project and discuss its views and opinions.

Once things are rationalized, the quality of academic leadership that will get projected, will be almost as vigorous and fired with a vision as we witness in several other fields of Indian economy. To put it no more strongly, for the last half a century or so, all that we have done is to deliberately hurt ourselves.

d) One thing that remains to be done is to shift the focus from carrying out orders and complying with procedures to greater self-growth and a certain degree of creativity. That would result in putting the focus on quality. High quality is the urgent objective as also the tool for further growth. Our failure to recognize the need for quality and make it the instrument of further progress should be the twin mantras of the next round of development.

e) How precisely most of the things suggested above are to be done would require' detailed discussion and that cannot be undertaken here. One thing is clear however. This is a problem that concerns the mainstream of the university system. The UGC will be unavoidably involved therefore. As it is, the NMC established by the UGC is already doing something in this direction. Now a couple of things will require to be done in addition.

f) The first thing to be done would be to draw a clear line of distinction between undergraduate and postgraduate teaching. To some extent, this has been done already. What is required now is to formalize and enforce it. The self-assessment proforma prepared by NMC takes care of it substantially. Once the distinction is clearly made, the system of financial aid to these colleges will be determined accordingly. It is only the autonomous colleges which should be equated with, university teaching. In about 3-4 years, some four to five thousand autonomous colleges can be identified, and a proportion of undergraduate teaching can also be

included in it. This can be done in such a way that the job is carried out in a non-disruptive and constructive way.

g) When this has been done, more than 50 percent of the existing affiliated colleges will get left out. How to deal with them? Here, the character of undergraduate teaching will have to be redefined and, to a substantial extent, the focus will have to be shifted to the acquisition of a variety of skills. That is likely to encounter consumer resistance to some extent. It needs to be remembered that the unit of operation will now be a single college and not the collectivity called the university. That this will be opposed by the existing teaching organizations goes without saying. What is being suggested will lead to the emergence of new equations and new modes of working. How all this is done requires a good deal of further discussion and dialogue and the transition will be spread over five and ten years. If a system has worked for a century and a half, the transition cannot be brought about overnight. Vested interests have got created and those will have to be taken into account.

h) A proposal to re-model NMC is already under consideration. That will have to be further re-worked in the light of what is being proposed now. Whatever be the details, this much is clear that, as in the case of the economy, certain basic decisions have to be taken. That these decisions will lead to a re-structuring of the academic system goes without saying.

i) What would be the role of the state in the new structure has already been given to some extent. Its principal jobs will be: (i) to measure and regulate the progress being made, and (ii) to provide funding for all legitimate requirements of education. If the state has funding at its disposal, should it prevent its constituents from raising resources even when these can be raised? Something of this kind seems to be one of the minor accomplishments of the UGC just now.

The fact of the matter is that the state has to help and subsidise those who need it and, let it not remain unsaid, to ensure that all expenditure is both productive and in the interests of social justice. Beyond that, the entire job of being productive and creative should vest in the teaching community. Once that starts happening, India will become an academic power to reckon with.

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RESEARCH ABSTRACTS

Education and Social Change among the Religious Minorities in India

Title:	Education and Social Change Among the Religious Minorities in India: Theory and Practice
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Degree awarded:	M. Phil
Date of award of the Degree:	2002
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Number of Pages:	108

This dissertation provides an analytical framework of the interaction between education and social change among the religious minorities, especially the Muslims and Christians in the Indian context. The study attempts to understand the theoretical perspectives of education and its linkages with social change. It also tries to analyse the role of education in bringing social change among the religious minorities in India. Specifically, the study focused on the policy provisions, strategies, and programmes to improve the education status and understand the socio-historical context of education of religious minorities in India. The study covers the trends and patterns in the actual educational status and analyses the issues and problems in educating the socially disadvantaged religions minority groups in India. However, the focus has been on whether the theory pertaining to education and social change can unravel the position of the education of minorities in a multicultural society like India.

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The information and data required for the study was collected through secondary sources. The study also undertook an examination of reports, statistical databases and policy pronouncements on the subject under study.

In this context, the study has tried to understand the educational situation of both the Muslims and Christians in terms of literacy rates, number of minority educational institutions, enrolments at various stages, dropout rates, participation of religious minorities in professional education, etc. Due to the non-availability of macro level data on the educational situation of the religious minorities, data from the micro level studies is presented to appreciate the dynamics of educational achievement and seek changes among those communities.

Findings and Implications

The study brought into light the fact that the literacy rate among the Muslims is low in comparison to other minorities and the situation of Muslim women is much more deplorable. On the other hand, the literacy rate among the Christians is comparatively higher than that of the Muslims as also than the other communities. Further, the number of Muslim-managed educational institutions is not sufficient to mitigate the educational backwardness of the Muslims in India. The situation is not the same with the Christians. The enrolment of Muslim students in various educational institutions, in general, and professional and technical education in particular, is quite deplorable. Further, the enrolment of Muslim girls in primary or elementary levels is slightly better in comparison to high school or higher secondary schools.

Further, the dropout rate among the Muslims is very high, especially in higher classes. However, the reason for dropout of Muslim students is the poor socio-economic conditions on the one hand, and the religious orthodoxy on the other, whereas Christians do not face this problem as they do not have any cultural inhibition to education. This is clearly reflected in the literacy rates of different states with predominant Christian population.

However, there is a great deal of differences among scholars over the causes of Muslim educational backwardness and the consequential backwardness in their employment scenario in India. Some attribute it to their poor socio-economic backwardness, some opine it to be on account of their religious orthodoxy, and some feel it is because of prejudice and discrimination against them. For Indian Muslims, the main source of education is the Madrasas and Maktabs which have been meeting the educational needs of the community for the last 300 years. During the colonial era, the Britishers discouraged both the Hindus and Muslims to desist from their religious system of education and opened their own missionary schools. It was disliked by the Muslims and they totally discarded it to adhere to their own traditional Madrasa pattern. The Christians did not resist the modern educational institutions as they were run by missionary enterprises. However, the Muslims did not even remain confined to their own centres of learning. It may be said that the educational institutions not only build a people, they also reflect on how a community treats its education. Significant inferences

can be drawn about the community's attitudes. Apart from this, if a community perishes, the first ones to be affected are its educational institutions. The Britishers clearly discouraged the Madrasas, Gurukuls and the Buddhist monasteries and made them thoroughly incompetent; instead they nurtured civil servants to assist them. But that was the trend during the transitional time and a compromise had to be made in order to keep pace with the scientific progress for which the Missionary schools assumed paramount importance.

The educational advancement of Christians is reflected in terms of their socio-historical background. Under the colonial rule, the Christians tried to legitimise the adoption of modern education through English as the medium of instruction, on the one hand, and to spread Christianity on the other. Therefore, for the first time in the history of education in India, the recruitment to educational institutions for all the communities came to prevail at least in theory. Christians were thus the first ones to avail such type of opportunities. Because of the socio-historical reasons, the Christians came forward at least in the educational front. The educational institutions run by the Christians are best organized and managed even today. So the representation of Christians, starting from the primary level to the higher level, is not a problem. However, the core issue of proselytisation remains sensitive in the Christian education.

Thus, education helps in the process of social change as a collateral factor. It can also help in stimulating the process by disseminating and cultivating knowledge, information, skills and values appropriate to the emerging socio-economic and political scenarios. For instance, the functionalist assumption presents a situation where the minorities constitute an inevitable part and parcel of the multi-cultural social structure, such as ours. Therefore, the role of minorities in the overall process of social change can never be undermined. Functionalists would also maintain the view that the role of education in bringing about social change is basically to bring about peaceful social coexistence. On the other hand, Marxist interpretation would perceive the same situation as guided by power relations. Marxists would tend to see minorities as exploited, dominated by the majority communities, resulting in cultural isolation and educational marginalization. However, they would tend to understand more critically the position of minorities, especially in the educational sphere through their participation in the workforce as well as their outcomes. The other sociological tradition i.e., micro interpretative approach would deny the grand theorization of the same situation. Phenomenologists would tend to focus on the situational analysis of minorities in a particular routine social context. For instance, the interaction in day-to-day activities may lead to certain conflicts and generate hatred for each other. Such interaction would certainly define the minorities with respect to good education and educational privileges in the society. However, each explanation has its own limitations. In this context, the lack of empirical data for theorization makes it difficult to straight jacket the plight of minorities into fixed categories.

However, education does the task of upliftment for all citizens with regard to social changes irrespective of their being Muslims, Christians or any other minorities. Though Muslim culture is quite open and progressive like their religion, Muslims have made it

quite limited so far as the field of education is concerned with the notion that modern education might make a man non-religious. So, the problem is not only that modern education involves alienating Muslim culture and religion to some extent, but also that the theology involves alienation from the problems of the existential world. Therefore, the tragedy of a Muslim student is that he faces alienation of one or the other kind. Madrasa education generally remains incomplete, dissatisfactory, inadequate and non-pragmatic to meet the needs of the Muslim culture, tradition and modernity. Thus, the overall perspective of a student who has passed out from a Madrasa is quite limited, as he is completely oblivious of what is going on around in the world.

From the above discussion, it is quite clear that neither the Muslims nor the Christians are a homogeneous community as there are regional, cultural variations within the communities themselves. The role of education in bringing about social change among the religious minorities, therefore, varies in degree.

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Policy Reforms and Equality in Higher Education

Title of Dissertation:	Policy Reforms and Equality in Higher Education: A Comparative Study of Post-Independent India and Trinidad and Tobago
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The Year of Degree Awarded:	2006
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The Problem

Across the globe, higher education is faced with serious challenges and problems related to equality of conditions. In post-independence India and Trinidad and Tobago, national governments arc confronted with the complex problem of implementing reform measures in higher education in order to guarantee equality through access to disadvantaged groups as a basic human right and the alignment of mechanisms to guarantee quality education. In each country, wide disparities emerge from factors such as social class, caste/race, tribe and gender. The main purpose of this study is to examine and compare the impact of higher education reforms aimed at advancing equality among different social groups in the two developing countries.

The Methodology

Two universities were selected for the purpose of the study, namely Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). New Delhi, India and the University of the West Indies (UWI), St.

* Sociology of Education, University of Trinidad and Tobago

Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago. JNU is recognized as a premier university in India which attracts disadvantaged groups from all the states and communities throughout the country. While UWI is a regional institution, and serves the needs of other West Indian territories, the university also provides the people of Trinidad and Tobago complementary opportunities for higher education, regardless of their social origin. These two universities have helped the researcher to get a distinct picture of students' experiences within the higher education systems which hold the responsibility to implement reform measures for greater equality.

Through quota sampling, undergraduate students were selected to respond td questionnaires. The total sample comprised 200 students. In both JNU and UWI, 100 questionnaires were distributed, equally among 50 males and 50 females. In JNU, 25 students participated in this exercise from each of the four social groups, namely Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and the General Category. In UWI, the sample included 30 Africans, 30 East Indians and 40 Mixed students (descendants of different races).

Questionnaires were structured to obtain information on students' socio-economic background, as well as their opinions on reforms in relation to access and quality in higher education. The majority of questions were designed using the "closed form" to permit specific responses; two questions were "open-ended" for an elaboration of critical equality issues. The researcher utilized a field diary to accumulate a detailed record of students' perspectives and to cross-check information.

Purposive sampling was used to select information-rich cases for qualitative interviews. Interviews were conducted with twenty teachers each at JNU and UWI. In addition, five (5) interviews were conducted in India and five (5) in Trinidad and Tobago; participants included policymakers and higher education experts. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to elicit in-depth information from individuals regarding their personal views on reforms and sensitive equality topics. Interviews were recorded on audiotape and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

The initial phase of comparative data analysis involved "familiarization" to get acquainted with information obtained from both India, and Trinidad and Tobago. The analysis progressed with a phase of "condensation" in which the most significant excerpts were selected to give a precise version of the entire dialogue wider study. The next feature of the analysis was to "group" answers which portrayed variation or agreement. Finally, the researcher compared the categories obtained to arrive at similarities and differences on the question of policy reforms in higher education and the goal of equality in the two developing countries.

Though the study falls broadly into the category of qualitative research, the quantitative approach has also been applied to construct a summated index of students' socio-economic background and to measure their responses to questionnaire in accordance with the social group to which they belong. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to explain the empirical reality of this study with more depth and precision.

Major Findings

The entire findings of this study can be categorized into four major sections as follows: Equality of Access, Gender Inequalities, Affirmative Action and Quality Education.

Equality of Access

In post-independence India and Trinidad and Tobago, policy reform measures effected quantitative expansion in higher education to reach disadvantaged groups. While access widened in each country, India faced a greater challenge to eradicate various social problems, essentially due to complexities of the entrenched caste system.

The data revealed that unequal access in higher education has much more of a strong caste, tribe and gender bias in India, whereas the phenomenon of social class is predominant in Trinidad and Tobago. This finding strengthens the case for JNU practices of low tuition fees, reservations and deprivation points to accommodate backward castes, tribes, women and the socio-economically deprived. A lack of similar provisions in UWI, makes it more exclusive in student intake. Of major significance is that a majority of students from all races and diverse socio-economic backgrounds complained against high tuition fees.

Clearly, the distribution of educational opportunities in each context has been unequal among the socially advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Gender Inequalities

India's National Policy Plans of 1968 and 1986, among others, reflected strong intent to increase women's participation in higher education. However, severe constraints were encountered at the implementation level; in particular, parents' adverse socio-cultural practices and negative beliefs about the value of female progress in education. An important finding of this study is that gender inequalities in higher education interlocks with social class and caste dimensions, mainly with respect to SC females.

Comparatively, in Trinidad and Tobago, despite the absence of gender policy regarding women's growth in higher education, females now constitute almost two-thirds of UWI enrolment. In some cases, families prefer if males opt for the workforce at an early age to supplement household income. Here, the cultural notion of the male as breadwinner suffices. Another significant finding is that social class has displaced race as the pervasive criterion for both males and females to access higher education.

Overall, unequal gender enrolment in higher education seems to be more crucial for females in India, and males in Trinidad and Tobago.

Affirmative Action

In early post-independence India, reserved seats in higher education for SCs and STs were enacted with strong public support. In post-independence Trinidad and Tobago,

affirmative action in UWI admissions was never considered as a pragmatic idea and the goal of meritocracy prevailed.

The data established that SCs and STs strongly support reserved seats in higher education which they believe can reduce disparity between the "educated and uneducated" and the "rich and poor" to advance social mobility. Interestingly, this view was endorsed by a majority of OBCs and the General Category sample.

In contrast, the data highlighted a consensus among Africans, East Indians and Mixed groups who believe that the introduction of affirmative action in UWI should be dismissed. Arguments were based on meritocratic principles, reverse discrimination, alternative means of assistance, social tensions and a decline in quality education.

The Indian population recognizes that structural exclusion of SCs and STs was the norm for centuries; in Trinidad and Tobago, all social groups tend to make claims for equality based on discriminatory practices, wider colonial rule.

Quality Education

In keeping with the policy declarations of each country, quality in higher education has shifted in terms of output - academic and co-curricular goals have extended to life skills for human betterment and improved environmental conditions for all social groups.

The data indicated that more effective reform measures are required in both JNU and UWI as far as high standards of teaching, holistic development and research and outreach measures are concerned. Quality assurance ensured the need for innovation and regular monitoring to afford SCs, STs and OBCs in India, and races of low socio-economic background in Trinidad and Tobago, equal opportunities to attain quality education and improved standards of living.

In reform efforts, both countries have encountered a major challenge; that is to consider the social and environmental contexts of particular places and to shape curricula to reflect these unique conditions. With respect to relevance, research and outreach endeavours are more extensive in JNU than in UWI, since the former is essentially a postgraduate institution.

A major concern is that quality education in each context must be locally relevant and culturally appropriate in pursuit of equality.

Conclusions

In both countries, higher educational policies and reforms may be forcibly driven by ideology and political interests. It is the responsibility of the Indian government to negate anti-democratic forces, such as elitism, casteism, tribalism and patriarchy. In Trinidad and Tobago, government must further investigate forms of exploitative practices of social exclusion based on socio-economic differences as well as race and gender. In striving to promote equality, each government must (1) propel the move from elitist to mass higher education through expansion, (2) channel efforts into policy implementation through equitable distribution of resources and innovation into the system to meet the

requirements of quality, and (3) improve the conceptions and practices to the relevance in higher education and thereby bridge the gap between socially advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Policy Implications of the Study

The outcome of this comparative study shows that the problems of access and quality in higher education reforms bear relation to diversity of country conditions and societal concerns. While the education systems of both India and Trinidad and Tobago have been influenced by British elitist practices, one must also consider vast differences in population size, the size of the higher education systems, levels of literacy, regional inequities in education, the structure and ideology of caste and race, levels of poverty and economic growth strategies and development. Hence, the formulation of higher education policies and reform efforts to effect equality in each context will need to reflect these socio-economic and cultural variations.

The Main Contribution of the Study to the Existing Knowledge on the Subject

Researchers cannot impose specific models or formulate universally applicable prescriptions for the development and functioning of a more equal society through higher education reforms. However, identifying policy options and understanding how their effectiveness is contingent upon various country conditions can help policy-makers in different places to make better informed choices between options. The objective is to facilitate an exchange of information and experience relevant to policy reforms and decision-making. Furthermore, documenting policies that have been demonstrably efective or ineffective will inform policy-makers and higher education experts in developing countries where there may be a need to reconcile quantitative expansion in higher education with the quality imperative in view of equality and equity considerations.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Singh, MADHU; Castro, MUSSOT & Luz, MARIA (Eds) (2007): ***Literacy, Knowledge and Development. (South-South Policy Dialogue on Quality Education for Adults and Young People).*** UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, Germany; and National Institute for Lifelong Learning. Mexico City. ISBN 978-92-820-1151-5; pp. 305.

Presented in six sections viz., Overview; Model Programmes; Country Cases (Asia); Latin America (Nicaragua & Guatemala); Africa (Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania; & Angola); and The Arab States/Arab Region; the publication contains the proceedings of the *South-South Policy Dialogue on Quality Education for Adults and Young People* held in Mexico City in 2005. The participants presented national programmes from the governmental perspective that deal with the follow-up work of the 1997 Conference of Hamburg. The meeting provided a unique opportunity for countries from all regions to engage in a conversation on four main programmes of Brazil, India, Mexico, and South Africa along with other national examples from other countries. The outcome was that instead of regional view, the participants got a global view. A consensus emerged on a framework for countries to shape and improve their adult education policies, and on implementation with a focus on systematizing quality in three thematic areas: (a) content and curriculum; (b) recognition, validation of non-formal and informal learning; and (c) planning, evaluation and financing.

Through the active participation of educational planners and managers from 16 countries, South-South co-operation was secured on a sustainable and long-term basis.

The delegates regarded the international meet not only as a chance to improve the profile of adult education, improve adult learning policies and their implementation in their respective countries, but also to undertake pilot projects and feasibility studies on a South-South basis.

The 'introduction' by Madhu Singh presents briefly the concept of literacy, knowledge and development from the perspective of life-long learning, and highlights some aspects of national programmes and some regional accents. It also presents some cross-cutting themes, such as assessment and recognition, curricula issues and financing and implementation.

It is now established that *Learning* plays a very important role in bridging the gap between haves and have-nots. In the domain of learning, important changes are taking place, and in that the critical role knowledge plays is worth watching. Naturally, no one can be content with the one-shot education. Education and learning must go on through out the life-span of an individual. This calls for the need for life-long and life-wide learning. The old concept of adult education has undergone a radical change. Still the focus remains largely on the literacy process relating to labour market. The governments take life-long learning as an expression of human development, democratic values and

human rights. Inequalities and social tensions take precedence over poverty alleviation. It is obvious that each society must evolve its own literacy and life-long education programme. While most countries in Asia are still bogged down with simple literacy programmes for adults, China is determined to see that its 11% illiterate population comes out of the darkness and learns through the use of latest ICT and distance education programmes and join the literate work force. China is the only country that has met the target of achieving Dakar literacy goal.

The goals of education in Sub-Saharan region are hard to achieve largely because of the region's acute poverty. This is one reason why their literacy programmes are dominated by NFE. Tanzania, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique offer a prime example of the development and growth of NFE, but it seems much more needs to be done. At present this region does not have data-bank and, therefore, planning in advance is a little difficult.

The book also presents the picture of Latin America, where literacy programmes are going on in Guatemala and Nicaragua. New trend in adult education in this region is the differentiation between skills and knowledge while preparing for the world of work. There are trends in conceptualizing in terms of learning and information that entails a focus on the creation of a society where 'all agencies within society shall become providers of education and all citizens would engage in learning'. A learning society relies heavily on local communities possessing strong bonds and on communities which are cooperative as well as linguistically and culturally inclusive.

The literacy programmes in Arab States are increasingly regarded as involving more than merely teaching people but teaching life-skills, imparting vocational training, business management, health and nutrition, childcare, agriculture, civic education, environment and democracy.

The last section of the book on cross-cutting themes subjects relating to: recognition, validation and accreditation of adult and youth education; curriculum development policies; and planning, implementation, evaluation and financing for the adult and youth education programmes.

On the whole, it is a very informative and meaningful book for this country too.

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Harriet NANNYONJO (2007): ***Education Inputs in Uganda: An Analysis of Factors Influencing Learning Achievement in Grade Six.*** Africa Region Human Development Department, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., xv+89, ISBN 0-8213-7056-1

The issue of achieving the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education is a major task before the developing countries that got their independence in the recent past. The recent reports on global experiences of these countries reveal the picture that

despite increasing demand on public expenditure on primary education, planned strategic decisions by the planners are far from the set global commitment. A major impediment to rational decision making in this area is lack of knowledge about what interventions work best and under what circumstances. Then what planned strategies should these countries take up on their part to achieve the universal goal? Which type of plans should be formulated under the different dynamics of socio-economic set-ups? Should more emphasis be put on spending resources on inputs than its use? Or will the effective use of educational inputs alone lead adequately to educational outcomes? These are the questions which are tried to be addressed and explained properly through the empirical factual analysis of various parameters concerning Uganda in the present World Bank working paper.

The researcher in the present report has categorically analyzed the case of Uganda's educational set-up with reference to its latest educational development policies and plans, particularly in the field of primary education. Out of the three educational indicators i.e., inputs, outputs and outcomes, the researcher has focused only on inputs in primary education and tried to relate them to the performance of achievement'tests in mathematics and English subjects class six students. The report clearly points out the direction for the effective use of school inputs in Uganda in order to contribute to the policy debate on how to make the best use of available resources to improve learning outcomes. In fact the researcher in the present report has tried to explain the given phenomena of performance (learning level) of grade six through *performance efficiency* (i.e. the relationship between outputs and inputs) in terms of the *effectiveness of educational inputs.* The report emphasizes the need for a balanced relation between resource availability and its use, because without appropriate use or management, resources might not lead to improved learning as explained in the case of the relationship between *teacher pedagogy* and *child pedagogy* in Uganda^s primary education system. The study also points to the need to examine and include teacher effectiveness as key criteria for determining teacher remuneration. Nevertheless, the intended objectives of the study are explicitly expressed in the report.

By analyzing the factors that influence learning achievement in the six grade, the researcher has tried to explore the various aspects in the present context, with the help of statistical analysis and interpretations. However, he for this exploration purpose applies the quantitative as well as qualitative methods of data analysis. Thus this report throws light on explorative as well as analytic type of research design.

The chapterization of the study report is well organized. To make it comprehendible, the study is categorized into two parts: one on the analysis of independent variables (pupil background characteristics, school-based characteristics, teacher characteristics, teaching strategies and school administration) and dependent variable (student performance); and the other deals with the conclusion with implication of the results for future and current policies in Uganda.

The first chapter, i.e. introduction part, vividly discusses the methodology of the study, and the sample size. This study is unique because of its large sample size and a

combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Relying on the data obtained from NAPE, teacher, head teacher and student questionnaires, the researcher has taken two types of schools, i.e. government aided and private schools for analyzing the of pupil performance at the primary level in Uganda. However, this report was not mentioned the rationale of why the researcher has chosen two types of school for the study. It gives an unclear picture with regard to educational inputs in primary education in Uganda in relation to pupils' performance, considering the state-run public schools, since in most of the developing countries, including Uganda (since December 1996), the business of primary education is solely state responsibility.

The next chapter describes the geographical, historical, and socio-economic aspects of education in Uganda with special reference to Universal Primary Education Policy as in 1997. The factors influencing learning achievement of pupils are covered in the rest of the chapters under the headings of; pupil background characteristics, school-based characteristics, teacher characteristics, teaching strategies and school administration.

Highlighting the pupil background characteristics, the study found that parental education, the numbers of books at home and the language spoken at home have a positive influence on pupils' performance. Other factors that have positive influence on pupils' performance include: pupils' punctuality, regular school attendance, parental interest, and presence of electricity at home. The factors that have a negative influence on performance are pupil's age, distance of pupil's home from school, family size, and pupil's test scores.

Under school-based characteristics, the variables such as class size, pupil-teacher ratio, per pupil expenditure, number of textbooks and pupils per desk are examined. The study reveals a lot of variation among these variables with regards to the achievement levels of sixth grade students in the rural-urban schools and government-aided and private schools. The school inputs have low influence on students' performance, for example in mathematics test score, the influence is 7 percent, and in English it is just 15 percent. By citing many earlier studies on effective teaching strategies (Schiefelbein and Simmons, 1981); physical class size, furniture arrangement, and instructional techniques (Farrell,1993); age and grade of pupils (Hanushek and others 2001), the researcher has tried to point out the possibility of other influencing factors in addition to school inputs, in explaining the difference in pupils' test scores.

Similarly, there is a negative relationship between teacher's age, tenure in the same school and pupils' performance in tests. However, relation of pupil performance and teacher experience is a positive but a complex one. In service teacher training has a positive influence on pupils' performance in English, but has negative on test performance in mathematics.

Another chapter analyzes the teaching strategies, including frequency of tests, frequency and mode of handling of homework, classroom organization, and some aspects of classroom interaction, and finds these having a positive relationship with test scores. Moreover, the study also focused on the use of a range of teaching strategies and

interaction styles, rather than on a single approach, to be more effective in increasing test scores.

In line with the differential effectiveness on pupil performance in standard six, no significant relationship is established between pupils' performance and head teacher's characteristics. However, effectiveness is observable with respect to school ownership and location. It is observed that private schools performed better in English compared to in mathematics, while government-aided schools performed better in mathematics compared to in English. For both the private and government-aided schools, rural schools performed worse than the urban schools.

In the last chapter, with regard to the implication of the results for the future and current policies in Uganda, the researcher concludes that school inputs, teacher characteristics (education, experience and age), and head teacher characteristics do not have a strong influence on Ugandan primary school pupils' performance. Rather other factors like the way schools are managed, classroom interaction, and use of school resources, are strongly related to pupils' performance. The findings of the study clearly demonstrate the need to focus on improvement of learning.

The World Bank Working Paper, no doubt, is a comprehensive study of factorial analysis of educational inputs at the primary level in Uganda. In fact the whole study report vividly focuses on analysis of educational inputs from different dimensional points of view like socio-economic, physical, regional and political, except the cultural and psychological dimensions. Thus, this report lacks to provide a holistic study. Nevertheless, the findings of this study will definitely contribute in assisting educational planners and policy makers with regards to teachers' recruitment, increasing teacher competency, applying various teaching strategies, managing large class size, effective use of textbooks, automatic promotion, and better in-service teacher training at the primary level education in Uganda in particular, and all the other countries in general who are facing the same kind of experiences. Moreover, many other factors beyond availability of school inputs come into play in the complex process of learning and pupils' achievement, for which this study will not suffice to provide enough understanding for the educational planners and policy makers for the present and the future challenges.

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Komilla THAPA, Geerdina M. VAN, Der AALSVOORT and Janak PANDEY (2008): ***Perspective on Learning Disabilities in India - Current Practices and Prospects.*** New Delhi: Sage Publications, 296 pp., Rs. 650. ISBN 978-81-7829-825-2 (HB).

This book edited by Komilla Thapa, Geerdina M. Van Der Aalsvoort and Janak Pandey discusses the concepts, strategies and theory-driven approaches to the assessment and remediation of learning disabilities, largely in India and includes a chapter on Dutch

society. The book comprises fourteen chapters written by different scholars. The editors have laid emphasis on the role of teachers as a constructive resource in the absence of trained professionals in the detection of learning disabilities in children. In the introductory chapter, Komilla Thapa affirms that learning disability is an active area of research and several psychologists, medical practitioners and linguists have evinced their interest in the topic since the last decade. In her view, learning disability is an extraordinary discipline as it contains two contrasting aspects: one, intellectual and the other practical. For her, learning disability is not a single disorder but is composed of disabilities in any of the seven specific areas, constituting receptive language (listening), expressive language (speaking), basic reading skills, reading comprehension, written expression, mathematics calculation and mathematical reasoning.

Thapa asserts that these different types of learning disabilities frequently co-occur and also with certain skill deficits and emotional or behavioural disorders. She points out the procedures for identification, assessment, prevention and intervention of learning disabilities. The first intervention comes from the interpretations of recent brain research that underscores the influence of early experiences on the developing brain. The second thrust arises from research showing positive results from early interventions with children who have special needs, and the third influence comes from the school accountability movement which is pressurising kindergartens and pre-schools to focus their efforts on reading readiness. In doing so, the main concern is interventions that can counter the negative impact of external and internal factors that can interfere with the development and learning abilities. A strong intervention could be enhancing individual capabilities and protective factors in order to minimize the impact of current and subsequent environmental deficiencies and personal vulnerabilities. Finally, Thapa focuses on the neuro-imaging studies stating that the present study has benefited a great deal from advances in neuro-imaging techniques. A neuro-imaging technique signifies a quantum leap in the understanding of brain-behaviour relationships and holds a great promise for the individuals with learning problems.

In the second chapter, Aalsvoort gives an account of the Dutch educational system and elucidates the ways in which children at risk are identified by examining both child and environment-related traits by means of a combine of qualitative and quantitative methods. She used a micro-genetic approach to study play-in-process in children-at-risk in two Dutch school conditions. Her research findings reveal that school environment makes a distinction in favour of children attending a regular primary school in the Netherlands. Prathibha Karanth, in the third chapter, sketches the historical connection between language learning and learning disability, its subsequent neglect, and the factors leading to the renewed interest, and the innovative idea on this imperative relationship. She deals with the implications of these results for the identification and management of children with learning disability in our country.

The next chapter by Ashum Gupta presents an analysis of the reading deficiencies of Hindi-speaking children with developmental dyslexia. She selected children from four primary schools in Delhi. Her findings reveal that despite Hindi being a transparent

orthography with consistent grapheme-to-phoneme mapping, the dyslexic children are drastically poorer on reading speed and accuracy. She also found that these children have larger number of graphemic than phonological errors. She recommends that by training children to gain conscious access to the phonological structures, they can be helped to improve the value of initially inadequate phonological representations.

Pandey and Pant, in the fifth chapter, focus on contextual issues relating to the marginalized Dalit communities. They argue that these Dalits continue to be defenseless because of their poor socio-economic conditions and low level traditional occupations. In this article, they showed the influence of socio-economic factors in the learning process of marginalized Dalits. The sixth chapter by Verma examines the concept and definitions of learning disability and children at risk. She presents an analysis of the issues and problems inherent in the process. A theoretical framework of assessment is presented with reference to different domains, including language, reading mathematics, and cognitive and meta-cognitive functioning. Verma also makes an assessment of practices prevalent in India.

Kapur in the seventh chapter focuses on specific learning disabilities in the Indian context and explores how the Indian school systems, particularly in the urban slum and rural schools, influence the attainment and deficits in basic academic skills. She asserts that assessment is an intricate issue in India. Usually, assessment needs to be examined in the context of the school system and psycho-social factors. She also points out that management needs to be developmentally based, both diverse and holistic.

Konantambigi and Shetty worked with teachers in municipal and private schools in Mumbai and found a close correspondence between teacher identification of children and their scores on the diagnostic test of learning disabilities. Their study is covered in the eighth chapter. In the next chapter, Tripathi and Kar, beating a new research area, constructed checklists to facilitate the identification of learning problems in school children in Allahabad. They found that major problems encountered by teachers included language and writing problems while behavioural problems were found to decline with age.

In the tenth chapter, Yadav and Agarwal present a baseline survey conducted by them to assess the extent and prevalence of learning disabilities in rural schools in Allahabad. Both of them explored the traits of teaching disabled children, teacher's awareness of learning and remedial classroom practices. They have scrutinized the Indian school environments wherein teachers play an instrumental role in identifying children with learning disabilities.

The eleventh and twelfth chapters deal with a theory-driven approach to the diagnosis and remediation of learning problems in children. Pagedar and Sarhath used the Cognitive Assessment System and the PASS Reading Enhancement Programme (PREP) on small samples of children with learning disabilities. The theory of the Cognitive Assessment System (CAS) was used on children with different types of learning disabilities. The four processing mechanisms that constitute the PREP are; (i) Planning (P), (ii) Attention -Arousal (A), (iii) Simultaneous processing (S), (iv) and Successive

Processing (S). The vital parts in this theory are the knowledge, the base of past experiences and learning, emotions and motivations. These provide the information to be processed. These processes are associated with different parts of the brain. They draw their conclusion by stating that children with learning disabilities do have the skill for successive and simultaneous processing but do not utilize these effectively. They point out that training in PREP makes them aware of the strategy to be used in new tasks and encourages their application to academic tasks through the use of verbal mediation and internalization processes. Mehta demonstrated the efficacy of a strategy training programme (S-SWEL) in improving the problem solving skills of students with learning disabilities.

The thirteenth chapter Mongia, Sadhu and Mehta present a study on children with specific learning disabilities in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIMS), New Delhi and recommend the use of diverse assessment and intervention procedures. In the concluding chapter, Aalsvoort summarizes the main issues being raised by every author in the book. She finds that identification and awareness of teachers with respect to learning disabilities go together. Each author takes a position with respect to defining learning disability, refining assessment, and dealing and helping students identified with learning disability.

Overall, six chapters in this book narrate the concepts and definitions, three chapters identify the role of teachers in showing learning disability, and four chapters relate to the pattern of assessment and intervention. This book is an attempt to present the existing scenario in research and practices with regard to learning disabilities. Each contributor provides constructive insights that can facilitate the formulation of a research agenda and services for children with learning disabilities in India, where research and practice in the filed is still at an emerging stage. The authors present a loaded overview of approaches to tackle learning disabilities of children. This book would be a tremendous help to psychologists, counselors, academicians, NGOs and social activists working for children-at-risk, particularly with learning disabilities.

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MulKeen A1DAN et al (2007): ***Recruiting, Retaining and Retraining Secondary School Teachers and Principals in Sub-Saharan Africa.*** World Bank Paper No. 99, pp xvi + 75, World Bank, Washington, D.C. Price US$15 paperback

Smith ROBERT et al (2007): ***The Link Between Health, Social Issues and Secondary Education - Life Skills, Health and Civic Education.*** World Bank, Working Paper No 100, pp xiv + 72, World Bank, Washington D.C, Price US$15 paperback.

The above two reports form part of the series on Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA) of the World Bank's Africa Region Human Development Department (AFTHD). The

first study analyses the emerging issues related to recruitment, retention and retraining and support of secondary school teachers and principals in six countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and to study policy options for policy makers. The second study is on identifying and analysing the promising practices related to life skills, health and civic education in secondary schools in these six countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The First report (Recruiting, Retaining and Retraining Secondary School Teacher and Principal in Sub-Saharan Africa) is based on case studies in - Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Madgascar, Tanzania and Uganda and on literature review. In the Foreword, Yau Ansu writes that in many parts of Africa, the demand for secondary teachers substantially exceeds the supply due to factors such as secondary teachers' attrition, bottlenecks in the teacher preparation system, and perceived unattractive conditions of service. Few countries have strong policies, strategies, and programmes for recruiting able secondary leavers for secondary teaching. Many secondary school principals are ill prepared to meet the demands posed by changing nature of their jobs. Organised and systematic training in educational leadership and effective and transparent management are needed for principals. The study suggests measures for improvement in the quality of secondary teacher... (pp. V-VI).

The literature review suggests that four characteristics of research are of particular interest: much of research focuses on identifying the dimension of the problem rather than formulating and testing alternative solutions; much of the literature tends to be descriptive of particular country efforts to attract, deploy and retain teachers but often lacks solid evidence of the effectiveness of the approach being described; there is lack of longitudinal research that tracks the long-term effects and consequences of interventions aimed at improving the teaching force; and some of the more impressive research has been conducted within projects and is only reported in project documents which are difficult to retrieve (p 41).

The field survey involved interviews with a total sample of 114, comprising 57 teachers, 19 principals, and 38 policy makers in the six countries i.e. Ghana. Ethiopia, Tanzania, Guinea, Madagascar and Uganda. In each country, teachers, head teachers and policy makers were interviewed using a standard interview schedule (in English and French) developed for each of these three groups. The survey collected participants views on issues related to teacher recruitment, conditions of service, retraining and retention. Overall 33 percent of the schools were rural school and 67 percent were urban schools. A11 the schools were co-education, 82 percent were day schools and 18 percent were boarding schools. Enrolment ranged from 80 to 5679 students. 52 percent of teachers were male and 48 percent were female. Most of the teachers were trained while two schools in Guinea had 50 percent or fewer trained teachers.

The survey revealed that recruitment of teachers and principals was not conducted in a systematic way to draw sufficient number of potential teachers to the profession and meet the growing demands of secondary student population. Methods of recruiting potential teachers for colleges of teacher education from secondary school leavers need to the considered, as do mechanisms for mentoring current teachers to become principals.

Next, the hiring of contract teachers due to shortage of regular teachers is common. They often require further training, and have less stable source of remuneration, creating issues of absenteeism and retention. Incentives to encourage the government to employ contract teachers as part of civil service teaching personnel may stabilize teaching corps, particularly in schools that have difficulty in retaining teachers in certain regions or subject areas.

Steps may be taken to improve the conditions of service that may result in motivated and satisfied teacher corps. The suggested steps include creating learning communities to make teachers discuss teaching and learning issues; experienced teachers to monitor the new teachers, and improving the classroom environment by providing adequate curriculum materials and books to all schools. There is also a need for review of policies on the selection of principals and the establishment of professional criteria which would help ensure better quality school leadership. Training in educational leadership and management is needed for principals. Establishment of a regional institution specializing in degrees or certification for educational leadership could be an option. Moreover, opportunities for in-service professional development should be augmented, including the use of distance learning mechanisms. An approach to teacher education which adequately prepares teachers for the challenges they face in the classroom and in the community should be afforded at pre-service and in-service level.

The study suggests general critical areas for improvement in the quality of secondary teachers through approaches to recruitment, pre-service and in-service teacher development, and improvements in the deployment, utilization, compensation and conditions of service for teachers. Improvement in all of these areas is likely to enhance the status of the profession and thus encourage the recruitment and retention of teachers. Some of the recommendations are as follows: In the recruitment of teachers, it is suggested to develop strategies for the systematic recruitment of potential teachers for colleges of teacher education from the pool of secondary school teachers; encourage people, including females with appropriate qualifications to enter the teaching profession and introduce teacher education programme at a later stage of their career; and consider employing contract teachers in the civil service teaching force. In the professional development of teachers, there is a need of a balance between pre-service programmes with a view to achieving best results in terms of teachers skills, professionalism and morale, as also to achieve a balance between practical pedagogical skills and content in the pre-service teacher curriculum. Moreover, there is need to develop strong supportive supervision structure. Principals can play a crucial role in this area.

In the deployment of teachers, it is suggested that teachers can be recruited from rural areas, and give additional compensation and recognition be given to teachers in difficult postings. As far as possible the families - husbands, wives and children - should not be separated for unreasonable periods of time. For better utilization of teachers, teachers be asked to teach more than one subject at various grade levels. Regarding compensation and conditions of service, the suggestions are; Develop career structure where advancement and salary are dependent on performance; Provide bonus for service in rural

areas; Provide teachers with better resources for teaching; and Create learning communities and as sense of cohesion among teachers at the school level or at the cluster of schools.

For strengthening the quality of principals (head teachers), it is emphasized to professionalise the position of secondary school principals and develop certification courses in school leadership. There is also a need to set up regional or national institutions that specialise in advanced degree or certification in educational leadership and professional development programmes for principals. It has to be ensured that a principal is an instruction leader as well as an administrator.

Other recommendations pertain to gender issues, HIV/AIDS and need for further research. These cover development of recruitment programmes for secondary teachers that encourage females to enter the profession. The teachers may also be provided opportunities to assume the position of principals and administrators. For the prevention of HIV/AIDS, there is a suggestion to provide specific guidance and measures in teacher education and professional development programmes to prepare teachers to support colleagues or students affected by HIV/.AIDS. There is a need for longitudinal research that tracks over time the effects and consequences of interventions to improve the secondary teaching force and school leadership.

The second working paper (The Link Between Health, Social Issues and Secondary Education: Life Skills, Health and Civic Education) is based on literature review and case studies in the six Sub-Saharan African countries. It looks at the role of secondary education and training in promoting health issues and life skills among the African youth. As per the Foreword by Yau Ansu, the study examines which schooling programmes are effective in equipping young people with life skills, which programmes reduce dropouts and increase participation and how schools can become agents in tackling health and social issues. Peer education and youth involvement are key areas for consideration. The study emphasises the critical role of teachers as change agents in health and civic education sphere.

The study is based on identifying and analyzing the promising practices related to life skills, health and civic education in secondary schools. The promising practices could include a programme, a policy, an advisory service, a set of materials or a conventional school curriculum. The potential for success in an approach or programme qualifies for inclusion in the list of promising practices. Here, three broad approaches have been identified: Curriculum approaches integrated with the regular school curriculum - the school programmes or activities; the complementary or supplementary approaches to the regular school programme, often sponsored by or conducted by NGOs and CBOs for school activities; and those approaches that function outside the school but target school, aged youth, the beyond-school programme and projects. Some of the promising practices include components targeting teachers through training and sensitisation.

This is a qualitative study and makes use of interview technique. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a range of key informants from department officials, school principals and programme managers, teachers and programme implemented such

as peer educators, and the students. Other techniques used included observation and documentary analysis, comprising policy documents, planning and strategy documents, and evaluation reports where these existed.

Adolescents are identified as the group most vulnerable to health hazards, such as HIV/AIDS infection, and the group which could benefit from intervention strategies. The teachers are also reported to be a major risk group with far reaching consequences. For health and education programmes dealing with HIV/AIDS it is important to learn about the epidemiology of the disease and also the social constraints which influence the spread of disease. It is emphasized that HIV/AIDS education initiatives have provided much needed opportunities for reforming teachers' roles, teacher education programmes, social development initiatives and community involvement.

The study advocates for an integrated curriculum which mainstreams health and social issues into the learning and teaching programme to be planned, developed and implemented. For example, biology, science, geography and home economics deal with health and social issues. In Senegal, attempts are being made to institutionalize civic education with school programme, dealing to issues linked with citizenship, institutions, good governance, and political, social and economic rights. History and geography teachers teach the subject for one hour per week.

An assumption is made that interactive teaching methodology in promising practices could have profound effects on teacher knowledge, skills and behavior and in that way could support prevention and education strategies. Another aspect is the need for relevant and replicable materials. It can have positive impact on promising practices. Such material should be culturally sensitive, address the learning needs of the particular age groups, and provide learners with the necessary knowledge, attitudes and skills which will lead to behavioural change.

An approach to teacher education which adequately prepares teachers for the challenges they face in the classroom and in the community should be offered at pre-service and in-service levels. Teachers need to become aware of the wider contexts within which health and social issues occur. All teachers should be able to teach their students about health and social issues within their respective subjects and as a discipline in its own right.

Peer education needs to operate within a supportive environment and in a climate of community involvement. Students interviewed said that they find it easier to discuss sexual and other issues with their peers rather than with their teachers and parents. Peer educators have been found most successful when clubbed with curriculum based studies and teacher support. Next, where resources are limited, community engagement becomes even more important in addressing health and social issues. The resourceful people and organizations within communities need to be empowered and enabled to make an optimum contribution.

Structure support at the school level among the school principals, teachers and community committee and programme managers, creates opportunities for decision making, planning and implementing strategies. In schools, where staff members have

been involved and become a resource or peer educators, sustainability is to be addressed. There is also a need for evaluation and adequate funding of these programmes.

It is hoped that these promising practices provide sign-posts for those planning intervention strategies which place health, civics education and fight against HIV/AIDS at the heart of the secondary school education to provide the life skills which today's young people need most. The secondary school is the one site that draws adolescents and adults together as single institution and endeavours to prepare them to make valuable contribution to civil society.

Recently, Ms. Barbara Hogan, Health Minister of South Africa pointed that South Africa has the world's highest number of people with HIV. About 5.5 million out of 47 million are estimated to be HIV positive. It is critically important that those who need the treatment are able to get it. (The Hindu, October 4, 2008).

The two reports have raised important issues of recruitment, retaining and retraining of secondary school teachers and principals in Sub-Saharan Africa and the crucial role the link between health, social issues and secondary education have to play in teaching health and problems related to social issues. Community and voluntary organisations can come to the rescue of the schools. These reports will be of interest to those involved with secondary education in India in one way or the other. The authors have done a good job and deserve complements for their endeavour.

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David A. TURNER (2004): ***Theory of Education.*** London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, pp 205; Price: Not stated. ISBN No. 0826487092 (Paperback).

David A. TURNER (2007): ***Theory and Practice of Education.*** London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, pp. 172; Price: Not stated. ISBN No. 0826491073 (Hardbound).

In these two companion volumes, Turner explores the various dimensions of the current scenario in the field of educational research and attempts to offer an alternative paradigm to bring about a shift in educational policy from 'effectiveness' to 'improvement'. His primary contention is that the issues related to teaching and learning in schools should be viewed from a perspective that fulfills the criteria of being ethical, multi-centred and autonomous. Being a physicist by training and a humanist by belief, Turner believes that without taking into account the will and motivation of the individual learner and teacher, no educational theory can answer the fundamental concerns of policy makers and all other stakeholders in the field of education.

'Theory of Education' sets out the agenda for the book, i.e. to understand the reasons why educational research in UK and USA is under the scanner for not being able to contribute to the development and improvement of educational policy. While this failure has been attributed to individual shortcomings, he believes that the problem lies elsewhere. The reason for the mismatch between research and policy/practice is that educational theory does not fulfill the criteria mentioned above. The author clarifies his position at the outset by stating that "Good educational research needs to address the active learner as a knowing agent in (their) own development and also a participant in social networks" (p. 6). He ascribes the problem with current educational research to the fact that our theoretical understanding of education is based on a model of human behaviour that sees all our actions emanating from hereditary and environmental influences and largely ignores the role of individual will, thereby absolving the human agent of responsibility for her/his actions and decisions. He quotes McNiff (1992) who argues that by making a spurious claim to objectivity, social science approaches to education miss the richness and subjectivity of individual's experiences in educational settings, echoing William Blake's criticism of Newton's single-centred generalizations about nature that overlooked its richness and beauty. As Turner states with conviction, "The proposed criteria implicitly provide a critique of much current educational research which is deterministic, single-centred and presupposes a strong linkage between the individual and the social group. Unless we can clear the ground and establish a framework which allows educational research to develop a cumulative tradition, we shall not make any progress towards the goals which are clearly set out within the debate on quality in educational research" (p. 14).

As stated by Turner, his purpose is "to develop theory which can help our understanding of how events come about in schools, and to provide a sound basis for future research (and) or for the development of policy" (p. 44). Subsequent chapters describe how the criteria for 'good' theory can be met by drawing upon the insights and methods of the physical sciences without falling into the trap of transferring ideas in a mechanical way or ignoring the moral imperative to treat all people as active and intelligent agents rather than merely as objects of scrutiny and study. Questioning the usefulness and effectiveness of large scale survey methods, action research and postmodernism, Turner comments that "one of the saddest commentaries on theory in the area of Education Studies (is) that very many great educational innovators from Pestalozzi to Piaget, via Froebel and Montessori have developed followings who have turned imaginative insights into educational experience into sterile formulae for classroom management" (p. 71). He presents the alternative of a range of twentieth century scientific frameworks for consideration, being at the same time careful to critique practices and beliefs that are inimical to, or contradict, his criteria of 'good' theory and practice in education. The author then goes on to practically demonstrate how models taken from game theory of two-person zero-sum games and games against nature, and from the field of linear programming, can be used to approach and understand the theoiy of educational studies, by applying these models to the particular educational choice of

the decision to stay on in school after the age of compulsory education and to the issue of funding and resources. His stated reasons for finding the game theory model attractive and worthy of commendation is its ability to accommodate free will and human agency in its description of educational behaviour, explain the way people behave, and say something about the group without determining what individuals are doing - important features of desirable theoretical frameworks that recur throughout the book. And the models of linear programming are desirable because they address the concern of educational policy for not only that which is attainable, but also what is sustainable. Thus the two solutions he offers are from game theory analysis, in which group behaviours are described without limiting the scope and importance of the individual decisions; and from linear programming in which policy frameworks are described without the imposition of deterministic models.

In conclusion Turner brings together all that has been said and reiterates the concerns when he states that, "The crux of formulating well-founded theories in the field of Education Studies is to find a way of... leaving room for individual choice and free will, while admitting that those same choices are shaped by and adapted to the social settings in which the individuals find themselves. ... This naturally leads one to examine institutions, not in terms of the mechanistic clockwork models of classical mechanics, but in terms of new models of complexity taken from the physical sciences" (p. 161). This book thus forms the starting point for an enquiry into the current scenario of educational policy and practice and draws our attention to the need for developing moral and ethical theories in educational studies which will accommodate and value diversity and difference in individual learners and teachers.

Turner's Theory of Education' is a well researched and fascinating insight into the field of educational research. He draws upon related literature and research in the field and also brings to his arguments, unique insights informed by his training in the physical sciences. A remarkable achievement is Turner's ability to make even the most arcane scientific formulations accessible to the reader by locating them in the context of everyday concerns of teaching and learning. While the examples used are sited in the UK, the concerns posited are universal. Without compromising on the complexity and depth of the concerns raised by him, the author is able to emulate Albert Einstein who purportedly believed that "things should be as simple as possible, but no simpler". An extensive bibliography and a useful index, along with illustrative examples and diagrams make this book an essential reading not only for those engaged in the field of education, but also all those who are interested in the development of knowledge and ideas in society.

The second book 'Theory and Practice of Education' addresses the failure of researchers to provide models of sufficient complexity that can be used effectively in the policy-making process in the field of educational studies. Turner believes that this complexity resides in the fact that everybody is 'involved in constructing their own education'. As he says in the introductory chapter to the book, "The complexity of education resides with the fact that it involves human beings, and that ... motivation,

willpower, choice and interpersonal chemistry are crucial to the endeavour and do more to shape the outcome than background or prior experience" (p. 1). This chapter also spells out his ideas in the field. It would be useful to quote him here, "My main purpose in writing this book is to set out a framework for future policy-related research... This book is designed to stand halfway between my earlier book (Turner 2004) and fully developed research projects leading to empirical results that could inform policy" (p. 7). The motivation for this agenda is clearly influenced by the writings of Vygotsky and Piaget and the belief that learners need to be given tools to manage their own learning and help them develop strategies based on their own strengths.

Taking as given the idea that education is a complex process, this book looks at the questions raised at all levels - from the micro level of the individual, up through the family, classroom and school, right up to the macro level of policy at the national level. The first part of the book, appropriately called 'Theory", presents the theoretical considerations that can help build an understanding of education at all the different levels. Turner continues to employ the strategy of using models from game theory to illustrate how these can be used to develop an understanding of the interaction between individual motivation and preference and the operation of small groups. The first chapter in "Theory" section sets out a range of lessons that can be learned from the physical sciences, from game theory, and particularly from the work of Albert Einstein and complexity theory, for the development of a 'social science of educational policy'. The next chapter is strongly influenced by the theories of Vygotksy and his 'two-stage or two-cycle process of learning' that fit in well with Turner's earlier statement regarding the complexity of the process of education and as he says here, "The learning process is highly susceptible to the circumstances in which it starts, but the full texture of that environment is unknowable" (p. 31). References to the ideas of Vygotsky and Einstein and the illustrative reference to the Sierpinski Triangle are used to identify the characteristics of complex and chaotic systems in which the author also includes education - unpredictability, sensitivity to initial conditions, emergent properties and multiple feedback loops. The final chapter of part one of the book reaffirms the strongly held conviction that theory needs to be developed "in order to build better models, so that a wider range of events can be researched, understood and eventually made subject for effective policy" (p. 44).

Part 2 of the book, 'Practice', looks at empirical research, practical settings and how game-theory models can be used to structure practical research and underpin policy. Central to the structure of the book is, 'the idea of theoretical modeling, or of developing intellectual models of human behaviour" (p. 10). The reasons for this being an important area of concern can be located in the mismatch that ensues because research questions and policy issues are multi-centered, while research that gets funded and dominates the literature in the field is single-centered. As the author poignantly states, "We have been asking all-or-nothing questions and giving ourselves all-or-nothing answers" (p. 111) and in the process, research and policy are running on parallel tracks with no junction in view.

Each chapter in this part of the book, presents a model that is elaborated to demonstrate why and how it is a 'good' model from a theoretical point of view and also sets out a programme for future research. While the earlier chapters address the micro educational setting of the classroom and deal with issues of classroom management, the employment market and the notion of equality of opportunity, the later chapters extend right up to the operation of the globalised structure of education and quality assurance.

The chapter on classroom management uses the multiperson game-theory model to understand the decisions of pupils to either cooperate or defect, and suggests that this should be the basis of future research in this area. The related question of career choices is also raised to examine the possibilities offered by a multicentred model of educational research. Game-theory models are also presented by Turner as an option to recognize and describe what he calls the *bricolage* of personal identity that is "made up from pieces that we choose to integrate into our own identity in a process which can broadly be characterized as 'education'" (p. 89). The third area of inquiry is 'equality of opportunity' which Turner sees as vital to our understanding of individual choices and also the reason for competition being intense for some educational choices and options, and for some social groups thinking that the competition in these very same areas is 'worth the candle'. The argument now shifts to the area of teaching and learning that is central to the process of education. Turner acknowledges his debt to the work of Vygotsky in the area and as he writes, "Understanding what cultural signs and values are of most help in managing our own attention, memory and responses is central to the educational endeavour, and how we should think of ourselves and our learning processes to support that endeavour is an important area for educational research" (p. 127). The final chapter of Part 2 addresses the concern of education that it 'should be fit for purpose' and the need for all teachers to be researchers so that they are equipped to respond to the diversity of needs and purposes that they confront and support quality education throughout their careers.

The third part of the book 'Theory into Practice', has a single chapter that brings together insights and findings from earlier chapters. It includes, most importantly, a review of the links between the research models put forward and the possibility of developing research that can be used in the development of practical theory (pp. 12-13). Turner suggests that if "researchers wish their research evidence to be used by policy-makers, they must first generate evidence in a way which is valuable to the policy-makers. In a word they must undertake policy-based research" (p. 153).

As in the first volume, this book too offers plenty of grist for the researcher's mill and is an invaluable resource for all those who are concerned with the future directions of educational research and planning. Meticulously researched and written in an anecdotal style, this book offers us an insight into the myriad possibilities available for extending our horizons beyond the paradigms that have currency, to a new coinage for a sensitive understanding of the value of diversity and difference among teachers and learners.

The two books offer us the alternative paradigm of multi-centered research which has at its core the intuitive understanding that a group of people might be homogeneous and

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might find themselves in identical situations, but may still choose to follow different paths to their individual goals and destinations.

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Kilemi MWIRIA, Njuguna NG'ETHE, Charles NGOME, Douglas OUMA-ODERO, Violet WAWIRE and Daniel WESONGA (2007) ***Public & Private Universities in Kenya: New Challenges, Issues & Achievements.*** Oxford: James Currey and Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers in association with Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, New York. pp. xviii+204 (Paperback); ISBN: 978-0-85255-442-5

The development paradigm is shifting all over. Many countries, particularly developing countries, are in transition. The transition is from a development paradigm that predominantly based on Keynisianism to a 'neo-liberaP paradigm. Markets, more clearly the private sector now holds the centre-stage. The transition in most of the developing countries, if not all, has been very rapid and the private sector is overshadowing the public sector. This also holds good in education, particularly in case of higher education. Higher education systems in developing countries are rapidly getting highly privatised. For example, in Kenya there are six public universities and as many as 17 private universities in 2007. About half the students in public universities are privately sponsored. The growth of private universities is justified by the lack of resources with the governments for higher education, low quality and inequities in public higher education. Private universities are expected solve all these problems and even the emerging ones.

The two-part fourteen-chapter volume provides an excellent reading on the four-decade history of higher education in Kenya. Funded by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, the volume describes in detail the growth of university education in Kenya in the last four decades, and also presents case studies of four leading private universities in the country. The first part of the book provides a good glimpse of the growth of higher education and the reforms introduced in recent years. Reforms described include increasing the access, introduction of self-sponsored students in public universities, introduction of bridging courses, geographical spread of the universities, equity related reforms aiming at gender and regional balances, quality enhancing reforms, and introduction of community outreach programmes. Kenya has also set up a virtual university, the African Virtual University, besides expanding distance education modes, radio service etc., in higher education. Student-staff ratios (number of students per staff member) have been increased, and cost sharing mechanisms have been introduced. Many income generating activities, including

admission of privately sponsored students, have been launched along with introduction of cost-reduction measures, and modern methods of university management. Competition from private universities has increased and foreign universities are aggressively promoting their programmes in Kenya. The growing demand for higher education and shrinking public budgets but growing government pressures on the universities to enrol more and more students have been the characteristic features of higher education in Kenya. The seven chapters in Part I of the book describe many of these features of higher education in Kenya.

The second part consists of case studies of private universities - the United States International University, the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, the University of Eastern Africa, Baraton and Daystar University. These universities are considered to be the 'best' and the largest private universities in Kenya. The first one is described as the 'only secular' university, while the others are religion-based ones. Some of the characteristic features of these universities are: number of students per teaching staff is marginally higher in these universities than in public universities; number of non-teaching staff per student is much higher in private universities; salaries in universities, such as the United States International University, are 2-3 times higher than in public universities; and all private universities rely heavily on tuition and fee income. Two of the four universities are reported to be making huge surpluses in their revenues, which have increased over the years. In contrast, public universities, on an average, are in continuous deficit. It has been found that the private universities adopt sound fund-raising initiatives, make adequate financial planning, and enjoy liquidity and solvency, maintaining good financial health. This is all a good and favourable descriptive account of the private universities. The authors also note that the growth of private universities has enabled the country to expand access, as reflected in larger enrolments. But private universities also create various kinds of problems. The authors are somewhat silent on these aspects.

The overall higher education situation in Kenya is similar to many other developing countries. As the authors conclude, "As they develop products demanded by the consumer and embark on income-generating projects, universities are becoming more businesslike, less concerned with the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, more flexible in delivering services and more appreciative of the need for strategic planning. As a result, the government may have to yield some of Sts traditional authority over universities. Academics may also have to cede some of their "fr£uktio^^ market, since they can no longer sincerely and effectively defend the doctrine of 'academic freedom; ...."(p. 113).

On the whole, the volume provides a good descriptive account of the higher education system in Kenya and the nature of reforms it has introduced. The two parts together present a good understanding of the changing paradigms of university development in Kenya. However, the authors could have attempted a good comparative study of the public and private universities. This is also the expectation created by the title of the book. Presently the first part of the book deals with public universities and

the second part is concerned with private universities. They are independently designed, and dealt with by different sets of authors. No attempt has been made even to present a good synthesis at the end or in the beginning of the book. This may look like a serious drawback of an otherwise readable, informative and a somewhat less critical contemporary history of reforms in university education in Kenya.

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