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BOOK REVIEWS

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Am I an Educated Person?

— Reflections on 'Becoming' and 'Being'[#]

T.N. Madan[*]

I am honoured by the Vice-Chancellor's invitation to give this year's Foundation Day Lecture. My best thanks to you, Professor Tilak, and your colleagues. When I came to know who the previous speakers in this Series had been and the important themes they lectured on, I felt acutely unequal to the task you had assigned me, but your persuasion prevailed over my reluctance. I do hope that what I have decided to say is in some measure worth saying.

Kindly forgive the egocentricity of the title. Actually, the question 'Am I an educated person?' perhaps occurs to every thoughtful person one time or the other. I am sure each one of you here today will provide a better answer to it than I am capable of. Do bear with me and treat what I will say as a 'talk' with all the informality and tentativeness that the term suggests, rather than a Lecture marked by authority.

I propose to briefly dwell on two themes, namely pedagogy and philosophy. I use both terms in their elementary connotations. By 'pedagogy' I mean the science and art of teaching, and by 'philosophy', deliberation on the fundamental nature of reality, existence, and knowledge. I will explore the themes through the medium of personal experience, my own and that of select others. One might call it the biographical approach.

Pedagogy

I shall begin with my own experience of being educated, and speak to you about five favourite educators who were, each in his own manner, more than mere teachers.

As I look back over the decades, one home tutor stands out as the person who made me realize that being a good teacher requires more than degrees and diplomas, it requires the twin gifts of identification with the other and communication, and of course experience.

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[#] Edited version of the NUEPA Foundation Day Lecture delivered on 11 August 2016 at NUEPA, New Delhi.

Like so many others of my age, I was not comfortable with mathematics, particularly arithmetic, in the early years of learning. When I entered high school, my family engaged a home tutor for me a couple of months before the year-end examination. He had a reputation of being some kind of a 'maths wizard'. He was a trained graduate, perhaps in his late forties, and a head master. He had to be persuaded to coach me and he made it clear that he would not accept any honorarium. Even before we had begun, the dignity of the vocation of teaching had been brought home to me.

At our first meeting, he told me that he had no rough and ready method suitable for one and all. Every student suffers from his own particular 'block', he explained to me, and he would have to find out what mine was by observing me at work. In a manner of speaking, he had to learn from me before I could learn from him: it had to be a joint endeavour. The teacher-taught hierarchy with which I had grown up until then was thus radically softened. I experienced a sense of ease that was new and comforting.

The fact that he came to our home to coach me, and sat with me on the carpeted floor – the traditional Kashmiri seating style at home – and that we took a break for afternoon tea and informal conversation, at which my elder brother joined us sometimes, was in very sharp contrast to the overall ambience of the school classroom. It redefined the character of the interactive sessions. Almost magically for me (I was thirteen), his name was Sarvananda Peer. Peer is a common family name in Kashmir, and means 'preceptor', even 'miracle maker'. I did well in mathematics at the examination for promotion to Standard X.

A year later, I matriculated and joined college as a science student with mathematics as one of the optional subjects. English was the compulsory subject, and I felt much attracted to it. Two years later, I chose the Honours course in English for graduation, combining it with economics and political science. The poetry teacher in the degree college is the second educator I want to talk about today.

Jayalal Kaul expanded my experience of shared learning even within the confines of the classroom. He simply loved poetry – indeed he lived it – in all three languages he knew well – English, Kashmiri, and Urdu. Poetry, he told us, must be read aloud to hear the music. And it must be read interpretively, rather than literally, to capture its subtle nuances concealed in allusions, similes, and metaphors. He never spoke of teaching poetry, but always of reading it together with others, experiencing it.

We already knew about rhyme, but he awakened us to rhythm, meter. He would stand to be able to tap the floor with his right foot to indicate the stressed syllables. He would read fast or slow, modulate his voice, and employ body language and facial gestures to bring out the mood of a poem, whether exuberant joy, mellow sadness, sombre reflection, or heroic triumph like the *rasas* in Hindustani classical music. Jayalal Kaul made me appreciate that the good educator could not be half-hearted in his vocation, he had to be passionate about it, and enjoy it too. And as you know, joy is infectious.

From college in Srinagar, I went to the University of Lucknow, one of the best in the country in the early 1950's, for a composite Master's degree in economics, sociology, and anthropology. Why I did not continue with English Literature, although I had done well at the examination, is a story for another occasion.

At Lucknow, the scale and level of everything was larger and higher. Some of the teachers were nationally or even internationally reputed scholars. The best known among them in the Department of Economics and Sociology was not the best of the teachers, but his senior most colleague, D.P. Mukerji was. Mukerji was a sociologist, musicologist, essayist,

culture critic, and litterateur. In the first year, what I noticed most about him was his conversational style of teaching. It was in the second year that his qualities as a great educator stood out. He insisted that in the final year of university education, we had to be self-reliant and study the prescribed and recommended books on our own, and come to the class with questions so that we could have discussions together. You can well imagine that not all students liked his approach, but I was captivated. More than any other teacher, he inspired me to love books and reading. For whatever it counts, my choice of an academic career was primarily under his influence.

Not that he did not lecture, he did, but we could not always anticipate what it would be about. It usually was one of the topics in the syllabus. Sometimes it was about a book he had been reading, a play or movie he had seen the previous day, or a music concert he had attended. He would talk of Tagore's universalism, Gandhi's humane vision, Trotsky's permanent revolution, the Communist Party Line and its crippling effects on the thinking abilities of Indian Marxists, the dialectical relationship of tradition and modernity, the artificiality of the Indian middle class — whatever. Everything was interwoven.

The core objective of his classroom discussions and public discourses (through newspapers, periodicals, radio talks) was the cultivation of scepticism and the demolition of the walls that separate learning from experience. It was the integrated symbiotic nature of education that he passionately advocated. The truly educated person, according to Mukerji, was someone who had cultivated the capacity for holistic (not compartmentalized) thinking to engage with the challenges and predicaments of cultured living, guided by a sense of history and radical thinking. And the best location for cultivating the life of the mind and the art of living was, he insisted, the university, not the prestigious civil and defence services or the profitable professions.

My years as a student culminated at the Australian National University where I won a scholarship to work for a doctorate in social anthropology. It was a unique institution of high reputation with faculty and students drawn from many countries. It awarded the Master's and doctoral degrees on the basis of research only: there were no courses of study or lectures.

I had two exemplary supervisors to guide me. Derek Freeman and William Stanner had diametrically opposite views on the task of supervision — a potent recipe for a student's nervous breakdown! Freeman, younger of the two, was an uncompromising empiricist, a practitioner of inductive logic. He took it upon himself to instruct me in rigorous scientific method, in disciplined thinking. He led me by the hand, as it were, at times sternly but never unkindly. The relationship was unquestionably hierarchical yet friendly.

Stanner, with much more experience as a teacher, always asked me to tell him what I thought my fieldwork data signified in terms of the chosen theoretical framework, and he would help me bring out that significance more coherently and persuasively. Additionally, the theoretical perspective too would come under scrutiny in its confrontation with data. For him, I was the author of the dissertation and had to take the ultimate responsibility for it, defend its theses. He did not don the academic gown of a task master to ask me to follow a particular method or adopt a particular theoretical stance. He came through to me as a knowledgeable, witty, and wise man. He had contempt for what he called 'derived intelligence' and for teachers 'under whose shade nothing will grow'. Apparently opposed, it did not take me long to realize that, from my point of view, the two styles of supervision, were really complementary.

What, then, did these five rare educators teach me about becoming an educated person? Shared and joyous learning, disciplined holistic thinking, critical reflection, social awareness, self-cultivation, and eventually self-discovery. Only then did becoming educated result in one's being educated. In a 'character sketch' of Jomo Kenyatta, the first President of the Republic of Kenya (who incidentally was Stanner's contemporary as a doctoral student at the London School of Economics in the mid-1930's), Stanner had written: 'Men do not, I think, "change" with age. It is with age that they complete their character.' Is that, then, what there is to being an educated person? *One who has completed her or his character*. You may say this is a philosophical observation, and so indeed it is. Let me then turn from pedagogy to philosophy — from 'becoming' to 'being'.

Philosophy

I invite you to go back with me from the immediacy of our times to the vitality of what the German philosopher Karl Jaspers has named 'the Axial Age' – the pivotal age – spread over half a millennium from 800 to 300 BCE. During this age, new modes of rational thinking and spiritual awakening were shaped by certain 'paradigmatic individuals' (again a Jaspers phrase) from Greece and Persia through India to China, such as, most notably, the Buddha, Confucius, and Socrates — the first two almost exact contemporaries, the latter a generation younger. I will briefly recall here about the transformation of Siddhartha Gautama into Buddha, 'the Awakened One'.

One assumes that Siddhartha, a scion of a wealthy and noble, perhaps princely, family would have received an education appropriate to his social status. Nothing would have been lacking, and yet there was something he sorely missed, for he stealthily left home and family at the age of 29, which may well have been considered a mature age in those ancient times, 2500 years ago. Nothing is certain for all that we have are legends committed to writing long after his death.

It is said that the decision to forsake home was sudden, but that seems hardly convincing. Over time, not on a single day, he would have encountered sickness, aging, and death as different forms of human suffering, *duhkha*. He thus came to consider good health, youth, and life itself as the 'three vanities' of human existence in view of their impermanence. He also found nothing in Vedic knowledge and Brahmanical ritualism of any use in his deep urge to comprehend the true nature of human existence, and repudiated them. He would have to find out the truth for himself.

Gautama first sought relief from his sense of spiritual alienation by becoming a homeless wanderer. He then retreated into the forests seeking seers, practicing yogic meditation, subjecting himself to extreme ascetic self-denial, etc. — but to no avail. And then the awakening occurred at dawn as he sat in deep meditation under a Pipul tree in Gaya, all by himself, 'collected and purified', 'fixed and immovable', passing through four stages of deepening awareness over one night. On what is referred to as 'the fourth watch', he was fully awake. Attachment is the cause of suffering, he perceived, and detachment should bring about its cessation, *nirvana*. He realized that he had become the Tathagata, one who has gone away from the mundane world and perceived the truth. He was 35 years old. He worked out logically the implications of his awakening, and formulated the Four Noble Truths (as a causal chain) and the Noble Eightfold Path of salvation (as the entailed course of action).

Gautama at first considered his awakening a personal experience, transcending common understanding, and, therefore, fruitless to communicate to others, if not wholly incommunicable. Even his former closest companions, finding him again in his new state, mocked him. And then, just as understanding had awakened in his inner self, a new illumination also arose in his mind, that of compassion. His buddhahood was now complete. He was ready to educate others, those who would listen. Eventually, as he lay dying (in 486 BCE), his last homily to the disciples included the exhortation that the path of righteousness, dharma, having been shown to them, they should 'be lamps' unto themselves and 'rely' on themselves as individual monks and as the *sangha*. They would need no teachers. The Zen aphorism, 'If you meet the Buddha on the road, kill him', is not a repudiation of the Buddha's parting message but a steely affirmation of it.

The Dhammapada, compiled centuries later in Pali (the Buddha himself would have spoken some form of Magadhi) by Sri Lankan savants, is considered the Buddha's spoken word, the first sermons, and acknowledged as the foundational text of Theravada (doctrine of 'the elders'), the oldest living Buddhist tradition of the world.

The first of the 26 sermons comprising the Dhammapada begins with the word '*mana*', and it is repeated for emphasis: *mano pubbangama dhamma mano settha mano maya*... In Eknath Easwaran's free and felicitous translation, the first two verses read:

> Our life is shaped by our mind; we become what we think. Suffering follows an evil thought as the wheels of a cart follow the oxen that draw it. Our life is shaped by our mind; we become what we think. Joy follows a pure thought like a shadow that never leaves.

There is a consensus among Indian and Sri Lankan translators in rendering the multivocal *mana* as 'mind', for it is a rational argument about cause and effect, and within this framework, about human autonomy that the verses contain. The Buddha's conception of human existence, knowledge, and the enlightened person, combines empirical observation with intuition and rational thought and action, holistic awareness with the virtue of compassion.

Taking a double millennial jump forward into the second half of the 16th century, let me now talk of one of the wisest men in the annals of empire builders, Jalaludin Akbar (1542-1605). We of course know a great deal more about him than the Buddha. He too had his tutors to teach him all that he needed to know, from Quranic theology to the martial arts. He had a curious mind, was a good listener, with a prodigious memory, and a quick learner too. But he refused to learn reading and writing, always preferring the outside as a place of learning to the inner precincts. He must have been dyslexic. Akbar, it is recorded in a selection of his sayings, liked to recall that the prophets were illiterate. It is worth noting, however, that Muhammad, the last of the prophets in the Abrahamic tradition, although himself illiterate, spoke of the first revelation granted him by Allah, that having created man, God had 'by the pen taught man what he did not know' (*al lazee allama bil qalam, Sura 96*). Writing and knowledge are here linked and valorized.

Still in the process of being educated, Akbar succeeded his father, Humayun, to the throne of Hindustan at the age of fourteen. A guardian was appointed but he dispensed with his services within a couple of years, for he decided to learn from personal experience. For the rest of his life, Akbar gave precedence to experience together with intellect over received

wisdom, even revelation. 'The superiority of man rests on the jewel of reason', is one of his reported sayings. Therefore, 'a man is the disciple of his own reason'.

Akbar's range of interests was very wide, or, shall we say, holistic? They included wrestling, hunting, riding, swordsmanship, the graphic arts, music, metaphysics, and much else. He had no use for printed books (giving away those that Jesuit missionaries had presented to him to win him for Christ) but wanted to have books read to him. And he was a collector of illuminated manuscripts, for he loved miniature paintings, and ironically, good calligraphy!

Akbar commanded that not only his sons but all boys of the realm should receive a broad-based education. According to the *Ain-i Akbari*, a number of subjects were listed including agriculture, arithmetic, grammar, logic, medicine, metaphysics, morals, physical sciences, and yoga. The principle was clearly spelled out: 'No one should be allowed to neglect those things that the present time requires.' I believe you at NUEPA would endorse the principle.

With the passage of years, even as the frontiers of his empire and the scope of his secular learning expanded, his interest in spiritual matters also deepened. He rejected magic and miracles, and his thinking inclined him towards rationality without turning agnostic. He saw no necessary conflict between faith and reason in line with a well-known medieval Islamic tradition of which Al Farabi (Alpharabius of the Latins) and the polymath Ibn Sina (Avicenna) are luminaries. He explored the teachings and practices of various religious traditions with an open mind, even as he rationalized his administrative structures and revenue regimes with the help of his gifted advisers.

Like Gautama's awakening at the age of 35 under the secluded pipul tree in Gaya, Akbar too had his epiphany, under a fruit tree at Bhira in Punjab on April 22, 1578. He was 36. Abul Fazl tells us in the *Akbarnama* that the emperor had been going through spiritual turmoil about the significance of human existence, even as he was deeply immersed in his numerous mundane concerns, and sought relief from his restlessness through a retreat into the wilderness. An arranged hunt was a part of that diversion.

At the very climactic moment when he had downed the first animal (according to a 1590 miniature water colour by Miskina, it was a magnificent Himalayan blue sheep with curved horns), Akbar, in Abul Fazl's words, was overtaken by a 'sublime joy', which may have had several sources. The essence of the experience was that 'the lamp of vision had become brilliant', and 'the cognition of God [had] cast its divine ray'. Having attained 'his desire in the spiritual kingdom, he in thanksgiving set free many thousands of animals', and commanded that 'no one should touch [even] the feather of a finch'. Akbar's heart was freed of 'sensual pleasures' and the attractiveness of 'asceticism' took root in him. The emperor considered the experience at Bhira the beginning of new life of virtue and wisdom.

Thereafter, Akbar immersed himself more fully than ever before in the pursuit of knowledge about the ultimate purpose of human existence and the nature of the ultimate truth. The Ibadat Khana (House of Prayer), which originally (in 1875) had been intended as a meeting place for Muslim *ulama* and *sufi* masters to resolve sectarian differences within Islam, was now thrown open to scholars of all prevalent faiths for truth is but one, although its manifestation is plural. In this belief, and in some other respects too about which I will speak shortly, is reflected the influence of the great Sufi master, Ibn Arabi. Although Akbar's dissatisfaction with Sunni orthodoxy increased, to the point of scepticism even about

prophethood, and his adoption of the practices of and rituals of other faiths also gained salience, he rejected the idea of conversion.

While Akbar considered unceasing conquest his royal obligation, his spiritual restlessness found solace in Sufi doctrines, notably 'the unity of all creation' *(wahdat-ul-wujud*), the idea of 'the perfect human being' (*insane-i kamil*), and the philosophy and practice of 'peace unto all' (*sulh-i kul*). He came to embrace and emphasize the principle of rational thought (intelligence, *aql*) as the only valid basis for faith, and repudiated unquestioning adherence to tradition. Faith and reason were, as I said earlier, integrated into a single principle of human existence.

Eventually, in 1582, Akbar announced a new doctrine rooted in the truth of God's unicity and the unity of creation by God's will, *tauhid-i Ilahi*. Others gave it the name of *din-i Ilahi*, ignoring Akbar's distrust of organized religion. It was at best like a Sufi order (*silsila*), which Akbar did not compel anyone to join. The new order remained confined to a close circle of admirers, and died with him. The guardian-scholars of Islamic orthodoxy, pronounced him an apostate.

It is a long, well-documented, fascinating story. My limited purpose in recalling it here is to bring out what a richly educated and sagacious person Akbar was although unlettered. This does not at all imply that it is better to be illiterate. That is why I quoted earlier the exaltation of written knowledge in the Quran.

The Buddha and Akbar stories are of times long gone by. For modern times, we need a modern voice, and we have this, Tagore's. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) belonged to a wealthy landed family of Brahmos in East Bengal, but was raised as a Brahman. He was sent to school, in fact four schools, one after the other. But his education was basically undertaken at home by his brothers and tutors. It had wide scope and paid equal attention to the training of the body and the mind. Tagore was happier learning at home and from being outdoors, and disliked regimented classroom education. Eventually, he stopped going to school and never matriculated, much to the disappointment of his family. Later in life he condemned schools as 'a hideously cruel combination of jail and hospital'. In a book of essays *Sadhana* (1915), he strikingly contrasts the ancient Greek civilization which, he wrote, 'was nurtured within city walls' and the Indian civilization that had 'its birth' in 'the forests'.

Tagore's father wanted him to become a barrister, and he was sent to England for the purpose at the age of seventeen. He attended school in Brighton without taking any examination and, then, attended law classes at the University College, London, but earned no degrees. A second visit to London for the same purpose proved similarly fruitless. As he was to say later: 'The main object of teaching is not to give explanations, but to knock at the doors of the mind'. And this knocking he had found absent both in school and at university, in India and in England. I consider the opening of the 'doors of the mind' central to Tagore's conception of becoming and being an educated person. Maybe we should consider it so too!

After the two sojourns abroad, Tagore returned to India to a youthful life of wide reading in three languages (Bengali, Sanskrit, and English), practical experience of managing the family estates, creative writing in Bengali, and travelling in the Himalayas and the countryside (a passion he had inherited from his father), nourishing his deep love of nature. He studied Indian philosophy, particularly the Upanishads, and familiarized himself with Western philosophy also. The formal process of being educated was behind him. As he famously said, 'I do not remember what I was taught, only what I learned'.

During travels in the early 1880's, when he was in his early twenties, one day he had an unprecedented visionary experience in a house in Kolkata that he shared with his elder brother, powerful enough for him to recall it more than once in later years. Like in Gautama's case, it happened at dawn, the sun rising from behind trees. As he said in 1930, when he was seventy, in the Hibbert Lectures at Oxford, all of a sudden, he had felt 'as if some mist had in a moment lifted', fallen away from his eyes, and the world had been bathed in wonderful radiance of joy: 'the invisible screen of the common place was removed from all things and all men, and their ultimate significance was intensified in my mind'. He characterized this experience as a 'sudden expansion of my consciousness'.

The experience lasted but four days, and then 'the lid hung down again upon my inner sight', he told his Oxford audience. Twenty years earlier, in *My Reminiscences*, he had considered the transformation an enduring experience. How similar this experience is to what the legends tell us about Gautama's awakening and what Abul Fazal wrote about Akbar! This is not the occasion for undertaking such a comparison, however, fascinating although it is. I may only add that I have recalled here the visionary experiences of the Buddha, Akbar, and Tagore to emphasize the significance of holistic education, which treats empirical knowledge as more readily accessible but not self-sufficient.

In the years that followed, Tagore matured into a poet, essayist, novelist, short story writer, playwright, actor, music composer, singer (he had training in raga music and loved folk songs), philosopher, commentator on politics, institution builder, and eventually, in the last decade of his life, a painter. As D.P. Mukerji succinctly puts it (in a perceptive study), 'There is an intimacy between greatness and wholeness'.

Turning to institution building, Tagore's involvement in the running of a school at Shantiniketan, which had had its beginnings as an ashram established by his father, did not quite engage him: it was too small for the realization of his burgeoning ideas. His focus was on 'individuals all over the world who think clearly, feel nobly, and act rightly'. But individuals without institutional outlets are bound to remain self-centred. In 1916, when in Santa Barbara, California, he visualized an innovative educational institution for holistic learning.

In a letter to the Scottish regional and town planner Patrick Geddes (incidentally the first university professor of sociology in India, at Bombay), whose advice he had sought on the lay-out of the proposed institution, and who had asked for some elaboration of his ideas, Tagore wrote that, like in all his literary creations, he had 'merely started with one simple idea that education should never be dissociated from life'. The rest had to be developed from there, guided by 'the pursuit and imparting of truth'. For Tagore, the educational process which should culminate in self-cultivation was *sadhana*, constant striving, an unfolding of potential.

The new institution, which he named Vishwa Bharati (Bharati is a Vedic goddess associated with learning and knowledge) began functioning in December 1923 at Shantiniketan. He had in mind the traditional *gurukula* model, bringing teachers and students together in personal, intellectual, and spiritual bonds, living in a harmonious relationship with nature. He wanted to make Vishwa Bharati 'the connecting thread between India and the world', 'a world centre for the study of humanity beyond the limits of nation and geography'. He was critical of the notion of nationalism at a time when it was peaking under Gandhi's leadership. He called it '*bhougolik apadevata*', the demon of

geography, and the role of Shantiniketan was to exorcise the demon. The India of his vision would be home to the world.

Today, the story of Vishwa Bharati is, alas, one of depressing decline, despite its having been declared a central university. Maybe Tagore's unique institution lost its distinctive character once it was grouped with other such universities. Or, was Tagore's vision unrealistically utopian, 'a poet's caprice', and in some respects anachronistic? Did he downplay the role of formal education? Or were those entrusted with its management lack the clear thinking, noble feelings, and capacity for right action that he expected. Tagore's goal of holistic participatory education was not flawed, I think, its institutional realization was. I am sure you at NUEPA have a more nuanced understanding of what has gone wrong.

To conclude: I began the Lecture by recalling that, at different stages of my formal education, I was fortunate to have had some exceptionally gifted teachers who, each in his own manner, led me to believe that becoming an educated person ultimately is one's own responsibility. I have called it 'self-cultivation', borrowing the term from philosophical anthropology.

In continuation of this idea, I turned to three 'paradigmatic individuals' in the second part. The Buddha's teachings originally communicated to a small group of followers have evolved over two and a half millennia into an internally diverse world religion. The idea of personal responsibility in the attainment of perfection remains central to all schools of Buddhism.

Akbar's splendid empire today survives only in books of history, miniature paintings, and monuments but his pursuit of self-education and the ideal of faith within the limits of reason have a contemporary relevance in our post-secular pluralist age.

Tagore's Vishwa Bharati currently is in a deep crisis, but his philosophy of life as constant striving for perfection retains its validity. What is common to the personal endeavours of these three exemplars is recognition of both empirical knowledge and visionary experience as the basis for total awareness, the harmonization of faith and reason, and the goal of self-cultivation.

Self-cultivation is indeed a civilizational universal. The Upanishadic exhortation *atmanam vidhi* (know thyself) presupposes learning from gurus (*diksha*) followed by reflection (*vimarsha*) or self-cultivation. In the Confucian ethic of the good life, while the wisdom of 'the ancients' was honoured, the ultimate quest was for harmonizing benevolence towards others with the attainment of personal maturation. The ancient Greeks embraced the ideal of *paideia*, that is the attainment of all-round refinement. The 18th-19th century German idealist philosophers called it *Bildung*, philosophically informed holistic education, leading to personal and cultural perfection. And Tagore said, 'it takes time to prove the spirit of perfection lying in wait in a mind that is yet to mature'. Only when and if this happens - when, in Stanner's evocative words quoted earlier, one completes one's character – may one be deemed to be an educated person. The transition from 'becoming' to 'being' is indeed arduous, involve as it does the balancing of achieving the possible with the art of reaching for the impossible.

Bibliographical Note

Jayalal Kaul's best known work is an English verse translation of the aphorisms of the medieval Kashmiri Shaiva mystic Lal Ded (for the Sahitya Academy, 1973). D.P. Mukherji's

Modern Indian Culture (Bombay, 1949) is a classic of historical sociology. *His Tagore: A Study* (Calcutta, 1972) is a slim but sensible book. Derek Freeman is the author of, among other works, the controversial *Margaret Mead on Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). W.E.H. Stanner's *White Man Got no Dreaming* (Canberra, 1979) is a rare work of empathy, insight, and wisdom on the Australian aborigines. His Kenyatta memoir was published in *The Anglican Review* (1953).

For the Buddha, the best recent reference offering a rich comparative perspective is Gananath Obeyesekere's magnum opus, *Awakened Ones: Phenomenology of Visionary Experience* (New York, 2012). The basic source for Akbar is Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, 3 vols. (English translation by H. Beveridge: Delhi, 1973). The account of Akbar's visionary experience is in chapter 43 of volume 3 of the English version. The English translation of *Ain-i*-Akbari by H. Blochman has the regulation regarding education (*Ain* 25). Akbar's 'sayings' also are in the same work, Book 5, chapter 12 of the translation by H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1948).

The section on Tagore is mainly based on two biographies, Krishna Kripalani's *Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography* (London, 1962) and Krishna Dutta and Andrew Robinson's *Rabindranath Tagore: The Myriad-Minded Man* (New York, 1996), and D.P. Mukerji's *Tagore: A Study* (Calcutta, 1972). Tagore's own *My Reminiscences* (London, 1912) and *The Religion of Man* (London, 1931) have accounts of his visionary experience. His *Sadhana* (New York, 1915) is an early statement of his philosophy of self-realization as constant 'striving'.

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Student Financing of Higher Education[#]

Hamish Coates[*]

Abstract

In this paper it is argued that higher education must become substantially more transparent to support greater financial contribution from students. Accordingly, the paper addresses the student financing of higher education, though looks more generally beyond student loans at the broader topic of student contributions. The Australian higher education is adopted as a case study for the analysis. In this country, national settings have promoted system expansion over the last few decades, and with renewed vigour since 2008. In mid-2014, along with a host of other changes, the Australian government announced intentions to cut institutional subsidies and deregulate student fees. The paper reviews these policy developments. It then examines the implications for higher education markets, institutions, functions, leaders, students and academics. The paper contends that in this increasingly deregulated environment, substantially more transparency is required to promote outcomes and avoid failures. As such, the paper considers prospects for building appropriate performance information and governance mechanisms.

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Introduction

As a quick game of "higher education bingo" can reveal, a room full of higher education policy experts can find themselves hard-pressed to answer even the most basic questions about the systems, institutions and people with which they work. Teaching academics tend to ground their roles within their field and can be challenged to list the number of students at their institution or its senior executives, let alone the name and nature of the national accreditation or quality agencies. Understanding the costs and value of higher education gets even trickier and controversial, especially for experts on higher education finance. Prospective students who are new to higher education can find the system bewildering. Higher education is fundamentally complex, yet as it grows in scope and scale—not least in the large and fast-moving systems across Asia—there is a need for radically expanded forms of transparency.

This paper argues that higher education must become substantially more transparent, given any moves towards greater financial contribution from students. Accordingly, it addresses the student financing of higher education, though looks beyond student loans at the broader topic of student contributions—a matter of growing concern in many higher education systems (Orr, Usher and Wespel, 2014). Increasing student funding carries transformative implications for most facets of higher education—perhaps more so than many other efforts to steer activity and performance—and there is a potential to investigate a vast range of matters. Without substantially greater transparency attempts to create more competitive markets for higher education will fail to be optimised, or fail altogether.

In its broadest sense, this paper explores the rationales for greater transparency associated with new cost-sharing arrangements. Individuals, for instance, would need much more information on access, participation and outcomes to guide their investment in higher education. Institutions, for their part, would seek greater information about operating contexts to support leadership and management. Given the increased complexity and scale, system actors—such as governments, regulators, funders, stakeholders and researchers—would need a more detailed and timely information about education and research inputs, processes and outcomes. Higher education is now inherently international, raising the need for reporting and disclosures that are both borderless and relevant to individuals.

It may seem strange to assert the need for greater transparency, given that higher education institutions and academic work are built on foundations of open inquiry, diversified reporting and external engagement. Universities, at the same time, are traditionally caricatured as elite "ivory towers" with "secretive" and opaque operations (Ewell, 2010a). Increasingly, institutions are being encouraged—and in certain respects coerced via industry pressure and ramped up regulation—to become more transparent about their corporate and collegial business. As the above remarks convey, publicly available data on the performance of tertiary institutions remains limited, both in scope and depth. The lack of clear, accessible and thorough data about large public institutions, therefore, raises important questions about the development and promotion of particular funding and other measures, how systems and institutions adopt such measures and the beneficiaries and losers from such changes (Johnsen, 2005). Various developments over the last few decades have improved transparency but there remains substantial room for further improvement. Transparency remains a key impediment to building functional higher education markets in which students contribute a greater proportion of costs.

A more general need to analyse transparency in the context of student finance goes to fundamental transformations, shaking higher education, which are useful to sketch as a prelude to subsequent analysis. In most countries university education is in unprecedented demand (OECD, 2014; UNESCO, 2014). A range of factors contribute to this growing demand. The bachelors and increasingly the masters degrees are now passports to professional work, though in many economies additional years of workplace experience are also required (Coates and Edwards, 2010). Professional work grows in complexity, requiring more expansive knowledge and skill, and people are moving through more jobs, necessitating new and enhanced training across their careers (Shreeve, 2014). Of course, there are broader reasons why people seek higher education, such as increased civic participation (Scott, 2010), building networks, and forming personal and intercultural skills.

Supplying quality and efficient higher education to meet this increased demand can be challenging. Many collegial approaches to higher education are not scaling well (see Coates, 2015a). The governance, leadership and management arrangements of many traditionally structured institutions were not intended for environments characterised by universal levels of provision and increased student contribution. As explored below, scaling higher education to this extent can create discontinuities across disciplines and academic functions, pressure conventional forms of academic work, require new forms of governance and require the need to more explicitly engineer and manage previously tacit forms of community. Before 2020 supply is also likely to be choked by academic work and workforce constraints given shifts in demography, work roles and research training (Coates and Goedegebuure, 2012; ACE, 2014; Hugo, 2014).

Market changes such as these require new and different ways of supplying higher education. Higher education has already changed enormously compared with any stereotyped fiction of what it once was, and it continues to evolve. Often quietly, new private or privatised institutional forms are taking shape to reflect new economic and education arrangements, which can be complex and opaque (Coates and Mahat, 2014; ACE, 2014). There have been large changes in how people access and enter higher education, the nature of the institutions in which they study, and the acceptable academic standards required for graduation. It is most likely that technology is driving much greater change (without protest) than any politician or rector could ever desire. Several regional and international networks are forming, creating mutual opportunities and also hefty competition, and international partnerships are vital to economic and social futures. The tertiary and broader workforces are transforming, requiring only modestly understood forms of academic and professional capability. Among all this flux, students making increased contributions will rightly seek easily consumable information on the services and outcomes they expect to receive.

Hence, there remains a persistent and growing need to analyse consequences for higher education arising from any expansion of student contributions. In particular, it is argued in this paper that there is a need for higher education to become substantially more transparent, given any move towards seeking greater financial contributions from students. The paper adopts Australia as its case study, using this system to explore implications from greater shifts towards market-oriented financing of higher education. These analyses serve as a basis for reviewing limitations of current transparency arrangements, then detailing core features of the new transparency architecture.

As the above remarks convey, this paper tackles a broad and complex topic and it is necessary to clarify scope and assumptions. The analysis is pitched to be policy relevant, regardless of whether local or large-scale matters are being addressed. Following Vishwanath and Kaufmann (1999: 30), the term "transparency" is defined as "the increased flow of timely and reliable economic, social and political information… [which] should encompass the following attributes: access, comprehensiveness, relevance, and quality and reliability". As the above introductory remarks convey, the paper adopts a critical stance in which it is assumed that transparency must be improved. While the paper embraces higher education as a whole, due to limited scope, it focuses primarily on institutional and educational rather than research functions. For the most part the paper concentrates on the education of domestic students, a distinct and protected market segment, normally subsidised in some way by the government, with its own economic dynamics. For current purposes, the term "contribution" is read broadly as involving either direct (i.e., money) or indirect (i.e., time) dimensions. Indirect contributions are important, and are likely to be among the least well documented resources in the essentially co-produced venture of higher education (Ewell, 2010b). Broadly, the analysis is driven by a general desire to improve both the quality and productivity of education. To strengthen higher education it is assumed that education must be imparted better and more efficiently, and it is assumed transparency plays an important and underpinning role in this.

Australia as a Case Study

Australia offers a very useful case study for this analysis. The country has a mature higher education system of reasonable scale. It shares much in common with other systems established along the British lines, though in recent decades, it has developed several innovative dimensions not least regarding funding, regulation, participation and internationalisation. The current analysis focuses on the economic facets of three key national policy reforms over the last three decades, each of which has manifested a greater tilt towards student contribution to higher education.

The Dawkins Reform (DEET, 1988) sought to consolidate and expand the Australian higher education. Perhaps the most significant in the country's history, these changes involved conversion of Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) into universities, introduction of an income contingent deferred loans scheme (the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), and the development of planning and reporting mechanisms to underpin government and institutional relations regarding education (including for defined equity groups), applied and scholarly research, and institutional workforce and finances.

The reforms sparked a substantial change. In the early 1980s, Australia had 19 universities and 75 colleges of advanced education (CoA, 1993). In 1981, Australia had a total student enrolment of 336,702, of which there were 283,376 undergraduate students, 12,465 research trainees and less than five per cent international students. By 2008, there were over one million students, including around 750,000 undergraduate students, 50,000 research trainees and nearly 300,000 international students (DoE, 2009a). There was over 40,000 academic staff, and the student/staff ratio had doubled (DoE, 2009b; Coates and Goedegebuure, 2012).These changes were spurred by a tapestry of factors, not least the

expansion of international education, but it is recognised that foundations were set in the Dawkins Reforms (Croucher *et al*, 2013).

The Dawkins Reforms increased dramatically students' contribution to higher education. In indirect terms, it expanded opportunities for obtaining a university degree, markedly increasing the volume of students. Perhaps most importantly, via introduction of the HECS scheme it increased private financial contributions to higher education. Costs for courses in broad fields of study have been estimated, then partitioned, using weightings reflecting estimations of expected benefit into public (varying across the years, but averaging around 60 per cent (Norton, 2012)) and capped private components. HECS serviced a means of financing the private portion of costs, for though the Australian Government sponsors the debt HECS is considered a private contribution. Hence, HECS offered a means of scaling participation by removing upfront costs for students and the Government, and by linking repayment in proportional ways to future pre-tax income (Chapman, 1997). Repayment is via the tax system, and graduates are able to make additional contributions.

While several national reviews were convened after Dawkins (e.g., the "Crossroads Review" (DEST, 2002)) and various features of HECS were revised, the Bradley Review (Bradley *et al.,* 2008) and consequent Bradley Reforms (AG, 2009) is widely regarded as the next most significant step along the path of system deregulation and student involvement. Of most current relevance, the Bradley Reforms deregulated the quantity of students that a university could admit. It also set expansion targets for the population, and for specific disadvantaged groups. The HECS system was extended, with no major changes, as the means by which additional students would be funded.

This policy appears to have been broadly successful, with many institutions seeking to admit as many students as feasible, given supply and admissions parameters. Indeed, certain institutions pre-empted the formal start date. Overall, there has been around 15 per cent growth in numbers since 2012 (DoE, 2014b), feeding new money into the system. At the same time, there has been marked increase in debt associated with financing this increased participation, creating repayment risks for the Australian Government as well as for individuals who, particularly in the formative post-study years, are often burdened with contingent graduate employment and other forms of personal and family debt (Norton and Cherastidtham, 2014). While difficult to untangle from other environmental factors, the expansion fuelled concerns about the quality of provision and graduates in certain fields as well as graduate employment outcomes (Kemp and Norton, 2014). As with the Dawkins Reform, the Bradley Reform prompted increased student contribution to the system, not just in terms of numbers and time, but also by enhancing competition among institutions for students, hence, shifting the dynamics in the market. As a counterpoint to the further deregulation, the Bradley Reforms recommended a new national standard-based regulator, and the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA) was established in 2011. Though a national Base Funding Review (Lomax-Smith *et al*., 2011) was conducted, it had little impact.

In May 2014 the Australian Government tabled a package of reforms in its Federal Budget (DoE, 2014a) with a view to further spurring the system on a path of sustainable quality and growth. The policy intent was to further expand and diversify the system by reducing regulation and increasing competition among institutions. Coupled with additional legislation to scale-down the relatively young TEQSA, these new reforms proposed the

adjustment of various existing parameters such as reducing government subsidies (by 20 per cent on average), increasing the interest rate on the existing income contingent deferred student loan scheme (from the Consumer Price Index (CPI) to the Government bond rate (Sharrock, 2014), expanding the types of institutions able to access government subsidies (including non-university providers), and introducing a new means of funding the participation of students from disadvantaged backgrounds (via new scholarship arrangements). Importantly, these reforms also put a provocative compensating parameter on the table for the first time in over 30 years—the price of tuition—unlocking a fresh world of economic and education opportunity, complexity and challenge.

There was no open consultation prior to the announcement of these reforms and while prior policy and reviews (e.g., Kemp and Norton, 2014; NCoA, 2014) hinted at this direction the industry and stakeholders received them with alarm. The reforms were much debated throughout 2014, and various modifications were made such as to the interest and repayment rates, price monitoring, and repayment thresholds. These modifications exacerbated a key inconsistency in the package, notably moral risks associated with institutions having freedom to set prices, with the government carrying the debt via HECS without an adjusted commercial rate of return. There were debates about the theory and practice of pricing in emerging higher education economies (Go8, 2014; Knott and Gilmore, 2014). Interestingly, the general debate focused on ameliorating facets of the package rather than advancing viable alternatives for funding the costly and expanding system (e.g., Norrie and Lennon, 2011), though nearly a year down the track several policy analysts have started to forge more comprehensive solutions (Parliament of Australia, 2015). The tenets of the package were sustained, and the modified package of reforms received support from most of the higher education institutions and many key agencies, though in late 2014 failed by a slim margin to pass the Australian Senate. As explored in the next section, if enacted in broadly its current form, the policy carries the potential of substantially increasing both direct and indirect student contributions to higher education, with equally substantial implications for institutions, academics and the overall system.

Combined, these reforms, along with other developments, leave Australia's higher education in a transitional policy/funding phase. In 2012, of the $25 billion revenues of public universities, just under half (44 per cent) came from the Australian Government grants, just over a third (36 per cent) came from students, with the remaining fifth coming from other commercial investment and philanthropic sources (AG, 2014). Australia tracks around the OECD average in terms of expenditure per student (OECD, 2014). The contributions made by domestic students grew from close to zero in the 1980s, to a few per cent in the early/mid-1990s, and has hovered around 15 per cent since the mid-1990s (Lomax-Smith *et al*., 2011) (with international students contributing around 20 per cent). By most estimates (stymied by the lack of accurate cost data within institutions), students contribute around 40 per cent of the costs of their education (Lomax-Smith *et al*., 2011; Norton, 2012). Clearly, the proposed Pyne Reforms would increase the student contribution. While alternatives (e.g., graduate taxes, commercial loans or general tax increases) have been considered (Lomax-Smith *et al*., 2011; Kemp and Norton, 2014; Norton and Cherastidtham, 2014), the income contingent loans scheme has been a sustaining pillar of the financial architecture.

Stepping back, therefore, the Australian higher education offers a useful case of a system transforming from one being largely dominated by governmental/institutional supply-side

management, to one being increasingly devolved to market/student demand. Importantly for both fairness and productivity, the system has enabled students from disadvantaged backgrounds to participate in higher education, though participation rates have not increased, so there are doubtless opportunities for improvement. The system provides an interesting case to examine implications of increasing student contribution to higher education, particularly as Australia does not (yet) have a large or established private higher education tradition unlike countries such as Japan, the United States or Malaysia. Facets of the Dawkins and Bradley Reforms are now well established, but the "Pyne Reforms" are still in motion, creating space for reflection on opportunities and challenges.

Implications of Increased Cost Sharing

So what potential implications do such reforms carry for students, academics, institutions and systems? These are major, many and varied. The following analysis takes stock of critiques with a view to subsequently exploring the new forms of transparency required to support systems involving increased student contribution.

Clearly, prospective and current students as well as graduates develop greater interests in a system in which they vest most direct and indirect contributions. Individuals would seek more information on access, participation and outcomes to guide their investment in higher education. Information needs and assurances would vary across student and education segments, though as discussed below it is likely to have several basic characteristics that are useful for framing the transparency mechanisms required. Obviously, despite the general price inelasticity of higher education (Orr, Usher and Wespel, 2014), serious problems emerge if study costs hamper the capacity of capable but disadvantaged people to attend. As increasingly noted (ACE, 2014), changes in the nature, resourcing and potential of higher education will yield changes in the nature of the students and the student body.

A host of implications for academic work and workforce flow from materially changing the funding base for higher education. Student expectations are likely to change, potentially returning dividends to quality enhancement though perhaps also instrumentalising curriculum, teaching and learning. Additional student contribution also leads naturally to considerations regarding students' agency in the educational process—potentially, from "student", to "customer", to "investor"—and most particularly, conflicts of interest regarding assessment and grading. Increased disclosures about teaching performance are likely to lead to increased scrutiny of individual performance, which carries benefits but also hazards if the metrics are not carefully designed and managed (Coates and Goedegebuure, 2012). Changed funding and increased transparency carries consequences for other facets of academic work, most particularly research given conventional cross-subsidisation of this activity by core operating grants.

While institutions in Australia have supported each of the reforms outlined above, the particular impact of these shifting funding dynamics of course depends on institutional factors such as market position, programme mix, and organisational characteristics. Doubtless, more competitive operating contexts will require more productive management of facilities, workforce, teaching and research. Regarding transparency, institutions are likely to seek substantially more information to help them function in more competitive markets. Information will not only be sought by institutional leaders and managers, but also by deans, department heads, academics and students. Of course, besides insight procured via

commercial research, such thirst for information will need to be matched with additional disclosures. These remarks hint towards the system-level implications that arise from such change, not least in terms of understanding and encouraging potential forms of diversification and redistribution.

As is already apparent, not least manifest in proliferating benchmarking and profiling activities (see Rauhvargers, 2013), systems and international agencies have demonstrated an increased demand for information on higher education activity and performance. Particularly with any tilt towards increased student cost-sharing, system actors—governments, regulators, funders, stakeholders and researchers—need more detailed and timely information about education and research inputs, processes and outcomes.

Constraints of Current Transparency Settings

As this brief review conveys, substantial complexities must be resolved to create a functional market for higher education services in which students share an increased portion of costs. Central among these, it is argued, is the need for substantially more and different transparency to optimise outcomes and avoid failure. It is useful to review current transparency arrangements in policy, practice and concept, as a means to exploring challenges and, most importantly, opportunities for improvement. Here, the analysis broadens beyond the Australian case to begin looking at more general trends and developments.

It can be expected that students rely on an eclectic range of information sources to inform decisions regarding higher education. According to Kennedy (2013) and Bach *et al* (2014), key sources include university websites, social media and word of mouth. Word of mouth is particularly important, travelling via alumni and familial reports. Obviously, careers and education advisors play a role for school-level and international cohorts, and rankings are influential in certain markets (Hazelkorn, 2013). A recent population-level report in Australia and New Zealand (Coates, 2014) suggest that very few students rely on more objective sources such as independent websites or advice from employers. Clearly, with the potential exception of advisors, none of the frequently used sources provide impartial information, signalling the clear separation between consumer behaviours and entrenched practices of higher education institutions and systems.

While institutions vary in terms of the extent of power they are granted to accredit academic programmes and assure standards, collegial mechanisms like committees and peer review still play dominant roles. Peer review is essential in many areas that involve complex or difficult matters, but it can also function as a conservative and even quasi-commercial means for stifling open discussion and debate. Calls for greater transparency will almost certainly require forms of governing academic activity, power and performance (Canny and Coates, 2014). This may involve including more external parties in assessment decisions, or introducing various assessments to assure the quality of outcomes. As sketched above and argued elsewhere (Coates, 2015a), academic peer review struggles to cope with the diversity and scale of much contemporary higher education, which invariably then ends up functioning in the shadows, if not in the dark. While it may seem the best of a series of sub-optimal options, in many instances, there is a need to build new mechanisms or supplement existing approaches with additional supports.

It is impossible to generalise about the plethora of institutional disclosure arrangements that exist, but insights can be gleaned from studies that have examined higher education productivity. Such studies flag that finances can be difficult to track (due to internal cross-subsidisation, organisational complexity, and lack of cost allocation), and that key outcomes can be difficult to define, measure, analyse and report (van Vught and Ziegele, 2012). Institutions produce an array of public reports, though many of these are unaudited (e.g. Bice and Coates, forthcoming) and others are retained as confidential. Websites and social media are an obvious instrument for disclosure, but these follow no standard format and can provide a vast amount of confusing or perplexing information. Consequently, higher education institutions remain remarkably opaque compared to many other private and public organisations.

Systems have reacted in various ways to encourage and compel more information and reporting about higher education activity and performance. As the major funders, governments have been the main agitators for greater transparency. Across the last few decades, the rise of new regulatory and external quality agencies (Harvey, 2006) along with better system-wide information systems (Sullivan *et al.,* 2012) have been the most prominent developments. In many countries, student and graduate surveys have grown to play a prominent part in the new information systems (Coates and McCormick, 2014). Research data collections have also developed (e.g., RAE, 2015). Advisors exist in certain instances, particularly for international applicants, which are often sponsored by particular national or institutional groups (e.g., IDP Education, 2015). Various systems have also created agencies which fund enhancement work (e.g., the United Kingdom Higher Education Academy, Australian Office of Learning and Teaching, and New Zealand's Ako Aotearoa) and, notably, internet-based disclosure mechanisms (e.g., USDoE, 2015). These initiatives provide information for individuals and agencies involved in system- and institution-level work and despite occasional policy publications, tend to be at least one step removed from public consumption.

The last decade in particular has seen the rise of an increasing number of more generalisable transparency initiatives. Examples include qualification frameworks/profiles (Chakroun, 2010), initiatives to align expected learning outcomes (González and Wagenaar, 2008), international institutional rankings (van Vught and Ziegele, 2012), and various forms of shared and more externally imposed assessment (see Coates, 2015b). With the exception of a small number of the most prominent institutional rankings, such initiatives have yet to move beyond policy—often "high policy" at the international or research stage—into broader institutional or public communities. While such rankings have stimulated more open deliberations about higher education, affirming the need for greater disclosures, it is apparent that the indices suffer from significant technical shortcomings (Mahat and Goedegebuure, 2014; van Vught and Ziegele, 2012).

This brief analysis is sufficient to affirm how traditional arrangements have helped institutions—especially universities which occupy powerful and exclusive positions in nationally regulated markets—to function in oligopolistic ways and control the provision of information to the market. Various policy and market shifts have started to change this dynamic. But as the above analysis brings out, it is doubtful that change is yet sufficient to support a functional market based on increased student contributions. As governments devolve control of higher education to competitive forces, market settings change and greater information is required to help stakeholders—notably government, students and

business—understand what institutions are doing and achieving. The inadequacy of current information and disclosure systems has been noted my many (e.g., Kemp and Norton, 2014; Sullivan *et al.*, 2012; Vercruysse and Proteasa, 2012).

New Transparency Architectures

In markets where students make increased contributions, therefore, what kinds of disclosures are required to inform funding, regulation, accreditation, quality assurance and enhancement, and the development and management of academic work? Suggestions here focus on the type of information—what basket of transparency indicators would be helpful, and the way in which it is disclosed. It is beyond the scope of this paper to tackle broader conceptual considerations pertaining to key relevant facets of higher education such as quality and productivity, though the following analysis springs from these and interested readers are referred to the references.

Particularly where students make increased contributions, there is a need to improve—and in many instances commence—disclosures regarding the advertised prices and final/net costs of educational services taking into account likely debt arrangements. As noted at the outset of this paper, this remains a very complex area to understand, even for experts. Reporting mechanisms have been developed, particularly in the United States (e.g. www.payscale.com/college-roi and www.affordablecollegesonline.org) to provide information on the economic value proposition of a programme of study. These broaden a history of such disclosures in specific segments of the population such as business and medical schools (e.g., http://medical-schools.findthebest.com and http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings), which have had separate and discrete traditions in place. These mechanisms are starting to internationalise (e.g., www.pickacollege.in/ranking).

In many systems there remains an urgent need to report learning and labour market outcomes. Graduation rates are commonly reported, but these depend on learning outcomes exceeding threshold levels, and even in highly accredited professional fields learning outcomes are often not disclosed or externally verified (Coates, 2015a). Labour market outcomes are more opaque. Many countries have graduate surveys which chart vocational and further study outcomes (Coates and Edwards, 2010), but these vary in scope and scale and can be difficult to generalise. It is increasingly realised that in advanced economies a bachelor degree is necessary but not sufficient for developing the skills required for effective participation in a professional role, and that a graduate degree or similar vocational experience is required (Shreeve, 2014). Very few systems collect systematic feedback from employers (Oliver *et al.*, 2014).Information on learning and employment outcomes is critical to compiling reports for prospective students to inform both direct and indirect investments in higher education.

Even more significant, but lacking, are estimates of the value that higher education adds to individuals, or the gains they are likely to achieve from study. Such information typically refers to "how much students or graduates have learned about subject matter, general and specific skills, broader competencies and/or personal development" (Hoareau-McGrath and Guerin, 2015). Reported in accessible ways, this is precisely the information that funders and students alike seek to ascertain the value conveyed by a programme of study. Such information remains perpetually difficult to capture, analyse and report (Cunha and Miller, 2012), though this does not diminish its importance.

Insights into "student engagement" have also been spotlighted as important for informing student choice. If people enrol in a programme of study, will people be engaged in educationally purposeful activities, and will institutions and teachers effectively support their learning? Across several decades, various efforts have been made to incorporate information on core education processes like these into various forms of higher education reporting (see, for example: Ewell and Jones, 1996; Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005), yielding what is likely to be the most advanced and widespread form of information on education quality (Coates and McCormick, 2014). Even so, this information has yet to filter into widely received consumer-oriented reports.

There remains a real need to increase the timeliness of disclosures about higher education activity and performance. Much disclosure in higher education is highly delayed, and even where data is not lagged it is not uncommon for parties external to institutions to be working with information that is more than a year old. This can be compared with disclosure obligations for publicly traded entities. The Australian Stock Exchange (ASX), for instance, states that "Once an entity is or becomes aware of any information concerning it that a reasonable person would expect to have a material effect on the price or value of the entity's securities, the entity must immediately tell ASX that information" (ASX, 2014: 1). Such a principle does not typically apply to higher education institutions, above certain obligations to various regulatory and funding agencies.

It is important that information is disclosed in ways that are accessible to target audiences. Heightened student expectations will play a major role in stimulating new forms of disclosure. Reports from quality agencies, for instance, are often difficult to locate or obtain from agencies or institutions, and not designed for general audiences. There are often material variations in the information that is disclosed to prospective students, to regulators, and to stakeholders. It might be expected, therefore, that accurate, reliable, timely, audited and interpretable reports are made via the internet.

Given the focus on student financing of higher education, much of what has been suggested in this paper goes to the need for effective governance of reporting higher education inputs, activities and performance. As with other facets of higher education, there are many potential arrangements (e.g., governmental, commercial, industry-led and intermediary), and these will change with growth in the industry. As with any investment decision, people will seek information from a variety of sources to guide decisions regarding educational investments. It is important, nonetheless, that there be one or more trusted authorities within any system. Invariably, certain disclosures will be used to compile simplistic ranks of institutions or programmes. Others, as detailed above, may become more individualised, evolving in step with the emergence of contemporary business analytics.

Concluding Insights

As the above remarks imply, there are serious risks associated with failing to improve transparency in an environment where students are making greater contributions to higher education. The broadest and most obvious risk is market failure arising from information obscurities—notably asymmetries (Akerlof, 1970)—spawning sub-optimal decisions by students, institutions and other stakeholders. While acknowledging that tertiary education is a credence good (Dulleck and Kerschbamer, 2006) in which value can only be assessed after consumption, more cogent information has the potential to play an important role in

applicant decision-making. Though implications can take years to manifest, individual, hence professional and national outcomes will be hampered if selection and matching processes are confounded. Poor information carries an obvious potential to hinder institutional planning and management, particularly in ways that are responsive to heightened student expectations. It also has the potential to hamper competition and differentiation among providers (Mahat, Coates, Edwards, Goedegebuure, van der Brugge and van Vught, 2013). Other stakeholders, such as business, will have even more trouble engaging with institutions than already appears to be the case.

As alluded to throughout the analysis, the above discussion affirms more than ever before, the greater need to understand and improve the productivity of higher education. "Productivity" is a deceptively simple notion in its purest articulation. A rudimentary technical description sees it as the ratio of output to input for a particular situation in which production occurs. Productivity goes up when outputs increase, while inputs stay constant or decline. Sounds simple, but matters quickly get far more complex in higher education. Defining "inputs" and "outputs" can be challenging, and measuring important phenomena can be even more fraught with challenges. Even where definition and measurement has prevailed, data and analytical constraints can hinder productivity assessment. It would appear that many of the metrics required to enhance the transparency of higher education would also inform productivity enhancement, and vice versa. Not the least, if students are sharing more of the cost of higher education, they will naturally inquire into the whether fees are being prudently spent. Improvements would also flow from the increasing institutional and functional diversity that associated with greater student contribution (Orr, Usher and Wespel, 2014).

The challenges of achieving higher education excellence are many and difficult to deal with, even without the metamorphoses sketched above. Invariably, however, such changes to core facets of education and business, stimulate and magnify questions about quality. Efforts to increase scale via the more standardised production of curriculum and provision via learning management systems, for instance, run the risk of conflating or compressing quality (Coates, James and Baldwin, 2005). As signalled with respect to the indicators required to enhance transparency, any discussion about financing higher education requires sustained attention to quality. Various education-focused transparency mechanisms have been promulgated (NILOA, 2014; Krzykowski and Kinser, 2014) as a means for encouraging reporting that is jointly supportive of compliance, improvement and enhancement agendas.

This paper has examined prospects and issues associated with seeking increased funding for higher education from students. Working from the case study of the Australian higher education, in which national settings have promoted expansion through deregulation over the last few decades, it has been argued that substantially more transparency is required to promote outcomes and avoid failure. Hence, the paper reviewed prospects for building appropriate performance information and governance mechanisms. Careful system and institutional management will be necessary to spur increased productivity and quality. Governments will doubtless need to prompt much of the required transformation, though success of the outcomes will hinge on institutions, academics and students taking the lead.

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Financing of Higher Education and its Quality#

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Abstract

Crisis of higher education is age-old. However, the nature of the crisis has changed phenomenally, once the higher education sector is engulfed by the neoliberal economic principles. The State support to higher education is on the decline and with that the private providers have entered this field in a big way. The implications of this change are far reaching. Even when the State was a dominant player, this sector was never a priority sector as it suffered from a long-term under-investment. Financing of higher education was a major problem then, and is a major problem even now. One important consequence of this characteristic feature is the continuation of quality of education which is falling. The big issue is to arrest the declining quality and also to raise quality of education.

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Education is turning into a private good at all levels, but more so at the tertiary level. Private demand for higher education has superseded the social demand. In such a situation, higher education can rarely be inclusive. Accessibility is also in danger as it is less subsidised and the increasing financial cost is supposed to be borne by students and their parents. Affordability and accessibility go together.

The issue of quality has another dimension. It is to be sorted out not necessarily locally, keeping in mind local requirements, but internationally, as higher education is becoming borderless both as a good and as a service in the global knowledge economy and the international education market. In terms of both funding (investment) and quality, the present status of higher education in many developing countries is far below the one achieved by the developed economies. The playing field can be levelled only if the status of higher education in developing economies can be brought closer to the one already attained by the developed economies.

In the context of what is said above, in this paper we have expressed the view that the methods of financing of higher education can be innovative, if through these methods, this problem is resolved largely by raising the required amount of resources from various sources ensuring simultaneously their optimum utilisation, leading to better quality.
Our analysis largely confines to the Indian situation, with stray references here and there, of other countries.

"Since the intake into colleges and universities is severely compromised by the exclusion at the school stage of a significant part of the population and even larger exclusion from acceptably good education, it is difficult for higher education to achieve anything near to its potential" (Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, 2013).

Introduction

Higher education (post-school education/Tertiary education) is an important segment of the entire education process from elementary to college-university level. All the three levels of education — elementary, secondary and post-school-are organically connected or interdependent in the sense that the weak base or foundation does not allow higher levels to grow fully, which in turn, keeps the base weak — a kind of vicious circle in operation in the education sector.

Notwithstanding the above fact, recently the focus is more on revamping higher education, whereas the urgent need is to strengthen the foundation. Our assertion is ably supported by the following observation made by Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen. They write: "*The limitation of intake is, however, a major drag on the reach and performance of Indian higher education, and to improve this, it is critically important to reform, indeed to remake, the entire system of school education in the country" (2013).*

The reasons for developing post-school education fast are obvious. First is the conversion of higher education from a **semi-public good** virtually to a **private good**. The reforms in higher education are mainly based on neoliberal economic principles since 1991, which are market-centric. This has led to the marketisation, privatisation and even commercialisation of higher education whether for good or bad. Financing of higher education in its wake is being shifted from the dominant player since long, namely the State (public sector), to the private/corporate sector. The burden of financing of higher education is increasing on students with the gradual withdrawal of State support. Globalisation and

internationalisation of the world economy in the wake of information, communication and technology revolution (ICT) has solidly supported and given momentum to the process of its commodification. Further, GATS (General Agreement on Trade and Services) has lent support to this process by making higher education an internationally traded good/service. So, higher education is to be developed not necessarily keeping in mind only the local needs but also in the context of the requirements of an expanding world knowledge economy. The emergence of such a scenario at the level of tertiary education calls for a thorough rethinking in the matter of policy formulation.

When higher education is becoming a commodity locally as well as internationally, all said and done, it needs to be competitive. The question that arises here requiring in-depth probe is: Should a country stick to the fulfilment of the much acclaimed goals of access, equity and quality/excellence simultaneously or simply concentrate on the quality goal alone?

We are of the opinion that the order of goals - should be reversed from access, equity and quality as appeared in the policy documents of many countries, say India, to quality, access and equity. At the tertiary level quality goal should be a priority goal. What sort of relation between the funding of higher education and its quality can one visualise? What could be the role of different methods of financing of higher education in promoting its quality? What is the present state of quality of higher education in India and other countries? What are the legitimate reasons for according top priority to quality goal side-tracking the other two goals?

We elaborate our stand/position in this regard in the following sections. Our analysis largely confines to the Indian situation with stray references here and there to other countries.

Section I is on broad trends in financing of higher education and on that basis visualising the relationship between the overall funding of higher education and its quality. Section II is on the present state of quality of education, especially higher education, and on the reasons for the emphasis on the quality goal alone. Section III is on the role of various methods of financing in upgrading the quality of post-school education. Section IV briefly narrates the salient points examined/discussed on the topic in the three sections.

Section I

Features of Financing Higher Education

Long-term under-investment in public education is one important feature of the financing of the sector as a whole, higher education being no exception. Two important components of social sector, namely education and health have failed to gain a "priority sector" status. In the case of India, the goal of 6 per cent of national income to be invested in education recommended by the Kothari Commission (1964-1966) and reiterated again and again by various commissions and committees thereafter, is yet to be achieved. The goal of 1.5 per cent of GNP (Gross National Product) for higher education has not only been not achieved but during the period between 1990-1991 to 2005-2006, it has been falling. This has happened during the period of high economic growth. Even no sincere and concerted efforts have been on the agenda of the policy to mobilise adequate amount of resources either by the State from its own resources or from the non-state sources.

Declining public expenditure on higher education as a proportion of GNP is a worldwide phenomenon. During the 1990s, 70 out of 111 countries reduced their share of public spending on higher education and 34 out of 41 countries were from developing countries, according to UNESCO. Consequently, funding per student decreased substantially, implying thereby the reduction in public subsidies on higher education. Comparatively, public expenditure per student on higher education in India is one of the lowest. India spends $400 as against $2728 by China, $13035 by Sweden and $575 by Philippines. Apart from under-financing, under-utilisation of funds provided every year to educational institutes by the State is one additional feature of financing of higher education in India.

The allocation of public financial resources earmarked for higher education among colleges and universities located in different parts of India also matters. Bulk of the UGC (University Grants Commission) disbursed funds, apart from uneven, has gone to the Central Universities and their affiliated colleges and to a few deemed to be universities.

There is an instance of opening up of additional educational institutions not commensurate with demand. Even professional education institutions are on the verge of closing down as demand is quite below the intake. This is certainly a case of mal-allocation of public resources. The Report published in *The Times of India* (June 23, 2012), under the title :Quantity vs Quality", states that "with more colleges and less students, engineering colleges and universities across the country have requested the AICTE (All India Council of Technical Education) to stop granting clearance for new colleges". A severe slump is observed in demand in States like Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The AICTE has to direct the universities to conduct a demand and supply analysis and propose how many colleges need to start in the next three years. Further, with respect to business schools, the same daily (TOI, September 10, 2012), under the title "India's business schools get tough lesson in supply and demand", has reported the finding of CRISIL, a rating agency, that 140 schools are expected to close this year in the wake of an increase in vacant places from 15 per cent-20 per cent in 2006-2007 to 35 per cent in 2011-2012. Executives of both the professional courses have stressed the importance of quality improvement as majority of engineering teachers are mediocre and only one in five MBAs is employable. These instances offer a lesson to the policy makers pre-occupied with quantitative expansion at the cost of quality betterment. Thus, there is a clear as well as an urgent case for the reallocation of resources in favour of factors leading to the improvement of quality amounting to the optimum utilisation of resources already invested and to be invested at the higher education level. When seats remain vacant, the policy goal should be the consolidation of the existing institutions leading to the improved standards of post-secondary education.

Consequences of Under-financing

Let us now focus on the consequences of under-financing of public expenditure on higher education.

The foremost is the significant shift of funding from the State to students and their families in the form of a substantial increase in tuition and other fees, finally leading to the emergence of student loan as a method of financing. The logic which favours this shift in public funding from institutional funding to student funding is that it supports the principle of student choice in the selection of institutions and courses and increases competition

among the institutions and improves efficiency. Next is the rapid growth of fee charging private educational institutions as well as of self-financing colleges largely for profit. Two features of a public good, namely non-rivalry and non-exclusion, are disappearing fast, raising its "privateness" component as against "publicness" component at the higher education level, widening the distance between the social demand and the market demand.

One can observe here a sort of contradiction in government policy which is emphasising the massification of higher education on the one hand to catch up with the enrolment ratio attained by the advanced countries, and withdrawing State support to its expansion on the other hand. On top of this is the government funding favouring a handful of top ranking universities and colleges locally. The net result is that the majority of the universities and colleges suffer from very low standards of education, and are likely to be so in a new scenario. Higher education is sick because of the neglect of such a large number of higher learning institutes. Will they die a natural death? Or will they have a future in a globally competitive education market? Massification by lowering admission criteria has forgotten that higher education — liberal and professional education — should necessarily be selective.

Two distinct features of higher education as a private good are (a) financial privatisation and (b) private ownership of institutions mainly for profit. Feature (a) implies the recovery of a certain specified proportion of higher education cost from students relieving its financial burden on the State. In case, students and their families find increasing tuition and other fees unbearable, the alternative is student loan to be repaid at a later date (deferred payment). With reference to feature (b) pro-profit private providers entering the education market adopt the full cost pricing rule. To encourage privatisation of this type, it is proposed to provide public funds and liberal fiscal incentives To be totally withdrawn from funding and providing higher education. So, the emerging local higher education market is characterised by the public and private players whose goals are different representing clash of interests — former academic culture vs. later profit culture. Presence of State and private providers in the higher education market within the country boils down to the existence of a so-called dual market. In such a market, we observe a large variation in access pricing along with noticeable quality disparity. In India, the fees in private universities are about 50 to 80 times higher than those in public institutions. As against this, in the US, Korea and Japan, the fees in private institutes are eight to ten times higher than those in public institutions (Tilak, 2014). Does privatisation of higher education, say in India and the US, convey more contrasts rather than similarities, particularly with regard to the sources of finance? Contrast is more visible with respect to fee rates as mentioned above. What are the sources of finance other than fees? Our system (Indian) can be described as predominantly private unlike the developed countries (US for instance) which have strong public higher education system (Tilak, 2014). Not only do private higher educational institutions heavily rely on student fees but also they have not made serious efforts to generate any additional sources of money. In contrast, in the US students' fee accounts for only a small fraction of the total cost of higher education. There, fees constitute less than 40 per cent of the total cost. The remaining 60 per cent was met by non-State and non-student sources. Many top ranking universities there are not motivated by profit but by the goal of providing good quality education. Private institutions in India are not set up to complement public institutions but to capitalise on the public sector's inadequacy. Taking the case of Harvard university, Tilak writes that 60 per cent students receive need-based scholarships towards the cost of tuition, room and board. So,

nearly 20 per cent of the families pay nothing and many college student graduates pass without debt.

Joseph C. Stiglitz, in his book, *The Price of Inequality* writes: "Parental income is increasingly becoming important, as college tuition increases faster than incomes, especially at public colleges which educate 70 per cent of the Americans". Even if they go for loans to cover the gap between incomes and fees, the gap remains unfilled. Stiglitz has found fault with the financial sector. According to him "the financial sector succeeded in making student loans non-dischargeable in bankruptcy, which meant that the lenders had little incentive to see to it that the schools for which the students were borrowing money were actually providing them with an education that would enhance their income. Meanwhile, Private, for-profit schools, with richly compensated executives have defeated attempts to impose high standards that would make schools that exploit the poor and ill-informed — by taking their money and not providing them with an education that enables them to get jobs to repay the loans — ineligible for loans. It is totally understandable that a young person seeing how the burden of debt is crushing his parents' lives, would be reluctant to take on student loans. It is, in fact, remarkable that so many are willing to do so, to the point that a college graduate now has a debt of over $25,000."

Findings of a recent study on student loan in India have revealed that the equity objective of higher education through loan financing is hardly achievable as banks offer loans to students of professional courses and loans are given on the basis of merit and income. Poor meritorious students are deprived of such facility and there is no specific loan scheme for the backward caste students (Sailbala Debi, 2014). Thus, it appears that the student loan programme has created an increasing inequality of educational opportunity. Further, it has created a system where the striving for education may be leading to more inequality. It is alleged that the withdrawal of State support for higher education is mainly responsible for this. Provision for social mobility and social cohesion is guided more by social demand, whereas loans cater to market demand for higher education; it is argued that loans are responsible for decreasing mobility and decreasing the nation's productivity (Stiglitz).

Tuition Fees Linked to the Performance of Colleges

When hike in tuition is linked to the performance of colleges, it is likely that students may be able to clear off the debt on getting a well-paid job. Recently, Fee Panel in Gujarat has done this for professional colleges and universities of Gujarat. For arriving at the new fee structure, a software — Know your customer — (KYC) was developed by the panel. This software has helped the panel to quantify the academic excellence of individual colleges in terms of their staff strength and qualifications, administration, infrastructure, academic standards and placement. On this basis, ten colleges were permitted to increase fees by 35-40 per cent. Fifteen colleges were granted permission to raise fees by 30-35 per cent. Existing fee structure was retained in 68 colleges, mostly located in rural areas facing empty classrooms. Further, fee structure of seven colleges was scaled down by the fee panel as a measure of relief for some students of the State. Not only this, the fee panel resolved to withhold the announcement of a new fee structure for 55 colleges whose academic standards were graded below 30 per cent. The panel found a wide gap between the existing fee structure and the one demanded by the colleges. The sanctioned increase in tuition was

lower than the demanded one to ensure that the institutions do not indulge in profiteering. While computing the fee hike, the panel took 12 per cent inflation into account, to ensure no fall in revenue in real terms. Is the 12 per cent inflation rate chosen by the panel based on the wholesale price index, or the consumer price index or a special price index constructed for the higher education sector? The fact is that the permissible hike in the range of 30 per cent-40 per cent is certainly much higher than the 12 per cent inflation rate. Is this fee hike in tune with the growth of private income or the growth of State Gross Domestic product (SGDP)? These questions are relevant to assess the affordability of the hike in fee rates.

The panel has not allowed fee hike in the case of colleges facing empty classes. As mentioned earlier, this again is a clear case of policy failure as it amounts to uncalled for expansion of higher education to meet the goals of access and equity and also a case of misallocation of financial resources.

The difference between the highest and the lowest fee charging institutes for the same course degree, say MBA, is almost eleven times--Rs 4,49,000 (highest) and Rs 41,000 (lowest). For diploma engineering course, the variation in fees is of the order of two times. If these course-wise variations in tuition fees truly reflect the difference in quality, then one can surmise that the higher the access price the better is the quality. In that case, these institutes are following the effective access pricing rules beneficial to both students and providers. Returns on this investment for students as consumers and investors must be fairly good and given the job situation, they must be in a position to repay the loan if taken.

Whether the hike in tuition is performance-based as in Gujarat, or is faster than income as in the US, the question of affordability of the increasing price of higher education cannot be set aside as one of the goals of higher education is to make it inclusive, which depends on whether there is equality of opportunity. The observed phenomenal increase in the price of higher education has taken place along with the increasing wealth inequality in many countries of the world. Of course, the world's wealth is unevenly distributed. However, the moot question is: How uneven is the distribution? According to OXFAM Report, the richest 85 individuals owned as much as the bottom half of the world's population. Moreover, the top 0.7 per cent own 44 per cent of the total global wealth as per the Credit Suisse global database, 2014. Country-wise details show that India is not only among the countries with the highest concentration of wealth in the richest 1 per cent of the population (wealth share of top 1 per cent is 49 per cent), but also among those where this concentration has increased most sharply since 2000 (12.2 per cent increase in India). A similar trend is observed for the four BRICS countries. In Russia and Brazil the concentration is 66.2 per cent and 45.7 per cent respectively. The increase in concentration in Russia and China is of the order of 13.2 per and 18.2 per cent respectively. It is well known that the success of a student reaching to the top of the education system is determined by his/her parents' initial conditions with regard to their educational attainment and income. So, where is the question of higher education becoming inclusive?

It is apt here to quote Allen Bloom: "There the university risks less by having intransigently high standards than by trying to be too inclusive, because the society tends to blur the standards in the name of equality".

Moreover, public social protection expenditure as percentage of GDP (excluding health care) complied by ILO reveals that India's expenditure is low even by emerging economy standards and is ranked 144th among 187 countries. Confining to BRICS economies, India's expenditure on social protection of 1.4 per cent of the GDP is one of the lowest. The

corresponding proportions, in descending order, for Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa are 15.5 per cent, 12 per cent, 5.6 per cent and 5.1 per cent respectively.

Even when higher education was viewed more as a semi-public good and largely financed, delivered and regulated by the State, and even with affirmative action, the achievement of the inclusion goal was much below expectation. Now, higher education system has become more complex in the sense that it is a private good which has both a local and an international market where private providers dominate relative to State (public). The State emphasises academic culture, while the private sector stresses the profit culture. Admission to colleges and universities run by the State is more or less based on merit as against on one's ability to pay in private higher education institutes, where the price is quite high irrespective of the quality .Once higher education becomes a private domain, inclusiveness is out of question.

The provision of public good of inferior quality in government and local bodies' primary and middle schools in India over a long period of time has nurtured the process of social exclusion and not inclusion. It is likely to continue further and probably strengthened with the commercialisation and marketisation of higher education. When the higher education market is dominated by the private players as compared to the State, the pressure for deregulation from the vested interests will undermine the extent of regulation by the government. In such a situation, questions raised below concerning fruitful public-private partnership are worth pondering. What model of PPP will be able to resolve the longstanding phenomenon of under-investment in higher education? Are private providers likely to mobilise/generate resources from non-student and non-government sources? Are they going to plough back profits earned by them to upgrade the quality? Do they have inclination, incentive and even capacity to enter the global education market? How are their respective products (from public and private institutes) valued in the job market? Are they going to resolve the emerging issue of imbalance between professional and liberal education? Have students, as consumers and investors, attained maturity or awareness to judge the local or global standing of their institutions? Are there whistleblowers among students in such institutions? Do they have a voice? What is the plight of faculty there? Can this joint venture stem the outflow (export/brain drain) and promote the inflow (import) of students?

Higher education by and large is borderless education. Now the universities of the developed countries, particularly the US and the UK, are trying seriously and sincerely to make high/higher secondary education borderless even for their undergraduate courses. In that direction they have started holding awareness and outreach programmes, education fairs and raising a hub offering short courses and a semester abroad programmes for school children of the developing countries like India, whose families' affordability has increased and are willing to invest in under-graduate education in foreign countries. They propagate through these programmes that their undergraduate courses are not entrance-exam-centric and offer wider choices in the selection of subjects in any discipline. Their inter-disciplinary approach of courses is attractive for many. Their emphasis is on maintaining consistency in imparting high quality education offered at school level. Students prefer to go abroad for under-graduate courses in the absence of research universities in their counties. These efforts hint at bridging the supply-demand gap at the undergraduate level, as a majority of their students drop out before completing 12th grade exam as their academic achievement is below the one prescribed for the under-graduate courses. So, the developed countries are

trying to explore the external demand for their under-graduate courses also with a view to generating revenue to overcome their funding problems to a certain extent.

Policy makers in the developing countries, particularly in India, exporting students for further studies to the developed countries have to guard themselves against these external forces to reap fully the benefits of the demographic dividend and projecting demand for school and post-school education quantitatively and qualitatively. Different methods of financing to be innovative have to grasp fully these developments at the international level. PPP models suitable to tackle these developments are to be devised.

Alternatively, can we say that the highest fee charging institutes are private, for-profit institutes, whereas the lowest fee charging institutes are public, or State run. If there is a perfect alignment between the access price and the quality, there is no problem .But if the variation in access price turns out to be greater than in quality, in that case, access price amounts to allowing institutes to make profits with little investment of their own. So, we have to ascertain whether the access pricing rules are efficient and beneficial for students or for providers.

Another equally important issue of the price of education in the context of affordability and accessibility raised in the US is the freezing of not only tuition but also of hidden (not visible) campus fees which lie beyond the State provided student aid programmes. These fees pay for course materials, health insurance and also for increasingly high-end amenities like recreation centres. These fees have tripled since 2001. Students of the University of California, Berkeley campus are paying 17 per cent more in dorm and dining hall fees. And that is after inflation. Students of other universities have also experienced the same fate. Why freezing of fees? It is estimated that with more hidden fees the cost for an under-graduate student will be $133,280. Even the poorest under-graduates have to pay $34,000 themselves by working during college and taking out federal student loans though their non-tuition costs are partly covered by some additional grant under Federal Pell Grants. This is 5 per cent higher than what the US estimated for such students in 2001-2002. Loan contribution weighs heavier as the loan rates have been increased. UC-Berkeley has expanded its own financial programmes. Even then it met just 79.4 per cent of new students' official financial need which is down from 94 per cent in 2001-02. This has resulted in the increase in the inflation-adjusted average debt of the UC-Berkeley borrowers upon graduating to $19,751. Students have argued for the reduction in all tuition fees while boosting financial aid, instead of stopping at tuition fees freeze (Briana Mullen and Charlie Eaton: "UC should freeze hidden campus fees as well as tuition" — The Times Survey — Bay Area News Group. November 24, 2013). Students argued for increased financial aid whereas the administrators were worried about the loss of revenue on account of fee waivers. Will this resolve the issue of accessibility and affordability? What will be the role of different methods of financing or models of PPP in this regard? Will they be able to tackle the two seemingly unachievable goals of inclusion and quality at the higher education level?

Section II

Quality of Higher Education

It would be better to view the concept of quality from the inter-related perspectives, namely, (1) student performance, (2) school attainment and (3) school governance. Better student performance, though depends on his/her innate abilities, parents' education and

income, as well as on family environment, reflects higher school attainment and good governance also. Similarly, better school attainment reflects both good governance and enviable student performance.

Let us say student performance is well in tune with the skill-based technological change locally and globally. With the emergence of the global knowledge economy and international education market where education is a tradable service/good as per the GATS, school attainment gets reflected in its capacity to attract talent — both students and teachers — for teaching and research. It can reverse the process of brain drain — retain the talent within the country and rank high in the world ranking of universities. Benefits of free trade of education service depend on two way flow of service instead of the present flow in one direction from the less developed countries to the developed countries for quite a long time. Good governance amounts to autonomy and accountability of stakeholders — students, teachers and administrators — creating a favourable environment (apolitical) for higher achievement.

Present State of Quality of Higher Education

All over the world, only a few institutions of higher learning are top ranking, majority are comparatively of poor quality. The Special Time Report on Higher Education has stated that there is no significant improvement in cognitive gains over four years among 36 per cent of college graduates in the US. According to data gathered by the Chronicle of Higher Education and American Public Media's market present place, half of the employers have said that "they have trouble finding qualified recent graduates to hire" (Special Time Report on Higher Education, p.42, October 7, 2013). Recently, American newspapers reported on the front page such headlines as "Schools in trouble, and the sooner we admit it, the better. Teacher evaluation is vital part of improving schools" and "Teachers must drill students to instill a real desire to learn" (October-November, 2013, Times, Sunday edition, Bay Area News Group, USA).

To address the issue of quality, The Quality Assurance Policies have been implemented and reinforced since 2005, based on the revised Taiwanese University Act of 2003. What is the final outcome of the Quality Assurance Plan? The simple answer as per the authors' evaluation is: "Whether university quality has been improved or not and who benefits from these new reform policies remains an open question in Taiwan" (Chou Chuing Prudance and Gregory Ching, 2012). At many places in the book the reference to quality reveals that it has declined though Taiwanese education policy aims no longer to focus on quantity but mainly on quality.

With reference to India, the quantity vs. quality issue looms large. The over-expansion of engineering colleges and universities and even business schools in the sense of supply exceeding demand is a case in point. As a result of a severe slump in demand for engineering education in some States (Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan and West Bengal), the colleges and universities have to request the authorities (AICTE) to stop granting clearance for new colleges On the issue of quality, the executives have stressed the importance of quality improvement as a majority of engineering teachers are mediocre. Even though 37 per cent of the faculty posts are lying vacant in the existing 16 IITs, largely because of the non-availability of qualified faculty, the present Indian government has announced the setting up of six IITs in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Chhattisgarh and Jammu. The 30 NITs across the country are facing a shortage of 28 per cent of teachers. It is

clear that the government has ignored the unpalatable truth. One hundred and forty business schools were expected to close in 2012 in the wake of an increase in vacant places from 15 per cent to 20 per cent in 2006-07 to 35 per cent in 2011-12. This increase in vacant places was largely on account of the lack of employability among MBAs turned out by such business schools — only one out of five MBAs is considered to be employable (*The Times of* India, June 23 and September 10, 2012).

In the light of what is stated above, we reproduce below a few lines from Chapter 10 titled "Education" of the Twelfth Five Year Plan: "State universities and colleges suffer from under-funding by State governments with as many as 50 per cent of faculty positions unfilled forcing frequent resort to contract teachers which has an adverse impact on the quality of teaching". Universities and under-graduate colleges determine the quality of teachers at all levels from KG upwards. Thus, the quality of one important human input in the education process, namely teachers, is itself questionable. It appears that commercial and political interests have injured the quality of education in India.

It is not that the quality of only post-school education is low. In fact, the seeds of poor quality of education are sown at the elementary level of education which have grown at the secondary education level and later afflicted the tertiary level. The entire Indian education system has been paralysed by low quality since long. When a majority of high/higher secondary school students are not fully prepared to bear and benefit from the rigours of college and university education is it fair to admit them to college and leave them to their own devices to compete in a harsh ecosystem (Sobhit Mahajan 2012).

On the one hand, the seats in engineering colleges and management institutes remain unfilled, the majority of Indian students going abroad, especially to the US, for further studies prefer courses in engineering, computer science, IT and business. On the other hand, least popular fields of study are social sciences, humanities, liberal arts, visual and performing arts. Indian students account for 12 per cent of the total foreign student population in the US. Its number recently has shot up by 28 per cent in the US, the reason being the fall in the unemployment rate from 10 per cent to 6 per cent on account of the growth of the US economy which has resulted in the improved work opportunity. Other destinations for the Indian students for higher studies are Australia and New Zealand (US Immigration and Customs Enforcement Department — as appeared in brief in the Ahmedabad edition of The Times of India, November 17, 2014). But this state of affairs also indicates a significant difference in the quality of education in the two countries. How to stem the exodus of this talent? Only by raising quality level comparable to that in the US and other countries.

Even when education was widely appreciated as pure or quasi-public good, the quality of education was questionable. Will the decline in quality be arrested or raised when education at all the levels, to a varying degree, is becoming a private good, more so at the tertiary level? Higher education market has not necessarily remained local in nature but has been growing internationally. It is beset with different sorts of imperfections such as (a) variation in quality from institution to institution; (b) clash between market and social demand resulting in sub-optimal provision leading to the sacrifice of social mobility and social cohesion in the end; (c) information asymmetry restricts students choices about courses and institutions limiting their sovereignty as consumers and (d) education being an "experience good" makes it difficult for students to ascertain the quality of education while seeking admission (Saumen Chattopadhyay, 2013). In such a market, what could be the role of different methods of financing in overcoming or controlling these market imperfections? What kind of market regulation suits such a market? If quality of education depends on the

better quality of inputs, namely teachers and infrastructure, whose responsibility is it to monitor the quality of such inputs?

Reasons for viewing quality as a priority goal stem from the causes of low and declining quality. Positive relationship between quality of education and costs, and the goal of delivery of quality education at a reasonable cost, which is still a distant dream, in a country where per student public expenditure is one of the lowest, where the goals of access and equity are expected to be achieved by lowering university admission criteria, together with public budget cuts, the policy has to focus on making quality a priority goal by raising public budget rather than simply putting brake on budget cuts.

Moreover, with the growing importance of student funding, students or their parents will definitely be rather more concerned about the delivery of quality education than the State. How and in what manner will they, as a major financer, influence the provision of good quality higher education? Will the logic supporting the shift from institutional funding to student funding work in the local and global higher education market? Will it widen student choice in the selection of institutions and courses, increase competition and improve efficiency?

Since pro-profit private educational institutions have surfaced on the scene, how are they concerned with the promotion of quality education and its provision when their funding share in the total is not significant? How can they be made quality conscious? Are they going to plough back the profits made?

Section III

Role of Different Methods of Financing of Higher Education

In the previous two sections we have focused on the issues facing higher education say under investment, absence of full and proper utilisation of finances already sanctioned and provided by the State (Grants) and misallocation of resources. In this context, the role of different methods of financing is to mobilise properly estimated amount of resources both from State and non-State sources and to ensure their optimum utilisation and efficient allocation. One important consequence of long term under-financing of higher education is its poor quality, both of teaching and research. This is an age-old problem, even when funding, provision and regulation of higher education was the State prerogative.

Now, pro-profit private and self-financing educational institutions have overriding say in the matters pertaining to educational finance. Students and their families (private households) are also bearing the burden of financing education in the form of higher tuition and other fees and student loans.

What will be the impact of these changes in the financing pattern of higher education on the mobilisation and utilisation of resources and consequently on quality? Will they be quality conscious?

Further, the existence of local and international higher education market, global knowledge economy and the development of skill-based technology have imposed an additional responsibility on the funding partners to focus on the quality of education and research at the tertiary level. Funding of higher education has to be linked with the goal of quality improvement only then the inflow and outflow of students be two-way traffic, instead of the present one-way (outflow, export of students and talent from less developed economies to the developed ones). Funding and quality alignment becomes the joint responsibility of the State, private/corporate sector, industries, universities and colleges,

research institutes, students, philanthropists and the society at large. A culture of quality education needs to be created.

When the focus is mainly on raising the quality of higher education, the methods of financing would be innovative only if the higher education sector ceases to be a resource crunch sector, which is the major barrier to the attainment of the quality goal. How will students react to their growing contribution to the total financing of higher education? Will it improve the financial management of universities and colleges? Will it highlight the relationship between price and quality of education? Will it lead to the achievement of quality goal? Similar questions are applicable to student loans. Since these methods of financing, namely student fees and loans, will have a limited impact on access and equity goals, students or their families have to exert pressure on the authorities to provide better infrastructure facilities to improve learning environment, to introduce relevant courses and curriculum and to recruit competent faculty, ultimately leading to the higher market value of their skill and knowledge in the job market, ensuring better pay off of their investment. Once universities and colleges start providing good quality education in relation to the cost to students, one of the imperfections of the education market, namely information asymmetry may be corrected to the benefits of student financiers in the pipeline.

Which of the two systems—traditional education system (class room teaching) and educational system in the digital age (online teaching)—will be less costly, more accessible and effective at the same time?

Industries, employing manpower, are very much concerned with the employability of university products. Better quality of manpower produced by the universities enhance job prospects of their graduates as well as prospects of better returns—pecuniary and non-pecuniary—beneficial to industries, employees, universities and to the society at large. Their focus should be on the quality of teaching and research. Churning quality output raises the reputation of universities and fulfils industries' profit motive. This collaboration fulfils the social responsibility of the corporate sector. According to Harron India Philanthropy list (2014), education sector alone accounted for more than four-fifths of the total donation by the Indian industrialists during 2014.

Can FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) be a viable alternative for financing higher education? FDI normally goes to sectors which have better profit making prospects. Is higher education such a sector at the global level? Won't there be clash of goals/values once the education sector is reduced to a profit craving business sector? Is such a sector capable of making quality education equally accessible in the education market?

Different methods of financing of higher education at the present juncture have two major roles to play (1) Mobilisation of resources and their better utilisation and (2) Quality improvement.

Section IV

Concluding Remarks

The landscape of higher education during the last two decades has undergone major changes. It is now more a private good in the local and international education market, largely provided by private pro-profit providers. Public domain of higher education is being replaced rather rapidly by the private domain. This transformation is taking place at a time when the quality of universities and colleges supported and regulated by the State (public domain) is low and falling. Higher education has never been a priority sector in the context of public funding. More worrisome is the quality of privately managed higher education

institutions through which it is not easy to make quality education equally accessible to all in the education market. In a stratified society like ours, it is not easy to make education, particularly higher education, inclusive. The exclusion process starts from the base itself. When socio-economic inequalities are inbuilt and worsen further as economic growth itself is not inclusive in the sense of increasing concentration of wealth and increasing income inequalities. When there is low public expenditure on social protection and welfare is denying social mobility,, it is better to concentrate on raising the quality of teaching and research which is within the reach of the education system.

The methods of financing higher education, to be innovative, have to perform the two roles amicably — one of overcoming the phenomenon of resource crunch the education sector has been experiencing since long and second of promoting quality to the level already attained by the developed countries of the world.

State (public sector) cannot refrain from funding and managing higher education which as a semi-public good generates positive externalities. Features of public financing of higher education in India are: (1)public expenditure on higher education as a proportion of GNP is declining; (2) per student public expenditure on higher education in India is one of the lowest; (3) Opening of professional colleges and universities regardless of demand for such education which appears to be a political decision having financial implication namely mal allocation of scarce financial resources; (4) Glaring price-quality variation between public and private universities in India; and (5) underutilisation of public funds sanctioned and released. These indicate poor financial management of public resources on the one hand and the possibility of charging higher tuition fees in public institutions of better quality relative to private institutions. In this context, decision of the Gujarat state Fee Panel to link the increase in tuition fees suggested by the colleges and universities in Gujarat to their performance is commendable. It may help in tackling one of the imperfections of the education market, namely information asymmetry. The Fee Panel did not allow fee hike in colleges facing empty classes.

More interesting is the almost eleven times difference in fee rates among the highest and the lowest fee charging management institutes conferring an MBA degree. Does this reflect a perfect alignment between the access price of education and quality? No problem if the answer is yes. But what if the sanctioned increase in fees in the range of 30 per cent to 40 per cent is much above the inflation rate of 12 per cent adopted by the Gujarat State Fee Panel? The faster increase in tuition than parental incomes in the public colleges of the US had created a situation where even if students go for loans, the gap between tuition and incomes remains uncovered.

Studies on student loans for financing higher education referred to earlier have expressed their own reservations on its capacity to fulfil the goals of equality of educational opportunity as well as of social mobility and social cohesion, as demand for loans is guided by market demand and not by social demand. It is alleged that the withdrawal of state support for higher education is mainly responsible for this. So, the increasing financial burden of education on students or their families as a consequence of the reduced state role in financing education after following the market-centric neoliberal economic principles does not seem to have augured well for the society. This can be taken as an added reason for the emphasis on quality of higher education.

When higher education market is dominated by the private providers, the pressure for deregulation from the vested interests will undermine the extent of regulation either by the government or any other authority created for the purpose. In such a situation, questions raised here are worth pondering. What model of PPP will be able to resolve the long standing issue of under-investment in higher education? Are private providers likely to

mobilise/generate resources from non-student and non-government sources? Are they going to plough back profits earned by them to upgrade the quality? Do they have inclination, incentive and even capacity to enter the global education market? Can this joint venture (public-private partnership) attract the talent to teaching profession and retain it? Can this partnership stem the outflow (export) and promote the inflow (import) of students? How are students coming out of public and private institutions valued in the job market? Have students, as consumers and investors, attained maturity or awareness to judge the local or global standing of their institutions? Are there whistleblowers among students in such institutions? Do they have a voice?

Methods of financing higher education will render a great service to the field of higher education if their focus on financing and quality of higher education starts bearing fruits. Our plea to the policy makers is to assign priority to the financing of higher education and its quality.

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Teacher Education in Neoliberal India

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Abstract

This paper discusses the impact of neoliberal policies on teacher education in India. There were three important changes that marked the entry of neoliberal policy in teacher education in India. First one is the formation of a powerful national body to 'audit' and regulate teacher education. Second, it promoted the notion of economically self-reliant institutions in the public sector and positive climate for profit seeking private institutions. Third, it demanded national standards that help to commodify teacher education and thereby give opportunity to the educational consumers to assess the "quality" of the commodity. In addition to these specific trends in the Indian context, the paper, by drawing from Neo-Freierians, observes the manifestations of conservative modernisation and neoliberal accountability as two important trends in the teacher education system in India.

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Two closedowns are reported from Kerala recently. One is liquor shops and the other is teacher education institutions run by the University of Kerala. The closing down of liquor shops has become a big controversy and is known to almost all the Keralites, while the closing down of teacher education institutions has got a constricted coverage. The teacher education institutions run by the University of Kerala follows the rules and regulations of the state government institutions, except that they charge fees from the students for meeting the operational cost. The fees collected by these institutions are meager when compared to other private colleges of teacher education. In effect, these institutions were a great help to those meritorious students who could not afford high fees charged by the private colleges of teacher education. As per the latest order of the Southern Regional Council (SRC) of the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), ten such institutions are closed in 2015. Why did the news of closing down the teacher education institutions, by an order of NCTE, not attract public attention? Why is it not discussed by media and culture circles? The answer would be leading us to the growing market fundamentalism, the predominant philosophy of modern India. Education, inter alia, is considered as a consumable commodity with all the features of a monopolistic competition market condition. Media offers space for full-page advertisements of those private educational institutions and deemed universities which have world class facilities. Different institutions providing same degrees but their products are unique. These are straws in the wind of monopolistic competition in the education sector. These advertisements impose an imagery to our parents and potential students on how "temples of knowledge" must be in the "modern age". It also "'educates" our policy makers about the "world class quality" and the need for adopting corporate style in promoting high quality education and thereby find its space in the policy documents like national commissions on education and national level curriculum frameworks, etc. The quality drive by the national agencies which regulate and control higher education is in line with the quality notions of private players in the education business in contemporary India.

Market fundamentalism (or as we call it as neo liberal policies) has become an irresistible wave and it percolates into almost all spheres of life, teacher education being just one among them. What are the other forces that determine the dynamics of education in India along with market fundamentalism? This question points to an array of issues to be discussed in a larger perspective. But this paper limits its scope by highlighting neoliberalism as the key dynamic force propelling teacher education in contemporary India.

Neoliberal Trend

Neoliberalism has been a predominant force that propels teacher education system in India. The turn to neoliberalism has been a key economic philosophy in the country as a result of structural changes in the economy brought about by Manmohan Singh, the then finance minister, during the 1990s. He got sufficient time to continue his policies more vigorously during his tenure as the Prime Minister for two consecutive terms. Like other sectors, neoliberalism applied free market principles in teacher education. Neoliberalism is defined by Harvey (2005) as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (p. 2). Leftist intellectuals like Apple, (2001; 2006) Davidson-Harden, Kuehn, Schugurensky, & Smaller (2009), Hill (2009), Hursh (2007), Kliebard

(2002), Lipman (2011) Robertson (2008) has highlighted the menace of free market logics in education. Critiques of these intellectuals signal how neo liberalism reduces the student to a commodity which can be traded in the global markets. The criticism of the above mentioned writers rarely focuses on neoliberal policies in teacher education. While Casey (2013) has made an attempt to study neoliberal influence on teacher education, his study restricted to the context of within America. Here I argue that neoliberal undercurrents demanded certain institutional and cultural changes in the teacher education in India. This has been an essential criterion for neoliberal commodification of education all over the world (Connell, 2013).These undercurrents, first of, all demanded formation of a powerful national body to "audit" and regulate teacher education. Second, it promoted the notion of economically self-reliant institutions in the public sector and a positive climate for profit-seeking private institutions. Third, it demanded national standards that commodify education and thereby give opportunity to the educational consumers to assess the "quality" of the commodity. All the three are discussed in the following section.

NCTE becoming a Statutory Body

The National Council for Teacher Education, NCTE, is an ideal example for "conservative modernisation" (Apple, 200) in India. Conservative modernisation is guided by a vision of the strong state over standards, values, and conduct; and over what knowledge should be passed on to future generations; but liberal in fixing the cost of education, supportive to free market and no concern for welfare measures (Apple, 2000) .

It should be noted that the NCTE has got its statutory power only in 1993, i.e., 20 years after its inception why in 1993? Is it a result of a natural call for quality in teacher education? Answers for these questions should be read along with the structural reforms in the Indian economy which happened during the 1990s. Giving statutory powers to NCTE in 1993 has to be viewed as part of establishing nationalised standards in teacher education. Though NCTE was established in 1973, the organisation remained without statutory powers. NCTE's attempts to nationalise standards is explicitly manifested through two National Curriculum Frame works (NCFTE, 1998 and 2009) and its regulation for approving teacher education institutions since it become a statutory organisation. NCFTE, 2009 made a call to standardise the curriculum at the national level. This call has been well received and syllabuses have been revised to match with the norms of NCF 2009. Syllabus revision was undertaken by a large number of universities and authorised bodies in line with NCFTE, 2009. Contextual considerations have become feeble or ignored and all over the nation, teacher education unified, leading to a standardisation.

NCTE became liberal in allowing teacher education institutions at all levels, including elementary (D.Ed), Graduate (B.Ed) and Post-graduate (M.Ed), leading to a mushrooming of teacher education institutions all over the country. But the demand for teachers was never a criterion for NCTE to approve teacher education institutions. The incidents leading to the formation of a high-powered committee on teacher education constituted by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India (known as the Verma Commission, 2012) is another example of NCTE's liberal policies leading to free market mechanism. The genesis of the committee is as the result of granting recognition to 291 D Ed colleges in Maharashtra by Western Regional Council of NCTE in 2008, in spite of an explicit recommendation to WRC from the state government that state does not need new DEd colleges as already there is a glut of qualified

teachers. Defying the recommendation of the state government, WRC approved all the 291 institutions, which was challenged in the High Court and finally leading to the Supreme Court and thereby, an order to form a committee to look into the quality and regulatory perspectives in teacher education in the country.

As NCTE on the one hand stringently insists upon criteria for approval, suggests framework for teacher education and directs values and quality standards for teacher education. On the other, NCTE becomes liberal to profit makers in teacher education and welcomes free market policy to implement its policies. Thus NCTE dovetails itself into conservative modernisation, leading to open market but with rigid restrictions on the body of knowledge, values and standards in teacher education.

National Standards

National standards have become the most important aspect of structural reforms which have its roots in Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG). NCTE has undertaken the neoliberal call for national standards in teacher education in India. It implemented regulations for the approval of institutions at the national level with no contextual adaptability. The shift to nationalised standards can be seen as part of what Lipman (2011) has called "neoliberal accountability" in which institutions are forced to make their teacher education practices, in abeyance with the national standards and have thus lost much of their agency in creating meaningful and impactful lessons that are relevant to the lives of their students in favour of a mechanistic system of accountability (Casey, 2013) for all institutions.

Neoliberal influence in teacher education explicitly manifested through the call for productivity and measurable performance. It vehemently criticises the present practices and evaluation system in line with the neoliberal demands. Lipman (2011) writes of this point, "It is a shift from teacher professionalism and relatively complex, socially situated notions of learning and teaching to post welfarist [neoliberal] emphasis on instrumental efficiency, effectiveness, productivity, and measurable performance" (p. 127). NCFTE (2009) advocates that "the evaluation of the student teacher should be spread over the entire duration of the teacher education programme". It also advisese that "in order to evaluate the parameters (for better quality in teacher education), suitable instruments that address both the quantitative and qualitative nature of the learnings are to be employed. These include: observational schedules and records, checklists, portfolio assessment, case study, project reports, participation in workshops, seminars, discussions, open-ended questionnaire and interviews, oral and written tests, cumulative records, profiles as well as formats for self-appraisal" (NCFTE 2009, P. 62). In effect, a teacher's performance has to be quantified and strictly put into numbers which will help in comparison across national level and of course, at the international level too. While directions for quantification of teacher performance through tests across the nation is handed down from the statutory national agency, we are experiencing this push to standardising education as part of the larger neoliberal project to force education to justify its efficacy based on market-based conceptions of effectiveness (Casey, 2013)

Privatising Teacher Education

Neoliberal policies will always have a social shield to implement its strategies. Once NCTE was given with statutory powers, coincidently, there was a torrent in the opening of new private teacher education institutions allover India. The number exceeded several fold of the existing institutions. This move is often justified in the context of lack of trained teachers in BIMARO (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Orissa) states. In addition to BIMARO, many of the northern states face severe dearth for trained teachers. In the context of universalisation of elementary education which needs large number of trained teachers, the dearth of qualified hands become more severe. This has justified opening of new teacher education institutions to start functioning. Thus a large number of private institutions were allowed to start teacher education institutions across India.

As a result of mushrooming of private institutions the percentage of public institutions has become meager. Privatization of teacher education may be at first read as a move for meeting the demand for trained teachers, so that the long pending call for universalisation of primary education can be consummated. But what we saw is the commodification of teacher education by the new generation teacher education institutions. As Panikkar (2011) put it "the ideological structure that the private system of education constructs and disseminates contributes to the continuous exclusion of the marginalised and preserves the power of the privileged". Thus it made deserving potential teachers in contemporary India to believe that free teacher education is never a right. It shows that as it is theorized by Hill (2001) that the "social inclusion and neo-liberalism are contradictory and incompatible" teacher education in India has become another example for this.

The Fordist mass production principle followed by NCTE in the approval of teacher education institutions made structural changes in the student's preferences in selecting an institution to pursue their studies. Two important criteria- 'institutions which are near to home' and 'institutions which offers minimum fees'- has become the key criteria for selecting teacher education institution for teacher education consumers. Quality of the programme, innovative practices in teacher education, concerns of a teacher in the contemporary class room and the ways in which it can be addressed has become not at all a criterion for the consumers of teacher education to select an institution. Since certificates issued by the universities standardized degree from any institution, convenience and comfort eclipsed all other preferences of consumers.

Thus public funded teacher education was not promoted in India after 1990's, it has resulted in restriction of service in some way (Connell, 2013). According to Connel (2013) "Provided there is a rationing of educational resources it is possible to commodity access to institutions, and to particular services within institutions. Importantly, the rationing itself can be marketed". Teacher education in India has become a rationed commodity, which only few can access as a public commodity and the rest has to fix its tryst with teacher education in the open market.

Conclusion

The recent trend of opening a large number of teacher educational institutions, that too in the private sector, to address the issue of teacher shortage is not a welfare oriented one, it's an economic one. This never address the issue of quality teacher education and thereby better quality teachers at school level. Instead, just perform according to the neoliberal trend of free trade where the teacher education is commodified and available in the open market for sale. The way future teachers are trained is intimidating. Student teachers performance is converted in to 'achievement scores' in a mechanical way and this quantified score is used as an index of teacher quality. As Casey (2013) put it, "teacher education is culpable in the maintenance of neoliberal ideology in education are the ways in which it fetishizes productivity and student achievement". The achievement fetishism, thus, gradually filter down to school level ignoring manifold abilities of students and thereby putting the ability of a student on the base of a set of examinations. This syetem is exactly the same what Friere (2000) calls as "banking system of education", where knowledge is deposited in the students and is withdrawn at the time examination leading to a zero balance in the account. Further through imposing national level curriculum frame works and strictly scripted curriculum, syllabuses and teachers hand book, it provides manuals for the teachers to work like a technician. Creativity of labour is redundant in neoliberal system. Similarly, creativity of teacher is under serious attack in neo liberal teacher education and teachers are supposed to work like technicians for implementing the 'official curriculum'. Compliance and zero boredom for repetition substituted creativity in teacher education in India. This dehumanizes the process of teaching. Corporatization is exponentially increasing its influence in teacher education in modern India. As school administration, in India, is working in line with corporate style, so doe's teacher education. It is difficult to diverse teacher education from current economic realities but not impossible. We need a welfarist teacher education policy that respects teacher autonomy and creativity and a vision of teacher education as an investment for the nation rather than consumption.

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THESIS ABSTRACTS

A Study of Management Control Systems, School Performance, and Participative Decision Making

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Title	A Study of Management Control Systems, School Performance, and Participative Decision Making
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Introduction

Schools have adopted control practices of for-profit organisations to improve their efficiency and productivity. However, accounting and budgeting controls have mostly been used for establishing external legitimacy as there is loose coupling between controls and outcomes. There is ample evidence that both teachers and students have an important bearing on schools' outcomes, but there are no management control systems (MCS) frameworks that have been applied to study the behaviour of these two constituents of the school system. This study identifies the gap in the literature on MCS in schools and proposes Merchants 'objects of control' framework can be used to study the types of controls in schools. School effectiveness and school improvement studies have not explicitly considered the role of MCS in school performance. So this study makes the following contributions to the field of knowledge.

1. Identifies the most prevalent type of controls for teachers and students
2. Studies association of MCS with schools' performance, teacher's satisfaction, role of stress, and participative decision making.

MCS Definitions and Frameworks

In 1964, Robert Anthony conceptualised the term "management controls" and developed a new discipline in management literature known as MCS. Anthony conceptualised it based on accounting controls. While Anthony's framework is the most applied framework, it has been heavily criticised in recent literature. Recent studies point out that both formal and informal controls exist in organisations. Few studies have explored various types of controls used in organisations. Based on the review of theoretical and empirical studies, it can be said that Merchant's framework includes both formal and informal controls and provides a classification of types of control, which is exhaustive as well as manageable. It also talks about tightness or looseness in administering controls. Hence, Merchant's framework was chosen over others.

MCS Studies in Education

MCS have been studied in educational institutions. Researchers criticise most management control theories for their narrow focus on employees in traditional industries and states that MCS will be quite different for educational institutions. They further state that in the case of educational organisations (schools), there is a loose control on work but tight control over who does the work and on whom. It was found that Anthony's model was loosely coupled to school outcomes. Other control frameworks like Simons Levers of Control and Stafford Beer's Viable System Model have been tried to explain school effectiveness. Based on the review of school effectiveness and school improvement literature, it can be said that controls play a significant role in school functioning. Few MCS frameworks have been applied to study controls in schools.

Hypotheses and Research Design

Based on the literature review, following hypotheses are proposed.

- H1A Personnel controls are the most prevalent type of control for teachers
- H1B Action controls are the most prevalent type of control for students.
- H2A There is a positive relation between types of teacher controls and school performance.
- H2B There is a positive relationship between types of student controls and school performance.
- H3A There is a positive relation between types of teacher controls and teachers' satisfaction.
- H3B The relationship between types of teacher controls and teachers' satisfaction is moderated by participative decision-making
- H4A There is a negative relationship between types of teacher controls and teachers' stress.
- H4B The relationship between types of teachers' control and teachers' stress is moderated by participative decision making.

The study has adopted a correlational design using survey. India has seen a phenomenal growth of private unaided schools over the last two decades and they have performed better than government schools. Since private schools have a lot of autonomy in managing affairs, MCS may explain various indicators of effectiveness. This study relates to private unaided schools enrolling students from Kindergarten to Class XII.

Schools of Ahmedabad city affiliated to the state Board of Examination were selected for this study. A sampling frame of 188 schools was drawn from multiple sources. Simple random sampling was used to draw a sample of 100 schools. Multiple responses from teachers of Class X of each school were planned. A structured questionnaire was used to collect data from respondents. Scale development and validation was done. For hypothesis testing, ANOVA, a hierarchical step-wise regression and partial least square structural equation modelling were used.

Scale Development and Validation

The latent construct of results' control, action control, personnel control and cultural control relating to both teachers and students were conceptualised and operationalised using the Merchant's framework. As there was no instrument available, all items were drawn from a review of case studies, experimental studies and survey studies from the domain of school effectiveness and school improvement literature. The teachers' job satisfaction, participative decision making, job stress scale and school performance scale were adopted from literature. All these were measured as reflective constructs using a five-point Likert-type scale. The socio-economic status (SES) of students and other descriptive statistics were also measured.

The questionnaire was checked for face validity and pre-tested. The revised questionnaire was translated into Gujarati. Validation of both English and Gujarati versions was done. The first 50 schools were selected from randomly arranged sampling frame for

pilot data collection. In all 120 teachers from 26 schools filled the questionnaire. Data cleaning and analysis was done. Clear factor structure emerged for teachers control, students control, satisfaction, stress, participative decision making, and students' performance. The teachers' questionnaire was revised, based on the pilot analysis.

The revised questionnaire was floated for final data collection. A second block of 50 schools was taken from the already arranged sampling frame. Finally, 241 responses were received from 57 schools. The data cleaning process was done. The factor structure was analysed. All validity tests like average variance extracted, composite reliability, Item cross loading, Fornell Larcker Criterion (FLC) and heterotrait-monotrait ratio of correlations (HTMT) were conducted and the values were above the threshold limit, establishing validity and reliability of the constructs.

Hypothesis Testing

In the case of school level hypotheses, summated scores (mean values) of all control constructs and performance constructs were calculated for each school. In the case of teachers, cultural control is the most prevalent type, followed by personnel control of teachers, so the hypothesis is rejected. In the case of students, action control is the most prevalent type of control, so the hypothesis is not rejected.

Linear hierarchical regression in two steps was conducted to test the relationship between teachers' control types and school performance after controlling for SES of students. School fee as proxy for SES was significant in explaining school performance in model one. In model two, fees became insignificant, while action control class conduct, results' control and personnel control were significant. Results' control is negatively related to performance. A similar analysis was done to test the relationship between students' control types and school performance after controlling for SES of students. Fee was significant in explaining school performance in model one, while in model two fees along with personnel control of student were significant.

In the case of teachers' level hypotheses, teachers' personnel control and result controls had a significant positive relationship with teachers' satisfaction. Interaction of personnel control with constructs of participative decision making had a significant positive effect on satisfaction. Teachers' cultural control and results control had a significant negative relationship with workload stress. Personnel control and action control class design had a significant negative relationship with classroom stress. The interaction effect of participative decision making and controls had a significant negative impact on stress.

Findings, Limitations and Scope for Future Research

Action control is the most prominent form of control administered on students, but it is akin to taking a horse to the pond without being able to force it to drink water. Personnel control significantly explains students' performance in Class X Board Examination. So, for making students learn, it is necessary to engage them in co-curricular activities for better learning and organise additional sessions. For teachers, informal controls (personnel and cultural) are more prevalent in schools than formal controls (results and action). This goes

with professional organisations and can be explained in terms of clan culture. Based on the results, it can be said that irrespective of students' SES, teachers can make every student learn. Salary, training and providing adequate resources for teaching that are components of personnel control are directly associated with teachers' satisfaction.

Results' control has a positive relationship, while action control class design has a negative relationship with satisfaction. Teachers want independence in their work and want to be considered as professionals. Participative decision making increases teachers' satisfaction. Teachers should be involved in decision making, particularly relating to students, as it has a positive impact on their performance. School should include teachers in decision making as it reduces their stress.

There are a few limitations to this study. The questionnaire was administered to teachers on school campus; teachers were asked questions about students' controls; and schools were limited to one board of examination. However, the study provides many avenues for future research. The scale can be tested over time, geographies and across examination boards. Future studies can explore control constructs as formative and study interaction effect and quadratic effect of controls on school effectiveness variables.

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THESIS ABSTRACTS

Impact of Family Climate, Academic Motivation and Adjustment on Academic Achievement of Adolescents

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Title	Impact of Family Climate, Academic Motivation and Adjustment on Academic Achievement of Adolescents
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Abstract

Education is the most important activity for every society and is regarded as a remedy to many complicated problems around the world. Education is also the most powerful instrument of social change. A good quality education makes an individual a right thinker, an independent decision maker, skilled worker and a better citizen. In a world based on science and technology, education determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. The Education Commission (1964) rightly stated that "the destiny of India, is now, being shaped in her classrooms". A country's progress largely depends on the educational facilities that it provides and the academic achievement of the students. If the academic achievement of the students is not up to the mark, all efforts of the government or society to develop our country will be in vain.

Education not only promotes academic development but also explores vocational possibilities, self-motivation and better adjustment of individuals, leading them to all round personality development. In this regard, education and academic achievement occupy a very important role at the adolescent stage.

Significance of the Study

Adolescence is a stage of revolutionary change in an individual's life. It is the most important and crucial period of human life. However, this period is full of challenges, but the potential among adolescents is also far greater. This study was undertaken to provide the empirical evidence that could be of some utility to throw light over the problems of adolescent learners related to their adjustment with family, society, school and their academic motivation, which ultimately affect their academic achievement at this stage. As the three independent variables, family climate, academic motivation and adjustment taken in the present study are based upon the expectation that they affect the academic achievement of adolescents; the relative contribution as well as individual contribution of these independent variables will provide empirical evidence as determinants of the academic achievements of adolescents. It is hoped that the results of the present study will be of immense value for teachers and parents for raising the level of academic achievement of adolescents and ultimately their performance in different pursuits of life. The findings of this study are further expected to identify the contribution of these factors in academic achievement of adolescents and provide effective measures to enhance the academic achievement of the secondary school students.

Research Questions

In this specific context, the present investigation was undertaken to specifically provide empirical answers to the following questions:

1. What is the role of the family climate in academic achievement of adolescents?
2. How is the academic motivation related to academic achievement of adolescents?
3. Is adjustment related to academic achievement of adolescents?

4. Does the academic achievement of adolescents vary with the family climate, academic motivation and adjustment?

Objectives of the Study

The proposed study is aimed at achieving the following objectives:

1. To study the level of family climate, academic motivation, adjustment and academic achievement of adolescents
2. To study the impact of family climate on the academic achievement of adolescents
3. To study the impact of academic motivation on the academic achievement of adolescents
4. To study the impact of adjustment on the academic achievement of adolescents
5. To study the relative contribution of family climate, academic motivation and adjustment to the academic achievement of adolescents
6. To study the difference in family climate, academic motivation, adjustment and academic achievement of adolescents in relation to some demographic variables such as –
   (1) Gender, male/female
   (2) Location, rural/urban background.
   (3) Family Type, i. e., single/joint family.

Hypotheses of the Study

Corresponding to the objectives of the study, the following null hypotheses were formulated for empirical verification:

H1. The family climate, academic motivation, adjustment and academic achievement level of adolescents will not vary.

Ho2. There is no significant impact of the family climate on the academic achievement of adolescents.

Ho3. There is no significant impact of the academic motivation on the academic achievement of adolescents.

Ho4. There is no significant impact of the adjustment on the academic achievement of adolescents.

Ho5. There is no relative contribution of the family climate, academic motivation and adjustment on the academic achievement of adolescents.

Ho6.1. There is no significant difference in the family climate, in relation to gender, location and type of family.

Ho6.2. There is no significant difference in the academic motivation, in relation to gender, location and type of family.

Ho6.3. There is no significant difference in adjustment, in relation to gender, location and type of family.

Ho6.4. There is no significant difference in academic achievement, in relation to gender, location and type of family.

Method and Procedure

The present research work has been undertaken to study the impact of family climate, academic motivation and adjustment on the academic achievement of the adolescents. The descriptive survey method was adopted to complete this study. All the students at the secondary school level in the Agra district of Uttar Pradesh during the session 2012-13 were defined as the population. A sample of 920 students at the secondary school stage was selected through the use of "simple random sampling technique". For this purpose, out of the total secondary schools (whether government or private), 12 schools were selected and then students in the selected schools were taken into the sample randomly. The tools were administered personally. The overall response rate of 87.61 per cent was obtained.

Tools Used

1. Family climate scale by Dr. Beena Shah (2006),
2. Adjustment inventory for school students (AISS) by Dr A.K.P. Singh and R P Singh (2012, reprinted), and
3. Academic motivation scale (AMS) as developed by the investigator.

Findings

1. The multiple regression analysis suggests that out of the ten dimensions of the family climate, four are the most potent predictors of the academic achievement of adolescents, with the predictability strength of (17.6 per cent). The maximum variance is shared by indulgences vs avoidance (13.1 per cent) followed by attention vs negligence (3.4 per cent), acceptance vs rejection (0.07 per cent) and partiality vs fairness (0.04 per cent).
2. The multiple regression analysis suggests that out of the seven dimensions of academic motivation, four are the most potent predictors of the academic achievement of adolescents, with the predictability strength of (14.9 per cent). The maximum variance is shared by extra-curricular activity (9.3 per cent) followed by the academic goal (4.1 per cent), study habit (1.1 per cent) and attitude to study (0.5 per cent).
3. The multiple regression analysis suggests that out of the three dimensions of adjustment, one educational adjustment is the most potential predictor of the academic achievement of adolescents, with the predictability strength of (10.5 per cent).
4. The multiple regression analysis suggests that out of the 20 dimensions of all the three predictor variables, only indulgence vs avoidance is the strongest predictor which explains 13.1 per cent variance in academic achievement. The predictor, educational adjustment emerged as the second and the most significant predictor of academic achievement and contributed 5.3 per cent variance in the academic achievement. In the same way, extra-curricular activity 2.4 per cent, attention vs negligence 1.9 per cent and academic goal contributed 0.7 per cent variance in academic achievement.
5. With regard to the relationship of family climate to gender difference, it was not found to be significantly related to the family climate of adolescent students. It means adolescents of both genders have the same kind of family climate.

6. The location or the rural/urban background of adolescents was found to be significantly related to the family climate. Adolescents belonging to urban families were found to be having better family climate than the adolescents belonging to rural areas.
7. The type of family, i.e., single and joint family was found to be significantly related to the family climate of adolescents. The adolescents belonging to nuclear family (117.75) were having a better family climate than the adolescents who live in joint family (114.46).
8. The interactional effect of gender and location variation on the family climate of adolescents was found to be statistically significant. Further analysis revealed that female students (120.47) belonging to urban areas possess better family climate than the female students (111.53) residing in rural areas. While the male students (117.12) of urban area possess better family climate than the male students (112.84) of the rural areas.
9. The interactional effect of gender and type of family on the family climate score of the total sample was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was an insignificant interactional effect of gender and type of family on the family climate of the adolescents.
10. The interactional effect of the location and type of family on the family climate score of the total sample was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was an insignificant interactional effect of location and type of family on the family climate of adolescents.
11. The three way interaction, i.e., gender x location x type of family was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there is no interactional effect of gender, location and type of family.
12. Gender was not found to be significantly related to the academic motivation. Adolescent boys and girls have similar levels of academic motivation.
13. Location variation was significantly related to the academic motivation of adolescents. Urban students possess (136) better academic motivation than their rural (131.67) counterparts.
14. The main effect of the type of family on academic motivation of adolescents was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that the type of family variation has no significant effect on academic motivation of adolescents.
15. The interactional effect of gender and location variation on the academic motivation of adolescents was found to be statistically significant. Further analysis revealed that female students (137.35) of urban areas possess better academic motivation than the female students (131.30) of the rural areas. The male students (134.64) of urban areas possess better academic motivation than the male students (132.03) of the rural areas.
16. There was an insignificant interactional effect of gender and type of family on academic motivation of adolescents.
17. The interactional effect of location and type of family on the academic motivation score of the total sample was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was insignificant interactional effect of location and type of family on academic motivation of adolescents.

18. The three way interaction, i.e., gender x location x type of family was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was no interactional effect of gender, location and type of family.
19. With regard to the relationship of adjustment to gender difference, it was not found to be significantly related to the adjustment of adolescent students. It means adolescents of both sexes have the same kind of adjustment
20. The location or rural/urban background of adolescents was found to be significantly related with adjustment. Adolescents belonging to urban family were found to be having better adjustment than the adolescents belonging to rural areas. The urban students possess (12.91) better adjustment score than the rural students (15.33). (Low means on adjustment inventory (AISS) shows better adjustment and high mean shows poor adjustment).
21. The main effect of the type of family on adjustment of adolescents was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that the type of family variation has no significant effect on adjustment of adolescents.
22. The interactional effect of gender and location variation on the adjustment of adolescents was found to be statistically significant. Female students (12.10) of urban areas possess better adjustment than the female students (15.41) of the rural areas. The male students (13.75) of urban areas possess better adjustment than the male students (15.41) of the rural areas.
23. The interactional effect of gender and type of family on the adjustment score of the total sample was found statistically insignificant, indicating that there was insignificant interactional effect of gender and type of family on the family climate of adolescents.
24. The interactional effect of location and type of family on the adjustment score of the total sample was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was insignificant interactional effect of location and type of family on the adjustment of adolescents.
25. The three way interaction, i.e., gender x location x type of family was found statistically insignificant, indicating that there was no interactional effect of gender, location and type of family.
26. With regard to the relationship of academic achievement to gender difference, it was found to be significantly related to the academic achievement of the adolescent students. Adolescents girls possess (73.15) better academic achievement score than the adolescent males (69.19).
27. The location or rural/urban background of adolescents was found to be significantly related to academic achievement. Adolescents belonging to urban areas were found to be having better academic achievement than the adolescents belonging to rural areas. Urban students possess (72.90) better academic motivation score than the rural students (68.22).
28. The types of family, i.e., single and joint family, were found to be significantly related to the academic achievement of adolescents. The students belonging to a nuclear family possess (72.09) better academic achievement than students belonging to a joint family (69.85).
29. The interactional effect of gender and location variation on the academic achievement of adolescents was found to be statistically significant. The female students (76.013) of

urban areas possess better academic achievement than the female students (68.49) of the rural areas. Similarly, the male students (69.561) of urban areas possess better academic achievement than the male students (68.36) of the rural areas.

30. The interactional effect of the gender and the type of family on the academic achievement score of the total sample was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was insignificant interactional effect of gender and type of family on the academic achievement of adolescents.
31. The interactional effect of the location and type of family on the academic achievement score of the total sample was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was insignificant interactional effect of the location and type of family on the academic achievement of adolescents.
32. The three way interaction, i.e., gender x location x type of family was found to be statistically insignificant, indicating that there was no interactional effect of gender, location and type of family.

Suggestions for further Research

1. This study can be conducted on a broader geographical region and other levels of education can also be included.
2. In the present study, the investigator has selected only three independent variables, viz., family climate, academic motivation and adjustment. Researchers can incorporate various other psychological variables in order to discover other predictors of academic achievement.
3. In this study the academic achievement was taken as the total marks obtained by the students in their previous examination, though a standardised test can be used to obtain a standard score of academic achievement.

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Book Reviews

ADAMSON Bob, Jon NIXON and Feng SU (eds.) (2012): ***The Reorientation of Higher Education: Challenging the East-West Dichotomy,*** Comparative Education Research Centre, the University of Hong Kong Springer, China, ISBN: 978-988-1785-27-5, Pages: 314, Price: HKD250/USD 38, ₹ 11896

The challenges and issues before the education planners in this century lie in solving the problems of access and equity, quality, international dimension, job oriented-education and financing among others. Global governance, institutional organisation, and academic practice are complementary elements within the process of institutional repositioning. While systems, institutions and individuals in different contexts are subjected to similar global trends and pressures, the reorientation of higher education takes diverse forms as a result of the particularities of those contexts. That reorientation cannot be explained in terms of East West dichotomies and divisions but only with reference to interflow across and within systems. Reorientation is what we do prior to changing, developing, improving, innovating restructuring or transforming suggest that individual contributors also collective understanding of how higher education is situated and the options available in a particular situation. This volume seeks creative ways of valuing the local in the global and the global in the local falsifies this dichotomy. It also highlights importance of higher education from the tactical to pragmatic adaptability and to, flexibility, consultation and negotiations.

The book is an attempt to put across 15 relevant themes for higher education in a simple but exhaustive way. The reorientation cannot be explained not only in terms of East-West dichotomies and divisions but also with reference to the interflow across and within systems. The reason for placing these chapters at the end rather than the beginning of the book is to avoid any false impression of a pre-specified framework of analysis. This volume brings unique personal experiences and expertise to the chapters that comprise the book in geographical and cultural terms. The book is not intended to provide an encyclopaedic documentation of reorientation of higher education but it provides a lens through which clarity is sought and issues are explored regarding the reorientations that are taking place. This book is based on the assumption that the initial and ongoing value orientation of any development within the field of higher education policy and practice is crucial to its long term sustainability. It focuses upon comparative education reorientation discussed in the east and the west and developed higher education reorientation is viewed as a multi level interactive and dynamic phenomenon encompassing and liking the supranational level, the system level, the institutional level and the level of individual experiences. I hope that this book goes some way towards illuminating those issues that many governments initiated reforms to expand the system. It is this market approach to the provision of public services for managerialism perspective that lies at the core of the changes introduced in many universities. With the entry of market operations, universities have become both managerial and entrepreneurial in their approach as well as in their operation. The economic role of higher education became more important in the recent years.

Educational development in the Soviet Union and in the east European countries was a state funded and controlled activity. Political changes in the region in the 1990s marked an end to centralised planning, state control and total dependence on the state for the funding of higher education institutions.

With the creation of new decision-making structures, direct involvement of ministries of higher education was replaced by buffer institutions such as governing bodies, boards of trustees, university councils and similar agencies. Higher education reforms imply a reorientation from a government-controlled to a market-mediated system of higher education Michaela Martin and Mark Bray highlighted small states comprise a large proportion of the world's total number among the UNESCO's 195 member states and seven associate members and 66 populations below three million. The world has a range of cultures, colonial histories and other features. According to a World Bank review, the impact of the crisis in 107 developing countries found that almost 40 per cent were highly exposed to poverty effects and that almost 20 per cent of these counties were smaller states.

Fazal Rizvi argued that India has to utilise its enormous pool of knowledge workers, particularly in the rapidly growing globally networked information industries, providing at competitive price, labour to hungry corporations, which employ them for technology skills and business processes. The Indian system of higher education in its modern form is both enormous and complex established in the image of British universities in the mid-19th century. It has now acquired a more hybrid form after Independence. The Indian higher education has evolved in distinct and divergent streams, each monitored by an apex body of the MHRD. The Planning Commission of India sets the broad parameters for the funding of Indian higher education. Lack of resources has clearly been a major issue despite the Kothari Commission's target of 1.5 per cent of the GDP in 1996. Government support for higher education was until recently still less than 0.8 per cent (Tilak, 2004). Indian universities face a number of other difficult issues as well. NKC Recommendations for Reform are hence, structured around five key dimensions of knowledge, and access to knowledge concepts.

Anthony B.L. Cheung examines the context of internationalisation and the challenges and dilemmas it poses. He asks the ultimate questions what does internationalisation achieve for the sake of scholarship and learning and how can universities in this part of the world contribute towards promoting internationalisation and improving the formal and extended curriculum in terms of internationalised curriculum exchanges and volunteering. Internationalisation at home in Britain and Australia, resulted in international higher education becoming an important source of income.

Ka Ha Mok and Dacid K.K. Chan argued economic reforms in the late 1970s in China have transformed the country from a highly centralised planned economy to a dynamic socialist market economy. Its economic success from cheap and low skilled production to a country rich in human capital and high levels of technology and advanced know-how reflected the curriculum of the programmes offered collaboratively by both the local Chinese HEI and foreign HEI, but only the foreign HEI will confer its degree on the students at the completion of the programme offered collaboratively by both the local Chinese HEI and the foreign HEI and a double degree will be conferred jointly. Although the Chinese Government adopted an open policy welcoming overseas universities to establish their branch campuses and launch programmes in the mainland, the growing popularity of TNHE has posed a range of challenges for higher education governance which are highlighted in this book. The

university's partnerships between China and Africa are the key vehicle for the delivery of FOCAC human and social development pledges to Africa. China recommended the Taixue or the "Imperial University" as the best place to groom talent. Emperor Wu took the advice and ordered the establishment of the Taixue in 124 BC to host scholars and their students with a hope that they would set a good example for the entire society. China reformed higher education policies during 1978-1991. Mao Zedong was idealistic, although his ideology brought China almost to the verge of economic collapse in contrast to Deng Xiaoping who was known for being realistic. Deng Xiaoping's tour of south China in 1992 effectively set China back on track after the difficult international relations caused by the June 4th Tiananmen Square incident. Modern universities are a foreign transplant in China. Indigenous Chinese highest learning institutions only bore a superficial resemblance to the medieval university in Europe. Globalisation and the continuous reference to the knowledge society are causing universities to grow and transform. The world is increasingly characterised by technology-based production and market innovations. Universities are positioning themselves as key players in the new economy by leading the way in which scientific and technological advances are developed as well as translated into concrete commodities. The US universities, first under the retrenchment of the state support for education, public universities find themselves in serious need to generate a substantial portion of their income through student tuition fees and revenues from research contracts and grants. Universities have made contributions to society not only through addressing material needs but also by raising critical voices about the conditions and directions of society, while 20 years ago, 85 per cent of the faculty in the US universities were full-time and most were on tenure track scholars who can hope for a career in higher education (Altbach 2009). Today two-thirds of the faculty is off tenure track and one half work part time. The devaluation of teachers as time contract instructors can be found at most universities, private and public universities evince isomorphism in important areas of behaviour, increasing revenues through contract research devaluation of teaching priority to formation of selective S&T fields.

In this book it is argued that in England, like many universities across the globe, higher education institutions in the UK have experienced radical change in recent years, driven largely by neo liberal policies for the reform and expansion of the sector and the need to compete in the both national and international markets research intensive well established and elite universities across the world are already able to compete effectively in international UK wide initiatives on research capacity building in education. This volume projects England's a disciplinary perspective on the field to teacher education as illustrated and discussed. The effects of involvement in institutional reorientation quests on academics in the schools of education of seven universities are argued by many experienced and with some dissonances and discord as well as significant benefits in their professional lives. As a result, we normatively examine the UK higher education from this position, to understand the interplay between epistemologies and identities in the academic world. They propose ways of rethinking academic practices to focus on professional learning that cultivates authenticity and engagement with curricula and pedagogies that challenge the current model in western universities. In doing so, we wish to explore alternative discourses to focus on generic transferability and economic relevance characterising HE curricula today. They have discussed in this book two alternative responses to global concerns with

generic skills employability, economic competitiveness, efficiency and accountability, which we propose are fundamental for the academy to transform itself from within.

Feng SU, in his chapter, explores the transformations Chinese undergraduate students undergo within a new socio-cultural environment and different institutional learning setting in the Universities. There are an increased number of Chinese students in UK higher education. UK is internationally renowned for its academic excellence in learning, teaching and research among the international students. Challenges in the UK are discussed. Chinese families value education highly, many of them being the first generation in the family to enter into higher education. This increases familial expectations that their children should be successful in their education as international students.

In the Australian higher education context, the Australian university sector consists of 39 universities, almost all public, which are strongly regulated by the federal government through policy supported by funding the limited globalisation logics that prevail in the Australian university field which are of course not the only understudying of globalisation. Critics have noted how economic determinist version of globalisation lacks a fine-turned gap of shifting infrastructures resources and populations/under processes as much cultural and political as well as economic through which economic developments have a complex derivation Rizvi (2004).

The book set out that it has explored the trends that are common to different contexts in the East such as Central Asia, India, China mainland and Hong Kong and in the West such as Australia, UK, USA, and those small states that cover both east and west, and other geographical and conceptual spaces too. All the contributors adopt what might be described as a complex adaptive systems approach which assumes that we have to constantly adapt This insightful study on the state of higher education in the world will be of interest to scholars and practitioners in the field of education as well as policymakers at the every level of administrative reform. Overall, the book's presentation is admirable. It is also affordably priced. A good pick for researchers, teachers and students of social science, especially involved with research on higher education.

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KHAN, Tamanna (2016): ***Higher Education in Globalized Era: An India Experience,*** Delhi: Shipra Publications, ISBN: 978-81-7541-807-3, Pages: 218, Price: ₹ 950, (Hard cover).

The book under review is set in the backdrop of globalisation policy post-General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) negotiations in 1995, expanding private sector, increased student enrolments and mobility, and lesser than required funding for education in India. The author examines the growth of the higher education sector in India from 1980-2011, GATS and trade in higher education services in India with a focus on Mode 2: Consumption abroad; the public expenditure in higher education (HE) since the adoption of liberalisation and globalisation policies from 1990 onwards in India.

The first chapter introduces the study by setting out the relationship between education, growth and development, through theoretical works of Marx, Schultz and Becker amongst

others. Education in general and HE in particular has been conceptualised as an investment in human capital with a discussion on the role of HE institutions in terms of setting up standards of education in the country. The gains of globalisation can be better reaped through HE institutions, as the book argues.

The conceptual framework of globalisation is presented through various definitions of the term; descriptions on the phenomenon; and discussion on the phases of globalisation as categorised by Sinckler (p.7). With the period of economic reforms in the late 80s and 90s and by adopting "the policy of liberalisation," India started opening up to globalisation (p.9). Privatisation has accompanied liberalisation and the drift is visible right through school education to HE. Whilst there has been a trend of "publicisation" of HE through grant-in-aid in an era when education was considered the sole responsibility of the state, since last two decades, dramatic change is reflected in an expanding education sector and shrinking government spending. The tension between viewing education as a public good and education as a tradable service, financing of education and equity concerns are palpable throughout the discussion.

The period from 1980-81 to 1990-91 is taken as pre-globalisation period and from 1991-92 to 2010-11 as post-globalisation period for the analysis of student enrolments, institutions and teachers. Whilst the author sees a promising picture in the expansion of HE institutions, the fact remains that with the expansion of institutions, increase in enrolments and the number of teachers, a major change is observable in increasing Pupil-Teacher Ratio (PTR). The author argues that "the growth rate of teachers was lowest during the 1980s, and thereafter, it has been increasing consistently" (p.66). However, our analysis of the data provided in Table 3.2 (p.65) shows that the PTR has increased gradually over a period of time, with 14 in 1980-81; approximately 19 in 1990-91; 21 in 2000-01 and 24 in 2010-11, indicating a gradual increase in teacher shortage in the HEIs in India. An analysis on teachers could also have been undertaken at the level of calculation of PTR in Science and Social Science/Arts and Humanities streams. Increase in the number of enrolments in different professional courses due to globalisation has been highlighted, but an analysis of the increase in the number of institutions offering specialised Science and Technology courses could have been added. An analytical commentary on the reasons for the marginal decline in enrolments in research and increase in enrolments in the Certificate Diploma courses could have added value to the analysis. Much space in Chapter 3 has been spent in presenting analysis by other researchers. The author's conclusion that "Graduate enrolments increased by six times from 24,01,485 in 1980-81 to 1,46,16,473 in 2010-11" (p.69), could well have taken into consideration the change in the number of 18-year old Secondary School graduates becoming eligible to enter into HE and change in the number of seats available in HEIs. Although the author mentions "...wide regional disparities in the access parameter of HE among states and union territories in India" (p.76), the data on which this analysis is based could have been presented.

Since GATS in 1995, trade negotiations started for different service sectors including education. Following the phenomenon, financial arrangements have been revised for education not only in India but many countries across the world. This implies that there is transition in the status of education from being regarded/treated as a public good to a tradable commodity raising concern for equity in provisioning and the quality of education in the national, cross-border and transnational contexts. An updated note on the recent developments regarding the outcome of WTO GATS negotiations in Nigeria in December

2015 on Mode 1 pertaining to cross border services, and Mode 4 that provide for movement of natural persons, which are the priority for India could have been added in Chapter 4. The author seems to argue that GATS framework and negotiations are democratic in nature, insinuating that the participating countries can selectively choose as per their situation and are not forced to adhere (p.89). GATS/WTO negotiations are driven by power lobbies and geopolitical/economic clout. Scholars have critiqued GATS negotiations in terms of their "procedural" aspects and thus their outcome having repercussions for HE.

The author points out the implication of any international agreement as binding on the Indian states which might have a different take on the provision of education services (p.100). Besides this political dimension, the fact also remains that the GATS proposals are submitted by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce that views education as trade, whilst GATS outcome has to be implemented by the Ministry of Human Resources and Development, which views education as a public good (p.99). Aspects of student mobility and international trade in educational services have been comprehensively dealt with in Chapter 5 through a discussion on all the four modes.

The Indian government at various points expressed the intention to spend 6 per cent of the GNP on the education sector. However, the Centre's share of spending has barely gone more than 4 per cent of the GDP only in the recent years. In the case of HE, the spending is around 1.3 per cent. Various critical commentaries on the spending in HE, including the statement of the problem in this book expresses that HE has been neglected as compared to spending in elementary and secondary education (p.15; p.151; 163). The logic thus constructed seems to view elementary and secondary education eating into the resources that should have been spent as a priority on HE. The stress should be upon more budget allocation rather than developing a critique labelled as the inter-sectoral priority, which could have a negative impact on the elementary education in the long run.

Two major objectives of the research, i.e., analysis of trends in public expenditure on education during pre and post-globalisation period and the impact of globalisation on public expenditure on HE in India have been dealt with in Chapter 6. The chapter starts with analysing trends in public financing of education in the developed and the developing countries, which shows that developed countries spend around 6 per cent of GNP on education, whilst developing countries spend lesser. Public expenditure on education in India is examined through investigations into plan and non-plan expenditure and expenditure on revenue account in HE. The author finds that the government expenditure in HE has higher variability in the post-globalisation period and voices concern about the decline in the compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of plan and non-plan expenditure on HE. However, the recent fate of the Planning Commission is a telling story, which the narrative in the book has ignored. In the backdrop of the much awaited public announcement and implementation of the New Education Policy, funds to UGC being cut to 50 per cent, uncertainty about RUSA and non-clarity regarding the role of the newly constituted National Institutional Transformation Initiative (NITI) Ayog with reference to planning and budgeting for HE, the directions in which HE progress is being planned or envisaged is becoming much more unclear.

On the whole, the book is comprehensively organised dealing majorly with the issue of declining public expenditure on HE in view of the globalisation policies on the one hand and the challenges and requirements of an expanding system on the other. However, the data presented is only till 2011. The role of the federal and state policies in the expansion of the

private sector, increasing privatisation as well as the phenomenon of directing public money to the private initiatives through student-based funding, although in the interest of equity, could also have been weaved into the analysis.

Our review of the methodology of the research, examination of the data analysis in view of the stated objectives and the review of the inferences and conclusions drawn in the book indicates that the author's efforts are creditable. The book foregrounds the fact that the Indian HE sector has been expanding in the post-globalisation period, i.e. from 1990-91 to 2010-11 and public expenditure examined at constant prices has also declined. Thus, the author makes a strong case calling for more public spending in the HE sector by the Indian government so as to reap benefits of globalisation and make this sector more competitive in the post-GATS scenario. Undoubtedly, the book will prove to be a good resource for any new researcher. In the end, it is important to mention here that the call for review of policies and legislations that prove to be hurdles in the path of further globalising the HE sector should devote some space to equity concerns, especially in the Indian context.

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SAHU, P.K., D. YADAV and B.C. DAS (2014): ***Quality Education in India (Volume I and II),*** Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, ISBN: 978-93-5125-077-7 (HB), ₹ 2,500, pp 726.

This multi volume compendium is the collection of papers presented in the IATE International Seminar held in 2010 at the Department of Education, Allahabad University, India. The first volume highlights the problems and prospects of school and higher education in India and the second volume, comprising papers highlighting the inputs and interventions in Open and Distance Learning, Teacher Education and Information and Communication Technology.

In the foreword Prof. A.K Singh, the then Vice Chancellor, University of Allahabad highlights the immediate need for enhancing content and quality of educational offering, faculty development needs, industry-academia and community interactions, internationalisation of education, alternative delivery methods including e-content and methodology. Therefore, education system must be committed to be synergetic with the expectations of the 21st century.

Editors of these books are of the opinion that the quality education depends heavily on quality inputs of teachers. In this regard, professional development of teachers at all levels, technology-education interface and proactive educational policies and programmes are vital for strengthening quality education in India.

Quality in education, especially in the India context, can be better understood from the point of its access, process, cost and equity. Papers in Volume–I and II have highlighted the quality concerns in education and also the current status of educational access at school and higher education levels. Authors have also highlighted the need for innovative pedagogies and systemic management approach for quality in education. Teachers were identified as key change agents in this process and it has to be linked with life and living. Professional

development of teachers at all levels of education is mostly stressed in almost all papers and recommended for the government initiatives for professional development of teachers at all levels. Disruptive technologies help in making the educational process relevant, meaningful, user-friendly and quality oriented.

Educational excellence is a function of high standard and diversity. High standard as an aspect of quality and diversity as an aspect of equity-both are important for educational excellence. Need for value education and ethics were also discussed as needed components for quality in education. Professional ethics of teachers was discussed as an essential parameter for quality in education. It was stated that profession is a combination of quality of life and also the quality of work life. Authors have also highlighted the recent initiatives and curriculum reforms in terms of multi-disciplinary approaches, competency-based curriculum, continuous and comprehensive evaluation, choice-based credit system, technology interface in education. A few papers were on regional experiences highlighting the educational scenario, especially in Odisha and north eastern States. There are a few papers on Open and Distance education. Learner support services and internal quality assurance systems were focused, along with the integration of technology educational design and delivery.

Prof. A. K Sharma, former Director of NCERT discussed about Teacher education and highlighted a number of pertinent concerns. Some of them were implemented in varied forms but a large number of them seem to have defied intended solutions. He has called for a concerted effort to overhaul the system. It is a matter of conviction, that if teacher education programmes are organised on the right lines and become dynamic centres of progressive educational movements, the whole task of educational reconstruction would be greatly facilitated. Unfortunately, teacher education institutions have not been able to demonstrate their capability to think about education in an innovative and future oriented context.

Prof. Senapaty, Director of NCERT elaborated technology mediated constructivist learning in detail. His concern was to tap the potential of technology for the effective teaching and learning process. He was of the opinion that we have largely failed to capitalise on the potential of new technologies and particularly digital technology as a learning tool. We have allowed our schools to remain in the past, while our children have been born in the future. In the classroom we present knowledge to our children in a linear, didactic manner that differs dramatically from the children's previous experience outside the school. There is a huge mismatch between the learner and educator. Therefore, there is an urgent need for professional development of teachers that allows teachers to construct professional knowledge about pedagogy, content and technology, as well as strategies for managing the changing classroom environments supported by technology. Teachers, like doctors, must remain current in their knowledgebase and critical understandings to play a vital role in the 21st century classrooms.

Prof. V.C Srivastava, former Director, Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla presented the scenario of value education in Indian schools. The educational institutions in India as well as in the world today are producing highly skilled professionals without values. The first and foremost responsibility of educational institutions is to teach wisdom, not trade, character. And not skill alone.

These two edited volumes on the Quality in Education have highlighted the various dimensions of quality parameters in school and higher education systems. Authors have

focused on specific issues and challenges of education and also the strategies adopted by the government through various policies and programmes.

These volumes would have been divided with respect to the level of education—Quality in School Education and Quality in Higher Education. Papers would have been classified accordingly, to highlight the inputs, initiatives, problems and prospects of each system of education. Such a classification would provide the readers a comprehensive view of Education. However, it is a good effort on the part of the editors to compile the papers presented in the conference and to bring out a book of this kind. It is very useful to the researchers in the field of education and also a reference book for the graduate students of teacher education.

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Pushpanadham Karanam

CLEYN, Sven H. De and Gunter FESTEL (Eds.) 2016: ***Academic Spin-offs and Technology Transfer in Europe,*** Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK, ISBN – 978 1 78471 737 7, Pages: 256, Price: £ 75.00 (HB).

Knowledge has become a key raw material for many economies today and despite the rise of modern digital technologies, transferring knowledge to successful business initiatives remains challenging. Moreover, the cost and mechanisms of transferring knowledge to boost economies are not straight-forward. It is a process characterized by unpredictability. In these circumstances innovation could be the key of success in the fast metamorphosing world today. However, nurturing innovation is also not easy and demands a systemic approach. At the same time, the very nature of innovation is to follow the path less explored or untouched, hence, going beyond the predefined systems. How to foster innovation and entrepreneurship to feed the economies with successful and sustainable transfer of knowledge is thus coming as a major discourse in the knowledge-based economies of today. As a result, several efforts are made to identify, explore and support innovative entrepreneurship, so that that the knowledge can be commercialised. Using the universities as incubators of knowledge creation is one such effort, where students are encouraged and supported to apply the knowledge and create start-ups, using their own innovations. As a consequence, Entrepreneurship Education (EEd) has evolved as an academic discipline, where it is not only driving the creation of student start-ups, but is also equipping students with the skills to solve problems and adopt entrepreneurial mindset. The idea is that the innovations, coupled with the entrepreneurship endeavours can enter the market, which is termed as an "academic spin-off" (ASO). This book emphasises the role that ASOs play in knowledge transfer activities at the universities and research institutes around Europe and the challenges associated with them. Although this book is focused on the ASO and technology transfer in Europe; in the modern connected era of globalisation, these discussions are equally relevant for other countries aspiring for economic growth, riding innovation and entrepreneurship.

The book, *Academic Spin-offs and Technology Transfer in Europe: Best Practices and Breakthrough Models* by Sven H. De Cleyn and Gunter Festel (Eds.) is a timely publication,

which consists of 13 chapters, spread across five sections and a conclusion. The first section, "shaping the ecosystem" focuses on ways to shape an environment which is receptive to technology transfer and supports academic spin-offs. The three chapters in this section discuss some of the successful strategies in this regard to foster ASO. Part two goes one step further, into the discourse and analyses the process of supporting and coaching spin-offs. This section also highlights some of the risks involved in supporting ASO and how they have been addressed in certain contexts. The following section, i.e., section three, deals with one of the major factors in mercerisation of innovation--the finance. Similarly, another major factor determining the success of ASO and knowledge transfer is the effective use of innovative tools. Part four discusses them in detail and focuses on several existing and cutting-edge practices in this regard. The final section of this book highlights the international perspectives and discusses why an innovation-friendly environment can be one of the key factors in greater ASOs. In this regard, it compares the success of the United States of America with that of the Europe and finds out the reason why ASOs in the US are more prone to succeed than many other parts of the world.

Chapter 1 by Cantamesa explains the functioning of the 13P, a technology incubator in the second largest technical university of Italy. Unlike other conventional models, this incubator is not focused on any specialised field, rather opens up to create a climate for innovation in the broad area of technology-based knowledge. However, the process followed by 13P is relatively standard and stands on four pillars, such as "scouting", to find new entrepreneurs and business ideas; "consultancy", "team-building and fund-raising" and "business development". Although 13P is an ASO incubation model, it also focuses on job creation. The work of the 13P or similar entities can be close to the work of a consultancy agency. However, it gets benefited from a "two-sided market", which incentivises the economies of scale and scope. It also works a mini business cluster, where it makes strategic choices with respect to vertical and horizontal integration. This includes mentoring and managing the resources as well as integration with specialised industries.

The support structure of 13P or similar entity is a step forward in incubating new ideas to spin-off from the academia to the market. However, the context specificities of designing new venture units are something more complex. Chapter 2, by Burg *et. al*. tries to theorise this aspect and explains how different strategies are needed for different contexts which are to be related to the design process to enhance performance. Drawing on the comparative case studies, this chapter expands three design strategies: off-line reasoning and planning, feedback-driven learning and associative reasoning, which are mostly used by the organisations in direct and/or inherent way. The case studies also show that organisations also use these strategies in combinations to design new venture units. It argues that it is important for the universities, as units of ASO, to understand the process and redesign them, recognising the complexities associated with the process. Chapter 3 by Mrozewski *et. al.* started by affirming the fact that ASO and knowledge transfer are complex and a robust yet flexible system should be in place to expand the ideas to successful ventures. In this regard, they have highlighted the cases of the concept of an "entrepreneurial university" and explained how the Technical University, Berlin (TU-Berlin) is playing a key role in supporting Berlin to excel as an entrepreneurial city.

The first chapter in section two, (Chapter 4) by Schonenberger discusses a new spin-off process, which has been piloted in the Technical University of Munich (TUM). The TUM focuses on the PhD students and the associated faculty members to commercially use the

research results. Through the established business model, the University identifies opportunities to develop concepts and then convert them into businesses. Their incubation programme called KICKSTART, not only provides the support to the new ideas, but also helps collaborate and mobilise resources, which are important factors for the successful ASO. However, more critical insights in this chapter would have been a welcome addition.

Although the concept of ASO in the modern tech-dependent era is in the limelight, Chapter 5 by Klofsten and Lundmark argues that to create and disseminate knowledge is not a new objective for universities. The only stark difference is that there is a demand for practically and commercially relevant knowledge, which the traditionally operated universities are failing to produce. In addition, the strategy of creating new spin-offs was not part of the university's strategy. Probably that is why, academia still have a negative attitude towards entrepreneurship. However, it is important and the chapter highlighted that with the example of Entrepreneurship and New Business Programmes (ENP) which was started at the Linkoping University and now spread in other parts of Europe. Through multi-layered planning and development of contents such as business plans, workshops, coaching, mentorship and access to networks and combining hard and soft resources, the ENP progresses forward. The experience of ENP explains the success factors, which provide a step-by-step guideline and an example of best practices to show how research can be directly applied and utilised.

Whereas Chapter 5 talks about the initiatives of the university to become an ASO supportive institute, Chapter 6, by Bauer *et. al.* explain the importance of stimulating greater entrepreneurships among students and researchers. Analysing the empirical evidences of one of the largest European application-oriented research organisation, it pin-points three pillars such as sensitisation, ideation and business design, which carry the mantra of success. However, since there is no easy-fix for ASO and knowledge transfer, these pillars coexist with complexities and practical hurdles, which the chapter explains critically. Why innovations fail at different stages and why understanding the market and customers are essential in this regard-- the chapter explains with apt examples. It focuses on sustainability of the innovation, rather than premature ASO without much impact.

Chapter 7, the first chapter of part 3, focuses on the incubation and its linkages with the market. Mehr and Kirschenhofer show that there are more than 7000 incubators worldwide and the numbers are steadily increasing. However, sustainability of the start-ups is a major concern. This paper, therefore, explains how successful financing can help the ASOs to convert into stable businesses. These financing options are available from different stakeholders, who are experienced in identifying ASOs and save them from perishing. The key success factors in this regard includes a steady deal flow, a robust assessment or selection process, team audit and management, early stage (pre-seed) funding, project management, infrastructural and administrative support, networks, and so on. However, often there are gaps in end-incubation and follow-up funding, which should be minimised by dedicated people from all the stakeholders involved. Chapter 8 by Brandkamp extended the discussion on seed challenge or the difficulties faced by the early stage entrepreneurs. However, some more critical discussion on this area could have been added for deeper insights.

Part 4 of the book discusses innovative tools for technology transfer and the first chapter of this section, i.e., Chapter 9 by Fastel discusses one such model, named "Founding Angels" (FA). In the present established set up in Europe, Business Angels (BA) and Venture

Capitalists (VC) are the two major investors in supporting start-ups. However, they are not inclined to support the early stage efforts, where supports are of utmost necessity. FA thus comes as a solution to support the early stage spin-offs and engaged in investment up to a level; from there the ASO can move to BA or VC for further support. Through business conception, team-building and financing, FAs build the organisation, develop the business and professionalise the company. The author shows that why more initial stage support to ASO and innovative approach like that of the FAs can be crucial in this regard. Talking of innovative approach, the next chapter (10), by Cleyn and Gielen brings yet another element on the table. The common method to commercialise the knowledge created in the universities is called technology-push, where Technology Transfer Office (TTO) facilitates the process. However, in reality, many TTOs are not so successful as their job is to promote the knowledge without much understanding of the market demand. As a consequence, many ASOs dissolve in the bud. The new approach is more demand-driven rather than pushing the knowledge or supply driven; hence, has high chances of success. This model, although has its own limitations, not only helps develop a stronger knowledge base, but also provides smaller and more locally oriented companies a market.

The success of ASOs, however, demands a lot more effort form all the stakeholders, including the university and the students. Many students are outside the boundaries of technology transfer as the popular approach is to commercialise only the tech-dependent initiatives. Moreover, many universities do not have the skills where the stock of knowledge is high but the entrepreneurial competencies are low. These factors make entrepreneurship endeavours difficult to undertake by the traditional universities. The Student Incubators (SVAA) established by the Aarhus University, Denmark aims to bring a breakthrough in the traditional university start-ups and Chapter 11 by Justesen *et. al*. explain this in detail. It argues that considering the students' perspective is a crucial factor, where the university works systematically as an agent to kindle the entrepreneurship. By inspiring, networking, clarifying doubts and helping them to develop business, a traditional university can also contribute in the growth. Thus, universities, including the traditional ones must open up and come out of their conservative cocoon to support ASOs, as the chapter argues.

Chapter 12 by Lebret, of section 5, on international perspective on ASOs and Technology Transfer somewhat supports the arguments coined in the previous chapter. It shows that opening up to new ideas helps build a culture and environment for innovation to thrive. The earlier the society and the universities open up, the better for the ideas to grow, as innovation is by no means a simple process and can take a long time. The analysis of the author shows that the Universities in Europe are more traditional in nature and have started to open up to new ideas later, than their American counterparts. As a consequence, there is more concentration of innovative minds in the US, who are ready to take the challenge of being successful entrepreneurs. This also helps create the entrepreneurial state where public involvement and funding plays a crucial factor. Here, the authors affirm that leaving innovation only in the hands of market would be a grave mistake as young minds need friendly care and support even when there are multiple failures. The policies, thus, should support experiments and promote universities and market to work together with the interventions of the government. Although the paper could include some more diverse picture of Europe, it is felt that the arguments hold strong enough and are relevant to many other countries even outside Europe.

Overall, the book, *Academic Spin-offs and Technology Transfer in Europe: Best Practices and Breakthrough Models*' provides comprehensive picture of ASOs and its close linkages with innovation and market. It helps us to understand the importance of nurturing innovations in the academia and why it should be a part of academic culture today. Without over-glorifying the commercialisation of knowledge transfer, the chapters highlighted some of the hurdles, such as funding, sustainability, mentoring and the need of public support and intervention, which are crucial for the success of ASOs. It strongly argues for a holistic approach in supporting the entrepreneurial activities, which expresses its understanding of the overall situation and interlinks with the society at large. It is, however, felt that some of the chapters needed more critical inputs. Also, the diverse conditions of European countries are less reflected and more insights from the European countries with less developed ASO system would have provided a different picture. It would also have been a nice addition if the authors of the chapters provide some more insights on why (and why not) the models may be replicated in other contexts. This would provide the academia and policy makers a broader understanding of the context specificities and policy learning in the context of globalisation. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this book is an excellent addition in the world of knowledge, which will open up new avenues for further studies and policy initiatives in the context of ASO technology transfer in Europe and beyond.

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